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THE MOST IMPORTANT THING IS TO REVEAL LATENT PRODUCTION POTENTIAL AND IMPROVE PLANNING METHODS*

W. Gomulka

FIRST SECRETARY, CENTRAL COMMITTEE, POLISH UNITED WORKERS' PARTY

The discussion on the first item on the agenda of our plenary meeting has been summed up in the draft resolution submitted to the Central Committee. This is an exceptionally important resolution. It is addressed primarily to the factory Party organizations and workers' self-management bodies, the engineers and technicians and generally the personnel of the enterprises.

The resolution poses before them and the local Party committees at all levels, as well as before the regional planning bodies, the task of revealing the untapped production reserves and improving planning. A feature of this decision—a feature which sets the present meeting of the Central Committee apart from previous meetings—is that it, like the first point on our agenda, stems from initiative from below, in this case from the intiative of the Katowice region Party organization.

INITIATIVE OF KATOWICE REGION PARTY ORGANIZATION

The Political Bureau of the Central Committee considered the Katowice initiative to be so important for the whole Party that it decided to take it up at a plenary meeting of the C.C. Because of this we departed from the customary practice and had, not the Political Bureau but the regional Party organization submit a report on the question to this meeting.

The problem raised in the report of the Katowice organization and discussed here is not a new one. We have discussed latent potential, investments, costs accounting, exports, planning, etc., time and again. But today the question is being posed in a new way. The importance of the present plenum consists in the fact that it has taken up the question far more concretely than before. This is to the credit of the Katowice region Party organization, an indication of its profound understanding of the decisions and directives of the Fourth Party Congress. The Katowice initiative should

*Trybuna Ludu, November 25, 1964.

be taken up by all regional organizations, by the entire Party.

What is in question? As the title of our decision shows, two extremely important problems: utilization of latent production potential and improvement of planning. Much has been written about these problems. Plenary meetings of the Central Committee too have discussed them on more than one occasion. All this has yielded positive results. Writing and talking about these things is unquestionably very useful, but the most important thing is practical tapping of concrete production reserves and practical improvement of planning at every enterprise. As a rule, this cannot be done from the outside, by people who do not work at the given enterprise. It can be done above all by the workers and office employees, the Party and trade union organizations of each enterprise. If the Party guides the efforts of all along these lines, we shall surely discover the concealed production reserves that exist to one or another extent at every enterprise. By working along these lines, by enlisting the working and office employees, and above all the engineers and technicians, of every enterprise in this work, we shall also find effective ways of improving our methods of planning.

It cannot be said that we have done nothing in this respect to date, especially as regards tapping production reserves. A good deal has been accomplished. The personnel of all enterprises have long been working towards this on a lesser or greater scale. The most convincing proof of this are the tens of thousands of suggestions made for the Party Congress, most of which are being carried out. This is evident also from the overfulfilment of production plans of which the comrades spoke with justified pride from this rostrum. The point, however, is that the objective conditions now exist for posing the important questions of tapping unused production reserves and improving planning with the help of all the workers of the enterprises on a new and higher plane.

The way to do this has been indicated to the Party and the entire working class by the Katowice region Party organization and the Katowice workers. But, as was pointed out in the report, that which has been done so far in the Katowice region is not yet the ideal, but only the beginning of a new, higher stage. This is the crux of the matter.

THE ENTERPRISES SHOULD PLAY AS BIG A PART AS POSSIBLE IN DRAWING UP OUR ECONOMIC PLANS

At the Fourth Congress we spoke a great deal about improving planning, about rational, most effective use of investments, the need rapidly to increase exports, modernization and specialization of production, and many other problems directly or indirectly relating to planning of production and economic development generally.

Definite decisions were taken on these problems. We all know how complex they are and how important it is to improve planning methods. There are no ready-made universal recipes to go by; the solutions must be worked out in practical endeavor.

But there is no doubt that unless the workers of the various enterprises play a big part in drawing them up, our economic plans are bound to suffer from shortcomings. No one knows better than the personnel of a given enterprise how to increase its output with the least expenditure, how to make the most efficient use of plant, or where the bottlenecks are which prevent full use of the factory's capacity.

Since it is the workers of each factory that know their enterprise best of all, they are ones to do the groundwork in drafting its production and development plans. Their proposals will then enable the higher planning bodies to draw up optimal plans for the given branch, for industry as a whole, and for the entire socialized sector of the economy.

To carry out the decisions of the Congress concerning the elaboration of plans in a number of variants and the adoption of optimum solutions, each enterprise should work out its own draft plan.

Planning will become considerably more effective if the elaboration of the production and development plans for each enterprise and industry as a whole is carried out in three phases:

First phase: the Planning Commission of the Council of Ministers and the higher economic management bodies send down to the enterprises the initial, tentative projects, the preliminary target figures for both the long-range and current annual plans.

Second phase: the enterprise works out, on the basis of the preliminary draft received from its industrial amalgamation, its proposals for the plan. In drafting their plans, the workers and their organizations at the enterprises should above all strive to set their sights higher than the targets proposed by the amalgamations. If the targets proposed are too high to be feasible, the enterprise takes them up with the amalgamation with a view to bringing them within realistic bounds. If agreement cannot be reached, the decision rests with the Ministry concerned. As the experience of the Katowice and other regions has shown, the initial targets proposed by the amalgamations can be improved on by the workers at the enterprises.

The enterprises should display maximum initiative in drafting plans. They can produce two, three or more variants—one taking into account the funds available for investment and another disregarding them, a variant calling for additional investment, a variant with a view to coordination with other plants, and even a variant calling for changes in the assortment of output.

After the enterprises have drawn up the draft plans—and for

this a definite time limit should be set—*the third and last phase* begins. At this stage the higher industrial management bodies and the Planning Commision of the Council of Ministers go over the drafts submitted by the enterprises and choose the best solutions offered and include them in the plans for the various branches and industry as a whole.

When this phase is completed the finalized plans will be handed down to the enterprises to be carried out.

Needless to say, it is within the powers of the higher bodies to accept the plans submitted by the enterprises, amalagmations and ministries may be allocated smaller sums for investment than originally proposed, while others may have their allocations increased. If an amalagmation does not accept a plan submitted to it by an enterprise, it should nevertheless send it on to the Ministry and the Planning Commission for final decision. Some enterprise plans calling for, say, an increase in production may not be approved because of a shortage of raw materials or for other reasons.

There is, however, no other way to ensure a wide choice of variants making for optimal planning than analytical elaboration of the initial drafts by the industrial enterprises and compilation of the final plan on the basis of these drafts.

Elaboration of draft plans by the workers of the enterprises implies extending socialist democracy, increasing the powers of the workers' self-management bodies, and giving the enterprises a bigger say in choosing lines of output and determining the direction and rate of their development.

A fundamental prerequisite of proper and conscientious elaboration of plans by the enterprises is an active, socialist attitude on the part of the entire personnel expressed in creative initiative on the job and in public life. It was this attitude that prompted people to put forward tens of thousands of suggestions of great value to our economy in the course of the preparations for the Party Congress. Every encouragement should be given to this creativity among the workers and all other working people, to this climate created by the Party organizations during the preparations for the Congress and after it.

PARTICIPATION OF THE PARTY ORGANIZATIONS AND LEADING BODIES

Such a climate can be sustained only through the activities of the Party organizations organized and guided by the Party committees at all levels. The plans of the enterprises will be drafted properly only if the regional, district, city and other local Party committees take a direct hand in this work. These committees should not only call for greater activity on the part of the Party branches at the big enterprises, the workers' self-management bodies and the workers generally, but render them assistance, cor-

rect them when they err, check up on the progress of the and give it guidance.

At some enterprises the managements in particular tend to minimize and conceal their latent potential so as to keep their plans down.

The Party committees can and must take a hand in putting a stop to such tendencies.

The commendable experience of some regions and especially Katowice region where the Party committees at all levels are taking a direct part in drafting the plans for the enterprises should be extended to all parts of the country. To carry out this enormous task the whole Party must be mobilized and the Party committees must be well acquainted with the situation at each enterprise. Representatives of these committees can help to reveal untapped reserves, to draw up plans properly and to correct faulty tendencies on the part of the managements only if they thoroughly know the enterprises and their problems. Hence it is not enough to attend production meetings in order to find out what the workers and the management have to suggest. The Party committees and their representatives must study in advance the functioning of the enterprise in question. Only then can they make a valuable contribution to the preliminary drafting of plans for the factory, put forward sound suggestions or challenge one or another figure, and help to harness all the latent production reserves.

Both the report and the discussion at our plenary meeting centred around two basic branches of industry: electrical engineering and metallurgy. But it is not only the enterprises in these industries that have to work out their production plans. This is a question concerning the whole of state and cooperative industry.

RESERVES EXIST EVERYWHERE

Every enterprise has latent potentialities. We have a general idea of the reserves existing at the key enterprises, for the attention of the state, administrative, economic and Party bodies is largely concentrated on them. The big enterprises have the strongest Party organizations and the best activists. But we know far less about the production reserves at the smaller enterprises, which constitute the overwhelming majority. For instance, none of the speakers here mentioned the woodworking, furniture, glass and other industries of great importance for both the home market and export trade.

Hardly any mention was made of the local enterprises belonging to producers' cooperatives, which too have a substantial production and play an important role in our economy, affecting the operation of the bigger enterprises with which they are associated.

More attention should be paid to these industries because of the need for a higher degree of coordination among enterprises which

speakers here have noted, the need to introduce changes in the lines of output of various enterprises and to end over-concentration of industry in areas with a shortage of manpower.

Unless the Party organizations have a thorough knowledge of what is happening at the small enterprises, they cannot plan and suggest the best solutions as regards coordination of plants, changes in lines of output or deconcentration of plants. Therefore the regional and district Party committees, in carrying out the decisions of this meeting, should draw up plans of work taking in not only the key enterprises but also local and cooperative industry.

In our resolution we stipulate that the enterprises must complete the final drafts of their five-year plans no later than the first quarter of next year. The Party organizations will have to work hard and conscientiously in order to ensure in the brief space of time left that the five-year drafts will be given proper thought at every enterprise.

The Katowice region organization began this work earlier than others and has made more headway, but this organization too is aware that what has been done is only the beginning, that there still is much to be done, that many things still have to be examined anew. Things are more difficult in the regions that started later or are only beginning now. And there are also regions which, as could be seen from the reports of some regional committee secretaries, have not even made a beginning. These regions must make up for lost time. If we bear in mind that there is only four months left, it can be said in advance that some of the enterprise five-year plan drafts will not be brought up to the mark, that at many enterprises they will be drawn up without the participation of the local committees, without the benefit of the experience of the Party activists. But regardless of how thoroughly they will be elaborated, these drafts must be completed by the end of the first quarter of 1965. Otherwise the higher managerial bodies, industrial amalgamations, ministries and the Planning Commission will not have enough time to draw up the final variant of our economic plan for the next five years.

This does not mean, however, that the work of the Party committees and organizations will be done with the completion of the draft five-year plans of the enterprises. The point is that the planning method we recommend in drawing up the five-year plan should be employed in working out the annual plans.

The Party organizations are only beginning to acquire a little more experience, and the work of compiling the drafts of the five-year plan will help them to participate in drafting the annual plans.

INVESTMENT ALLOCATIONS SHOULD NOT BE EXCEEDED

The five-year plan is the general guideline for the development of our economy as a whole, and it is only in the annual plans

that concrete tasks are defined, subject, moreover, to changes dictated by current needs.

What is the chief danger to guard against in drafting both long-range and annual plans?

The main danger, and one which the Katowice organization did not fully succeed in avoiding, consists in asking for more appropriations. A good many such suggestions were made at this plenum as well. This is a mistake.

The volume of capital investment provided for in the five-year plan, as we have pointed out many times, is maximal and cannot be exceeded.

Nor should reserve capital be drawn upon in drafting plans, for this negates the very purpose of the reserve. Each enterprise or branch should try to achieve the optimal advantage and the best results by making the most rational and effective use of the funds allotted to it.

The erroneous methods of calculating economic effect which unfortunately were recommended by some comrades from this platform should also be rejected. These comrades spoke about the high returns per zloty from investments in certain sectors. Such calculations are superficial and erroneous. We know very well that the biggest returns may be most easily obtained in manufacturing industry.

Estimates of the effectivenes of investment must take into account the capital expenditures on the raw and other materials needed. Only then is it possible to ascertain the actual returns on investments in manufacturing. Calculations which omit these expenditures or which fail to take into account the cost of importing materials are misleading.

In drafting plans it is necessary to pay heed to recommendations aimed at raising labor productivity, lowering production costs and also expenditure of labor and materials, mainly by improving technology. We must frankly admit that the question of improving technology of production has not yet been properly appreciated by the managements of our enterprises, government departments or the Party organizations. If we compare, for example, data on the replacement of machining by stamping with data from the most highly developed countries we will find that we are advancing at a snail's pace in this sphere. It is noteworthy that the enterprises themselves show no initiative in this respect, they do not exert pressure or ask for machinery for the purpose. On the contrary, from year to year we fail to reach the very modest targets we have set ourselves in this field, and the program for the next five-year period is minimal. This branch is poorly equipped technically, it has neither the technological base nor the cadres. And not enough interest is displayed in it. Yet this is a very important question, one that to a great extent determines our tech-

nological progress, reduction of production costs, consumption of materials, etc.

A similar state of affairs obtained until recently in two other fields—export and housing. Workers' collectives, factories, managements and Party organizations took no interest in these matters. It required much effort to overcome these sentiments, this neglectful attitude to those questions. As a result of these efforts the situation today is quite different. Today nearly every enterprise is tackling the question of export, searching for new production possibilities, new ways of improving quality and assortment, etc.

At this stage it is necessary to tackle the problem of technological progress, modernization of technology and lowering of production cost as vigorously and effectively as in the case of exports.

A few words, comrades, about horizontal coordination, or so-called regional planning.

This is a difficult problem. We have spoken of it more than once, and much has already been accomplished in this respect. The chief thing here is qualified local personnel. Perhaps it would be a good thing to strengthen the regional planning bodies in areas with the biggest concentration of industry, but everything hinges on the qualifications of the personnel.

In conclusion I should like to say that today's plenum is a good step forward in carrying out the decisions adopted by our Fourth Congress.

In order to fulfill the tasks mentioned here it is essential to maintain the activity of the workers' collectives on a high level, to observe financial and labor discipline, which, as the comrades have noted here, gave such good results in the current year. It is necessary to maintain this level in the coming years, and to improve the work of the whole Party and thereby ensure the speedy fulfilment of the tasks outlined by the Party Congress and by this Plenum.

BELGIAN COMMUNISTS CONDEMN THE AGGRESSION*

Bent on its adventuristic policy of giving military support to Tshombe and his army, the Belgian government has landed in Stanleyville, from American planes, the paratroopers whose base was set up on Ascension Island recently.

Humanitarian reasons aduced to justify this irresponsible step do not hold water.

In reality, the landing of the Belgian paratroopers coincided with the Congolese national army's attack on Stanleyville, which means coordination of hostilities against the Congolese nationalist forces and therefore flagrant interference in the internal affairs of the Congolese Republic.

As a matter of fact, it is the Belgian government which is placing in jeopardy the lives of the Belgian and other white civilians residing in the Congo whose security would have never been menaced had there been no interference in the political life of an independent state.

The situation is very grave.

Belgium encounters just reprobation from the overwhelming majority of world public opinion. It is antagonizing the countries of the third world and in particular the African countries whose desire to negotiate has been expressed by President Kenyatta. By rejecting peaceful initiatives it is setting a dangerous example of solutions by force and introducing into the international situation a new element of tension which benefits only the racist and bellicose ultras.

The Belgian government has reverted, in effect, to a reactionary policy condemned by the working people, by the democrats comprising the majority of the nation.

The Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Belgium reiterates the proposals it has repeatedly made, specifying them once again in its November 21 resolution.

The Belgian government, which is already responsible for the loss of human lives should stop immediately all military operations and withdraw the paratroopers and all Belgian military personnel from the Congo.

This is the only means of preventing new tragedies and, if it is still possible, paving the way for the establishment of normal relations between the Belgian and Congolese peoples.

Political Bureau,
Communist Party of Belgium

*Le Drapeau Rouge, November 25, 1964.

STATEMENT OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREECE

The changes in the leadership of the CPSU and the Soviet government evoked lively interest in the Communist Party of Greece, just as in the other Communist parties.

This is quite understandable, for owing to its historical experience, vanguard role in the world Communist movement and position of the ruling party in the first and the mightiest socialist state the CPSU strongly influences world developments and the solution of problems facing the world Communist movement.

We have received with satisfaction the statements of the CPSU leaders and the additional information the CC, CPSU has given us in reply to our letter, to the effect that the CPSU will continue to pursue steadfastly the line of its 20th, 21st and 22nd congresses and the line of the 1957 and 1960 conferences, and that the changes were effected in conformity with Party principles and the Leninist standards of intra-Party democracy. The Political Bureau of the CC, CPG stresses that this is of paramount importance. This does not mean, however, that Comrade Khrushchov's services are ignored.

In our country, as all over the world, reactionaries have attempted to distort the truth about the changes in the CPSU and Soviet Government leadership with a view to launching a new anti-communist campaign and sowing confusion, hesitation and doubts among the Communists, the working class and the people in general. At the same time expellees from the CPG longing for a return to the old abnormal regime in the Party have decided that they can take advantage of the recent events for their anti-Party purposes.

Not only the CPG but the entire democratic movement in our country suffered from the grievous effects of the personality cult regime and the dogmatic adventuristic line of the previous CPG leadership. From its rich positive experience our Party knows what an influence the decisions of the historic Twentieth Congress of the CPSU, the Moscow conferences as well as the sixth enlarged plenary meeting of the Central and Control committees and the Eighth Congress of the CPG exerted on the popular-democratic movement in Greece. Any attempt of anti-Party elements to divert the Communists from the line of the sixth plenary meeting, the line of the 20th CPSU Congress and the Moscow Conferences, is therefore, doomed to failure.

Absolutely confident of the correctness of its line, which is confirmed in the course of the everyday struggles of the people, the CPG will be even more persistent in the pursuit of this line, for it accords with the interests of the working class, the working people in general and the entire nation, with the requirements of our country's progress.

As before, the CPG will continue to fight, together with the CPSU and the other fraternal parties, for cementing the unity of the world Communist movement.

November 1, 1964

LABOUR IN POWER — WHAT NEXT?*

John Gollan

GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

The defeat of the Tories after 13 years is of the greatest possible political significance. It can be made the start of a big new political advance in Britain.

It was the result of popular dissatisfaction going far beyond working-class ranks and reflects the crisis in British imperialism.

But while it was a vote for a change, it was not the resounding vote of confidence in the Labour Party and Labour policies which was possible.

Some argued that the less radical Labour's program, the more likely it was to attract the so-called uncommitted voter.

In fact the policy was watered down with this aim. This did not bring the desired result. Instead we have the big Liberal vote and the tiny Labour majority.

What is the big thing facing every Labour supporter, every Communist, every progressive? To work in such a way as to ensure that the Tories are not allowed to stage a comeback.

To ensure that the next election, whenever it is fought, results in an even greater resounding Tory defeat.

The Government starts with an enormous fund of good will—great masses of the people not only want the Labour Government to survive, but to win.

HOW WE BACK THE GOVERNMENT

We Communists want the Labour Government to survive and win victories for the people. We will support any progressive measures or steps it takes.

Harold Wilson's attitude that he intends to govern despite the slender majority, is correct. There should be no concessions to the Tories.

Any criticism we make will be to strengthen the Government and its standing with the people.

Our test will be what is good for the working class and the mass of the people, and what is bad for the Tories and the millionaires.

The new Government has inherited sharp, social, political and

*Daily Worker, November 16, 1964.

economic problems from the Tories—the acute balance of payments crisis (and here the key issue is military expenditure abroad); the need to modernize the economy (involving automation and consequent great social issues); the acute problems of housing, rents, pensions and education; the ending of the colonial wars and the general direction of foreign policy.

What the mass of the people want is systematic advance in our social services, the type of modernization which brings advances in wages and conditions, decisive action against the monopolists, speculation and profits, the cutting of military expenditure and new initiatives in British foreign policy to end colonial wars and place the country in the vanguard of the struggle for peaceful coexistence and disarmament.

It will be noted that the key Cabinet positions, responsible for major policy in home and foreign affairs, are in the hands of the Right-wing of the movement.

As for those in the Left in the Government and the Left M.P.s. in general, they can rest assured that every struggle they put up for progressive policies will get the full backing of all that is best in the movement.

QUEEN'S SPEECH AND BUDGET

We now have the first steps to tackle the economy, the Queen's Speech and the first Budget.

On the economy generally, Steel will be nationalized, the Crown Commission on Land is to be introduced.

There is the promise to deal with speculative gains in the spring and the halt to office building in London.

But at the same time we have the general assurance to the big monopolies that Labour will work in partnership with them: Callaghan's reassurance to the City, Jay's statement that they have no bias against private business, that profits earned are the sign of a healthy economy, and Brown's statement that "We want private enterprise to flourish." So we have a dual approach.

The first steps to tackle the balance of payments have been taken with the 15 per cent imports tax, the 2 per cent export rebate.

These steps will cut imports, but they will also increase prices, and are already inviting retaliation from some of Britain's trading partners.

Further, the overseas borrowing to ease the immediate pressure will create further problems later.

A really big change in the adverse balance can only come by slashing military expenditure abroad and the export of capital.

On the social side there has been the widely welcomed decision to increase pensions and benefits. The prescription charges are to be removed.

ACTION AGAINST EVICTIONS

The Rent Act is to be repealed and emergency legislation to stop evictions has been drafted.

But the new benefits will not operate till March. The increase of 2s in the insurance stamps is a heavy imposition on the workers, and the Petrol Tax means dearer transport.

The new taxes will reduce purchasing power more than the pensions increases will raise it.

The Government regards an "incomes" policy as its major preoccupation. There is to be a reorganization of NEDC (National Economic Development Council). The consultation with the trade unions and the employers has commenced.

There is insistence on giving up the so-called "restrictive practices", re-training and severance pay to deal with the upheavals of automation.

But trade unionists have noted that while the Government is clear that wages are to be restrained, it is vague on prices, and even more vague on profits, promising fiscal measures to deal with what they describe as "excessive" profits and dividends.

On foreign and defense policy we have had the visit of Gordon Walker to the U.S., the reaffirmation of NATO, the proposed visit to re-negotiate Nasseau and a dangerous ambiguity on the MLF.

We don't want to pre-judge issues. Many points are still unclear. But even now it is possible to make these points.

ADVANCE SOCIAL SERVICES

1. Any measure to advance the social services and deal with speculation should be welcomed and supported. The movement will look to the Crown Commission on Land to give a heavy blow to land speculation.

The new Rent Act should not only give all tenants security of tenure, but fix maximum rents at no higher than current rateable value.

The Government should fix a target of 400,000 council houses a year for rent, and councils should get loans at 2 per cent with higher subsidies.

2. The movement will support any new legislation to restore the position of the trade unions to that prior to the Rookes v Barnard judgement.

3. Major programs of social advance cannot go ahead while military expenditure and monopoly remain unchecked.

The Government has said it will reexamine military expenditure. This is urgent and it should aim at a substantial reduction particularly in military expenditure abroad.

From the general objectives stated so far, it is our duty to warn the movement that the proposed partnership with the big mono-

polies, the development of modernization and automation under their control, will only create the most acute social problems, as the U.S. shows.

The general aims to maintain the City, the international role of sterling, and big military expenditure here and abroad do not differ radically from the previous Tory policies and if continued will only result in current balance of payments problems and dislocation of the economy.

4. In this light we must consider the so-called "incomes" policy. We note that the trade union movement generally has shown no inclination to abandon the wages struggle.

We as a Party are completely opposed to wage restraint. We think that the trade union movement should make clear to the Government now that it will not support a policy of wage restraint

It is against the interests of the workers, the economy and the country as a whole.

We call on all Left and progressive sections to stand firm on this issue.

Profits and dividends should be tackled by the immediate measures of a far-reaching capital gains tax, an increased profits tax and a 1 per cent wealth tax.

As for automation, any proposals advanced must be the subject of prior negotiations with the unions particularly at factory level. We are all for modernization, but not as a means of increasing exploitation and redundancy, but to benefit the people and bring a shorter working week.

5. We call for a program of immediate action against the monopolies.

The great firms who are the "price leaders" in most industries must refer all *proposed* price increases to an enlarged Monopolies Commission.

All proposed raw material price increases must likewise be referred to the Monopolies Commission.

No merger of firms above a certain size should be permitted until justification is presented to the Monopolies Commission and its consent obtained.

6. We call on the Government to initiate new measures on foreign policy aiming at new independent British initiatives.

As first steps, to oppose out-right the MLF or any similar proposal for a joint nuclear force; to propose a non-aggression pact between NATO and the Warsaw Pact Powers; to propose extension of the Test-Ban Treaty to all tests; atom-free zones in Europe; systematic measures to end the colonial wars and reduce military expenditures.

We appeal for the greatest mass campaigning of the Labour and trade union movement for these aims. We need now more than ever a united, active trade union movement to defend and advance

conditions. The claims of the dockers, railwaymen, engineers and other sections should be supported.

We need the strongest possible tenants' movement to force the landlords to lower rents. We need still greater activity by the pensioners.

The Peace movement should now develop a great, renewed national campaign for its aims and in particular against the MLF. Here we should recall the resolutions of the Trade Union Congresses and the Labour movement generally on these issues.

We should have the greatest possible anti-colonial mass movements of solidarity and action on Rhodesia, South Africa, Malaysia and Aden, and against racial discrimination.

How far the Government goes will depend in the last analysis on the scope and size of the mass movement. This is the way to carry forward the political victory in the General Election to the lasting defeat of the Tories.

COMMUNIST POLL RESULTS

Our election results have got to be seen against the political background as a whole with the possibility of a Labour Government after 13 years of Tory rule. We knew we would have to fight for every vote.

The campaign was a considerable effort on our part; double the number of seats, compared with 1959, and coming on the heels of our biggest municipal election effort for many years.

Our candidates got 46,532 votes, or 3.3 per cent of the total poll in the constituencies we contested. This compares with the best general all-round effort of 4.7 per cent in the special circumstances of the Greater London election, in which we contested all seats and voters were able to give us one of their three or more votes.

Of 21 results comparable with 1959 or the by-elections, 13 were up, two static and six down. Of the remaining 14, nine were encouraging first efforts, three where the vote was not too bad, although better was expected. Two were very poor, although we didn't expect very much different.

Of those down, West Fife and Rhonda East have caused the most serious concern to the Party.

Our Scottish and Welsh members should go into the matter deeply. While excellent mass work is done by individuals in both places, the political work and organization of the Party for several years has not been what it should be.

We are not reaching out to the young people—our support tends to be among the older age groups.

In both places our main support has come from the miners and the mining industry has contracted.

It will be for the Party center to help both districts to deal with the position.

We obtained more national publicity on the air and in the Press than in 1959, largely due to our TV campaign, which we have made an important national democratic issue. We also got some national Press publicity for our policy statements.

Everybody interested in the election knew that we were in the field and fighting, even if they did not always know what we were fighting for. To some extent we were regarded as the fourth party.

Although this was an advance, it was not nearly enough to enable us to overcome the handicap of no TV time, the election being regarded by most workers as a contest between two parties or even two party leaders.

A BETTER CAMPAIGN

In nearly all our constituencies its was estimated that the campaign was better than ever before.

A major weakness was our failure to make a national impact. We had, as it were, 36 separate campaigns.

The problem here is bound up with our present size and stage of development. There is no easy way forward.

The extension of our municipal contest this year was an advance. So was the Greater London contest.

So was the extension of our contests from 18 to 36 in this General Election. Yet the fact remains that 36 contests was only a marginal participation in the election and stretched our resources. The wasted vote argument is very much bound up with this.

The only way to create a greater national impact is systematically to extend the number of our contests. This in turn depends on our growth in the factories and locally, the development of the mass work of our branches, the further extension of municipal contests, the extension of *Daily Worker* and literature sales.

This was the electoral policy decided on by the Twenty-Eighth National Congress of the Party.

The overwhelming majority of members active in the election campaign have reaffirmed this from the political experience of the campaign.

Some, however, because of our still generally low level of results, think we should cut down our contests and concentrate our forces.

In fact, this would be a retreat and would solve none of our political problems. The extent to which you can concentrate Party effort in a few constituencies during an election is limited.

THAT "GINGER GROUP" IDEA

It means that the vast majority of the Party simply wouldn't be in the electoral fight.

It would also mean that we, in fact, give up the aim of developing a mass Party despite all the problems involved and falling back on the ginger-group conception.

The only way forward lies in the systematic development of our electoral work as part and parcel of our mass campaigning, our mass work in the factories and the Labour movement generally.

But even with the 36 candidates we could have made a bigger national impact, if in our general policy we had selected certain key issues, spotlighted them and made the running on them, nationally and locally.

We still don't get to the people sufficiently in between elections and can't overcome this during a three-week election campaign.

A lot now depends on the political developments and, in view of the size of Labour's majority, the possibility of an early General Election.

We must develop mass public campaigning on the issues. As the situation develops we should select the key points and concentrate on them.

We should, both at the center and in the districts, take a hard look at all forms of propaganda in order to develop every possible method that will carry our policy out far wider.

We ask the district committees to see the development of sales of the *Daily Worker* and pamphlets and our journals as the basis for our public work and Party growth.

PLAN FURTHER CONTESTS

If there is an early General Election we recommend the districts contest in the 35 constituencies and consider a further small number of places where we can get a good vote.

If the election comes later, each district should select an additional number of constituencies and work to build in them during the next two years the Party membership, organization, finance, more municipal contests and our votes.

There is need to prepare for the 1965 municipal elections in all boroughs and a number of urban districts outside Greater London.

We shall press ahead with our TV campaign and prepare a memorandum on electoral reform for submission to the Speakers' Conference.

The present political situation is one of great opportunity and progress. We are well aware of the dangers and problems.

The future depends on the activities and strength of the mass movement and the Communist Party has a key part to play in achieving what the Labour movement and people want and hope for after the General Election.

COLLECTIVE LEADERSHIP OF THE CPSU— A GUARANTEE OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM*

Gilberto Vieira

FIRST SECRETARY, CC, COMMUNIST PARTY OF COLOMBIA

The imperialist monopolies paying for the "sensational" inventions of their press continue to spread all kinds of cock-and-bull stories about why N. S. Khrushchov was relieved of his duties as Chairman of the Council of Ministers and First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The CPSU Central Committee has not published an explanatory document yet, but in conformity with the procedures adopted in the CPSU, ample information will appear in the press as soon as the process of informing all party organizations is completed.

The well-known *Pravda* editorial of October 17 contains some important statements shedding light on the reasons why Khrushchov was relieved of his duties. It is pointed out there that "the Leninist party is opposed to subjectivism . . . hare-brained projects, rash conclusions and hasty decisions and actions divorced from reality, boasting and empty talk, high-handed methods. . . ." Stress is laid on the basic thesis that collective leadership is the most important principle of the Party, which "firmly and consistently opposes the ideology and practice of the personality cult as alien to Marxism-Leninism. . . ."

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Although we know only some of the reasons for the release of N. S. Khrushchov from his duties, it can be said that the main criticisms levelled at him at the October 14 plenary meeting were connected with violations of the principle of collective leadership expressed in the adoption of one-man decisions. The discussion of this question at the plenary meeting is known to have culminated in Khrushchov admitting his errors and handing in his resignation, which was unanimously accepted.

It should be stressed that it was a *collective* discussion and that the decision was taken by the entire Central Committee. It is a fairly big organ whose members are the most responsible and competent cadres of the world's most experienced Communist

*Voz Proletaria, November 5, 1964

party. The problem of leadership was solved, and this was a convincing evidence of the solidity of the Soviet system which showed that even a person of Khrushchov's authority and prestige can be replaced in a normal procedure. This is indicative of the tremendous progress that has been made since the period of Stalin's personality cult and the great successes scored in implementing

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There are elements among both the Colombian "Left" and Right who consider that Nikita Khrushchov's resignation will signify radical changes in some respects of the policy of the state and the CPSU. In reality, even if any changes can be expected at all, they can only be aimed at improving some methods. Those who hope for a departure from, or a "modification" of, the principles promulgated in the program of the CPSU, are in for a disappointment.

In the future N. S. Khrushchov's merits and demerits can be explained in greater detail. Public opinion in the capitalist and developing countries firmly associated Khrushchov's name with the struggle for peace, against the mortal danger of thermonuclear war in our epoch. Some people expressed the apprehension or hope—depending on their position—that the Soviet Union would change its foreign policy in this respect.

But the fact is that the CPSU policy is based on Marxist-Leninist principles and does not depend on the whims of a particular leader. The idea of peaceful coexistence as a form of economic, scientific and cultural *competition* between socialism and capitalism, aimed at avoiding a devastating war between the two opposed systems, was put forward by Lenin and has been consistently implemented by the Soviet state ever since. The Program of the CPSU adopted by the 22nd Congress states: "Peaceful coexistence serves as a basis for the peaceful competition between socialism and capitalism on an international scale and constitutes a specific form of class struggle between them. . . . The policy of peaceful coexistence is in accord with the vital interests of all mankind, except the big monopoly magnates and the militarists."

As regards the differences between the leaders of the Communist Party of China and the vast majority of the Communist and Workers' parties, they present an intricate problem whose solution does not depend on the Communist Party of the Soviet Union alone. It can be resolved, not by noisy polemic, but by the force of facts, by contemporary historical development. It is possible and desirable that the changes in the CPSU leadership should help towards creating a new atmosphere in which, as Palmiro Togliatti wanted, it would be possible to conduct the "polemic . . . without going to verbal extremes and without sweeping accusations, that is, to deal

with concrete issues, in an objective and convincing manner, and always to show respect for the opponent."

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On the 47th anniversary of the glorious Soviet revolution, which ushered in a new era in mankind's history, we once again reaffirm our unshakable confidence in the CPSU, the great party of Lenin which gives us political lessons of inestimable value. This time as well it has shown us how strictly one should observe the principle of collective leadership, combating any manifestations of the personality cult.

The wisdom of the collective leadership, the experience, unity and self-criticism of the CPSU Central Committee are a guarantee that the Soviet Union will steadfastly continue the victorious construction of communism; that the cause of world peace will always have in the USSR its champion, a champion as staunch as it is mighty; that heroic Cuba will enjoy the Soviet Union's continued support in its struggle against the infamous blockade imposed by the U.S. imperialists; that the USSR will invariably be a source of inspiration to the peoples fighting for liberation from the imperialist yoke; that the ideological struggle for the unity of the world Communist movement will go on developing on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the independence of each Communist party.

FOR DEMOCRACY AND PEACE

DOCUMENTS* OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ECUADOR

For our Party members to be able better to comprehend the policy of the Party and to implement it more efficiently it is essential that they correctly assess the situation both inside and outside the country and make a Marxist-Leninist analysis of it. Hence the need to formulate some basic principles that will help appraise correctly the trend of internal and international events and prove the correctness of the Communist stand.

Fairly broad sections of the population, especially the vacillating petty-bourgeois elements and elements from other classes, who have been led astray by the lying propaganda of the enemies of the people, still cherish illusions regarding the possibility of an intermediate position between capitalism and socialism and tend to misinterpret our chief slogan of the *struggle for democracy and peace*, for peaceful coexistence and disarmament, as "conciliation" with imperialism at the expense of the national-liberation and revolutionary movement.

I

THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY

1. Is There an Intermediate Position Between Socialism and Capitalism?

Many representatives of the above-mentioned sections are acting in a revolutionary spirit; they are fighting for the interests of the people, against social injustice, against the misery and suffering of the masses. At the same time they are not against capitalism, for they consider that all these problems can be solved within the framework of capitalism. Clearly we Communists cannot demand that these people declare themselves to be "enemies of capitalism" as a condition for joint struggle for the solution of concrete problems of improving the conditions of the masses and ensuring the country's progress. That would be sheer sectarianism. It is precisely in order to avoid sectarianism, in order to promote unity of action and avoid fatal consequences for the democratic and revolutionary movement that may follow from incorrect appraisal that we Communists must have complete clarity on the question of whether this neutral or intermediate position is possible; is it possible in

*Slightly abridged.

the present internal and international situation, to fight for the interests of the people while keeping capitalist rule intact, disregarding, to some extent, the fundamental principles of scientific socialism, and without drawing upon the rich revolutionary experience of the peoples who have already won freedom and are building socialism and communism?

Such seemingly "independent" positions are undoubtedly harmful to the struggle of the masses, for they create a breach which the imperialist agents utilize for smuggling in anti-communism and for engineering splits. Such positions facilitate the advocacy of the idea that all problems can be solved without the participation either of the capitalist or the Communist. These theses merely add grist to the capitalist mill. In view of this it is of vital importance that we should explain this problem. We do not propose to make an exhaustive analysis of the matter; we shall merely try, on the basis of our country's revolutionary experience, to make some assessments which will help us answer the question correctly.

2. The Policy of the Peoples

Only two kinds of policy are possible in the world today.

One of them is the policy of the peoples, the policy of those who are fighting for a new life for the masses, for the elimination of antiquated institutions and impediments to the country's development and improvement of the well-being of the peoples. This struggle is directed against any stagnation, backwardness, oppression, exploitation and injustice from which the overwhelming majority of the population suffers.

This is a progressive policy. Consequently, all actions of the masses accord with it: the actions of workers, office employees, artisans, specialists, etc., for better living and working conditions, higher wages and incomes, and so on; of students and intellectuals for better conditions for study and artistic and scientific work, for decent remuneration; of peasants against feudal oppression and for a democratic agrarian reform; of the unemployed for their needs and above all for permanent and well-paid work; of women against discrimination, for political and social equality, for constant child care. In line with this policy is also the struggle for more far-reaching aims: against feudalism, oligarchies and imperialist monopolies, for peace, for national and social emancipation. All these actions, seemingly disconnected, intertwine, reinforce and complement each other, because they all are aimed against a common enemy—capitalism (identified, in our conditions, with a local oligarchy and foreign imperialism), which resists any change, any advance, any gain of the people.

Such is the objective state of affairs, and it does not depend on those who take part in actions and on whether or not they consider

they are fighting against capitalism. In addition, herein lies the basis for a broad unity of action between the Communist Party, the Revolutionary Socialist Party and other democratic political groups; unity which emerges from, and is determined by, class interests and by the demands put forward by the Confederation of Working People together with the Coastal Agricultural Workers' Federation and the Indian Federation and their organizations; unity which has also been developed, in one way or another, by other class and democratic associations.

Capitalism is a system of exploitation and oppression of the working people and the people in general by a handful of industrialists and monopolists who have captured the means of production, the wealth of the country and the machinery of state and exercise their economic, political and ideological rule, penetrating into all fields of human activity. In our country, already several months before the military coup of July 11, 1963, the exploiter classes, subservient to U.S. imperialism, had lost domination in the government, the National Congress, the judicature, the provincial and cantonal councils, etc., although they utilized the constitutional system they had created in order to seize the institutions of state and make them serve their class interests. In addition to state power, the big capitalists possess powerful economic levers. Supported by the imperialist monopolies, they have become a powerful oligarchy grouped around the banks, the chambers of commerce, agriculture and industry, and so on. In conformity with the "law," all these organizations participate in a large number of big joint-stock companies, such as the Institute of Social Insurance and Labor, the United Banks of Economic Development, the Central Bank, the Bank Administration, the Charity Council, Social Insurance, the Red Cross Society, the Supreme University Council, etc.

This oligarchy is closely connected with U.S. imperialism which, in turn, controls and directs the most important aspects of the life of the country through its inter-American cooperative services (health, education, agriculture, military aid, etc.) on the strength of the so-called Point IV (which enables them to interfere in all kinds of "technical" activity and split the movements of workers, students, peasants and artisans, as well as to establish control over university organizations); resorting to the assistance of the Peace Corps (which helps the imperialists infiltrate all fields of social life, sport in particular, to carry on espionage work and facilitate imperialist penetration), and finally, with the aid of the Alliance for Progress—the main channel through which all these activities are directed for the purpose of subordinating our country still more to the U.S. monopolies. This colonialist activity of U.S. imperialism is assisted by such supra-national institutions as the Organization of American States, the International monetary Fund, the Latin

American Free Trade Association, the Inter-American Bank of Development, and others. Their objective is to impose on us the neo-colonialist *diktat* of U.S. imperialism, which is incompatible with our sovereignty, free trade, the stability of our currency, and our national interests.

The local oligarchy and imperialism have concentrated in their hands vast economic, political, social and ideological power. Their investments enable them to control the press and other propaganda media (the radio, television, etc.) and supply them with the propaganda material without which these organs of "free speech and thought" could not exist. They have the services of the majority of bourgeois party leaders. By supporting various political parties and groups the plutocracy and imperialism can palm off forgeries as a free expression of the will of the people and hoodwink the masses with the spurious propaganda of "representative democracy." Sport, the cinema and the church—all are in the service of the dictatorship and the bourgeoisie, in the service of this machine which the exploiters have streamlined in order to suppress nearly the entire population and which has spread its tentacles throughout the country.

That is why actions for the demands of all sections of the population inevitably come into collision with capitalism and imperialism with their instruments and forms of exploitation and oppression. This means that in the final analysis all actions of the people are essential in the great battle against capitalist exploitation and imperialist oppression. However it is essential that all the contingents of the masses led by the working class and its vanguard, the Communist Party, should mobilize all their forces in the struggle for the vital demands, that these actions should merge into one big revolutionary stream. This will lead to still greater unity, better organization, and joint leadership. In this connection the Program of the Party advances the main strategic slogan of building up a National Liberation Front spearheaded against imperialist domination. This Front will constitute the basis for the subsequent development of the struggle against capitalism and the entire system of exploitation. This has been demonstrated by the revolutionary experience of the peoples who have freed themselves from the colonial yoke and imperialist dependence, such as the peoples of the Soviet Union, Cuba, China, Algeria and other Asian and African countries who are building socialism or embarking on the socialist road.

Thus our Program stresses that in the final analysis it is the task of the revolutionary movement, and of our Party in particular, to ensure that the various isolated actions, including actions by some bourgeois circles, as well as popular actions of a purely economic or even reformist character, should become part of the

common struggle for the aims of the anti-feudal, anti-imperialist, democratic revolution and for the subsequent transition to socialism.

This thesis is corroborated by the revolutionary experience of our country. The united actions of workers, peasants, office employees and others, supported and headed by the Confederation of Working People, the biggest united working people's organization, were marked, despite their limited objectives and participation, by great militancy and resulted in direct clashes with the entire apparatus of the bourgeois dictatorship—the police, the army, the chambers of commerce, agriculture and industry, the press, radio, television and other propaganda media, the executive power, the National Congress, the judiciary system, the Ministry of Labor, and various public bourgeois organizations. This showed to the people the anti-popular, reactionary class nature of the bourgeois state and contributed to the rapid rise of the revolutionary sentiment of the masses.

Such was the case with many working people's actions in Guayaquil and other regions of the country. The same can be said about the peasants working at the big estates of local landlords and foreign monopolies in many coastal and mountain provinces. Many of these actions developed into real class battles.

On the other hand, in addition to being directed against one and the same enemy, all these actions have another common feature: in order to be effective more democracy is needed, although at the same time they contain elements of a potential broadening of democracy. This is not to say that they can take place only in conditions of democracy. But they should never be isolated from the struggle for democracy, which is primary for all sections fighting for their specific demands, irrespective of their views on democracy. The very fact of taking joint actions and presenting demands promises democratic freedoms, such as the freedom of organization, assembly and presentation of demands, the freedom of thought, etc.

The essence of the demands that are being advanced, the actions undertaken by the masses, and the means they employ to secure victory signify an extension of democracy. This is taking place daily in the course of actions by workers, peasants and other working people. If all democratic freedoms, even the most limited ones, are not utilized whenever possible, and if they are not defended with maximum determination, energy, ardor and persistence, which alone can foil the maneuvers of the reactionaries, exploiters and their organs of repression, democracy is weakened and the way is paved for the establishment of the most undemocratic, cynical and ruthless regimes. That was precisely what finally happened in our country, where an ultra-reactionary military dictatorship was established.

In recent years the fighters for democracy in our country did not

act with sufficient energy. The government of Velesco, Plaza, Ponce and others increasingly restricted the democratic freedoms of the people, cynically trampled upon them and persecuted progressives and democrats, who failed to organize a vigorous large-scale rebuff. The press and other propaganda media were free to misrepresent everything pertaining to the revolutionary and popular movements and their leaders, whereas only insignificant popular and trade-union press facilities were at our disposal. That prevented us from duly exposing their efforts to deceive the people. That was why the results of the actions of workers and other strata were modest, and even big successes, such as those scored in 1936, 1944 and 1961, were short-lived. Unquestionably, all democratic gains were won in hard struggle, including a popular uprising. But it should be admitted that we did not display constant militant vigilance and failed to act promptly and resolutely against any, even the slightest, infringements of democracy.

That was why the reactionaries and imperialists were able to utilize a whole arsenal of means and subterfuges to attack and reduce to nil the democratic gains of the people, the workers in the first place. When the masses joined in the active struggle demanding satisfaction of their demands and respect for their rights (recognized by bourgeois legislation), the employers, landlords and other reactionaries resorted to all kinds of anti-democratic and unscrupulous measures designed to deceive and confuse the masses. They suborned judges to institute proceedings and declare the demands of the masses to be unjust, bribed officials from labor bodies* and police chiefs and launched a slanderous anti-communist campaign in the yellow press. Confronted with the growing unity and solidarity of the working people and the masses generally and with the mobilization of their forces threatening to put an end to the injustices, the employers and other reactionaries began to flout their own bourgeois laws and hired assassins and other criminals in an attempt to break the militant spirit of the movement. Having failed to suppress the struggle of the masses for their demands with the help of these means, the reactionaries used the army, the police and the navy. When even these extreme measures proved insufficient to check the rise of the popular forces, the reactionaries unleashed terror in order to lay the blame on the working people and the democratic forces, to slander the fighting patriots. They launched a vicious anti-communist campaign and ruthless repressions. Realizing that the actions of the masses and their revolutionary spirit threatened to topple the already shady edifice, of so-called bourgeois democracy, and wishing to save it and "gain time," they openly steered a course towards a reactionary military dictatorship. There is no doubt that continued actions by the masses,

*Organizations dealing with problems of labor.—Ed.

who have gained new experience, will demolish this prop in the shape of the military dictatorship, which, incidentally, is beginning to disintegrate rapidly itself.

The bourgeois-democratic regime, being a limited democratic system, does not promote the interests of the majority of the population. While serving a minority class and carrying out its policy of exploitation and oppression, it is confronted with attempts of the masses to use at least the curtailed democratic freedoms proclaimed by bourgeois constitutions. But unless the masses fight for the consolidation and extension of the limited democratic forms existing under capitalism and unless their democratic gains are guaranteed, it will be impossible to pave the way to achieving higher forms of democracy, the democracy of the most developed type which is established under socialism and blossoms out fully under communism.

Highly valuable in this respect are the lessons of the struggle of the North American Negroes, who do not limit themselves to demanding a legislation conforming to human rights and aimed at ending racial discrimination, but fight selflessly for the realization of their rights already provided for in the law recently adopted in the United States.

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In their day-to-day activity the Communists cannot disregard the democratic essence of the struggle of the people for their legitimate rights and the fact that this struggle is being waged against a common enemy. What does this mean for the people of Ecuador and for the Ecuador Communists? This means, on the one hand, that in the present conditions the struggle against the military dictatorship which oppresses the people is a prime task, and, on the other, that all actions of the most diverse strata for the most diverse aims help to undermine the dictatorship. We also want to say that the struggle against the military dictatorship should of necessity be combined with popular actions for vital political, economic, democratic and other demands, for the aims of the national-liberation revolution, i.e., for the program of the entire people.

The slogan of the struggle for democracy thus presupposes the utmost development of all mass actions for any demand of the people, for radical changes and in defense of democratic gains. At the same time it calls for the struggle against the dictatorship, against all reactionary maneuvers and deals aimed at deceiving the people, who want an end to the dictatorship and a genuinely democratic regime, and inducing them to accept "constitutional solutions" whose civilian garb conceals unending repressions and attacks on the rights of the people, rejection of democracy, and the whole reactionary and, traitorous policy of the military dictatorship. We are not opposed to a return to the constitutional order, but we

want the regime which will replace the dictatorship and the new constitution to express the will of the people and fully conform to the interests of the people; we want the government which will emerge on the ruins of this sinister dictatorship to be a popular and democratic one and represent the forces fighting against the dictatorship and for the program of the people. This naturally demands great effort to achieve unity of action and build up a national-liberation front.

This concept of the struggle for democracy corresponds to the essence of the policy of the people stated above and to the policy which the Communist Party pursued prior to the establishment of the dictatorship.

3. The Policy of the Ruling Classes

There is a different policy, the very reverse of the policy of the people. It is the policy of the ruling classes: capitalists, imperialists and feudal latifundists, the policy of those who want to preserve their class privileges and retain their hold on the machinery of state and all its levers, to continue to oppress and plunder the people and rake in ever bigger profits. This policy, consequently, is directed against all actions of the masses for their demands and interests. The policy of the ruling classes is reactionary, for, in addition to the aforesaid, it gives rise to plots and maneuvers to restore the old methods of exploitation and oppression destroyed as a result of the stubborn struggle of the people. In order to protect their interests, which are diametrically opposed to the interests of the people, the local oligarchies and the foreign imperialist monopolies not only resist the struggle of the people, but also undertake steps to prevent them from utilizing all means of struggle by curtailing and even abolishing altogether the democratic freedoms won by them. They employ a wide diversity of means, such as the church, racism, anti-communism, etc., to split the mass movements. The oligarchies and the imperialist monopolies and those who support their reactionary policy are the worst enemies of democracy and of the unity of the people today. Confronted with the victorious development of the popular struggle, the imperialists do not hesitate to implant fascist concepts and methods. This is taking place in the United States and other imperialist countries, where fascist organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan, the John Birch Society, the American Legion and their like are stepping up their reactionary activities and committing crimes in the hope of coming to power with the help of the fascist candidate of the Republican Party.

Such is the policy which is being pursued in our country today and against which the people of Ecuador are fighting.

4. Conclusions

It thus turns out that actually there is no middle-of-the-way position on this issue. There can be no policy intermediate between the ruling classes' policy of fascist reaction and the democratic and progressive policy of the people; between capitalism and socialism. This must be made absolutely clear to the masses. But such a view should not be allowed to become an obstacle to united action with other forces which do not yet have a correct understanding of the problem.

An analysis of the content of the two kinds of policy solely possible today explains why the struggle for democracy is, along with the struggle for peace, the central slogan of political life in all countries. Whereas the capitalists seek to destroy democracy and sow discord among the masses, the peoples are fighting for democracy, for its extension, and for the unity of all democratic, revolutionary and patriotic movements.

The struggle for democracy reflects the aspiration of the working people, students, patriots and progressives, the aspirations of the entire people. It constitutes the essence of all their actions for immediate demands and for structural changes in society, that is, for the full implementation of the program of the people.

II

THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE

5. Two Positions in World Politics

The two kinds of policy we have spoken about above, i.e., the two different attitudes to progress and to the well-being of the masses, clash in a severe battle in the international arena, too. The progressive and revolutionary forces headed by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are waging a constant struggle, in all fields, in all forms and employing all means, against the forces of capitalism headed and directed by U.S. imperialism. In view of the main content of our time, and the fact that the peoples are inflicting defeat after defeat upon imperialism and the local reactionary forces, no doubt is left as to who will win: the peoples or their oppressors.

Whereas socialism is growing and developing, imperialism is losing its positions and its influence in the world is weakening. The policy pursued by the ruling classes in the international arena reflects the aggressive, bellicose aspirations of the imperialist monopolies. The policy of the peoples accords with the peaceful aspirations of all mankind. There is no intermediate position in this field, either.

6. The Cold War, the Arms Race, Bases and Aggressive Blocs

Aware of the ground slipping away from under their feet, the imperialists are trying to postpone their doom. They see the only way out in implanting fascism in both the metropolitan and the dependent and colonial countries, and also in a world thermonuclear war. They pursue a cold war policy, engage in brinkmanship, carry on a frenzied arms drive, militarize their economies, set up military blocs, and criminally encroach on the sovereignty and independence of other countries: Cuba, South Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, North Vietnam, Cyprus, the Congo (Leopoldville) and others.

The atmosphere of cold war enables the reactionaries the world over to strike blows at their peoples with a view to continuing their plunder, perpetuating class oppression and crushing the national-liberation movement. An example of this was provided by the establishment, on July 11, 1963, of a reactionary dictatorship in our country by U.S. imperialism in collusion with the local reactionaries. Imperialism is setting up fascist-like dictatorships in other Latin-American countries as well. It is waging a dirty war against the people of South Vietnam. Not long ago it launched a war against the people of Patrice Lumumba. Threats are constantly addressed to Chile, Argentina, Uruguay and other countries.

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Capitalists, imperialists and all ruling classes are uniting to defend their interests on a world scale and pursue a common foreign policy designed to facilitate their rule over other peoples and class oppression in their own countries. This policy is conditioned primarily by the interests of the warlike, aggressive monopolies.

For our countries, dependent on U.S. imperialism, the foreign policy of the oppressors means militarization of the economy, involving colossal allocations for the purchase of obsolete material and the maintenance of the army command, of its venal, parasitic and traitorous "elite" and used by the imperialists as a weapon against the people. Unsettled border conflicts are used to intensify the arms race in our countries, which enables the imperialist monopolies, selling obsolete weapons to us at exorbitant prices, to obtain big profits. Sabre-rattling is used to intimidate our own people rather than the military castes and aggressive ruling classes in the neighboring countries. Therefore our Party, conscious of our people's profound love for peace, was the first to advance the demand for a revision of the Rio de Janeiro protocol, forced on us by U.S. imperialism, under which we lost almost half of our territory. Together with the people the Communist Party of Ecuador hails the initiative of the Soviet government in proposing an international agreement to rule out war as a means of settling border and territorial disputes.

The attitude of the different states to international problems is

bound up with the nature of the policy conducted at home. We in Ecuador know from our own experience the consequences of the cold war policy, preparation for a world thermonuclear conflict, and the arms race. We have had to suffer from traitorous and anti-democratic regimes, including the dictatorship which has now been imposed on us and which is reactionary to the extreme and subservient to U.S. imperialism.

The main features of the policy are:

—enormous military budgets, militarization of the economy, and development of militarism in all its aspects;

—astronomical growth of taxes and rising cost of living due to the colossal arms expenditures;

—growing impoverishment of the people, disregard for their needs, for the organization of public works and all kinds of social welfare schemes;

—backwardness and deformation of the national economy, which is geared exclusively to supplying the basic raw materials to the imperialist monopolies;

—increasing dependence of the various sections of the bourgeoise on imperialism;

—extensive support to the landlords in intensifying their exploitation and plunder of the peasants;

—government support to the big bourgeoisie, latifundists and imperialism in peddling anti-communism, launching all kinds of reactionary campaigns and splitting working-class and democratic organizations;

—ruthless suppression of working people's actions and their organizations to enable the ruling classes and imperialism further to intensify the exploitation of the working class and the people generally;

—abolition of democratic gains and guarantees and consolidation of the reactionaries' rule;

—growing interference of the imperialist agents in all fields of state and public activity, increasing dependence of the country on imperialism, more and more blatant suppression of national sovereignty, etc.

7. The Struggle for Peace, Peaceful Coexistence and Disarmament

Thus, the cold war serves the capitalists and imperialists as a means of preserving their class privileges and the "right" to oppress other peoples. Contrarily, the struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence, against the incendiary of the imperialist monopolies is the highest form of the struggle for the rights and interests of the peoples, including also the demands of the working class and all other working people. It is a struggle to weaken and defeat imperialism, which is out to preserve the most repugnant forms of exploitation and oppression of the peoples. Hence the struggle for

peace and peaceful coexistence is not at all a "complot" of the revolutionaries with the capitalists. Essentially, it is a special form of the class struggle waged by the working people in their countries to fulfill the historical mission of transforming capitalist society into socialist society. It is indispensable for the broadest possible development of the liberation struggle of the peoples against imperialist oppression and capitalist exploitation.

It is indisputable that in the years of peaceful coexistence new countries have broken away from the capitalist system; the national-liberation movement has been on the upgrade; the class struggle in the developed capitalist countries has grown in intensity; more than 50 independent states have emerged in Asia and Africa, and the banner of socialism has been raised in all the continents, including America, where Cuba has dealt a staggering blow at U.S. imperialism. The policy of peaceful coexistence has demonstrated its tremendous revolutionizing force.

On the other hand, this policy accords with the humane aspirations of Communists and to the will of the peoples, who for centuries have striven to rid mankind of the scourge of war. To deliver mankind from the threat of thermonuclear war, which can destroy most of the earth's population and its riches, is the main task today.

That is why the progressives, democrats and revolutionaries maintain that the struggle for peace is, along with the struggle for democracy, one of the paramount tasks of all the peoples.

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The splitters seek to belittle the importance of the struggle for peace and even to discredit it, calling it a "fraud." They are trying to convince the peoples that peace is merely a notion, a "category" that has been given currency in the sphere of international relations and foreign policy. They distort the content and significance of the struggle for peace. They fail to realize this struggle creates a situation in which the imperialist powers are compelled to coexist and in which they are powerless to unleash a thermonuclear war, although they periodically engineer, for this purpose, provocations and even wage local wars. They overlook the fact that if a world missile-nuclear war has not broken out up till now, this is thanks to the colossal might of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, to the struggle of the peace-loving peoples, who comprise the overwhelming majority of mankind.

This distortion of the essence of the struggle for peace is not accidental. It is a consequence of very serious causes. In some cases, it stems logically from the crazy "theories" that war and the destruction it brings is, as it were, a "bridge" for mankind to go over to a higher stage of development. In others, these views are spread by "ultra-revolutionaries" who have deserted to the enemy and degenerated into shameless agents of imperialism, merely posing as

anti-imperialists. The struggle for peace, man's age-old dream, is at the same time, as everybody knows, an active, often bitter and even armed, struggle against the imperialists and their schemes. It is a constant clash with, and constant exposure of, the oppressive and warlike policy of the imperialists. The splitters and "ultra-revolutionaries," however, no longer regard imperialism as an enemy but as an ally.

Nor is it fortuitous that the imperialists and "ultra-revolutionary" renegades conceal the political character of the struggle for peace both in the national and international arena. This is nothing but a vain attempt to deprive the struggle for peace of its inexhaustible vitality, to minimize its tremendous significance in international politics. The attitude of states to the cold war and to the preparations for thermonuclear war is determined by the following factors:

a) their line in world politics: attitude to the arms race, military bases, military pacts and blocs, economic blockade; their position in international organizations, etc.;

b) their international positions as a whole; expansion or contraction of trade with other countries; acceptance or rejection of lists of goods restricting foreign trade; extension or curtailment of scientific, cultural and diplomatic contacts with definite countries; participation or non-participation in subversive activities against the socialist countries, and so on;

c) their concrete obligations in the international arena: attitude to the factors and consequences of the cold war, the arms race, etc.

We have seen already how the domestic policy of our country is affected by its international policy pursued under the influence of the cold war, the arms race, etc. It is impossible to separate internal policy from foreign policy; a country can have no "democratic" internal policy if in its foreign policy it follows in the wake of the warmongers and advocates of international tension.

Not to appreciate the rich content of the struggle for peace means, in our opinion, escaping from reality, refusing to see the developments taking place around us, failing to realize the tremendous importance of the big and small battles which can, in the course of the struggle for peace, be waged victoriously against imperialism and the local oligarchies, undermining their power, influence and rule. It means shutting one's eyes to the need for the peoples to develop resolutely the struggle for peace, which is component of the struggle for their emancipation, in order to compel the governments to pursue a national policy and respect democratic freedoms.

THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE IS THE MOST REVOLUTIONARY AND AT THE SAME TIME THE MOST HUMANE STRUGGLE

8. Peaceful Coexistence Policy Has Nothing in Common with "Pacifism"

Peaceful coexistence should not be understood either as "pacifism" or as refusal to react properly to the violence used by imperialism in the world and in every country where the struggle for national liberation is mounting and where it supports the local reactionary forces. Peaceful coexistence should be understood as it is understood by the Soviet comrades and the leaders of other Communist parties and not by those who pervert its essence so as to be able to attack Marxist-Leninists. The essence of peaceful coexistence as explained by *Kommunist,* theoretical journal of the CPSU, is this:

— the struggle between the two systems is transferred into the sphere of economic development and raising the well-being of the people. In the course of peaceful economic competition the economic and defense potential of the socialist states grows steadily and the socialist world system is becoming an ever more powerful factor for preventing war between states;

— the advantages of socialism becomes ever more obvious, with the resulting increase of its influence on the growth of the revolutionary forces the world over;

— the masses are acting ever more vigorously for peace, to prevent thermonuclear catastrophe, consolidate the anti-imperialist forces and isolate the monopoly bourgeoise;

— disarmament is imposed on imperialism and its attempts to export counter-revolution are frustrated, which creates increasingly favorable conditions for the national-liberation and class struggle and brings nearer its victorious completion all over the world;

— the countries that have freed themselves from the colonial yoke are rendered ever greater political and economic assistance facilitating their national revival and transition to the non-capitalist path of development, which accords with the interests of their peoples.

Such is the clear-cut position of the world Communist movement headed by the CPSU. Such is the position of the Communist Party of Ecuador.

Thus, the policy of peaceful coexistence presupposes: active and courageous struggle against imperialism in the economic field, in politics and ideology alike; resolute defense by the socialist countries and all peace-loving forces of the revolutionary peoples against attacks by the imperialists and their flunkeys; reliable assistance to the peoples in the struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism; growth of the might of the socialist countries, including their

military might designed to prevent world thermonuclear war and imperialist aggression against other peoples.

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Thus, there is no intermediate position between capitalism (imperialism) and socialism in the sphere of international relations. If the newly-free Asian and African countries declare that they hold a neutral position (active neutrality), they regard it as "independent" with respect to military blocs; they regard it from the standpoint of their attitude of resistance to imperialism. Hence, they are neutral only as far as military blocs are concerned. The struggle of these countries for peace and peaceful coexistence is a means of defending their national independence and national economic development and, consequently, is marked by a clearly-expressed anti-imperialist trend and ever closer relations with the socialist world. From the socialist countries alone can they expect reliable economic assistance and powerful political and military support for the successful realization of their objectives.

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Developments in each of our countries and in the whole world show ever more clearly that whereas imperialism and the capitalist oligarchies, seeking to enslave other peoples, to preserve their colonial rule or introduce neo-colonialism, are taking recourse to fascist reaction and to cold war (with systematic attempts to turn it into a shooting war), the peoples, on the contrary, are fighting for democracy and peace in order to destroy the power of the capitalist monopolies, free themselves from imperialist rule, safeguard their newly-won independence, and march firmly along the road of progress and prosperity.

Executive of the Central Committee,
Communist Party of Ecuador

August 1964.

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FOR THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF THE DEMOCRATIC FORCES

REPORT* OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY OF BELGIUM, PRESENTED TO THE 15th PARTY CONGRESS BY ERNEST BURNELLE, NATIONAL SECRETARY, CPB

I

At the previous Congress of our Party, held in Antwerp 18 months ago, we adopted a program for peace, social progress and democracy. We decided on expanding our work in order to enable the masses to exert continuous pressure with the aim of ending a policy running counter to the interests of the nation.

Since our 18th Congress, the Belgian reactionaries have been able to keep the country's foreign policy in the wake of NATO against the will of the people, who have repeatedly and clearly declared for measures to ease tension.

In these tragic days, when the Belgian government has recorded one of the most disgraceful chapters of its history, I wish to list, without going into detail, the manifold aspects of its foreign policy, against which the peace forces are now fighting, namely:

—the occupation of the Arendock base by Bundeswehr troops;

—The commissioning of the Baronville base;

—the Belgian delegation's invariable cooperation with the U.S. imperialists at the UN General Assembly;

—a negative stand on all propositions for a détente;

—the steady uptrend of our military spending;

—the new plan for military appropriations to the tune of 26,000 million Belgian francs, to be spent over several years; .

—support for the atomic arms race policy, countered by a powerful anti-atomic campaign which was launched by young people as usual and which this year was a tremendous success.

There were also showdowns between the ruling circles and the latter's demands. The working people's reaction to the plan of the manufacturers, who want ordinary men and women to bear the burden of growing inflation, was victorious struggles in the country's major economic fields, particularly the iron and steel mills, harbors, and government offices. In Flanders, the struggle was on the rise. It was also necessary to oppose the maneuvers of the reactionaries, who inspired and used the doctors "strike" to

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*Abridged from **Le Drapeau Rouge**, Nov. 30, 1964.

undermine maintenance in case of illness or disability, one of the foundations of social security.

The most noteworthy event of the end of last year was undoubtedly the increased antagonism over the issues of democracy between Wallonia's working people and the government, which is backed by the leaders of the bourgeois parties and the Socialist Party. The conflict arose over the settlement of Flemish-Walloon relations and the constitutional problems stemming from them, when 650,000 Walloon democrats declared for including the principle of national referendums on the people's initiative in the Constitution. The results of the Walloon petition campaign showed that the democrats of our country had scored a considerable success, all the more since the bourgeois parties and the Socialist Party leadership had fiercely opposed petitioning. Everyone will remember that the Bureau of the Socialist Party of Belgium called on the membership not to sign the petition text proposed by the Executive Committee of Wallonia.

As a result, our country found itself, on the eve of the communal elections, in an atmosphere of growing resentment over the government's policy of applying the Col Unique and the anti-strike laws, of continuously increasing military expenditure and the gendarmerie budget, and putting up taxes and prices.

At the same time the antagonisms between the Right and Left inside the government parties, particularly in the case of trade union leaders, kept on growing, verging on a split.

When the CC, CPB met to specify the main lines of the Party's election campaign, it was convinced that the October elections would confirm the unpopularity of the government policy. It felt that a new situation would be created in Belgium immediately after the elections, and that the outstanding problems would become still more pressing in view of the coming general election, to be held next spring at the latest. The Central Committee decided, therefore, that it would be useful in this new situation to convene a party congress, hold an exchange of views in all Party organizations, and in this way determine the main direction of the struggle which we will have to wage in common with the Belgian working-class movement as a whole. We felt that we needed a congress in order to decide on our election tactics, to enable the masses during the general election to condemn the government's policies effectively and in no uncertain terms, and reveal the new prospects of the struggle for peace, social progress and democracy. Coupled with further blows at the government coalition, this would go some way toward creating conditions for the early formation of an anti-monopoly government.

The communal elections of October 11 were a generally recognized success for our Party and a major reverse for the parties of the government coalition. The elections condemned the policy be-

ing pursued. Moreover, they condemned the government coalition and the practice of class collaboration underlying it.

The event occasioned spectacular conflicts between the Right and the Left in the two majority parties. In Liège, the Christian Democrats set a list of their own against the Catholic Conservative list. The Socialists and Christian Democrats put up joint lists with the Communists. These lists were rather few, but still they showed, often with the voters' support, the new opportunities for unity there are in our country. These joint lists definitely heralded decisive realignments that would prove fatal to the reactionary forces. Besides, it should be stressed that the masses readily approved our proposals for unity of action, their approval often assuming a massive character.

It is necessary to point out and fully appreciate yet another fact, namely, the thoroughly democratic atmosphere prevailing in the country today. This atmosphere was there during the election campaign and it left little room for ultra-reactionary propaganda. Of course, ultra-reactionary trends exist in Belgium and it would be wrong to underrate them. The Party of Freedom and Progress is trying, now that it has been "reconverted" from the former Liberal Party, to rally the country's most reactionary groups. It gave evidence of this during the doctors' "strike," by taking a demagogical stand and attacking social security in a Poujadist style. Nevertheless, this party was compelled during the election campaign to take account of the voters' democratic aspirations and sentiments. Its success was an expression of the voters' protest against the government's arbitrary actions and the impermissible discrepancy betwen public opinion and the activities of government and parliament. This may also be said to apply to the progress made by the Flemish Volksunie party. The reason for the success of the Volksunie was that the Flemish democrats wanted to protest in this way against the untenable position of the Social-Christian Party on constitutional matters and against its persistent cold-shouldering of federalism, which is gaining ground in Flanders.

The October 11 elections revealed an increasing political crisis. It is not a crisis of parliamentary institutions but of traditional methods of government, a crisis of the parties which identify themselves with these methods and strive to perpetuate them.

The changes which have occurred in the alignment of the political forces in Belgium are accompanied by changes in the political consciousness of the working class and the working people in general. The ideology of the masses is going through an important evolution.

After the liberation of the country, roughly until 1958, which was a turning point, the Social-Democratic leaders advocated — with some success, it is true—ideas borrowed from old reformist sources

through refurbished in keeping with the fashion of the day, according to recommendations of the theoreticians of neo-capitalism.

Reality disappointed their hopes, however. As far as the working class was concerned, the policy of class collaboration and proved ineffective and utopian. The class struggle kept on gaining in intensity. Faced with the resumption of the struggle by the workers, the Social-Democratic leaders had to give up the shibboleths of reformist propaganda, which had been their war horse till 1958. They were compelled to take the defensive, to fight rearguard battles in the ideological war. Some of them tried to remedy the situation by means of more or less Leftist phrasemongering.

Thus the ideology of the working class underwent radical changes. The workers were becoming more and more distrustful of the virtues of reformism. The bitter experience of their lives taught them not to credit myths about class collaboration. Naturally enough, the foundation of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism were shaken along with those of class collaboration.

The progress of the ideas of the class struggle within the working-class movement forced the Socialist Party leaders to give up their plans for liquidating the Communist Party.

Everyone admits today that the CPB has returned to the political scene and is playing a role, whereas reformism is at the lowest ebb and has no future in Belgium.

The class struggle is gathering strength on a world scale. In the case of the imperialist powers, this expresses itself in acts of provocation threatening to develop into a world conflagration. The threat of a new war is ever-present. The imperialists, and more particularly the U.S. imperialists, use every opportunity to keep up this threat. The assassination of President Kennedy and the wanton attack in the Gulf of Tonkin last summer showed the extremes to which the more aggressive sections of U.S. imperialism are capable of going in their attempts to set the planet on fire, with the governments of the NATO countries helping them more or less openly.

The imperialists are making desperate efforts to realize their plan for a multilateral nuclear force that would put the atomic weapon in the hands of Bonn, one of whose revenge-seeking Ministers, Seebohm, recently laid claim to Czechoslovak territory. Simultaneously they are plotting to proliferate nuclear arms and extending their interference in the internal affairs of the countries of the third world.

But the peace forces are combating imperialist plots with increasing vigor. The spectacular nature of these plots must not, however, prevent us from properly assessing the growth of the peace forces and the progress made in peaceful coexistence. The important thing is the decisive role of the socialist commonwealth, the international working-class movement and the national-liberation movement of the oppressed peoples, whose combined actions are effecting a re-

volutionary transformation of the world. It is to these forces that we owe the Moscow partial test ban treaty and the agreement restricting the manufacture of fissile materials for military purposes. Due to their growing influence, many countries which yesterday were still dependent are shaking off colonial tyranny to embark on political and economic reforms bearing the imprint of a socialist orientation.

World opinion was gratified by Goldwater's crushing defeat. In American conditions, this defeat indicated a swing to the left, which is in evidence in many countries of the world. The same is true of the fall of the British Conservative government.

The signs of crisis which keep on cropping up in NATO and the Common Market likewise indicate the people's refusal to accept the cold war and bloc antagonisms.

World developments are being influenced more and more by the socialist system. The tremendous growth of the productive forces, the continuous improvement of the working people's material and cultural standards, and the decisive role played by the socialist system in averting a third world war and outlawing all wars are heightening its prestige, which contributes to the people's struggle for peaceful coexistence, independence, progress and socialism.

The Soviet Union has become a great force, a fundamental factor in the development of the world. The masses think highly of the efforts of the Soviet Union, of its Communist Party and its statesmen, toward lessening international tension, and of the Soviet Union's calmness, courage and initiative in the face of imperialist provocations. Soviet achievements in the political and economic spheres, in science and culture, speak of the superiority of socialist society. They stimulate the world revolutionary movement.

The USSR is advancing along the path chartered by the 20th, 21st and 22nd congresses of the CPSU. It reaffirmed this several weeks ago by effecting changes in the Party and government leadership.

These measures were taken in order that the country might go on along this path, that the interests of the people might be served better, and that the changing international situation, which calls for even bolder initiative, might be properly met.

The balance of the world forces continues to change in this favorable sense. We in Belgium must contribute our share to this development.

II

This, then, is the political situation in which the Belgian working-class movement and our Party are developing in the highly important period preceding the general election.

The best way to prepare for the general election is to join in the

struggle on the basis of unity of action, make alliances, strengthen them and achieve successes that will clearly show the necessity of such alliances.

We propose that the Party take an active part in the communal work and plan its activities in such a way as to enable our newly-elected deputies to prove as early as possible that they keep their election promises.

The essential thing for us is to prepare for effective political work aimed at defending the interests of the working people in connection with the drafting of new communal budgets and the introduction of new taxes. It is important quickly to generalize the experience of our communal election campaign, the experience of work pivoted on consulting the population, trade union members and working-class organizations, and press forward our work in common with the people and with due regard to their opinions.

We will wage our struggle for peace as indicated in the draft resolution we are going to discuss. Specifically, we insist that the government refuse to join a multilateral nuclear force. We will oppose further increases in military spending. We will also fight to ensure that the Belgian delegates to the UN support the Indian proposal against the proliferation of atomic arms. We will call on public opinion, the working people, and peace organizations to empower the Belgian delegation to support the proposal for re-establishing the legitimate rights of People's China in the UN.

We will see to it that our young people join in vast numbers in the Anti-Atom March and in this way contribute their share to the success of the demonstration. As for May 8, which has become a tradition with our people and is celebrated by all the major mass organizations, we suggest linking it up with similar actions in other countries. We think May 8 can become an international day of resistance to the plans of aggression being made in Western Europe.

Lastly, we must strive to make the Belgian Peace League everywhere the mass organization it has already become in some industrial areas of the country, where numerous workers' organizations have recognized it as a peace organization representing the working class and the pacifists who are close to it.

We must take part, on the basis of unity of action, in the fight for the demands concerning wages and pensions, and the general demands of the workers of different trades.

Workers's organizations have already made progress in the struggle against the "incomes policy" which Spinoy, the Socialist Minister, tried to impose on them under the pretext of staving off inflation. Spinoy's attempt to curb the workers was supported by *Le Peuple,* the Socialist paper, which claimed, contrary to the facts, that the working people's purchasing capacity had gone up 13 per cent since the present government took over.

The only purpose of this crude mystification is to supply a propaganda "argument" to those who will try to extol the policy of class collaboration during the general election campaign. But the working people have taken care to show that they are no fools. Everywhere their demands are growing, becoming more and more insistent, in both the private and the state sector, in the case of both industrial workers and office employees, as well as pensioners and other people receiving social aid, and women and young people. Last but not least, we have the peasants, and professionals in the towns, putting forward their demands.

Again, we must bear in mind the problem of a revision of the Constitution. This problem is becoming more urgent as the general election approaches. We cannot regard it as merely an aspect of the important issue of relations between the two Belgian communities. It is most directly bound up with the more general problem of democracy. This is why the issue of a revision of the Constitution is likely to cause a serious conflict between all democrats, on the one hand, and the reactionaries inspired by the monopolies, on the other.

The demand for a federation as a democratic solution to the problem of relations between the two communities has become more emphatic in late years, particularly since the working class of Wallonia and some of its major organizations made this demand an object of their fight.

The Communist Party of Belgium, for its part, declared for a federation years ago. It defines federalization as a structural reform of the state, including its capital, monetary system, and a common home and foreign policy. By establishing the equality of the Flemish and Walloon communities, it would guarantee better agreement between the two peoples and, most important of all, easier control over the deputies by the electorate.

It is not surprising that the idea of settling the relations between the two communities by negotiation, on the basis of equal representation, has gained some ground and brought a favorable response from both Flanders and Wallonia. Nor is it surprising that the bourgeoisie, opposed to all extension of democracy, is incensed by the idea of a federation. It would like to perpetuate a situation which enables it to fool the working people and set one community against the other.

III

The petition campaign organized by the Executive Committee of Wallonia a year ago shows the road to a democratic solution of the country's mounting difficulties. The 650,000 persons who have put their names to the petition want the principle of national referendums on the people's initiative to be included in the Constitution.

The working people — Flemings and Walloons alike — are willing to subscribe to this principle. Locally, only the reactionaries are against it, because they have every reason to be afraid of consulting the people to fear that the masses may take a definite stand and proceed consistently to take part in political matters.

The struggle for such a revision of the Constitution will be a most important element of our election campaign, particularly in Wallonia.The Party organizations in Flanders would do well to continue their courageous explanatory work among the Flemish working people regarding the position of Wallonia's working people, the objects of their struggle and the reasons for which the reactionary and Right-Socialist front is so strongly opposed to the Wallonian People's Movement.

We must be exceedingly careful and prudent in choosing watchwords and ways of settling the national question, and in carrying on our propaganda and struggle. We must steer clear of nationalist and chauvinist distortions, which are a constant threat.

In the fight we have been carrying on for several years now, we have always been careful to keep ourselves apart from the petty bourgeoisie, which is apt to be carried away by high-sounding extremist slogans that are unrealistic and ineffective and therefore cause division. We have been doing our best to show the connection between demands of national significance and the fundamental, class interests of the labor movement. This does not imply going out of our way to lump together the workers' demands and demands concerning the nationalities. This is a practice not to be indulged in.

Our task is to emphasize the intimate political interconnection of the various aspects of the working people's struggle. The reactionaries do this whenever they are involved, for they are fighting against the federal system and national referendums on the people's initiative for political considerations of their own class. In this particular case, should the Constitution recognize the right of the working people and all democrats to be consulted and to have their opinion about a constituent assembly heard, there is no reason why the Flemish and Walloon working people should not some day exercise this right and insist on structural reforms imperilling the privileges of the banks, monopolies and trusts. This is the prime cause of the panic which spread among the bourgeoisie when it thought that national referendums on the people's initiative might become a reality in Belgium.

Such a referendum is an important democratic demand aimed at extending universal suffrage.

The winning of universal suffrage was a landmark in the political struggle of the working class, an important factor in molding the class consciousness of the Belgian labor movement. And to see the

limitations of universal suffrage, which stand out even more clearly at present does not mean disregarding its importance.

If we want to remain loyal to the great battles which made universal suffrage in Belgium possible, we have to grasp the real meaning of this democratic institution and extend it according to the needs of our time. This would make it possible to introduce referendums on the people's initiative. It would definitely enrich universal suffrage and lend it a more decisive revolutionary significance than people believe possible.

The present difficulties are not really due to the institutions of parliamentary democracy but to the lack of democracy in the "traditional" parties and in the political formulas they cling to. They stem from the fact that these parties and formulas have shown their inability to take the people's aspirations into account in face of the capitalist monopolies and of the orientation the monopolies impose on the state.

Referendums on the people's initiative would be a reliable basis for the democratic forces still grouped in these parties to hold their ground against the encroachments of the reactionaries, against the secret forces whose pressure on government and parliament adulterates democracy and tends to reduce universal suffrage to a useless rite. Every deputy elected by the working people should realize this. Referendums on the people's initiative would by no means diminish their role or responsibility, for the deputies themselves would join in consulting the people. They would campaign for or against certain decisions and would commit themselves still more in respect to the working people.

We may well expect the reactionaries to fight referendums on the people's initiative as grimly as they opposed universal suffrage in the past.

Every worker activist must take this into account and remember that referendums on the people's initiative are an effective political means of ending the anti-parliamentary demagogy which the reactionaries are trying to step up. Referendum would make for a renovation of parliamentary institutions whose future would depend on how well they expressed the people's interests.

Such is the program for immediate action which we are going to put forward and to uphold during the election campaign. This campaign must result in the establishment of a constituent assembly.

The forthcoming general election should help public opinion to condemn not only the policies of the Lefèvre-Spaak government but the very type of government it represents — a false labor government which is trying by means of sham Labor Party methods to disguise its practice of class collaboration and the fact that it is merely stumbling along a path travelled by its predecessors.

Since 1947 Belgium has seen every type of government possible within the bounds of bourgeois parliamentarism. The reactionaries find it very difficult to think of further variants. This should prompt us to redouble our efforts in order to foster the maturing of the idea of an anti-monopoly government based on an alliance of all democrats — Socialists, trade unionists, Communists and Christian Democrats elected to implement a program for peace, social progress and structural reforms.

There is every reason to believe that the Communists will succeed at the coming general election. However, we repeat here a warning we have given more than once, in particular when preparing for the communal elections. At that time we said that the greatest danger for Communist activists was parochialism, the tendency to rest on their laurels, to become complacently passive after scoring certain successes. Let us see to it that our successes and favorable situation we now have do not shut off from us the important tasks facing the labor movement, or the new opportunities which we will be able to use provided our Party becomes stronger and is more closely linked with the organized workers.

With the general election only a few months off, we would like to insist that our activists and membership as a whole look beyond the limits of the Party. We would like them to do more and better still than they did during the communal elections. We will take part in the election campaign to win seats in parliament. But we want it to become a factor for greater working-class unity, to prompt the working people to gain positions of authority, and to bring the labor movement nearer to the time when it will upset the political balance we have today.

To go to the polls without seeing anything but the Party's specific interests would mean losing sight of the Party's *raison d'etre* and basic duty. It would mean undermining the opportunities for the Party's development. We will therefore go to the polls with a view to playing our role of champions of unity and making a decisive contribution to the progress of the working class as a whole, with all its organizations.

The Socialist Party of Belgium, the trade unions and the Christian-Democratic organizations are in a state of great confusion. They are deeply concerned about the course of events, and realize that the Right-wing leadership decisions are unfounded. Everybody is seeking new solutions. The Socialist Party activists are aware that the policy of class collaboration pursued by the Right-wing leaders and the witchhunt inspired by this policy are very harmful to their party and the labor movement.

The Christian Democrats, who, needless to say, react in their own way to the changes occurring in the Church, are getting used to the idea that the association of capitalist and labor elements

within one party can only disillusion the workers. The possibility of a break with the Social-Christian Party is beginning to loom large.

That is why we must do our utmost to state our prospects, have them discussed, and in this way help active Socialists and Christians to beat off attacks from the right. It may well be that as the present crisis develops, many active Socialists and Christians will declare themselves more frankly in their respective organizations and will, for their part, try to shift their support to the ideas of unity, a government based on an anti-monopoly alliance, and a renovation, which everyone desires.

Of course, no one among us thinks an alliance will be made during the coming general election to form such a government. But the changes occurring among the Socialist rank and file, and the Socialists' drift to the left entitle us to regard a unity list—a list including Communists as well as Socialists, trade unionists and even some Christian Democrats—as a suitable objective.

Be that as it may, we know from experience about noted Left Socialists who have been fighting openly and courageously against the Right orientation imposed on their party while keeping to their Social-Democratic convictions. It would be well to form at least temporary electoral alliances between such people and us, on the pattern of the agreements concluded on the eve of the October communal elections.

This, comrades, is the perspective we are submitting to you for discussion. Should we agree on it, we will have to start immediately on extensive explanatory work, for we will need an intense propaganda campaign to popularize our proposals for unity at the biggest factories and in labor organizations. We will have to organize forums and, strengthened by the experience gained, to continue and improve consultations with the working people in the industrial areas of Wallonia and, as far as possible, of Flanders.

IV

The problems cropping up in the country are very complicated and manifest themselves in different contexts. It will be seen, however, that all conflicts are linked in the final analysis with the problem of democracy.

On the one hand, reaction is trying to back out of the impasse by resorting to undemocratic practices, including the imposition, against the will of the working people, of anti-strike legislation, the Servais Bill, and the authoritarian settlement of Walloon-Flemish problems. On the other hand, the working-class movement refuses to yield to these practices. It insists on being informed and consulted. It demands a parliament expressing the aspirations of the working class. It is fighting to occupy in state government a position corresponding to its role in modern production.

The more important the political objects of the class struggle and the greater the awareness of the contradictions that are growing and multiplying in Belgian society today as a result of the near-dictatorship of the capitalist monopolies, the more radical the trend of the class struggle. This is why we are confronted with a whole set of democratic demands that speak of the remarkable cohesion and maturity of the working class. The demand for structural anti-capitalist reforms, in particular, is one of the principal demands whose realization would enable the working class to take over the leading functions it is entitled to at this stage of social development.

The growing importance of the objectives of the working-class movement in the sphere of democracy is an indication that we have entered a new period, the period of social reform leading to greater democracy in the interests of the political activity of the masses, and calling for a revolutionary reorganization of the country to safeguard its external security, stabilize it at home, and improve its standard of living.

In defending democracy and fighting to extend it, the working people are fulfilling a fundamental task and paving the way for the effective solution of other problems facing the country.

The issue of democracy will tend to become more and more pressing. This will express itself not only in the struggle against the government and the capitalists but in the character of the relations that will take form between the various components of the Left bloc, which we want to come into being as we look forward to the formation of an anti-monopoly government. None of these components will agree to take orders from others. Since the fight for the victory of the Left bloc can neither make headway nor succeed through top-level contacts, a multitude of complicated matters will have to be settled prior to the formation of an anti-monopoly government and even afterwards. Its achievements will have to be safeguarded and extended, which can only be done with the cooperation of the masses.

We say to our future allies from the outset that we are going to join in the common effort that will establish itself in the elected bodies. We want these bodies to play a greater role. We want the electorate to have more in the way of guaranteed rights and want the people's liberties to be extended. We also want the role of the working-class parties in this advance to state power to be specified democratically and publicly. The same applies to the role of the trade unions, which will be tremendous as we see it. It is essential to have a clear idea of every problem of the democracy of today and tomorow. This is indispensable if the working-class movement is to be prepared for the period of a new upsurge of the movement and work out its future tasks properly.

Precisely because we attach so much importance to the issue of

democracy, we believe our Party should make a special effort to work it out more thoroughly from the standopint of theory. It is still obscured in our own ranks on account of dogmatic and sectarian concepts which hamper the struggle for democracy and fail to counter effectively the noisy propaganda on the issue of freedom being carried on by the enemies of the working people. We need exchanges of views, and serious study and research.

The advance of democracy taking place in Belgium is reflected first of all in our Party. Of course, our Party has always been a democratic party. We discuss everything freely—in the primary organizations as well as in the leading bodies, which are elected according to democratic standards and are in duty bound to render account at regular intervals. We convene our congresses as stipulated by the Rules. Inner-Party democracy has been developing according to the requirements of reality and the needs of our struggle.

At our previous congress we adopted new, clearer and more specific Rules guaranteeing the membership more extensive rights. In drafting the Rules, we were prompted by the desire to set an example for other parties and for every labor organization.

The Party members should have a better knowledge of the Rules and should scrupulously observe every clause to improve the Party's democratic functioning. They should make greater use of the Rules to take issue with opponents, for no other Belgian party has Rules comparable to ours, and none takes so much care to ensure that every one of its members voices his opinion at the congresses.

There is nothing secret about our Party, any more than about our congresses or deliberations. The reactionaries try to create an atmosphere of mystery around our Party, saying that we discuss things behind closed doors, hold secret pow-wows and settle accounts. They do that because they want to conceal at all costs the fact that our Party is a democratic party and that the things it discusses reflect the aspirations of Belgium's working people. They persistently make us out to be a clandestine set-up which sends its agents into working-class and democratic organizations for subversive purposes. This is a lie. We say again that our Party uses no clandestine methods and that its members openly attend and take part in the meetings and other activities of the democratic organizations and the trade unions they belong to.

Nevertheless, we will have to do a great deal more to get rid of shortcomings. Our discussions generally lack breadth and arouse little interest among the comrades. There is still a tendency to face backwards rather than look ahead so as to see new ideas and new vistas. Too many activists are still unaware that the Party must enlist more workers and democrats the better to express the people's aspirations, and that the admission of new members is, therefore, of special importance to us. How well we succeed in this will de-

pend on our ability to convince as many workers and democrats as possible that if they join our ranks they will be able to make an appreciable contribution to the struggle going on.

Let us trust the working people whom we want to join the Party. Let us receive them as comrades who will help us in our quests and reflections. The admission of new members will be massive in character and will prove beneficial provided we regard it as an act of faith in the political consciousness and activity of the masses.

The entire democratic life of our Party confirms the democratic potentialities of the working-class movement. The eleventh National Congress held 10 years ago, in 1954, was one of the outstanding events of our Party's history in this respect. At that congress our Party criticized sectarian orientation, determined its new political line and replaced some of its leaders. It succeeded in developing its democratic forms in keeping with the new line it was formulating. To be sure, the difficulties were not few, and we owe it to the team work of the Party sections and industrial oragnizations, the federations and the Central Committee that in a most unfavorable situation we were able to bring about a change all by ourselves. Our 11th Congress, in which we take legitimate pride, was not a "putsch," as some people still think. It was the result of tremendous research carried out on democratic principles. It met at a time when every Communist Party was seeking the new, and it is fair to stress that we were stimulated by the new ideas coming from the Soviet Union.

There is a good deal of talk at the moment about the autonomy of parties. Do I have to stress that the 11th Congress was a most vivid demonstration of our Party's autonomy? Our Party has always been autonomous, and has always shaped its policies quite independently. The point is that its autonomy in practical matters was limited as long as its political position did not go beyond statements of principle and propaganda, and as long as it tended to adhere to ready-made patterns and to quote from books instead of analyzing realities, to imitate others instead of formulating original views of its own. A dogmatic and sectarian party can be autonomous only in name. The degree of autonomy depends on team-work to promote the struggle of the working class of one's country, which calls for a great deal of research, flexibility and democracy. This is why the 11th Congress was an important stage in the development of our autonomy.

To begin with, the Congress made possible a fresh effort toward creating a party of action, and enabled us to go beyond the stage of explanation and exposure. It insisted that worker activists, whatever their mistakes, not be treated like reactionaries.

Precisely because our Party was able to draw this distinction, it succeeded in improving its work in factories and in starting work there for united action with active Socialists.

We have heard some preposterous theories about the 11th Congress. True, they were expressed by those who afterwards backed or joined Grippa. We have heard talk to the effect that the mistakes we wanted to rectify were due to certain Party leaders who were said to have introduced the policy of the enemy into our Party. This attack was spearheaded against the Secretary General, Comrade Edgar Lalmand, who had rendered the Party great services, especially during the war, at a time when almost the whole Central Committee was in prison.

Fortunately, the 11th Congress rejected that point of view. It drew a distinction between the Party and reaction and thus rallied all delegates. Fortunately, it looked for the causes of our mistakes primarily in the obstacles which the reactionaries had been raising by mean of various maneuvers. It pointed out that we had been unable to overcome those obstacles. For prior to the 11th Congress none of the leaders had ever suggested surrendering either to the imperialists, the atom bomb or the West German revenge-seekers.

The ten years that have passed since than have changed our Party. The successes we have achieved or expect to achieve are also due to the changes we have effectd in our own ranks and to changes in inner-Party life.

That is why the swing to the Left, which had been shaping for several years, did not take us by surprise. Indeed, it could not have done so because we had forecast it.

Reality makes it our duty to be always exacting toward ourselves. Nevertheless, we may say as we appraise the path travelled that our Party has renovated itself and is transformed qualitatively. The Party constantly takes part in political life. It has abandoned its old methods of a Party doing agitation and propaganda. It has joined in the struggle of the masses and plays a real part in it. It ponders the various problems in common with the labor organizations and submits its views to the working people. Its opinion is heeded and its proposals are put into effect. The Party shares in the cares and hopes of the working class, which recognizes it as inseparable from and indispensable to the Belgian Labor movement.

Our Party is asserting itself more and more as the party of the future. We have done away in our ranks with the naive belief that verbal excesses are a necessary manifestation of the revolutionary struggle. Reality has taught us that there is no revolutionary propaganda other than which helps the working people unite in order to succeed in their present struggles.

However, not everyone appreciated the 11th Congress. Some of the Party members proved unable to identify themselves with the new line laid down by the Congress or with the idea of promoting inner-Party democracy. Unable to impose their sectarian views, which were refuted by the achievements of the working-class movement and the Party, Grippa and his group were outrageously hypo-

critical. We turned them out, and are very glad we did. The atmosphere in the Brussels federation, which they had been contaminating for several years, became healthy. The federation had called a halt to the interminable debates at meetings which did not benefit the Party in any way and exhausted the comrades and during which the Party line was constantly called into question and Party leaders, fraternal parties, the socialist community and the Soviet Union slandered.

The reactionaries fully appreciated the profit they could derive from the activity of the Grippa group, which had become a group of anti-Communist falsifiers. Before the communal elections they used their "information" media — the press and radio — with the Social-Democratic newspapers cooperating to play up the importance of this group, which they pretended to regard as an organized Communist party. The enemies of the Party suggested that our Party had split, whereas all that had happened was that a handful of people had withdrawn from the Party. Today the reactionaries are compelled to come down a peg or two because the Grippa group's sad failure at the communal elections showed it up for what it is, namely, something of no consequence. Still, we must continue to be vigilant, for the group continues its clandestine activity. It is stepping up its efforts to recruit new accomplices and circulate its "documents."

Following the recent changes in the leadership of the CPSU and the Soviet government, the enemies of the Party, aided by the Grippa group, have been alleging that the USSR is willing to recant the decisions of the 20th and 22nd Congresses of the CPSU, and the Declaration and the Statement adopted by the world Communist meetings in 1957 and 1960, the more easily to normalize the relations between the Communist Party of China and the Communist world as a whole. They suggest that those changes indicate the Soviet Union's admission of the erroneous nature of its fundamental decisions, as if the 20th Congress had not been the affair of the CPSU as a whole, the result of team work in which all Soviet comrades had been taking part for months, and as if the 20th Congress had not opened a new path for the communist world, a path proved effective by subsequent important achievements.

Some comrades do not always know how to counter insidious enemy propaganda. Occasionally they imagine that keeping silent on disputed issues might contribute to the restoration of the unity of the world Communist movement and that it would be easier for our Party to fight if we withdrew into our own shell. Some comrades say it would be better not to take a stand on the international problems cropping up but to wait and see. These comrades — who are few in number —do not see that to wait means leaving the field open for the reactionaries, who will not wait and never do but

keep on attacking, putting about the most vicious slander stories about the Soviet Union, and making up all sorts of biased or false information to sow discord between the Communist parties and the Soviet Union. The reactionaries are well aware of the appeal of Soviet achievements to the international working-class movement. This is why we see them active in this respect, trying hard to cause distrust, misunderstanding, and withdrawal into the narrow shell of one's own problems. We will not yield to this pressure.

We want our Party to contribute its share to the unity of the world Communist movement, which is a task of the utmost importance. Our Party will do it by turning to the new and not falling back on sectarian and dogmatic positions, which was precisely what weakened that unity.

The internal difficulties which the world Communist movement is experiencing are in the nature of growing pains, with both the parties in power and those fighting under the capitalist system. We are faced with problems of exceptional complexity and importance, and we must seek to solve them precisely because they are so important. Nevertheless, it is now more difficult to arrive at a common point of view than before.

The world Communist movement is no longer what it was in its Comintern period. Twenty years have passed since the Comintern was dissolved, and our movement is perhaps lagging behind in its search for new methods and forms of cooperation, such as would enable it to strengthen its unity in accordance with the exigencies of the time. The present period makes it our duty to seek patiently for up-to-date means of achieving unity amid the vastly different situations we have in different countries. This is why our Central Committee on May 9 and 10 last took a stand in favor of a world conference. We intend to maintain this position of ours. And we want numerous patient exchanges of opinions and consultations, taking as much time as may be necessary, to really clear the ground for the conference.

The latest world Communist conference sat four years ago. Many an important event has occurred since then. The general line formulated by the 81 parties four years ago has been brilliantly confirmed. They demand that the Communists should begin as early as posible to compare notes so as to formulate, as a result of careful analysis, a general line of action in accordance with present-day realities. This will no doubt necessitate a very great effort, and the difficulties involved are easy to foresee. But we repeat that the Communist movement will make no progress if each party keeps to itself. We would also like the Communist parties of the Common Market countries to meet at regular intervals to exchange views and coordinate their research.

Our Party fully supports every effort aimed at strengthening the

bonds of solidarity between Communists and Workers' parties. Allow me, on behalf of the delegates to this Congress, to convey warm greetings to the fraternal parties which accepted our invitation and to those which sent us messages of greeting. We greatly appreciate, dear comrades, the honor you are doing us by attending this Congress. We attach vast importance to the opinions you are going to express here.

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I have confined myself to the important points, to the problems which must be discussed and carefully studied if our Party is to work fruitfully in the months ahead.

Our enemies will undoubtedly make a careful study of the records of this Congress. They will feign surprise at our no longer discussing this or that issue. Let that not worry us. Let us concentrade on extending unity of action and on tackling the fundamental problem of democracy.

PRESSING POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ISSUES*

Walter Ulbricht

FIRST SECRETARY, CENTRAL COMMITTEE,
SOCIALIST UNITY PARTY OF GERMANY

I. THE NATIONAL QUESTION AS IT STANDS TODAY

On the occasion of the 15th anniversary of our Republic, we not only summed up the achievements of our people, our Party, the National Front and government bodies, but also pointed out the prospects for the peaceful settlement of the national question.

Herr Erhard has announced that in 1965 the Bonn government will take the initiative in the German problem. On the other hand, he insists on the restoration of the 1937 borders and the go-ahead for the multilateral nuclear force . . .

The plan for West Germany's atomic armament through the MLF makes the Bonn government even more unpopular with the European peoples and the young national states. It is no accident that neither Bonn nor the Social-Democratic leadership have been able to suggest a realistic plan for German reunification. Herr Schröeder's talks of a standing Four-Power Foreign Ministers' Commission has nothing in common with the idea of reunification. By contrast, many proposals for a peaceful solution of the German problem have been put forward by the Soviet Union and the GDR, Reunification is a task for both German states which cannot be carried out without first normalizing the relations between them through negotiations on an equal basis. But Herr Schröeder wants to shelve the matter, hoping to weaken the Warsaw Treaty countries by embroiling them with one another.

U.S. Divide-and-Rule Policy

Similar strange ideas have been advanced by U.S. spokesmen. Recently the U.S. Ambassador to Bonn came out with what he calls the "magnetic field" theory. It says that the NATO powers possess a "measurable force" which "attracts" the People's Democracies, and that this force should be increased so as to break Peo-

*Concluding remarks at the Seventh Plenary Meeting of the CC SUPG. Abridged from **Neues Deutschland**, Dec. 6, 1964.

ple's Democracies away from the Soviet Union and win them over to NATO's side.

The U.S. Ambassador, who aired his theory in West Berlin in mid-November, believes that this development should make it increasingly difficult for the GDR to remain outside this "magnetic field," and should eventually bring the GDR into NATO's fold. Otherwise the GDR would find itself in isolation inside the "Eastern bloc," and then it would be difficult for the Soviet Union to bar mutual understanding between the Germans, and one fine day the Soviets would have to allow the GDR to turn to West Germany.

The ill fame of the divide-and-rule policy must have prompted the West to think of a new name for it, but it is doomed to failure in any guise.

Does Bonn really expect that its demand for the restoration of the 1937 borders, i.e., for the annulment of the results of the Second World War and for the dismemberment of Poland and Czechoslovakia, its decision to stop the prosecution of Nazi criminals, its arms race and its emergency laws will enhance the socialist countries' respect for and trust in the FRG? Does it imagine that the barbarous intervention against the Congolese people and the people of South Vietnam, and Bonn's neo-colonialist policy as a whole, wil not be taken by the African and Asian peoples as a manifestation of the aggressiveness of imperialism?

The Idea of the "Incalculable Risk"

War Minister von Hassel wants the European military command to be given the right to use nuclear weapons, while Herr Schmidt from Hamburg, a Social Democratic leader, suggests re-establishing the General Staff in the FRG.

This idea is opposed by other NATO countries, which refuse to join the West German revenge-seekers in their gamble. This means that the task facing the peace forces in West Germany and all peace-loving countries at the close of 1964 is to fight against the arms race and for a ban on nuclear weapons, and to expose before the peoples the secrets of imperialist war preparations. It is time to warn not only the CDU-CSU in West Germany, but also the advocates of atomic armament in the Social-Democratic Party against the criminal policy of a "forward strategy" and of the "incalculable risk," and to rally the peoples against it.

Unity in Conditions of Peace and Freedom

West Germany's ruling class has turned the Marxist slogan of Peace and Freedom into an imperialist slogan. Our Party, the National Front of Democratic Germany and the peace forces in West Germany take unity in conditions of peace and freedom as meaning the democratic reunification of Germany through agreement be-

tween the two German states, through liberation from militarism, revanchism and the dictatorship of the war industry monopolies.

But the CDU-CSU, the party of West German monopoly capital, sees unity in conditions of peace and freedom as the unity of Germany under the dictatorship of the West German monopolists and militarists, tension under the threat of MLF atom bombs, an atmosphere of insecurity bred by the cold war, and freedom for West German finance capital to extend its sphere of exploitation to the East. It is, in fact, the same strategy as German finance capital and the German militarists employed in Hitler's time. It is only the tactics that have changed.

This policy of so-called integration means a deeper split of Germany. It means rejection of a genuine settlement of the German national question. The United States is interested in closer cooperation with the West German Federal government, because this serves its own ambitions for expansion and aggravates West Germany's differences with France and Britain. Characteristically, however, not a single NATO country favors German unity. The United States fears democratic development in Germany, while other countries fear Germany as a competitor. Therefore, it is only the German Democratic Republic, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and the national states that are advocating German reunification, provided the war menace rooted in West Germany is removed and mutual understanding achieved as a result between the two German states.

The Dual Policy of the SDP Congress

Was the truth about national and social problems spoken at the SDP congress?

This truth, which reflects the situation that has taken shape since 1945, is that West Germany's participation in the multilateral nuclear force will prolong the split indefinitely.

We ask you, comrade Social-Democrats, why at your Karlsruhe congress you did not say openly that the majority of the West German population would like to draw a line under World War II and live in peace. Why did the SDP not tell the membership and the West German population the truth, namely, that the MLF and the demand for the restoration of the 1937 borders meant perpetuation of the German split? At a time when most of the Social-Democratic leaders also support the West Germany imperialists' claim to the title of spokesmen for the whole of Germany, this means fomenting the worst kind of nationalism and inciting Germans against each other. This is harmful to the German people, no matter whether the Social-Democratic leaders pursue this line for electioneering or for other purposes.

At the Karlsruhe congress the SDP leadership proposed a dual

policy stamped with nationalism and revanchist sentiment. On the one hand, it is allied with Erhard, War Minister von Hassel and Inspector-General Trettner, and supports the MLF and the claim to the 1937 borders. On the other hand, it wants scientific progress, a better educational system, greater democratic rights, etc. But these things just don't go together.

The Swedish Example

In connection with the SDP congress bourgeois political observers commented that SDP Chairman Willy Brandt, a candidate for the post of Federal Chancellor, wanted West Germany to follow the Swedish example . . . I consider that a program for development patterned on the Swedish model could be of some use to West Germany. But the decisions of the SDP congress point the other way.

What enabled the Swedish people and Social Democrats to secure important social gains? Above all the fact that Sweden kept out of the two world wars and, indeed, all the wars fought during the last century and a half.

Patterning one's policy on the Swedish example, and on West German participation in the NATO multilateral nuclear force and aiming at revenge are, in my opinion, mutually exclusive opposites.

However, the opportunities for closer relations and mutual understanding between the two German states that would be provided if West Germany followed the Swedish example are worth studying. I think there might be interesting developments meriting serious cansideration and discussion.

A Change Through Closer Relations

The late President Kennedy once spoke of a change through closer relations, i.e., of the gradual establishment of contacts and mutual understanding on particular issues. Herr Wehner unambiguously opposed this line at the SDP congress. But we ask: Can there be, in view of the existence of two German states with different social systems and of the revival of imperialism in West Germany, an alternative to a change through closer relations?

The agreement on passes proposed by us shows the possibilities there are. This agreement is based on the mutual recognition of the equality of political institutions, of the GDR government and the Senate of the special territory of West Berlin. The agreement on the motor road bridge in Hirschberg is based on the right of the respective authorities to represent the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic.

Closer relations through mutual understanding call for a progressive policy on the part of West Germany as well. This implies the workers' right to take part in economic, and more particularly in-

dustrial, management. It implies representation of the interests or the working peasants in government bodies, and recognition of the rights of their democratic organizations. It implies the right to education and the development of the educational system in step with scientific progress. It implies the equality of women, in particular the principle of equal pay for equal work, and the guaranteeing of the fundamental rights of the younger generation, as exemplified by the law on youth adopted in the GDR. It concerns various aspects of the development of the social sciences.

Mutual Understanding Between Workers

I want to say this to the Social-Democratic comrades in West Germany: Nothing, not even the fatal decisions of your Karlsruhe congress on multilateral nuclear armament, will prevent us from continuing our struggle for peace and national reunification. Let the SDP leadership join with the West German nationalists during the election campaign in supporting the West European Union and the restoration of the 1937 borders. In our fight for peaceful coexistence we will represent the interests of the GDR citizens as well as of the workers and all the peace-loving people of West Germany.

We shall do our best to contribute to mutual understanding between the workers of the two German states. We shall strive to facilitate the difficult process of ensuring peace in Germany and peaceful German reunification. We shall therefore redouble our efforts to strengthen the bulwark of peace in Germany, the German Democratic Republic, through full-scale socialist construction.

Our proposals for a peaceful German settlement, which will provide the basis for a peaceful solution of the problem of the special territory of West Berlin, are realistic and practicable, and they will eventually gain recognition.

The Social-Democratic leaders will be unable to achieve revanchist aims with regard to the GDR and other socialist states even if they join with the bourgeoisie in a nationalist front and a coalition government. They wil be defeated like Adenauer. They cannot realize their plans for expansion, for the balance of world political and military forces has changed.

I would like to suggest to the Social-Democratic comrades in West Germany that they contribute to creating a climate favorable to further steps, however small, towards a rapprochement and mutual understanding between the two German states. We, for our part, have already taken many such steps.

Being socialists who fight for peace and German unity, we are unhappy to see that everything is being done in West Germany to deepen the German split. However, what many workers, peasants and intellectuals say gives us hope that the peace forces will in the

end gain the upper hand. A decisive step towards this could be taken by establishing mutual understanding between workers, above all between trade unionists, of the two German states. We are doing everythming to bring this about.

II. SOME QUESTIONS OF PARTY AND STATE LEADERSHIP

The Western capitalist press alleges that the cold war compelled the GDR to develop a national economy of its own and to organize independent scientific and technological research. Our opponents are right in the sense that we lost no time in drawing proper conclusions from the world technological revolution and in taking the necessary measures, such as the introduction of a new system of economic planning and management. Today we can say that we have made considerable headway through a purposeful economic policy. The working people of our republic feel proud and confident of their strength as they review their successes. The efficiency of leadership has increased considerably and won an appropriate reward on the occasion of the Republic's 15th anniversary.

A comparison with some countries shows how right we were when we concerned ourselves in good time with scientific and technological progress, the role of science as a productive force, with standardization and planning, and the development of certain industries.

In any case, it is evident that we can only make steady progress if we have a scientifically-grounded idea of what the world will be like in 1970 and 1980.

Guidance of a socialist state in present-day conditions makes serious demands on leading Party and government bodies as regards the theoretical examination and practical solution of problems. It is not enough to know the laws of social development. We must ensure, both in drawing up long-range plans and in fulfilling annual plans, that the population draws upon its own experience and raises its educational level, that it understands the new tasks and conscientiously participates in promoting social progress and doing away with obsolete practices.

Economic Competition and the Technological Revolution

Our Party firmly abides by the decisions of the Moscow Meeting of 1960, which proclaimed the policy of peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems in contrast to the imperialist policy of resolving the contradiction between imperialism and socialism by military means, i.e., through world nuclear war. The Meeting offered the socialist countries the alternative of transfering the dispute with imperialism primarily into the sphere of material production and defeating capitalism in this sphere.

The Communist and Workers' parties of the socialist countries

committed themselves accordingly. Our Party attaches great importance to these commitments, being aware that the developed capitalist countries can be overtaken and outstripped within a reasonably short space of time provided we solve the problems of the technological revolution without delay.

The decisions of our Sixth Congress and especially the new Program of the SUPG are a concrete contribution made by our Party to the implementation of the general line of the world Communist movement. Our decisions envisage the further rapid growth of the productive forces, with the priority development of the key branches of the economy. They encompass all the important aspects of development, such as the establishment of a single socialist system of education, the further extension of democracy, and improvement of the living standard, along with the enhancement of our Party's leading role.

A New Standard of Leadership

The efficiency of leading Party and government bodies should be gauged by the extent to which they can cope with these basic tasks.

Once it was held that the content and methods of leadership are determined exclusively by the socialist relations of production, and that since these relations are stable and develop gradually, the content and methods of leadership can only develop gradually. Experience has shown, however, that the vigorous growth of the productive forces also influences the content and methods of leadership. It is a genuine case of dialectical interdependence. One of the chief tasks of leadership today is to solve problems of the technological revolution so as to ensure the rapid growth of the productive forces. This is essential to the people's standard of living. On the other hand, a careful study should be made to find out the changes caused in the content and methods of leadership by the technological revolution itself. This is especially important in the period of full-scale socialist construction, when socialism is fully established and the methods of leadership must be changed accordingly.

In keeping with the decisions of the Sixth Congress and the provisions of the SUPG Program, the Central Committee of our Party and the Council of Ministers thoroughly analyzed the style of their work and came to the conclusion that the effectiveness of the economic laws of socialism should be increased. As a result, a new system of economic management and planning was developed conforming to the demands of the technological revolution.

A distinction should be drawn between guidance of the Party and guidance of the state. The state is administered in accordance with the territorial princple. Economic management is based on the industrial-territorial principle. Both the territorial and the industrial principle underline the guiding activity of the Party,

which embraces a whole set of poltitical, ideological, economic and cultural problems of social development, as well as problems of government. In our highly industrialized country, the industrial principle ensures, specifically, the uniformity of research and of the practical application of its results. Although the forms and methods of leadership have also been developing, I believe that the structure of the Party bodies dealing with economic matters should be correlated, on the whole, with the structure of the economic bodies.

Aware of its high responsibility, the leadership of our Party has long since concerned itself with problems of the technological revolution. It was not misled by the fact that some Marxist theoreticians and practical workers in other countries rejected this concept and spoke of only "technical progress." The important thing for us was to use a concept clearly showing the inner dynamics and the power of this objective process. However, we think it wrong to regard this process as gradual evolution, for this would mean underestimating automation, and, hence, big lot production, cybernetics and electronics. It would mean scattering our forces and losing more time.

The Leading Role of the Party

After analyzing the situation our Party leadership took steps to ensure that science developed uniformly in all the more important branches in close connection with the key branches of production, and that the material interest of factories, offices and their staffs in conducting research and applying its results were brought into line with the interests of society, of the people.

We can put on record that the standard of guidance provided by the Party has improved in every field. Party work is carried on in accordance with the democratically adopted decisions of the Sixth Congress and the Central Committee. The Party organizations are working to realize the decisions of the government, the People's Chamber and other popular government bodies, as well as the resolutions of the State Council and the decisions of trade union and peasant congresses.

We are guided by the principle of democratic centralism. As the guiding force, the Party must deal with the major issues, as was the case at the Party congress and Central Committee meetings. However, some Party bodies and functionaries still tend to assume administrative functions instead of working among people and helping them to understand and fulfil political and economic tasks. This is often due to the mistaken idea that it is the way to achieve higher efficiency.

The education of a body of people or an individual engaged in administrative work requires patient and systematic effort. Party

committees and Party functionaries often take over the duties of trade unions — in guiding emulation, for instance — instead of working within the trade unions and helping them carry out their own decisions.

The Territorial-Industrial Principle

It is obvious that in the economic field, which today is decisive in the struggle against imperialism, the industrial principle should be applied to make possible an effective, uniform economic and technical policy. The current technological revolution makes this principle even more important. Therefore Party bodies dealing with economic matters should apply the industrial principle, so as to concentrate the more competent Party workers in the decisive branches.

But ours is not an "economic party" in the narrow sense of the phrase. It guides the entire social life of the republic. It is responsible for the whole range of political, ideological, scientific economic and cultural matters. This calls for the right combination of the territorial and the industrial principle. The Political Bureau believes that political and ideological work among the people should be strictly controlled and coordinated by the Secretariat. This will prevent its division into work in industry, in agriculture and in residential communities.

Tackle the Main Problems

The Party leadership is concentrating more and more on the main problems, making a special effort to attain the highest scientific and technological level, fully develop the leading branches of the economy, and establish a single socialist system of education.

To be sure, the Political Bureau and the Secretariat still have to deal with secondary matters. The result is too many instructions. One of the reasons for this is that some comrades and committees prefer to refer to the Political Bureau or the Secretariat questions which they should decide themselves — a practice which has yet to be emphatically condemned. On the other hand, the Political Bureau and the Secretariat have to pass decisions on some matters because the appropriate bodies are slow to issue directives enabling the lower bodies to work independently. But on the whole the trend of development is correct. It will certainly not be long before the survivals of the former style are eliminated.

The task, therefore, is to achieve a definite degree of self-regulation in the economy through the correct application of the economic laws of socialism and of the new system of economic management and planning. The more effectively the economic laws operate, the fewer bureaucratic obstacles they encounter, as has been the case only too often, and the more extensively precise economic

calculation is used, the more scientific and technological progress is stimulated, the more production costs are reduced, and the more prices correspond to the value. This is a prerequisite for the steady improvement of the standard of living.

Socialist Countries Cooperate in Promoting the Technological Revolution

A study of the problems of the technological revolution brought the Party and state leadership to the conclusion that the GDR cannot carry out certain important tasks single-handed. The technological revolution necessitates international economic, scientific and technical cooperation. This confronts the Council for Mutual Economic Aid with new tasks that have yet to be carried out.

The big monopoly groups of Western Europe have removed some of the obstacles to technological progress. This was due in some measure to the economic pressure of their U.S. competitors.

Our Party leadership considers these matters most important and pressing. To carry out their decisions of 1960 in full, the socialist countries should join forces in solving problems of the technological revolution. On this depends the pursuit of the peaceful coexistence policy and further progress in changing the balance of economic forces in favor of socialism.

This calls for the removal of unnecessary administrative form in economic management, both inside the various socialist countries and in inter-state relations. In our opinion, the time has come for scientific and technical cooperation between socialist countries to be organized in strict accordance with economic criteria, on the basis of the national economy and in the interest of solving its economic and technical problems.

The CMEA countries maintain extensive economic contacts both among themselves and with capitalist countries. But to purchase machines and plant abroad is not enough. It is of decisive importance to raise production in every country to the level required on the world market, to reach the highest scientific and technical standards. This can be done provided there is accord and cooperation among socialist countries in the designing and manufacture of items essential for attaining the best world standards and ending the present dependence on deliveries from capitalist firms. Accord and cooperation are also necessary in research. It has become clear that this can only be brought about through genuine economic relations, which enhance the interest of every country in promoting research and meeting its engagements, and not on the administrative lines of the past.

It is fair to say that the activities of the leading Party and government bodies are essentially correct. In keeping with the principle of collective leadership, major problems are thoroughly dis-

cussed and are solved in common on a scientific basis. There is no subjective approach here, and every executive takes part and has his own responsibilities. The centralization prevailing in the discussion and solution of cardinal problems does not shackle but encourage the initiative of the working people.

A Correct Relationship Between Centralism and Democracy

Under our social system, with the people owning the means of production and exercising state power, there can be no return to bourgeois democracy. The task is further to develop socialist democracy, which makes it possible to decide important questions in a strictly centralized and yet democratic way and to give full scope to the initiative of the working people in their everyday work and in public matters. This possibility, which we try to use more and more effectively, stems from the community of the vital interests of society and the individual . . .

We intend to create a science dealing with socialist economic management, with the emphasis on the essence and methods of management, particularly in the associations of people's enterprises. We will also try to carry forward the organizational propositions of Marxism-Leninism which constitute highly important principles of the work of leading Party bodies. There is plenty of work to do, as you see. But it is just as certain that we will organize our work in such a way as to be equal to the great responsibility assumed by the CC and the government.

The Leninist principle of collective leadership, combined with the enhancement of personal responsibility and encouragement of the initiative of the masses, has struck firm root in our Party.

Our Party committees and local organizations should do more to verify the execution of decisions. They should go deeper into people's problems and emphasize the responsibility of every Party member. This applies both to the fulfilment of plan assignments and to public activities, personal behaviour and participation in the spiritual life of society.

We feel that Lenin's counsel on this score is sometimes interpreted one-sidedly. Some comrades have been over-emphasizing decentralization. But I have already said that democratic centralism is our guiding principle, as required by the Rules. Decentralization must not necessarily be identified with the promotion of socialist democracy and the extension of the rights of local bodies. Socialist democracy and the constructive initiative of the masses can come into their own provided major questions are discussed and decided on their merits, in a principled way.

When democratic centralism is applied correctly, the interests of the national economy, the associations of people's enterprises, individual enterprises and their personnels, and the interests of society

as a whole coincide. This also makes it easier to use the principle of providing material incentives. The more thoroughly decisions are thought out, the easier it is to delegate responsibility to lower bodies and individuals and to organize effective control.

No important achievements can be expected, however, if the main problems are not spotlighted, their discussion and solution is delayed and no mobilizing goals are set.

III. THE NEW SYSTEM OF ECONOMIC PLANNING AND MANAGEMENT. WORK AMONG PEOPLE

The socialist consciousness of people grows in step with economic changes and as a result of ideological work and improvements in the standard of education. The new economic system has a great democratizing effect, for it makes for more competent leadership, leads to the extention of the rights of local bodies and encourages people's creative effort. Management on scientific principles, the new economic system, the socialist system of education and the promotion of socialist democracy all make up a single whole.

Concentration on economic tasks, which are decisive for improving the living standard, has in some cases led to a decline in ideological work, specifically as regards exposing the role of German imperialism. I think this is not due to emphasis on technology or economics but to the fact that the decisions of the Sixth Party Congress on political work among the masses have not yet brought a change in working methods.

Solutions to Problems Posed by Reality

The mere proclamation of Marxist-Leninist truths will hardly prove useful. Marxism-Leninism is a living science which, among other things, deals directly with questions of the people's everyday life. It is the science of how to remake the world, the social system, and people's lives in the interest of lasting peace, of humanism and happiness.

This is why we need something more than a proclamation of Marxist-Leninist principles and non-committal talk about them. Ideological work must first and foremost provide a scientific explanation of the problems posed by reality and Marxist solutions to them in order to mobilize the people for the remaking of the world. A characteristic of our democracy is that the decisive say belongs to the people. It is therefore the duty of the Party, government and other public bodies to keep the people abreast of the main aspects of full-scale socialist construction and of major ideological and political problems.

Our citizens, primarily young people, are keen on social problems and understand many of them correctly. But they do not see the broader interconnections of these problems. This is because theory

is not presented to them creatively, in conjunction with present-day reality, and that Party and government decisions are often explained to them in an abstract manner, without explaining their practical bearing on the problems agitating people.

Guide to Action

Our young workers, engineers and scientists are successfully contributing to economic development, but we are not dong enough to help them in maturing politically and ideologically as the future masters of the GDR and of Germany as a whole. Party workers, especially propagandists and lecturers in the social sciences, should always remember that Marxism-Leninism is a guide to action. This is often forgotten. I would like to advise Free German Youth Union functionaries to give more thought to their working methods so as to ensure an effective interconnection between our new policy on youth and the new system of economic planning and management. We want to educate people who are engaged in creative labor and think independently.

Some time ago one woman Party member asked why the Party is less energetic, purposeful and self-critical in changing the methods of ideological work than in the economic field. She had a point there. The new system of economic planning and management has brought about radical changes, ideological changes included, and people are vigorously and confidently tackling new tasks despite all the difficulties. Little has been done, however, to revise the methods of ideological and political work among the masses.

Eliminate Old, Hidebound Methods

I am speaking about this in such strong terms to prevent the comrades from seeking a way out in organizational changes. The point is to use new methods in explaining new ideological and political problems to people and to concern ourselves more with their everyday interests.

We have taken a step in this direction by starting to set up a single socialist system of education. We have also made some progress in the social sciences. But we can make no progress in civic education in school or in political work in industry unless we thoroughly revise our style of leadership and our methods of work among people. In one vocational training school, a civic education lesson was devoted almost entirely to reading to the pupils excerpts from Lenin's *Materialism and Empiriocriticism.* What will the pupils know about materialism after such a lesson?

The fact that plans are fulfilled and the quality of output is on the rise testifies to the good will of people and their loyalty to the republic. Nevertheless, the Party, the trade unions and the officials

responsible for economic and cultural matters should be more active in explaining the new tasks to people and mobilizing them to fulfil these tasks.

Foster Militancy

There is room for improvement in educational work with Party members. Some of them, still unable to think in terms of the new economic system and the long-range plan, limit themselves to explaining everyday issues to people, leaving out the interconnection between these issues and the problems of economic growth on the one hand, and of the struggle for peace, against imperialism, on the other.

Party members should be educated in a militant spirit. Too many of them more often than not take a defensive stand against imperialist attacks. They have but a faulty knowledge of the Party Program tasks as regards the struggle against imperialism, exploitation and war.

Much remains to be done to educate Party members in the spirit of intolerance of shortcomings and mistakes. Many comrades have the wrong idea of Party discipline. They argue roughly as follows: most of the shortcomings which the people criticize and which worry us too must be known to the leadership. As they do not consider themselves competent enough or simply wish to avoid additional trouble, they keep silent about shortcomings or even defend them. This attitude creates an atmosphere of tolerance of shortcomings and inefficiency, which reflects on the prestige of the Party and of these comrades themselves.

The education of Party members is also hamered by the style of work prevailing in some government bodies, in which comrades are given many assignments but the question of responsibility does not receive adequate attention.

Having limited opportunities of taking independent decisions, local bodies often refer even the simplest matters to the "top." It should be added that some problems of vital concern to the population, such as the construction and repair of houses, schools and kindergartens, cannot be fully solved at present.

Some may argue that the democratic rights of the local bodies have been established by law. That is correct and needs no revision. But it is also a fact that with the introduction of cost accounting the local bodies have ceased to get a certain share of the income of big enterprises. For this reason we have recommended the Council of Ministers to revise the law on the finances of the local bodies with a view to increasing their economic possibilities.

Educational work among Party members should be aimed at fostering an attitude of militant intolerance of slovenliness and mediocrity in their own work.

Everybody must have his share of responsibility.

I think it essential that many Party members should change their attitude to non-Party people. Some comrades may say that their relations with non-Party people are normal. But I ask for more than that. In my opinion, many of the tasks now being carried out by Party members should be shifted on to the broader shoulders of the working people who are not Party members.

In line with the resolutions of the Party congress and the decisions of the State Council on the promotion of socialist democracy, we should secure greater participation in public activities by the citizens and entrust more responsible tasks to them. Democracy can be further developed provided everybody feels responsible for the Republic's progress. Hence the need to draw more working people into the management of government affairs, irrespective of their party affiiliation or world outlook.

Discussions in the National Front

It is essential to consult the trade unions, the democratic bloc parties of the National Front, the mass organizations, and all citizens on these new problems. This Central Committee meeting and the discussion of the 1965 economic plan in the People's Chamber should serve as a sufficient impetus. We know that important developments are taking place in the democratic bloc parties. They not only cooperate actively in the pursuit of the peace policy of the GDR, but also contribute much to the realization of the new tasks in industry, agriculture and education. By means of rationalization measures they help to bring the local industries, especially semi-state enterprises and artisans' cooperatives, to a level with advanced enterprises. They help their members to acquire economic knowledge. We think highly of their contribution to socialist humanism and socialist morality. Hence the need for the National Front discussing the new problems that will crop up as the 1965 plan is fulfilled and the long-range plan discussed.

All these are new characteristics of our people's socialist democracy, which is a whole historical epoch ahead of bourgeois parliamentarism. We cannot therefore take the advice of those who suggest reverting to the antiquated practices of bourgeois democracy. That would mean forfeiting the advantages afforded by our socialist system.

Our opponents are complaining bitterly against the nature and methods of leadership in our Party and our workers' and peasants' state. These complaints are understandable, for the purpose of our Party and government leadership is to assure the victory of the people's cause and not to offer comfort to our opponents. Therefore, with the best of intentions, we cannot take their wishes and criticisms into consideration.

The historical mission of our working people, of our Party, of the National Front of Democratic Germany, of our workers' and pea-

sants' state, is not only to serve the cause of ensuring the peaceful life of our people and other peoples as a bastion of peace, but also to realize, through the full-scale construction of socialism, the program which indicates the way to the future of Germany.

IV. FOR THE UNITY OF THE WORLD COMMUNIST AND WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT

The celebration of the 47th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution provided a good opportunity for an exchange of opinions on the cooperation of the Communist and Workers' parties of the socialist countries. Almost all socialist countries sent party and government delegations to congratulate the Soviet people. Meetings were held with representatives of the Presidium of the CC, CPSU headed by Comrade Brezhnev; with the delegation of the Polish People's Republic led by Comrade Gomulka; with Comrade Hendrych, head of the Czechoslovak delegation; with Comrade Chou En-lai, Deputy Chairman of the CC, CPC and Prime Minister of the Chinese People's Republic, and members of the Chinese delegation, and with the heads of delegations from other socialist countries.

In our talks with the representatives of fraternal parties we spoke in favor of normalizing relations and convening the Drafting Committee to prepare an international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties. We suggested creating an atmosphere that would enable the Drafting Committee to meet. That, in our opinion, called for discontinuing public polemics.

The comrades may have noticed that we began to pursue this line when celebrating the 15th anniversary of the Chinese People's Republic and the 15th anniversary of the GDR. We consider that certain serious discussions befitting relations between fraternal parties can be held without mutual discrimination at meetings or in scientific journals. In our talks in Moscow we also pointed out that the Drafting Committee should carry on its work on the basis of complete equality, without discriminating against or excluding any party. Documents on fundamental issues should be drafted jointly. Drafts and proposed amendments should be submitted to the parties to enable them to form and state their opinion in time for the next Drafting Committee meeeting. Repeated meetings of the committee would ensure proper discussion and mutual understanding on specific major problems.

New Problems

It is indispensable to prepare a conference of the Communist and Workers' parties in order to promote the unity of the world Communist and working-class movement and strengthen socialism in the struggle against aggressive imperialist policies. We know that Marxism-Leninism owes its strength to the fact that the Marx-

ist-Leninist docrtine is applied on the basis of proletarian internationalism and in accordance wih the actual conditions in the countries concerned.

Many new problems have arisen necessitating more frequent exchanges of experience between the parties and governments of the socialist countries, and between the Communist and Workers' parties of the socialist countries, the newly-free national states and the capitalist countries. The vastly different problems and tasks in question cannot be reduced to a single denominator. This is why we should compare notes to promote the initiative and creative effort of the various parties.

Many problems were raised and solutions to some of them proposed at the international scientific session dedicated to the centenary of the founding of the First International. The building of communism in the Soviet Union and of socialism in the People's Democracies proceeds amid grim ideological battles against bourgeois influences and in the conditions of a world-wide technological revolution. Furthermore, the struggle of newly-established states for political and economic independence poses new problems concerning relations between these states and the socialist countries. The Communist parties of the countries of state-monopoly capitalism are faced with new problems, especially in connection with the Common Market and the close international intertwining of major corporations.

Important changes have taken place in the policy and work of the Communist and Workers' parties following the 20th and 22nd congresses of the CPSU. But it would be wrong as yet to say that all conclusions have been drawn from the new situation, from the development of the socialist world system, the liberation of the colonial peoples, and the growth of state-monopoly capitalism in some big industrial states.

Creative Application of Leninist Standards

Of decisive importance for ensuring peace in the conditions of peaceful coexistence is the effort of the socialist countries to raise their science and technology to the world level and attain superiority in material production. This enhances the appeal of socialism with regard to other peoples, especially the working class, the peasants and intellectuals in the highly industrialized capitalist countries. Hence the problems which we must solve.

In his Memorandum, Palmiro Togliatti, the Italian Communist leader who enjoyed universal esteem and who died so prematurely, stated his opinion on some of the problems confronting the Communist and Workers' parties. It was a contribution to the preparation of the Drafting Committee meeting. I, for my part, touched on some outstanding problems in my speech at the scientific session dedicated to the First International.

Some comrades from fraternal parties want to know more about the reasons for certain difficulties experienced by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Basically, it is a question of applying the Leninist standards of Party and state life, and it is still a question of carrying out the decisions of the 20th and 22nd congresses of the CPSU, and of putting the 1960 joint Statement of the Communist and Workers' parties into effect. It follows that the issue is not one of flaws in the system, but of eliminating, among other things, the survivals of dogmatism in economic management. It is a question of promoting the technological revolution, of continuously improving the methods of Party leadership. Above all it is a question of the role of the Central Committee.

It is a long-established tradition with the Marxist-Leninist parties to learn from each other, each party deciding how to use the progressive experience of others with due regard to the conditions of its own development.

We of the Central Committee have made it a rule for the Presidium to report on its work at the beginning of every Central Committee meeting, every member of the CC having the opportunity to ask questions and state his opinion.

The main problem in the GDR, as we see it, is to remove administrative obstacles to the operation of the economic laws of socialism, to use scientific methods of leadership so as to ensure the continuous execution of the decisions of the Party Congress. I should add that the time has come to further trade between socialist countries on a genuinely economic basis. Since the development of every country has its peculiarities, this should provide the most favorable conditions for economic progress and for good, normal relations precluding unnecessary disputes.

Full-scale socialist construction is a very complicated process in the field of politics, economy, technology, education, state and international law, the social sciences, literature and the arts . . .

The comrades in the fraternal parties of the capitalist countries have their own challenging problems, such as that of the democratic road to political power. Sometimes they take a one-sided view of some of the socialist countries' problems facing the Communist Party of this or that capitalist country. All the greater, therefore, the need for more frequent joint meetings and mutual visits to improve reciprocal information and compare notes.

FOR PEACE, NATIONAL LIBERATION, DEMOCRACY AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

COMMUNIQUE* ON MEETING OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE COMMUNISTS OF THE ARAB COUNTRIES

A meeting of representatives of the Communists of the countries of the Maghreb and the Arab East was held in December 1964.

The meeting, which took place in a fraternal and friendly atmosphere, was marked by a broad and useful exchange of views and experience. The representatives of the Communists of the above countries noted that all the Arab countries are experiencing, in one or another degree and in different forms, a powerful upswing in the revolutionary movement against imperialism, for peace, national liberation, democracy and social progress.

They examined and evaluated highly the experience of Algeria and the United Arab Republic. They welcomed the achievements of the Algerian People's Democratic Republic which, under the leadership of its vanguard party, the National Liberation Front, around which all the revolutionary, socialist forces, including the Communists, are rallied, is forging ahead, carrying forward the socialist revolution on the basis of the Algiers Charter. They noted that the achievements of the Algerian revolution, which accords with the specific national features of Algeria, are associated with the growing role played by the working people of town and country in the conditions of revolutionary democracy, which has found most striking expression in popular self-management and mobilization of the masses.

They likewise welcome the big socio-economic and political changes in the United Arab Republic, which has taken the non-capitalist path of development. If these achievements are combined with growing activity on the part of the masses, broader democracy and efforts to make the Arab Socialist Union an organization giving full expression to the interests and ideology of the working people, the UAR will be able to forge ahead towards socialism.

The Arab Communists also welcome the major victory won in the Sudan, where the struggle of the masses swept away the reactionary dictatorship and led to the triumph of the will of the Sudanese people, who are striving to establish a national democratic regime opening the way to social progress.

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*Pravda, December 11, 1964.

The participants in the meeting noted with satisfaction the achievements of the revolutionary movement in many other Arab countries. At the same time they pointed out with regret that, as the events and the experience of the Iraqi Communist Party have shown, the main factor which enabled the reactionaries to deal a severe blow at the Iraqi revolution in February 1963 was the division in the ranks of the revolutionary and patriotic forces. Other factors were the suppression of democracy and the strengthening of imperialist positions in Iraq.

The overthrow in November 1963, under pressure from the popular masses, of the sinister forces of fascism which had committed the most monstrous crimes, was an important victory for the people. On the basis of their own experience, the Iraqi Communists hold that the main precondition for the country's progress is the unification of all the national progressive forces and the establishment of democracy.

The revolutionary upswing in the Arab world is taking place at a time when the socialist world system, with the Soviet Union in the vanguard, is becoming the decisive factor of world development and when the ideas of scientific socialism are winning support as never before.

The mounting revolutionary upsurge marking the present epoch, the main feature of which is the transition from capitalism to socialism, gains impetus from the unity of the basic forces of the world revolutionary process: the socialist world system, the national-liberation movement and the working-class movement in the capitalist countries.

The victories of the Arab countries and other countries of Africa, Asia, Latin America have been won in growing struggle on the part of all peoples for peace and peaceful coexistence. They bear out the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist ideas creatively expressed in the decisions of the 20th and 22nd congresses of the CPSU and the documents of the 1957 and 1960 meetings of the Communist and Workers' parties.

The participants in the meeting note with gratification that socialism is increasingly becoming the cause not only of the Communists but also of broad sections of non-Communist patriots and revolutionaries. This does not run counter to Marxism-Leninism, but, on the contrary, corroborates and enriches it. Experience has shown that there is only one kind of socialism—scientific socialism, the main motive force in the realization of which are the workers, peasants and the revolutionary intelligentsia.

This makes it imperative for sincere revolutionaries to exert ever greater effort in the search for the best forms of cooperation, alliance or unity with a view to joint action by all the revolutionary forces in organizational forms best suited both to the present stage

in the development of the revolution and to the conditions, specific features and traditions of each Arab country.

It is the duty of all revolutionaries—Communists and non-Communists—to display the maximum fraternal creative initiative in building and cementing the alliance of all the revolutionary forces, taking into account the new developments in the Arab world. Everything possible should be done to overcome every manifestation of mutual mistrust and suspicion, and especially to overcome the anti-Communist and sectarian trends. The Arab Communists urge exchange of experience and the closest cooperation between progressive parties, organizations and movements in the Arab world. They also urge joint effort to ensure the unity of the revolutionary forces in every Arab country.

In this connection, of extremely great importance are the democratic solution of the Kurd problem in Iraq in conformity with the legitimate national aspirations of the Kurdish people, peaceful settlement of border disputes between Algeria and Morocco, freedom for all political prisoners, both Communists and other democrats, in Iraq, Jordan, Morocco, Saudi Arabia and other Arab countries, and the granting of democratic freedoms, including freedom of speech, the press and organization, to all patriotic progressive forces.

All this would help to create the most favorable conditions for foiling the intrigues and conspiracies of the colonialists, for isolating the reactionary bourgeoisie and all other enemies of socialism. This would also provide the best guarantee of the realization of Arab unity on the basis of struggle against imperialism, strengthening of friendship with the socialist countries, democracy and social progress. On this basis Arab solidarity can be strengthened with a view to ensuring victory in the struggle for the liberation of South Arabia, restoration of legitimate rights of the Arabs in Palestine, against the Israeli conspiracy backed by the imperialists, primarily the U.S. imperialists, and aimed at diverting the waters of the Jordan, and, finally, for the return to the Arabs of the wealth of which they have been robbed.

The Arabs have learned in the course of their struggles that the strengthening of friendship and mutual aid with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries is the greatest guarantee of success in the fight for national liberation, against imperialism, for freedom and social progress.

The participants in the meeting voiced in the name of the Arab working people solidarity with the liberation struggle waged by the peoples of the Congo and South Vietnam. They resolutely condemn the U.S. and other imperialists' aggressive actions against the freedom and independence of the peoples.

The march of events in the various Arab countries clearly testifies

to the important positive role played by the Arab Communists in the Arab liberation movement, in bringing all the revolutionary patriotic forces together with a view to finding the correct solutions to the political, social and economic problems confronting their countries. All this heightens the awareness of the Arab Communists of their responsibility to their peoples.

COLOMBIAN COMMUNISTS BUILDING POPULAR UNITY*

Jose Cardona Hoyos

The problem of popular unity has not yet been solved in Colombia, but significant progress has been made towards it due to the policy of the Communist Party.

Fully aware of the significance of unity for winning over the people and effecting revolutionary reforms, we Colombian Communists are working hard in all fields to overcome the division of the popular forces on which the bipartisan political domination of the oligarchy and U.S. imperialism rests.

We do not delude ourselves with the immediate prospect of uniting the entire people, but search persistently for ways and means of uniting those forces active in fighting against the present regime, for a government of the people. And we think that when the vanguard forces come together the masses will support the road proposed by them.

The degree to which the situation will change will depend on the activity and intentions of the masses rising to join the struggle. But in any case it will mean an end to the "National Front" regime and the establishment of a democratic regime of a new type which will fully express the interests of our people fighting for national liberation and a new socio-economic structure.

Our Party considers that the extensive participation of the working people in the political life of the country calls for at least a minimum of popular unity. To this end it is necessary to set up a solid unitary organization of an independent working-class movement, step up the peasants' movement, organize a Left Front of all democratic sections, and promote the students' movement and other forms of mass struggle.

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The century-old bipartisan system affords a great advantage to the semi-feudal and capitalist exploiters shaping official policy as dictated by the U.S. monopolies, and greatly hampers the development of the revolutionary struggle.

Although the distinction between the Liberals and Conservatives has been growing increasingly blurred in recent years, it still helps

*Abridged from **Documentos Politicos** No. 43-44, 1964.

the bourgeoisie and the feudals to maintain their ideological grip on the masses. At the same time, the growth of the political consciousness of the people is more and more undermining the old political foundations. The plunder of the country's wealth, the destruction of democratic freedoms and, on the other hand, the international influence of socialism and, in particular, the Cuban revolution, increase the discontent with the old concepts and strengthen the belief in revolutionary solutions.

Paradoxically, the "National Front" regime itself is contributing to the destruction of the old political barriers that prevented the overcoming of sectarian sentiments. The ruling classes used to decide the destinies of the nation employing the services of the one or the other traditional party. Ensuring the domination of the exploiting class, these parties ruled alternately, depending on the degree of prestige each enjoyed among the people at the time. Then, however, the situation grew complicated as the masses decided to use "representative democracy" in their own interest. In reply the ruling classes resorted to murders, mass repressions and terroristic dictatorships. But this form of rule too was endangered by the actions of the masses. Besides, it affected adversely some aspects of economic life. Therefore the oligarchy decided to replace military tyranny with the "legitimate rule" of a farcical "parity government" supported by both parties. At present the exploitation of the people by the monopolies at home and foreign imperialists is more ruthless than ever before. The loss of faith in the old policy erodes not only the two "historical parties," but the entire traditional system ensuring the ideological influence of the ruling classes. As a result, the wrath of the people can no longer be vented in a successive replacement of the ruling party. The need for entirely new changes is becoming the order of the day.

II

The masses are more and more escaping the control of the ruling classes. This new phenomenon in our public life is manifested in the growing activity of the people, although some groups express their protest passively, by abstaining from elections, etc. But on the whole, even though mass actions are not always well coordinated, the ruling circles begin to see that it is becoming increasingly difficult for them to use parliamentarianism for imposing anti- popular decisions.

Regrettably, the erosion of old methods of rule proceeded in an atmosphere where a certain anarchist trend prevailed among the democratic and Left forces. The most active but ideologically confused elements of the petty bourgeoisie think that their small and isolated groups embody the real aspirations of the nation. Failing to understand Colombian reality, they spend tremendous

energy—and sometimes precious young lives—on objectives the conditions for which are not ripe yet. The absence of unity favors the development of political sects which actually help the oligarchy preserve its rule.

III

On the other hand, our working class was in a state of split, which was all the more serious since it was engineered by U.S. imperialism in the conditions of an unprecedented rise in the cost of living and a sharp growth of reactionary trends in official policy. Encouraged by reactionary governments and intent on seizing leadership of the working people, the clerical circles succeeded in establishing a Jesuit-headed trade union center. After the collapse of the military dictatorship another trade union center was formed. The anti-communist witch-hunt started by this center turned it into an appendage of the liberal bourgeoisie.

For several years the truly independent sections of the trade union movement were subjected to persecutions by the authorities and employers. But despite this, they took advantage of every opportunity for establishing unity of action with the trade union organizations under the influence of the anti-communist centers. This line, put forward by our Party and acclaimed by the most progressive part of the working-class movement, was stubbornly resisted by the Right-wing trade union leaders. But it was supported by many rank-and-file trade unionists and began to undermine the ideological foundations of the trade union bosses—clericalism and "class collaboration."

This period was very hard for the Colombian proletariat but it was also highly conducive to the growth of its class consciousness.

Therefore there is nothing surprising about the enthusiasm with which the working people received the proposal of the trade union activists of our Party and other organizations to convene a trade union congress to set up a new Confederation. Some people asked at the time: Will not a third trade union center broaden the split? But it was clear that the road to trade union unity in Colombia lay through that stage. First, because the new organization would unite those workers with different political views whom the anti-communist hysteria debarred from the existing trade union centers. That would also be a major step forward in building a militant organization of the working class. Second, in conditions of the growing political consciousness of the working people the new trade union center would stimulate a more resolute expression of discontent by members of the Colombian Workers' Confederation (CWC) and the Colombian Workers Union (CWU), who faced sanctions for open opposition to their leadership. Third, the new center would enable a truly independent proletariat to win over to

its side the vast number of unorganized toilers. Such was the real way to unity excluding any discrimination. It was essential for adopting a correct attitude to the social battles of today.

Responding to the call of the consultative conference held in Medellin last year more than 500 representatives of 166,000 workers assembled in Bogota in May and founded the Colombian Workers' Trade Union Confederation, baffling all attempts of the employers, the press, the government and the trade union bosses to prevent this. It was pointed out in the inaugural act that "despite the present state of affairs and the fact that prerequisites for achieving trade union unity have not yet arisen in the CWC and CWU leadership, we are ready to display class solidarity with all actions aimed to improve the condition of the masses or contribute to the struggle for the interests of the people . . . The Confederation which comes into being today aims to organize and unite all working people irrespective of their religious and political views for the struggle to emancipate the working class and the entire people of Colombia."

That was undoubtedly a major victory for the working class and the people of our country. This victory is being consolidated in measure as we carry into reality the thesis that "we Communists do not make a cult out of the spontaneous movement of the masses for unity. Our duty is to work actively for this spontaneous movement to mature and turn into conscious actions." (Gilberto Vieira's report to the 30th plenary meeting of the CC, CP of Colombia.

IV

The disintegration of the political parties which traditionally dominated the political life of the country could rapidly lead to profound changes in the social structure if only the forces interested in these changes succeeded in releasing and directing the energy of the masses. But this has to this day remained impossible because of the disunity of the Left forces, which are devoting much of their effort to internal strife instead of coordinating their actions.

Of course, ideological differences do exist and are due chiefly to the influence of different classes. But it is also evident that despite the multiplicity of aspirations the Left forces of Colombia have many aims in common. Real achievement of unity presupposes the ability to advance such aims and ensure the unity of will and action in the struggle for them. It will be impossible to unite all the forces if each of them insists on the others unconditionally adopting its views. Sectarianism is one of the worst enemies of the revolution, which cannot—especially in the present conditions —be accomplished by any single force alone but derives from the gigantic collective effort of the entire people of the given country.

True to its principles and heeding the demands of our people the

Communist Party put forward, in an open letter to the various Left groups in July 1963, concrete proposals aimed at "expediting an open and sincere discussion of practical steps" and coordinating the activities of these groups.

Seeing clearly the difficulties to be overcome the leadership of our Party stated in this letter: "Evidently we all consider that the absence of coordinated exchange of opinions, no common orientation and unstable organization weakens revolutionary activity and makes it easier for the reactionaries to attack us." The letter contained an estimate of the prospective development: "Left unity in Colombia will serve the sole purpose of rallying to the struggle all those who want democratic and progressive changes in the country."

The essence of the matter was thus stated in the letter:

"We consider that the time has come to give serious consideration to the question of setting up a genuine Left Front which would unite all trends believing in the possibility of democratic change and pave the revolutionary way for structural changes in the country. The function of this democratic front should be not only to ward off the blows of the reactionaries united in the 'National Front,' but also to remove this bulwark of reaction, build the basis for a new government, and clear the way to the realization of the constantly suppresed striving of the masses for liberation."

True, no practical organizational steps followed. While supporting the idea of mutual understanding in words, the leaders of various Left groups adopted such an evasive stand that it prevented a round-table meeting and, consequently, the achievement of the first practical result.

But the voice of our Party was heeded by the rank-and-file and some functionaries and leaders. Since then the policy of unity of action with some groups which the Communist Party of Colombia has constantly pursued despite the absence of a general agreement, has been conducted on a still bigger scale—a factor which the diehards will have to reckon with. The experience of the last election campaign and some other mass actions testify to it.

V

The past election campaign proceeded in conditions exceptionally difficult for the popular groups. That the "National Front" lost its prestige was beyond doubt, but the masses began to abstain from elections not only in protest against the hypocritical dictatorship of the oligarchy, but also as a result of the disunity of the democratic and revolutionary forces.

This form of protest, though essentially correct, was negative in the sense that it increased the masses' passivity and indifference to politics. The situation was aggravated by the attempts of some

of the proponents of this policy, including such undisguised reactionaries as the Christian Social Democratic Party, to present this as a "real commencement of the revolution." It was not difficult to persuade people to abstain from voting, for even at time when public activity ran high barely 70 per cent of the electorate went to the polls. And in Colombia those who do not vote usually also refrain from taking part in or supporting any struggle.

Despite these difficulties the Communist Party continued its work towards unity. It successfully resisted the subterfuges of the sectarians and supported those groups everywhere which came out more definitely for a policy conforming to the interests of the people.

We, of course, made ample use of the election campaign to popularize our ideas and establish closer links with the masses, for we are convinced that, as Lenin pointed out, it is more useful to take part in a public debate, no matter how limited this possibility may be, than to reject it as not being "the revolutionary way."

The facts showed that we were absolutely right. As we had foreseen, the trend to abstain from voting increased, but the "ultra-leftists" who propounded this slogan met with such an apathy of the masses that they could not arrange a single meeting in support of their stand. In other words, this line led to the passivity of the masses which only benefited the enemies of the people. Our Party, on the contrary, established contacts with the broadest sections, striving to overcome the pessimism caused by the anarchic actions of the leftists. We regarded the elections as a useful though limited means which should be employed along with all other methods of revolutionary struggle. The Liberal-revolutionary movement lost votes but retained, with our help, its positions in the parliament. Thanks to the correct policy of the CP of Colombia and the vigilance of the masses the Left is now better represented in the parliament. On the other hand, thanks to the Communists' vigorous advocacy of unity and the lesson life taught to our allies, a situation has developed where "the building of a Left parliamentary bloc in the next Chamber over the head of the rival groups and trends in the Liberal Revolutionary Movement is becoming a real perspective which will provide a fresh impetus to the anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchy unity of the people." (G. Vieira's report to the 30th plenary meeting of the CC, CP of Colombia. Thus, despite all the negative aspects of the election campaign, the possibilities for building the organized unity of action advocated by the Communists have grown considerably.

VI

It is impossible to enumerate all instances of united action by the various sections of the population. But two of them should be

mentioned: student actions and national solidarity with the armed peasant movement.

The Colombian student movement, which has remarkable traditions of struggle against tyranny, is faced with numerous problems today. In tackling these problems the students have already taken steps to restore unity and achieved signal success.

An important contribution has been made by the young Colombian Communists, who have helped to remove the obstacles to establishing a single leadership of the student movement. It can be said that the developments caused by the pro-imperialist policy of the authorities led to a new and more favorable situation for us.

Almost all students and the majority of professors have come out in defense of the Free University, Colombia's only abode of freedom of instruction, against the oligarchy's intention to establish its control over the university and impose an anti-communist orientation on it.

The struggle of the students took different forms tending towards unity and thus facilitating the drawing together of the various groups. This is understandable, for the traditions of the Free University are attacked by the same force which interfere in the affairs of the National University. Big national and U.S. capital seeks to subordinate the Free University to its influence. This also explains arbitrary acts in the Santander Industrial University and the plans for revising study programs in the vocational training centers. That is why the students, defying violence and even challenging the troops that seize the campus, rise in the struggle against the regime which tolerates foreign interference and brings humiliation and disgrace upon our country.

Alongside the heroic struggle of the students and acting in close contact with their vanguard, the Colombian people have launched an impressive campaign of solidarity with the guerrilla movement, which arose in reply to the U.S.-inspired attack of regular troops on the regions of peasants' self-defense.

It will be no exaggeration to say that the broadest revolutionary, democratic or simply patriotic sections that came out in protest against "operation Marquetalia" were prompted by a sense of self-defense: the people know that what is behind the infamous aggression against the peasants' organizations is the policy of coups which, unless it is paralyzed by the resolute resistance of the masses, will resolve itself in a new tyranny of the "gorillas." Initiated under the pretext of bringing the benefits of civilization and peace to the peasants of that area, the 'civic-military action" turned into a war of extermination in the course of which napalm and even bacteriological bombs (witness the world press) were dropped from U.S. planes. Fortunately, the staunch resistance of our guerrillas, supported by mass protests, forced the government and the im-

perialist agents who inspired this crime, to falter. In this case the people displayed both the united will and the growing revolutionary consciousness.

The independent workers' movement, the peasants' organizations, students, the most prominent representatives of both trends in the Liberal Revolutionary Movement, distinguished scientists, parliamentarians, representatives of the various sections of the intelligentsia and even clergymen protested against the repressive actions. It was only the "ultra-revolutionaries" from among the LRM youth who sided with the reactionaries, declaring that we Communists had staged a bloody farce in Marquetalia "in order to get money from the socialist countries." This lie was fully exposed in the course of the powerful movement of solidarity with the heroic guerrillas.

VII

From the viewpoint of gaining influence among the masses, the groups in the Liberal Revolutionary Movement are of special interest to the Communist Party. This does not mean, however, that we do not want a more or less permanent mutual understanding with other small groups of the Left. And this is not an easy matter. For the smaller these groups, the more dogmatic unrealistic and self-opinionated they become as if they alone possessed the absolute truth. Their sectarianism and intolerance make them almost automatically reject all compromise solutions as being "revolutionary degeneration." Despite this our Party, which applies in conformity with the situation Lenin's teaching on positive and useful compromises in order to pave the way for a democratic and revolutionary development, uses every opportunity to organize joint actions with these groups. These are mostly sporadic actions which have no great repercussions. But they are useful for they foster the spirit of cooperation and serve as an example of effective joint work and calm comparison of views on the development of the revolutionary struggle.

No little difficulties have been caused in this field by the leaders of the Communist Party of China, who are seeking to interfere with the work of our Party and cause confusion by the same methods they are employing in the entire world Communist movement. Patronizing the small groups of "ultra-revolutionaries" embodying the most negative petty-bourgeois trends, they encourage anarchic subjectivism which tragically persists in artificially and even forcibly pushing the people into battles the meaning of which they do not understand yet and are not yet prepared to wage. This, naturally, ends only in failures, for one cannot "implant" revolutionary consciousness. Every small group wants to accomplish the revolution its own way and make it as profound as its

"radicalism" goes. But it is evident that if this group is not strong enough to accomplish the revolution in keeping with the interests of the people and if it rejects alliance with the other revolutionary groups, all its energy is bound to be wasted. To be such a "super-revolutionary" means to be a sectarian, to facilitate the work of the enemy and delay the revolution. The revolution becomes possible only when and where the overwhelming majority of the people is drawn into the struggle to effect changes in the socio-economic structure. Even if this change is not most radical it will initiate a revolutionary stage when the masses will be more and more insistently demanding new and deeper changes. This will make it possible first to consolidate the popular democratic revolution and then to go over resolutely to the socialist revolution. Certainly it is better to embark upon this road of revolutionary development than to choke with impotent anger at one's isolation and inability to become immediately the main *dramatis persona* of "the most radical revolution in history." Such is the real road to revolutionary unity.

The Colombian Communists closely connect the question of popular unity with the question of power, which we think has long since been posed by history itself. It has been pointed out repeatedly in our Party documents that we are fighting for an anti-feudal and anti-imperialist revolution and that it is possible already now, after overcoming the split and strife between Left organizations, to set about ousting the present regime and setting up a popular democratic government. This government will have to drive out the imperialists and effect, along with a radical agrarian reform, other profound changes which will lead Colombia to socialism.

This does not mean, however, that we reject unity of action with those who limit themselves to general democratic objectives in the struggle against the two-party dictatorship. Proceeding from the classical propositions of Marxism-Leninism, we consider that the struggle for democracy, far from running counter to the struggle for socialism, is a component part of the latter. It certainly appears difficult to realize the principles of "pure democracy" in present-day conditions in Colombia, but there are no grounds for us to combat those who sincerely believe in this and are exerting efforts to liquidate the existing regime. We consider that a careful study should be made of the possibility of establishing the government of a broad democratic coalition, however, slim this possibility may seem to be. Its vacillating and transitory character notwithstanding, such a government would be useful from the viewpoint of future revolutionary transformations. That is why in our work for unity we orient ourselves on the mustering of

forces and do not reject the opinions or the contribution of those who are simply democrats. We are confident that the best way to winning leadership of the people is not to issue radical-sounding but illusory calls, but work systematically to awaken the revolutionary consciousness of the masses.

★ ★ ★

We Columbia Communists cannot rest content with whatever we have achieved in building popular unity. Much remains to be done to win over the broadest masses to our side, to open their eyes to their own interests. But our initial success inspires us to new efforts. The spirit of mutual understanding is growing stronger among the front-rank fighters for national liberation, the structural reorganization of society, general well-being, social justice, progress and peace. A historically doomed regime trying to save itself is only capable of committing base and barbarous acts. This too helps the masses to see for themselves that joint and coordinated struggle alone will lead to great revolutionary transformations which are becoming a general necessity.

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PASSAGE TO PROGRESS*

THE '64 ELECTION MANDATE AND THE ROAD AHEAD

I. REBUFF TO REACTION

The electorate has spoken. It has given a stinging rebuff to the arrogant bid of extreme reaction for government power. It has made the term Goldwaterism synonymous with McCarthyism, with rabid anti-communism and war-mongering, with Dixie-cratism and violent racism, with haughty indifference to the plight of the unemployed, the aged, the young and the poor.

November 3rd represented an important people's victory. It has placed the political struggle on new terrain from which new victories are attainable. It has made possible a massive legislative offensive. But it is no guarantee that what the people voted for — peace, civil rights, greater democracy and a real war on poverty— are now assured. The election landslide has given the common people an indisputable advantage in the fight for their rights and their needs. Whether that advantage is fully utilized, or whether it is frittered away or completely lost, depends upon how the election victory is understood and what is done to realize its mandate.

There can be no mere reliance on the Administration and the newly-elected Congress, despite the overwhelming character of the victory and the greatly improved composition of both the House and the Senate. Whether the election returns will be read correctly by those elected to public office does not depend alone on their ability to interpret the national will accurately. It depends even more on the people's ability to make that interpretation stick, to translate it into concrete forward-looking policies and to fight for their realization. In this alone lies the guarantee that the election mandate will be fulfilled.

II. ULTRA REGROUPING

The struggle to achieve this will not be easy. The ultra-Right, although badly beaten in the election, still represents a formidable force. While it aimed to win in 1964, for the ultra-Right this was not a win-all, lose-all election. Taking advantage of traditional party voting patterns in the North, and allying itself with the Dixiecrats in the South, it misled 26 million Americans into voting for Goldwater, even though the vast majority of these cannot

*The Worker, December 6, 1964.

be considered as ultra-Rightists. Such a vote is an ominous warning.

The Birchite-Dixiecrat-Goldwater camp is now seeking to regroup its ranks. It will try to maintain its dominant position within the GOP while perhaps making some concessions to party unity. It will seek to exert an unremitting pressure on the Johnson administration, on Congress, and on the state governments. It is tightly organized and well-heeled financially. It will use every setback suffered by American imperialism abroad, every struggle between monopoly and the people at home, to sow confusion and democracy. It aims to weld together a phalanx of racist and fascist-minded forces ready to go to any limit, even armed violence, to thwart the national will and to achieve its ends. The November 3rd election was only the first major battle with the ultra-Right, not the decisive nor final one.

III. BIG BUSINESS GOALS

A different kind of threat to the popular mandate comes from some big business forces who, for their own reasons, opposed the Goldwater candidacy and gave varying degrees of support to President Johnson. These capitalist groupings will now endeavor to interpret the election mandate in their own way and in their own interest. This will not be in the interest of the people.

It is true that these groups do not want a trigger-happy foreign policy that could blunder the nation into a nuclear disaster. That is why they feared a Goldwater victory. But neither do many of them want a complete end to the cold war and arms race, nor a true policy of peaceful coexistence with the Soviet Union, China, Cuba and all other socialist lands. They seek no end to colonialism, only an end to the discredited European brand, while imposing their own neo-colonial forms of economic and political subjugation. They support the dirty war in Vietnam and the Congo and organize U.S. guerrilla armies and CIA financed and manipulated counter-revolutions to keep the people of Latin America, Asia and Africa from becoming masters in their own homes.

The big business groups that supported Johnson recognized that there could be no peace on our streets if Goldwater and the Dixiecrats won federal power. They realize that concessions to greater Negro equality are inevitable. Yet many of them do not want a complete end to discrimination *now,* and certainly do not want in industry, for that would cut into their profits. Nor do they want a radical change in the South, with higher wages and living standards. They fear that a South governed by a forward-looking Negro-white alliance would so weaken reaction nationally, and particu-

larly in the halls of Congress, as to give a new progressive thrust to the whole nation.

Likewise they are opposed to a shorter work week and a massive federally financed building program to help create the jobs and decent housing without which the very promise of Negro equality becomes a mockery.

These capitalist groupings, contrary to those who supported Goldwater, find it in their interests to make certain concessions to labor in order to avoid all-out class conflict. But they are no less bitterly opposed to a new labor upsurge, to a new extension of labor's right to organize and to bargain collectively, and to a great new advance in progressive social legislation.

While these groupings of capital did not want Goldwaterism in power at this time, now that it has been rebuffed, some of them do not want it totally crushed. They want it to remain strong enough to veto public pressure for more liberal and progressive domestic and foreign policies, and as an ace-in-the-hole should they some day prefer it in power.

IV. TWO-PARTY SYSTEM

One of the major objectives of these big business groupings is to try to halt the process of political regrouping which in this election, more than any previous one, indicates a radical transformation of the mass base of each of the two major parties. As these parties evolved historically, they were each composed of heterogeneous and conflicting class and sectional interests which, in the course of intra-party strife, cancelled themselves out and thus made big business control easier. In fact, the parties were little more than unprincipled electoral combinations held together to win elections and not in fact bound by any platform or program. However, with the Roosevelt New Deal a shift began to take place in the mass base of each party. The Democratic Party nationally became identified in the public mind as the party more responsive to mass pressure, especially from the workers, Negro people and lower income groups. The Republican Party became identified in the public mind with the vested interests.

Both national parties remained in fact the parties supported and controlled by big business. The national Democratic Party tended to get more big business support when a course of compromise was deemed advisable or unavoidable. The national Republican Party was the greater recipient of this support when a policy of concessions was opposed, or when it was feared that the pressure for reform would get out of hand. Monopoly groupings and individual capitalists have leaned in one direction or the other, depending also upon the nature of their investments, their market prob-

lems, and the struggle within the ranks of finance capital for the lion's share of the yearly $100 billion of federal spending.

V. MASSIVE VOTE SHIFT

In this year's election, the shift in mass base reached a new level. Every section of the labor movement supported the national Democratic ticket, something which did not take place even in the Roosevelt landslide of 1936. It is estimated that well over 80 per cent of the working class vote went to Johnson. The Negro people, who up to the New Deal were traditionally in the Republican column, this year voted Democratic by an estimated 95 per cent. The huge Negro vote with its near unanimity was decisive in swinging the election in many Northern industrial states and in a larger number of state and congressional races. In the South it played a special role, being decisive in all the Southern states won by Johnson and in a larger number of state and congressional districts as well.

The Dixiecrat hold on the South has hitherto been used as the main political roadblock to the growing influence of the labor, Negro and liberal movements within the national Democratic Party. This year, many Dixiecrats broke with the national ticket and formed an alliance with Goldwater and the Republican Party. Some, like Thurmond, switched outright to the Republican Party. The Dixiecrat influence in the Democratic Party and in Congress has thereby been weakened. Thus the labor, Negro, liberal and progrssive forces are in a relatively stronger position to wield influence in these bodies than ever before.

VI. REPUBLICAN PARTY

Contrariwise, the national Republican Party in this election became the diehard party of extreme reaction, turning its back on many of its former supporters and embracing the Birchites, Kluxers and Dixiecrats as its natural allies. Even large sections of the Northern farm vote, the women's vote, the relatively conservative suburban, small-town and old-age vote, swung away from the Republican national ticket. It is estimated that in the North Goldwater got his main vote from the upper and middle income groups. Only in the South, where many white working people are still poisoned by racial prejudice, did he get large numbers of lower income voters.

This situation is causing considerable alarm in the ranks of certain big business groups and their political pundits. There is much talk about the danger of a one-party system and of the Republican Party dwindling to a small minority party and going the way of

the Whigs. The real fear is that the two-party system as now constituted may disappear and give way to parties based on specific class alliances and corresponding programs.

The Republican Party finds itself in deep crisis. If democratic reapportionment is won in the various states, and if the Negro people can win their right to vote in the South, the crisis in the ranks of the Republican Party is bound to grow, for much of the strength it has exercised in state legislatures and in Congress has been out of proportion to its actual strength in the electorate. Many inside the Republican Party now realize that it can only survive as a potent political force — in the industrial states at least — by moving in a direction opposite to Goldwaterism. Progressives are not indifferent to this trend and would like to see extreme reaction defeated in *both* major parties.

But the attempt to save the Republican Party by patching up the differences within it are not in most cases motivated by concern with giving the people meaningful electoral choices. On the part of many big business groups it is motivated by the single desire to perpetuate the two-party system as a safe vehicle through which monopoly capital can exercise its political domination.

VII. NEW ADMINISTRATION

In the Democratic Party, too, the struggle is shaping in new dimensions. The question is: Will the new mass base of the national Democratic Party reflect itself in policies, leadership and in the exercise of power? Or, will the Administration take this mass base for granted and seek instead to mend its political fences on the Right?

Concretely: Will the Administration take steps to bring America's, undeclared war against Vietnam to an end, or will it give way to the Goldwaterites in the State and Defense Departments who want to escalate that war into an all-Asia conflict? Will the Johnson administration continue to give key posts in the Cabinet to big business representatives, including Republicans, or will labor and the Negro people find representation in the Cabinet for the first time? Will the Administration lead the fight for a change in seniority rules in Congress, or will it placate the Dixiecrats by giving them the very committee posts from which they can effectively sabotage the election mandate? Will the Administration give protection to the Metro people in the deep South and guarantee them their constitutional rights, or will it close its eyes to the reign of terror in the interests of re-cementing party harmony? Will the Administration push through congress a major crash anti-poverty program, transferring billions from military expenditures to the task of wiping out slums, building schools, expanding edu-

cation, and providing jobs and opportunities for our youth, or will it be content with only token efforts in that direction?

It is on these basic questions that the new Administration will be judged. If a great mass movement develops which can press the Administration in a more progressive direction in both foreign and domestic policy, then the prospect of a new-New Deal becomes a realistic possibility. Under such circumstances the Democratic Party and the Johnson administration will not collide with their own mass base on support and may even consolidate this base still further. But if they head in a conservative-reactionary direction and betray their own election promises, then a collision between them and their supporters becomes inevitable.

VIII. PEOPLE'S COALITION

It would be a major mistake to believe that the overwhelming victory of the national Democratic ticket represented a blind allegiance to the Democratic Party or an unconditional vote of confidence in President Johnson and his policies. There was more split-ticket voting this year than in any previous election. Then, as noted by many commentators and straw polls, the vote and support for President Johnson was definitely conditional. What was unconditional was the opposition to Goldwaterism and the determination to bury it in an avalanche of public condemnation.

Furthermore, the large plurality given Johnson was not garnered exclusively by the Democratic machine. Without the independent activities of the labor movement, the Negro people, Jewish, Mexican and Puerto Rican Americans and other nationality groups and of writers, educators, scientists and citizens of all types; without the tireless work of nearly all civil rights organizations and peace groups, and without the formation of independent volunteer movements within and without the Democratic Party and of such new political formations as the Freedom Democratic Party, this great victory would not have been possible.

All this represents an important plus for the battles ahead, but only if these independent movements recognize that their job is not done. They need to find the basis for continued and permanent existence, fighting for progressive policies and for the complete fulfillment of the November 3rd mandate.

Secondly, these independent volunteer formations need to achieve a greater degree of cohesion and unity based upon greater clarity of program and perspective. *What is needed to combat Goldwaterism in all its manifestations and to counter the organization and cohesion of the ultra-Right, is a great people's coalition for peace, equality, security and opportunity.* It is the labor movement, representing the most progressive and best organized class in modern

society which has the responsibility of taking the lead in the formation and heading of such a popular coalition.

The need for such a people's alliance has been recognized by certain labor leaders who have called for a National Coalition of Conscience. But this idea has not yet become the accepted goal of the entire labor movement and little has been done to implement it. One reason for this is that the majority of labor leaders still has too large a dependence on the Democratic machine and tends to give a blank check to whatever Democratic administration is in power. This is the major reason why the political action machinery of the labor movement in the form of COPE and DRIVE is still in many places something thrown together in the last weeks of an election campaign.

It should become a permanent political arm of labor, working day in and day out around the year in every plant and working class community.

IX. NEGRO PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT

Of all social forces in our land, the Negro people are the most dissatisfied with their lot, unable and unwilling to live in the old way and determined not to sell their birthright and self-dignity for some minor advances. Yet the fulfillment of their battle cry, "Freedom Now," requires far-reaching changes in American life and not least of all in its economy. For these reasons the Negro people's movement is the most determined and militant force in America today. Its courage, self-sacrifice and noble ideals have attracted to it also many of the best of the white young generation who understand that by winning freedom for Negro America they will ensure freedom for all America.

Because the root cause of Negro oppression is economic, because the great majority of Negro Americans are working people, and because the self-interest of the white workers requires their joining with their Negro brothers, there is the basis for a natural alliance between the labor and Negro people's movement. This is already in formation and could exist in complete and solid form once the labor movement takes a greater initiative in the struggle for Negro rights and in the great battle for peace and against poverty.

When the spirit which today animates the Negro people's movement sweeps over into the ranks of labor, a great new rebirth of the labor movement will take place. It will complete the job of organizing the millions of still unorganized industrial, white collar and professional workers, including the South, squarely face the unprecedented challenge of automation, and place itself in the recognized leadership of all those working for social progress in

the United States. It is toward that day that all class-conscious and militant trade unionists should work.

X. ROLE OF THE LEFT

A central task in helping to weld a coalition that can block the path to Goldwaterism, no matter what guise it may take, is the building of an ever more united and ever stronger Left force in American life of Communists and non-Communists. The nature of our problems in the years ahead is such that only deep-going economic and political changes can counter the built-in tendencies of American capitalism toward retrogression and reaction. Only a stronger Left force which views American problems on the background of a world in revolutionary technological and social change, and which understands the nature of our present-day society and the meaning of socialism, can exert a consistently progressive influence on current struggles, giving them aim and perspective.

There is increasing evidence of a growing ferment in the ranks of progressive-minded people, especially young people; a growing realization that what some have referred to as the "Triple Revolution" of our time, will require answers more deep-going than those faced by any previous generation. New times will require new values, new approaches, new answers. This means that the potential for the development in American life of an influential and ever more vital Left force is rapidly maturing.

The fact that new forces moving to advanced social thinking come from varied class and social backgrounds and have different levels of experience, explains the reason for the conflicting points of view in the ranks of the Left, both new and old, and why no common approach to all basic questions has yet emerged.

This expressed itself during the election campaign. Every section of the Left recognizes that a basic political regrouping in American political life is necessary and inevitable. The day will surely come when socialist-minded people, trade unionists and progressives generally, will have a major electoral party of their own, representing their combined interests and not that of big capital.

But what many of the Left fail to see is that the exact process of political regrouping taking place is different from that at the beginning of the century. It is not following the old classical pattern of straight-line third-party development. The process at work is more complicated and complex. It is still taking place within the frame-work of the institutionalized two-party system. Whatever significant independent volunteer forms of political expression exist have as their immediate objective the aim of influencing

the outcome of the struggle within and between the two major parties.

The whole Left should realize that subjective desires cannot replace objective reality. Nor can the Left achieve anything by standing on the sidelines as super-critics of everything and everyone that does not accept its own overall viewpoint. The Left, seeking a more fundamental reconstruction of society, can only help bring this advanced thinking to the people by being part of their daily struggles and not by separating itself from them or erecting artificial barriers between it and the much vaster mass of forward-moving Americans.

So long as the people see a tangible difference between the two parties, they will continue to cast their votes for the one which is somewhat better or, to put it another way, somewhat less worse. Nor will abstract arguments about the "lesser evil" change anything until the masses feel strong enough to go in the direction of a party representing the greater good.

Third party candidates should be put forward wherever this can help crystallize the mass movement and struggle and where no meaningful choice is given the people. Under no circumstances should they be put forward where this would mean a head-on collision with the labor and Negro people's movements or where the only result would be the victory of the ultra-Right.

But certainly the Left should actively urge the labor and Negro people's movements to begin fighting for increased representation all along the line, to put forth their own more advanced candidates in primary struggles and to refuse to go along with machine-chosen political hacks. Likewise, it should help stimulate the formation of a liberal-progressive bloc in Congress and in state and city legislative bodies.

The Left should grasp the truth of all past experience that higher social consciousness and more advanced political movements can only arise from the mass currents and struggles of today. We feel confident that the American people too will come to realize the necessity of taking the socialist path. But they will do so only out of their own experience and in accord with specific American conditions and traditions.

XI. COMMUNIST PARTY'S ROLE

In the 1964 elections the Communist Party played an important and significant role. It helped bring greater clarity and a degree of unity to Left-minded people, and by speaking to tens of thousands in its own name made a contribution to the victory that finally came. Recognizing the danger of the ultra-Right long before the brazen coup d'etat at the Cow Palace, the Communist

Party was prepared for the specific character of the election struggle as it unfolded.

This compares with those sections of the Left that had ridiculed the idea of an ultra-Right menace and were therefore caught completely unawares by the Goldwater-Dixiecrat bid for power. At first, some of these groups tried to ignore its meaning. Even when they saw it for what it was, a specific form of American fascism, they recoiled from drawing correct tactical-political conclusions from their own analyses. For them it was either all the way or none of the way with Johnson, not just part of the way.

The Communist Party can be rightfully proud of its correct basic analysis, its line of policy and the way it worked during the campaign. Never before were the ranks of the Party so united behind party policy as in the election struggle.

Now a new phase of struggle is opening. This will be a continuation of the election struggle, yet different from it in many respects. In this period ahead we seek to strengthen our own party and its influence but not as against the rest of the Left or against the great popular forces not yet Communist or Left in their thinking. We seek to find the basis for a greater unity and greater initiative of the Left within the framework of a greater unity of all Americans fighting for their immediate needs and rights.

STRUGGLES AHEAD

In the period ahead, the following issues and struggles stand out:

1. **End the Cold War. Win the Fight for Peaceful Coexistence and End Colonialism.**

The most urgent of all tasks at this moment is the mounting of a powerful movement to stop the dirty war against the Vietnamese people and for bringing our boys back home. The fight for peace also requires mass pressures for recognition of People's China; for a world conference of nuclear powers to ban the bomb; for opening reciprocal trade relations with all socialist countries, including China and Cuba; for immediate withdrawal of men and aid from the mercenary war against the Congolese people; and against any proposal to give nuclear arms to West Germany.

2. **End Jimcrow.**

In the first place this requires a movement to get federal protection for the constitutional rights of the Negro people in the deep South, and to get the Administration to stop all federal funds to states refusing to comply with federal law. This also makes necessary the full enforcement of both Article IV, Section 4 of the Constitution as well as the 14th Amendment to the Constitution. These require a republican form of government in all states and for a reduction of state's congressional representation where the principle of one man, one vote is violated. To win full equality for the

Negro people in the period ahead requires the most determined struggle for full enforcement of the Civil Rights Law and against every act of discrimination, especially in employment, housing and occupational opportunities.

3. **End Poverty.**

The war against poverty must be made into a real war. In addition to the immediate adoption of an effective Medicare bill, it is necessary to struggle for a basic extension of all social security and old age benefits and for a major crash program of ten billion dollars a year to combat poverty in America.

4. **Extend Labor's Rights.**

To protect labor's rights and to help in organizing the workers of the South and Southwest it is necessary to demand the repeal of all existing anti-labor legislation including the state right-to-work laws and to win a new and stronger charter of labor's rights.

5.**Extend Democracy Throughout the Land.**

The repudiation of Goldwaterism and its "states rights" doctrine is the final confirmation that our country can and must become a united nation—a nation with one constitution and one Bill of Rights that applies uniformly to all our citizens in every state. What is needed is a new federal charter and a new addition to the Bill of Rights that unify and revitalize all of our democratic institutions. The time had come to make all laws pertaining to democratic rights and social legislation uniform throughout the land. To move in this direction requires a struggle for democratic reapportionment in all states; an end to the seniority system in congress; the abolition of HUAC and all remnants of thought-control; the protection of the rights of minority parties, including the right to the ballot; and an end to the persecution and prosecution of Communists.

Certainly around these and other issues there is ample room and need for Left initiative and for unity between the Left and all other liberal and democratic forces in the land.

Such are some of the lessons and some of the tasks as we see them. Just as the election struggle developed on the background of the important battles that preceded it, so the new post-election struggles are developing on the background of the election victory. New opportunities have been opened up for important gains by the people. But these opportunities must be seized or they can be turned into their opposite. We have confidence they will be seized. The Communist Party pledges to work and struggle with might and main to help fulfil the mandate of November 3rd and to make the elections the beginning of a new forward advance of the American people.

DRAFT GENERAL PROGRAM* OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF EL SALVADOR

INTRODUCTION

The ultimate objectives of the Communist Party of El Salvador are to establish a socialist system, which will eliminate the exploitation of man by man, and to build communism, under which material and social distinctions, classes, and all forms of oppression will disappear forever.

Before stating the CPS program for the present stage of the revolution, it is appropriate to review the main characteristics of the situation in the country.

In El Salvador, capitalism has been developing against the background of strong survivals of feudalism and disastrous economic dependence on developed capitalist countries, primarily the United States.

Capitalist development in the imperialist phase has led to technical progress, a better transport system and the establishment of a home market. On the other hand, it has lent the national economy a lop-sided character by gearing it to the export of agricultural raw materials. Industrial development limited to the construction of factories to process imported raw materials has resulted in increased infiltration by U.S. monopoly capital and still greater economic dependence, to stagnation in certain branches of agriculture and industry, near-starvation of the greater part of the population, and the recrudescence of numerous survivals of feudalism.

While some branches of agriculture, such as cotton growing, are developing rapidly, there is a serious slump in others, in particular animal husbandry. Industrial progress is retarded by the exceptionally low standard of living of the masses due to monstrous exploitation and by the restrictions which U.S. imperialist capital and the national oligarchy have imposed upon the country. As a result, economic progress lags behind the increase in population. The labor force is growing as it is joined by thousands of young people, most of whom cannot find work.

That is why we maintain that El Salvador is a semi-feudal and semi-colonial country with a deformed capitalist economy.

El Salvador has never been economically independent. Following

*This Draft, printed in an abridged form here, was approved by the Fifth Congress of the CPS in 1964. By decision of the Congress, it was submitted to the membership for discussion. Besides, it was widely circulated among the people. It is to be approved in final form at the Sixth Congress of the CPS or at an extraordinary congress if necessary.—Ed.

liberation from the Spanish rule in 1821 it gradually became dependent on Britain and afterwards on the United States. Oppression by the U.S. imperialists has increasedd uring the past thirty years and was particularly strong during the Second World War. El Salvador is losing the last vestiges of national independence and becoming a U.S. colony.

The United States is out to expedite the complete subjugation of El Salvador through the "Alliance for Progress," a program designed to check the revolutionary process in Latin America and accompanied by the increasing penetration of U.S. capital. Far from contributing to the country's development and the solution of serious national problems, "aid" under this program helps the military dictatorship to carry out demagogic campaigns in the social sphere. It is aimed at increasing the economic dependence of the nation and at limiting its sovereignty.

The main features of the oppression of our country by the U.S. imperialists may be listed as follows: (a) the economy is greatly deformed to serve U.S. monopoly interests rather than the needs of the people; (b) 36 per cent of our imports and 34 per cent of our exports are controlled (as of 1962) by the United States; furthermore, the USA buys our raw materials at ever-decreasing prices while charging more and more for its own goods, and prevents us from establishing commercial relations wth the socialist countries; (c) there is a rapid growth of U.S. investments in the key branches of our economy: sea, air and railway transport, oil processing and trade, power, seaports, trading and processing establishments (cigarettes, instant coffee, dyestuffs, etc.); (d) the credits granted by the USA on exceedingly onerous terms are heavy shackles for our country.

U.S. imperialist domination takes various forms: (a) all kinds of "technical" missions operate unhampered in the country, infiltrating the administration, police and army, and bringing various government institutions, which they are decentralizing, under their increasing control; (b) the government's credit and tax policy is shaped in Washington; (c) films, the press, radio, television, music and other media are used to further the ideological influence of imperialism, to corrupt people by propagating frustration, loose morals, vice and crime—in short, to destroy national culture and the patriotic spirit of the people; (d) with CIA agents holding key posts in the armed forces, the imperialists urge the country to join in the arms race with its neighbors; they encourage militarist trends in the country and try to incite the armed forces to an open attack on Cuba and other countries striving for freedom; (e) the Salvadoran Embassy in Washington has become an agency forwarding State Department instructions, while the U.S. Embassy in our country often acts over the head of the President of the Republic.

El Salvador's foreign policy and its stand in international organizations do not meet the interests of our people; they are fully subordinated to Washington's *diktat,* to the policy of provocation and war pursued by the U.S. imperialists.

New powerful and dynamic productive forces have emerged in our country capable of providing the people with high living and cultural standards. The vast majority of our population is made up of working people of town and country who have to a considerable degree mastered modern techniques and are capable of achieving rapid progress in this sphere. Nevertheless, they continue to live in poverty, and remain culturally backward.

What is the obstacle to the full and harmonious development of the country, the provision of a high standard of living to our industrious people, and a flourishing culture? It is the semi-colonial and semi-feudal state of our economy, which suits the interests of the U.S. imperialists and their ally, the national oligarchy. They make colossal profits by exploiting our people. They have monopolized trade in the products of our monoculture economy. They benefit by the survivals of feudalism. They have intertwined their interests in mixed enterprises to exploit the Central American market.

The workers, peasants, small urban and rural proprietors, and medium urban and rural capitalists all suffer, to some degree or other, from exploitation and oppression by the U.S. imperialists and the national oligarchy. All these classes and social strata want progress for the country and would greatly benefit from its harmonious all-round development.

It follows that the fundamental historical conflict in our country is that between the interests of the U.S. imperialists and the national oligarchy, on the one hand, and the interests of the nation, on the other. The contradiction between imperialism and the majority of the population is the chief aspect of this conflict. Therefore, at certain junctures and on certain issues, even the "Big Fourteen"* can and do join the opponents of imperialism because of their antagonism to the latter.

On the other hand, the contradictions within the ruling classes are growing because the path imposed by the imperialists complicates national problems still further. So are the contradictions between imperialism and its allies, between the allies of imperialism, between the people and their oppressors. In short, imperialist activity aggravates all contradictions and the various economic and political problems of the country.

Between 1958 and 1964 El Salvador experienced a cyclic economic crisis, chiefly caused by a fall in the world prices of coffee which, in turn, resulted from overproduction and U.S. monopoly profiteering.

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*The wealthiest and most powerful group of the national oligarchy.—**Ed.**

The second half of 1963 witnessed a notable increase in industrial and commercial activity, although the downward trend of coffee prices persisted. Three main factors made it possible to compensate for the loss due to overproduction of coffee and put the economy on the road to progress. They were increased cotton output, the growth of the nation's foreign debt and direct U.S. investments, and greater export of shrimps and sugar.

In other words, the country pulled out of the crisis not by solving the problems arising from the one-sided development of agriculture and dependence on U.S. imperialism, but by accentuating all the negative aspects of the economy, which has become even more dependent on world market fluctuations and hence more vulnerable. In addition, its indebtedness to the United States is still greater now, partly due to increased direct investments by the U.S. monopolies.

Obviously, the solution found by the country does not lead to national liberation but to greater subjugation by imperialism. It is undeniable, however, that the past crisis has created objective conditions favorable to revolution, increasing its social forces and opening up prospects for the rapid development of subjective factors.

When, more than thirty years ago, the national oligarchy was faced with the growth of the popular movement and revolutionary ferment, the failure of official policy, the general crisis of capitalism, and a mounting anti-imperialist struggle on the continent, it established a military dictatorship. On December 2, 1931, a military coup brought General Martinez into power. Never since then have the military relinquished the reins of government, allowing only an occasional slackening of repressive measures when forced to do so by popular action or by the contradictions of the regime itself.

The past three decades have seen a series of rigged elections and government reshuffles, but the military dictatorship has stayed on. Martinez was succeeded by Castaneda Osorio, then came Lemus, Cordon, and Rivera who is still in power, their rule being "diluted" by military juntas to guarantee the continuity of the regime.

A strenuous struggle by the people over a long period toppled the Lemus government. The new government did not suit the reactionaries because it respected certain freedoms. On January 25, 1961, imperialist agents operating in frank collusion with the national oligarchy engineered a coup d'état and set up a new military dictatorship. The putschists again shattered the myth that the army keeps out of politics and stands guard over legality. They showed that the armed forces are the main instrument of coercion in the hands of the imperialists and the oligarchy.

Following the coup the machinery of state, which the oligarchy had always used to oppress the people and which served U.S.

imperialism, found itself under the direct control of U.S. agents. Today this machinery server primarily U.S. imperialist interests.

Unless the main historical conflict mentioned above is resolved, our country will be unable to cope with its major economic, social and political problems and gain genuine independence. This cardinal task has to be carried out by the revolution. At the present stage of our development the revolution is bound to be democratic revolution by virtue of the people's role in it, an anti-feudal revolution by virtue of the economic changes it is to bring about, and a national-liberation revolution by virtue of its anti-imperialist nature.

It is to be a revolution of the masses in the interests of the majority of the people. It will have to be accomplished with the participation of all Salvadorans, civilians and military alike, who regard it as their patriotic duty to join in the people's struggle for freedom. Its worst enemies will be the U.S. imperialists, the parasitic oligarchic group, and the traitors implementing its policy of oppression, plunder and crime.

The revolution will be made by the workers, peasants, small urban proprietors, and the medium capitalists of town and country, i.e., the classes most oppressed by the imperialists and the oligarchy. Some patriotic-minded big capitalists may likewise join the ranks of the revolutionaries.

To enable these classes and social strata to pool their efforts against the common enemy, it is necessary to form a Democratic National Liberation Front. This is the chief strategic and tactical task at this stage of the revolution, a goal on which our Party is concentrating now.

This front—the most consistent alliance of all progressive anti-imperialist forces—will be the result of a series of joint actions and efforts in the spirit of unity. It will not be brought into being by any single decision. Aware of its duty to help in forming this front, the Communist Party of El Salvador favors broad enduring alliances and joint actions on definite issues or specific immediate demands in the struggle against imperialism and the oligarchy, for democracy.

The tasks of this revolution can be carried out only by establishing a democratic government of national liberation which will be led by the working class and will constitute the political expression of the alliance of classes interested in the liberation and progress of the country.

The proletariat must play the role of vanguard in the revolution. This is indispensable for lending the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist struggle a genuinely democratic and revolutionary character, ensuring that the revolution gradually accomplishes its great tasks, and preventing capitulation through conciliation with the

imperialists and the oligarchy. The proletariat is the most numerous class in our country today, and also the most consistently revolutionary class. Its interests coincide, more than those of any other class, with the interests of society because it champions socialist, i.e., the most progressive and comprehensive, reforms.

The proletariat becomes leader of the revolution through its struggle and with the support of its vanguard. The Communist Party will continue to do all in its power to establish the hegemony of the proletariat in our country.

Should some other democratic government be established—a possibility not to be ruled out—prior to the formation of a democratic government of national liberation, our Party will vigorously support that government's every anti-feudal and anti-imperialist step and every reform promoting national progress. At the same time our Party will combat all vacillation and all attempts at a compromise with the imperialists and the oligarchy.

At present our Party sets itself the task of resolutely mustering the forces necessary for the victory of the revolution. This means fighting for:

—the consolidation of the Party and all revolutionary and democratic organizations;

—the establishment of a Democratic Front of the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist forces;

—democratic liberties, against encroachments on civil rights, against anti-democratic legislation and fascist trends, for the release of political prisoners, against all dictatorial practices;

—trade union unity, against interference in trade union affairs by the government and by imperialist agents, for trade union democracy, for the extension and effective application of labor legislation, for greater social funds and social security, against anti-labor legislation, for higher wages, against unemployment and the high cost of living, against the economic crisis which brings suffering to the overwhelming majority of the population;

—a stronger alliance of the workers and peasants, for the freedom of the union of agricultural workers, for higher pay and better working conditions for them, for the abolition of the semi-feudal relations from which they suffer, for the extension of labor and social rights to them, for the provision of land, loans, implements and technical assistance to small and middle peasants, for better housing, medical care, social conditions and education for the rural population;

—easy-term credits to small and medium proprietors in industry and trade, for measures to defend the national industries and promote their vigorous development;

—the rights of women, young people and children;

—sovereignty and national independence, against all manifesta-

tions of imperialist rule, against all imperialist attempts to perpetuate and aggravate the semi-colonial state of the country, for free trade with all countries;

—for peace and peaceful coexistence.

Our people and our Party do not advocate the use of force as a means of solving the fundamental problems facing them. They have always preferred peaceful means in their struggle for democracy. But today the most advanced sections of the people have come to realize that the imperialists and the oligarchy have blocked the peaceful road to the revolution in our country. For many years our people have suffered from massive repressions, terror, denial of elementary democratic rights, successive military dictatorships, the brutal persecution of democratic organizations, refusal to allow the agricultural workers, who make up two-thirds of the country's population, to organize, denial of the freedom of speech, and military coups against every government attempting democratic reforms. All this shows that it is the ruling classes that use force, and convinces the people that they must prepare to counter force with force. All this has made the people realize that no matter how difficult their road to the establishment of a democratic government of national liberation may be, it is certain to be less painful that constant suffering, the death of thousands, and the flouting of the country's sovereignty by the U.S. imperialists and the oligarchy.

The general line of our Party is to achieve the unity of the people in the struggle against the dictatorship and the oligarchic and imperialist interests it serves, to secure the victory of the national-liberation, anti-feudal and democratic revolution by every legal or illegal, peaceful or non-peaceful means, to develop a powerful popular movement, with the armed struggle of the people as the chief means of winning power.

The present period of the mustering of forces requires the right combination of preparations for the armed uprising of the people and various mass actions, the rallying and organization of the people, and the use of every opportunity for open or underground struggle.

Should internal and international developments, the growing achievements of socialism, and progress in the struggle of our people create favorable conditions for a peaceful transition and the establishment of a democratic government of national liberation, the Party and the people will not insist on using force but will take the peaceful road in keeping with the new historical situation.

The international situation is becoming more and more favorable to the revolutionary struggle of the people of El Salvador. Whereas the capitalist system is in the grip of a fatal crisis, the

socialist system is demonstrating its indisputable superiority in the most diverse fields. As a result, the balance of world forces is changing irrevocably in favor of socialism, the national-liberation movements and the forces of peace, democracy and progress. Socialism is fast becoming the decisive factor in historical development. The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries have become the lodestar of all the peoples seeking liberation. The awakening of the colonial peoples of Asia and Africa to an independent life was an epoch-making event.

Latin America, too, has resolutely joined in the liberation movement. This part of the world has become the scene of an event of tremendous international significance: an anti-feudal and anti-imperialist revolution in Cuba has resulted in the emergence of the first socialist state in Latin America. This is a staggering blow at imperialism and a stimulating example for the other peoples of the continent.

The international situation is favorable to the victory of the people's revolution, to the assumption of power and the destruction of the foundations on which the power of the oligarchy and the imperialists rests.

It is indisputable, furthermore, that with the formation of a democratic government of national liberation our country will be assured the solidarity and extensive support of all the peoples of the world, primarily the socialist countries, in consolidating the revolutionary forces, effecting radical economic and political reforms, rapidly improving the standard of living, embarking on industrial development at a fast rate, doing away with the ignorance of the masses and raising their cultural level, and frustrating all attempts by the imperialists and their agents to interfere in our internal affairs, hamper the development of the revolution and implant counter-revolution.

The revolution of our people will not stop at the democratic and national-liberation stage. The conditions of our historical development, which are essentially the same as in other countries, will set our people a new and loftier task—that of accomplishing the socialist revolution and building socialism, the most developed, prosperous and just of all societies.

It should be stressed that as the experience of Cuba and other countries shows, the countries getting rid of colonial and semi-colonial oppression in the present historical situation can, after accomplishing the democratic and national-liberation revolutions, and given proper internal conditions, skip the capitalist stage and rapidly proceed to socialist construction with the powerful support of the socialist world community.

The Communist Party considers that this transition to socialism will not necessarily be brought about through coercion but will be

effected chiefly through persuasion. This view is based on the following: (1) the successful realization of the proposed program will lead to the solution of pressing national problems; (2) its realization will prove beyond doubt the viability and progressive character of collective ownership of the means of production, and the inability of the existing system of private ownership to bring about profound social changes; (3) in the new society, launched by the democratic system of national liberation, solidarity will prevail and all selfishness will be done away with.

In this way, the most favorable conditions will be provided for winning the support of the non-proletarian classes, the backward sections of the proletariat and all non-socialist elements for the peaceful and rapid transition to socialist construction. Reality itself will shatter the anti-socialist prejudices which imperialism fosters among non-proletarians. There is no doubt that the vast majority of our people will readily and consciously join in socialist construction, and will find in it a source of patriotic and genuinely humane inspiration.

On the strength of this analysis, the Communist Party of Salvador advances the following program for the present stage of the revolution, to be fulfilled by the democratic government of national liberation which will come into power as a result of the struggle of our people.

REVOLUTIONARY CHANGES, POLITICAL AND LEGAL

The great objectives of the democratic revolution of national liberation cannot be achieved unless the present reactionary and pro-imperialist regime is replaced by a revolutionary system. The revolution would make a serious mistake if it limited itself to a mere change of government, for it would immediately incur the danger of a counter-offensive by the domestic reactionaries and the imperialists. The state machinery of the imperialists and the oligarchy shall be destroyed and replaced by a revolutionary state of the working class, the peasants, the middle classes and the anti-imperialist sections of the bourgeoisie.

The government formed on this basis will be a coalition government of the revolutionary classes and will be led by the most consistent and determined members of these classes. The alliance of the workers and peasants, headed by the working class, will be the backbone of the revolutionary coalition.

The Constitution and the laws supplementing it, which today protect the reactionary interests of the ruling classes, shall likewise be replaced by a new Constitution and new laws facilitating the exercise of revolutionary power and extending its range.

MEASURES TO LIQUIDATE THE STATE MACHINERY OF IMPERIALISM AND THE OLIGARCHY AFTER THE VICTORY OF THE REVOLUTION

(a) abolition of all laws, decrees, codes, ordinances, regulations, etc., which sanctify semi-feudal exploitation and imperialist oppression or interfere with the democratization and revolutionary transformation of the country;

(b) dissolution of the Legislative Assembly;

(c) removal from the judiciary of all those who connived at the arbitrary practices and crimes of the dictatorship;

(d) restitution of the national property usurped or confiscated by those in power in the previous period;

(e) confiscation of the property of all those who betrayed the interests of the country by actively cooperating with imperialism in bolstering up its rule with the help of a tyrannical regime;

(f) dismissal of those officials who collaborated with the dictatorship to perpetuate the regime of oppression;

(g) complete abolition of all forms of U.S. imperialist control and influence over the armed forces by expelling the U.S. military mission and annulling all the agreements and treaties which contributed to the establishment of U.S. control and influence;

(h) prosecution of those guilty of crimes and violence against the people.

MEASURES TO ESTABLISH A REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT AND STATE

(a) establishment of a revolutionary government headed by the vanguard of the revolution;

(b) appointment to top administrative posts of the most upright and capable people devoted to the revolution who have taken an active part in the struggle of the people;

(c) revolutionary legislation to enforce economic, political and social changes;

(d) establishment of the government bodies which are to implement revolutionary changes;

(d) reorganization of the judiciary system in line with the new revolutionary law;

(f) reorganization of the armed forces along the following lines: participation of the masses; formation in the armed forces of a new cadre of leaders recruited from people loyal to the revolution; those officers of the present army found suitable for service in the new armed forces may join them if they wish; enactment of a new military law making the army truly an instrument of the

people; introduction of a discipline based on revolutionary and democratic consciousness and not on subordination alone;

(g) formation of revolutionary security contingents and revolutionary vigilance organizations consisting of representatives of the people;

(h) adoption of a new Constitution to give legal form to the economic, political, judicial and social institutions created by the revolution.

The Constitution is to legalize the republican form of government and establish a completely democratic state whose organs will fully present the interests of the workers, peasants, and the petty and national bourgeoisie. Both the Constitution and supplementary laws are to guarantee capitalist, personal and family, cooperative, and state property as the four basic forms of property under the new economic system. The revolutionary Constitution will consolidate the system on the basis of extensive democratic rights and freedoms enabling the people to actively contribute to and constantly influence the functioning of the state.

THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT

The foreign policy of the democratic government of national liberation will be directed above all towards defending national independence and sovereignty; maintaining solidarity with all the peoples fighting against U.S. imperialism; supporting the people's aspiration for freedom; promoting friendly relations with all countries on the basis of mutual respect, coexistence, non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, and defense of the right of the peoples to self-determination; settling all international disputes through negotiation, and promoting world peace. In practical terms, this policy implies the adoption of the following concrete measures:

(a) an end to all foreign interference—above all on the part of U.S. imperialism operating through its embassy and other institutions—in the domestic affairs of the country;

(b) expulsion of all U.S. military, police, cultural, economic and technical missions violating the sovereignty of El Salvador;

(c) annulment of all international agreements and treaties which in any way prejudice national sovereignty, hamper our economic and cultural development, or associate the country with the imperialists' aggressive policies;

(d) establishment, preservation and development of diplomatic, economic and cultural relations with all countries, the United States included, on the basis of full respect for our rights and independence;

(e) a policy aimed at promoting the unity of the Central American countries, with due regard both to the interests of the people and the struggle for national liberation, and to the rights of the five countries, the requirements of the all-round development of the peoples and nationalities making up the Central American family;

(f) pursuit in world and regional organizations of an independent policy furthering the interests of our people, human progress and world peace;

(g) firm support for plans to end the arms race and bring about general and complete disarmament;

(h) prohibition of all war propaganda in the country.

REVOLUTIONARY CHANGES IN THE ECONOMIC SPHERE

The nation's economic development will be based on the revolutionary reorganization of the present economic system in the interests of the majority of the nation, to be effected through the constructive effort of the working people, with the help of patriotic private initiative.

The new economic system will have four main forms of property:

(1) *state property*, or the property of the whole people as distinct from present-day state property which belongs to a state serving the exploiting classes and imperialism and is an instrument in the hands of these forces;

(2) *cooperative property*, created, on a voluntary basis, in the fields of production, distribution or consumption in town and country. Profits from this property will be distributed among the membership in accordance with each member's contribution in the form of labor or material means;

(3) *personal and family property*—articles of personal use, dwellings, and means of production used without exploiting wage labor;

(4) *capitalist property*—the property of medium and big urban and rural proprietors whose interests are in harmony with the necessity for promoting independent national economic development and improving the life of the people.

Contrary to the assertions of the reactionaries, a country like ours can develop its economy independently by using its own internal resources and drawing on the economic and technical aid of more developed countries provided its national sovereignty and its interests are fully respected.

MEASURES TO FREE THE NATIONAL ECONOMY FROM THE RULE OF THE OLIGARCHY AND THE IMPERIALISTS

(a) An agrarian reform to end the feudal monopoly on the land

and the semi-feudal relations of production (rent, gratuitous work, all kinds of extortions, etc.). The large estates will be expropriated in favor of the poor and land-hungry peasants, leaseholders, colons and agricultural workers. Estates of less than 100 hectares will not be expropriated. Those holders of latifundia willing to cooperate in national reconstruction will be allowed to keep this maximum of land for cultivation;

every peasant will be allotted a certain minimum of land, depending on area and soil fertility; he will be given technical assistance and granted long-term loans at low interest to purchase implements, fertilizer and select seed. The state will set up and run its own farms if it finds this necessary for more rapid progress in agriculture. The establishment of agriculture cooperatives with voluntary participation will be encouraged. The agrarian reform law will regulate the application and development of these fundamental principles;

(b) nationalization of the banking system to guarantee its operation in the interests of the nation's economic development; the rights of depositors will be guaranteed;

(c) nationalization and extension of foreign trade to end the foreign trade monopoly of the oligarchy which injures the interests of the small and medium producers and of the nation, abolish imperialist controls, and remove the obstacles to mutually advantageous trade with the socialist and all other countries;

(d) nationalization of the power industry, the railways, seaports, monopoly enterprises, and all major public-service establishments to improve service, make it cheaper, and stop the outflow of exchange. The profits of these establishments will be used to speed up the country's development and improve the people's standard of living.

MEASURES TO ACCELERATE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

(a) Establishment of a government economic development and planning body which, in conformity with the provisions of this program, would mobilize national resources and use them together with the aid provided by more developed countries;

(b) industrial development, with heavy industry receiving priority in terms of available resources, to strengthen our economic independence and meet the growing requirements of the people. With this aim in view, preferential tariffs and tax reductions or exemptions will be granted to enterprises with due regard to their economic importance. Steps will be taken to restrict the import of goods competing with home-made items;

(c) expansion and mechanization of agricultural production to improve the life of the people and promote foreign trade;

(d) a tax reform which will begin with the gradual reduction of indirect taxes and will considerably lighten the tax burden of the masses. The tax system will be chiefly based on direct progressive taxation on the principle, "He who has more shall pay more";

(e) the state budget will be drawn up in such a way as to promote economic growth and improve the material and cultural standards of the people. Wasteful spending will be eliminated and strict control established over national expenditures. A law on wages will establish an equitable wage scale and remove existing disparities;

(f) a National Coffee Institute will be set up to group all organizations concerned with coffee production;

(g) a Foreign Trade Institute will supervise foreign-trade transactions to safeguard independent economic development;

(h) protection and development of small and medium industrial, agricultural and commercial enterprises.

The important revolutionary changes in the countryside which will rapidly and considerably improve the life of the masses and eliminate unemployment at a comparatively early date will increase the purchasing capacity of the people and production at small and medium agricultural and industrial enterprises. In addition, the following measures will be adopted:

(a) creation of an extensive and flexible credit system providing for all forms of credit for varying terms;

(b) technical assistance to medium industrial and agricultural enterprises;

(c) credits and assistance in the fields of technology and planning to small industrial enterprises to modernize equipment and production methods.

REVOLUTIONARY CHANGES IN THE MATERIAL AND CULTURAL STANDARDS OF THE PEOPLE

The chief objective of the democratic revolution of national liberation is to radically improve the material and cultural standards of the people.

As far as religion is concerned, the revolutionary government will respect the freedom of religion and religious worship.

The revolutionary program of our Party envisages the following measures to improve the material and cultural standards of the people:

(a) greater incomes for the working people through an equitable wage scale and a fixed minimum wage sufficient to meet the material and spiritual requirements of every family;

(b) effective improvement of working conditions and the social security system;

(c) equal status and equal opportunity for women in politics, employment and in the cultural field, as well as in the family. All discrimination against women shall be ended. Women be granted the right to employment in accordance with the principle "equal pay for equal work," and will have equal opportunities for vocational training. Motherhood will be protected, the rights of expectant mothers will be guaranteed and an extensive network of maternity hospitals set up. Mothers of large families will receive assistance;

(d) an effective child-care system will be introduced. Child labor, which interferes with the education and normal development of children, shall be prohibited. Nurseries and kindergartens will be built. Meals will be provided to school children;

(e) a radical housing reform, with drastic cuts in rent, to provide every family with a flat of its own. A program for the early and large-scale construction of blocks of flats will be carried out by the state to end the housing shortage. In addition, people building their own homes will be granted loans;

(f) reorganization of the educational system. Early elimination of illiteracy. A sufficient number of primary schools are to be built. Promotion of secondary and higher education, and vocational training to meet the demands of developing agriculture, industry and national culture;

(g) a university reform to make the university an instrument for the country's cultural and scientific progress. University education will be brought within reach of everyone.

THE STRUGGLE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF EL SALVADOR

The Communist Party of El Salvador, a party born of the country's working class, has been in existence for over thirty years now. These have been years of heroic and selfless struggle. Our Party was founded by a group of prominent and experienced leaders of the working people in March 1930, during a rise in the popular movement. Its founding met an imperative historical need and was, without doubt, an event of tremendous importance for the revolutionary movement in El Salvador.

The CPS is the party of the working class. It represents the fundamental interests of the most progressive class of our society, the only one capable of carrying the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist revolution through to the end and proceeding to build a new, classless society. Thereby the CPS also represents the fundamental interests of all the revolutionary and progressive social strata and classes of the nation. It is their organized vanguard and the standard-bearer of their struggle.

The CPS groups, on the basis of Leninist organizational principles, the revolutionary elements of the working class, the peasantry and other classes fighting for socialism and communism as their ultimate goal. Marxism-Leninism, the scientific theory of the proletariat of the world, is the ideological foundation of the CPS, which strives to apply it creatively, with due regard to the actual conditions.

A party which dissociates itself from the people becomes a sect with no prospects. It loses the ability to see the needs of the masses and realistically assess the situation in the country. Hence it cannot plan the future and determine the right line of action. To be able to play the leading role, the Party should study the actual conditions while working among the masses. It should generalize the knowledge thus gained, formulate its Marxist-Leninist policy accordingly, and make it known to the masses, who will translate it into reality.

The revolutionary tasks facing the people of El Salvador cannot be carried out by any one class or party. They must be tackled by the masses, who should be organized, mobilized, inspired by a high degree of revolutionary consciousness, and united to fight for common aims. The lasting unity of all progressive forces is built up by the Communist Party, which strives to establish a united front that will head the revolutionary struggle. This front should be based on a solid alliance of the proletariat in town and country and the peasantry, above all its poor and middle sections. This alliance should include the numerous revolutionary-minded sections of the petty bourgeoisie, first and foremost students, professional and office workers, artisans, shopkeepers, etc., as well as those sections of the national bourgeoisie exploited and oppressed by the oligarchy and the imperialists.

The hegemony of the proletariat is needed to accomplish all the tasks of the revolution. It can be established provided the Communist Party is strengthened ideologically and organizationally and its political role enhanced.

Ever since it came into being, the CPS has had to wage ideological and political struggles against all kinds of deviations from Marxism. Its history has seen periods when deviations could have led to the liquidation of the Party had they not been resolutely combated. In recent years the struggle against sectarianism and extremism has become particularly important in view of the necessity for the all-round development of the Party and because the Party has to play its role as leader of the revolution effectively. The CPS has invariably adhered to the principles of proletarian internationalism, educating its members in the spirit of solidarity with all working men on earth and with the peoples fighting against imperialism and colonialism, for national independence,

progress, peace, socialism and communism. Our Party bases its close relations with other fraternal parties on the principles laid down in the 1957 Declaration and 1960 Statement.

Our Party fully supports the Leninist principles of the peaceful coexistence of countries with differing socio-economic systems. It is convinced that if all the peoples of the globe fight with determination to preserve peace and if the forces of socialism and progress continue to grow, it will be easier to foil the warmongers' plans and secure a lasting peace.

The Communist Party of El Salvador reaffirms its solidarity with the international Communist movement and with the peoples fighting for independence, progress and peace. This solidarity fully accords with the Party's profound patriotism and devotion to the interests of all the working people of El Salvador. Our patriotism is supreme because it is based on the principles of proletarian internationalism, or it could have degenerated into national egoism, chauvinism and bourgeois nationalist bigotry. This is why our Party educates its members in the spirit of genuine patriotism which expresses itself in the struggle for the happiness of our people, for the prosperity of our nation, which is threatened by U.S. imperialism. At the same time it educates its members in the spirit of consistent internationalism.

Our Party has been viciously attacked by the most reactionary forces ever since it was founded. An object of constant persecution, it has for more than thirty years been operating underground and has travelled a distinctive path. But nothing has been able to break it and nothing can destroy it, for its existence meets an objective historical requirement of our society. The Communists of El Salvador have always faced up with unexampled heroism and selflessness to the savage cruelty of the oppressors and executioners of the people. The Party has succeeded in gaining strength, although this has taken it many years.

The party is working to remove the harmful effects of erroneous methods of leadership and activity, extend its ideological work and strengthen its links with the masses. This will enable it to become the real leader of our people before long, to head all progressive and patriotic forces, and fight against feudalism, for national emancipation and socialism, which it is doing already.

The Communist Party of El Salvador is well aware of its revolutionary duty as it submits its first revolutionary program to the working class and the people of the country. Because of the difficulties it encountered, the CPS could not adopt its first Rules until 1946, i.e., sixteen years after it was founded. Its program today tells the people of the Party's aims in the struggle for national liberation and anti-feudal changes. The present document, drafted during the organizational and ideological development of

the Party and the revolutionary awakening of the masses, is the revolutionary program of the people of El Salvador. The CPS presents this program to the people, who are to translate it into reality. This marks the beginning of a vigorous struggle by the people to defeat U.S. imperialism and the national oligarchy and to establish a government that will assure the victory of the democratic revolution of national liberation.

POLITICAL RESOLUTION*

14TH CONGRESS, SOCIALIST PARTY OF ICELAND

I

Since the last Party congress the factory and office workers, fighting for their interests, have established extensive cooperation inside their organizations and secured the conclusion of important agreements with the employers and the government. They owe their achievements to the activities of powerful working people's organizations using the right methods of struggle which the Socialist Party has vigorously advocated both in labor unions and in the Union of Government and Municipal Employees. The Party has been intent on rallying the working people irrespective of their political views.

In January 1963 agreement was reached on a five per cent wage rise. However, the increase was greatly depreciated by a higher cost of living in later months. In June 1963 wages and salaries were raised by another seven per cent. But both agreements were nullified by increased prices in October. In the summer of 1963 salaries went up rather considerably, although the increase was not the same for all categories. Later on growing prices nullified that too.

The working class is stepping up its struggle, trying to stem the unrelenting offensive against wages and bring about a real improvement in the standard of living. Cooperation inside the working class with a view to extending this struggle is becoming closer. As a result, the employers and the government are faced with a dilemma of either using state power to suppress the struggle of the working class or making concessions to the factory workers' and office employees' organizations, possibly to the point of reaching agreement with them.

The employers and the government tried to use force. The Althing discussed a Bill to freeze wages and ban strikes. After five sittings the Bill was submitted for final consideration. But the workers' opposition to it was so firm and widespread that realistic-minded government members had to retreat, giving up the idea of voting for the Bill. This occurred on November 9 and the strikes which were on or had been announced had to be put off until December. The Government promised to discuss wages

*Thjodhviljinn, Nov. 26, 1964.

with labor organizations during the interval but did not keep its promise. This is why a two-week strike was called in December to secure a general 15 per cent wage increase.

The strike forced the employers and the government to retreat, but the ruling classes stuck to their methods—by engineering a brief spell of inflation, they immediately robbed the working people of the pay rise won. In May 1964 the pay rise secured under the December agreement was again nullied. The United Socialist Party of Iceland (USPI) and the labor movement are therefore fighting against the policy of unrestricted inflation. In March and April 1964 the USPI Central Committee spokesmen for labor discussed inflation and the economic situation in detail. They stated that they intended to use the strength of the working class against he growing cost of living and bring about a revision of economic policy. The Board of the Union of the Working People of Iceland (UWPI) offered the government its cooperation in carrying out measures to stop inflation, provide a higher standard of living for wage workers and reduce working hours. A statement issued by the CC, USPI in April 1964 commented on the changes to be effected in economic policy if such an agreement was to last. The result was an agreement on wages signed in June by representatives of labor, the government and the employers.

That agreement was a milestone in the struggle which the working class has been waging in late years. The government had to make substantial concessions. This meant abolishing the ban on the practice of adjusting wages to price indexes. Formerly—between 1960 and 1964—this ban was used to curtail the wage increases sought by the working people. Another agreement provided for considerably improving social security, appropriating additional funds for housing construction, granting longer holidays, and increasing wages. On the other hand, nothing came of the attempt to reach agreement on a greater increase in real wages, to which the working class is undoubtedly entitled. Nor was any appreciable headway made on so important a matter affecting the interests and rights of labor as shorter working hours.

This Congress considers that the establishment of a broad united front of labor organizations despite differences in political views is a valuable achievement of the class struggle. Cooperation provided the labor movement with sufficient strength to prevent the use of coercive methods by the government and to force it into agreement on a number of important issues.

This Congress believes that the agreements made in June 1964 may form an important basis for further achievements by labor organizations, real and lasting wage rises, and increased appropriations for social purposes. This will be possible if the workers

maintain their broad united front and take advantage of every opportunity to secure further gains.

This Congress considers that, on the one hand, the labor movement should be prepared for a difficult fight if the employers and reactionaries in the ruling parties make further attempts at using state power to reject the working people's legitimate demands; that, on the other hand, labor organizations must, now as in the past, be prepared to compromise with the government whenever there is an opportunity of reaching agreement on such important matters as shorter working hours, higher real wages and, in general, better social conditions for the working people.

Broad unity in the class struggle is a prerequisite for realizing either of these alternatives, that is, fruitful cooperation or a victorious struggle. There is every opportunity for this, which accounts in the main for the results achieved last summer, when inflation was stopped and the practice of adjusting wages to price indexes restored. The major points on which agreement should be sought in future talks with the employers are the following:

(1) A steady increase in real wages.

(2) Shorter working hours without wage cuts, so that wages can serve as a source of livelihood to a considerably greater extent than before.

(3) Longer holidays with better facilities.

(4) The promotion of agriculture, particularly sheep-breeding, on a plan basis, with the aim of making full use of economic opportunities.

(5) Lower housing construction costs; the construction of houses to let; better credit terms, and better functioning of housing cooperatives.

Class unity in support of these demands would afford better prospects for the struggle that is to start next spring, when the term of the June agreements expires. This is why the main task of labor organizations should be to achieve unity. It is also possible and necessary to see to it that labor organizations exercise their rights to influence the outcome of the forthcoming talks.

This Congress also considers that it is absolutely indispensable to attain the fullest possible unity on the issue of organizational changes in the trade unions leading to a structure more in line with the tasks facing the unions.

The Union of Government and Municipal Employees (UGME) has in recent years made real progress in the class struggle because its leadership succeeded in uniting the membership on a broad basis despite differences in political views. The agreement on the employees' right to negotiate working conditions without, however, going on strike was a step forward. The solution reached is unsatisfactory, of course, and the employees insist on intensify-

ing the struggle to gain the right to strike on an equal footing with wage workers. It is important, however, that the Union of the Working People of Iceland (UWPI) and the UGME should cooperate and that a special committee for cooperation be set up representing both organizations.

II

For 24 years now, Iceland has virtually been an occupied country. Throughout this crucial period the Socialist Party has been leading the people's liberation struggle. It has never abandoned this struggle even when it has to wage it singlehanded. The formation of a broad united front against occupation has been making steady progress. In recent years the activity of the Organization Against Occupation has been of special importance to the people, and it deserved the support of all fair-minded Icelanders. At present it is highly important to concentrate on organizing the people's liberation struggle, so that the question whether Iceland will favor a prolongation of the Atlantic Treaty or will wait till 1969 provided the alliance itself ends its painful existence can be decided in the next general election, that is, not later than 1967.

Occupation is fraught with the danger of foreign monopoly capital coming to take a direct part in Iceland's economic life. The extent of this participation has been increasing fast in late years.

Sizable forces in the government parties persistently seek permission for foreign capitalists to build aluminum plants and oil refineries in Iceland. Obviously, were this permission granted, foreign capitalists would be provided with a direct opportunity to influence Iceland's economy more and more.

There are two points of view on foreign participation in the country's economic activities.

On the one hand, there is talk of growing distrust of the Icelandic economy and its ability to meet the people's growing needs. This distrust is undoubtedly fomented by government advisors, who say in so many words that the traditional industries—fishing and fish processing, agriculture, and industry, all of which cater for the home market—allow little scope for economic growth.

This assertion comes from profit-seekers tempted by the profits of foreign companies.

On the other hand, experience has shown that the appraisal of Iceland's economic potential made by government advisors is absolutely wrong. The growth of production has greatly surpassed their estimates and the national income has now increased much more than in most of the neighbor countries.

This is true despite the fact that Iceland's economic opportuni-

ties are still largely unused. The products both of the fishing industry and of agriculture can be fully processed at home. The eventual increase in the value of these products promises a substantial growth of annual revenue.

In 1963 Iceland exported a mere 339 tons of canned fish worth 17 million kronur. Norway's export of the same fishing industry products this year (September) ran to 20,000 tons. Were Iceland to concentrate on this industry as much as Norway does, its export of these products could top 1,000 million kronur a year.

Iceland's possibilities in this field are much greater if account is taken of the results that can be achieved by processing agricultural raw materials. The aluminum plants, if built, would mean very little financially compared with what could be derived from processing raw materials in the fishing industry and in agriculture.

The direct loss in foreign exchange which Iceland would incur by using foreign hydro-electric power stations, to be built for the aluminum plants, would for several years exceed the profit made from the sale of electric power. An estimate of the foreign exchange which the aluminum plants would supply through the employment of Icelanders and the use of various facilities shows that the total would approximate to 120 million kronur a year, or less than the annual profit of the average herring-processing factory in Iceland.

Besides, granting foreign monopolies the right to build aluminum plants would involve a great risk. Indeed, it would be a fatal step. Foreigners would be allowed to engage in industrial activity in Iceland. The next step would be to enlarge the aluminum plants. Afterwards the foreigners would build an oil refinery. It goes without saying that foreign capitalists would begin a dogged search for new opportunities of increasing their capital—the fishing grounds around Iceland, Iceland's fishing fleet, and so on.

It follows that foreign capitalists threaten to move into a dominant position in Iceland's economy faster than expected, with Iceland losing its economic independence as a consequence.

That is why the USPI has repeatedly declared against giving foreign monopoly capital an access to Iceland's economy. The USPI believes that the Icelanders' most important economic task is to make full use of the raw materials supplied by the basic industries. It stresses that the Icelanders themselves should fully control every industry, without sharing their rights with foreigners.

Naturally, the Icelanders themselves should go about setting up a large-scale industry. A foreign-controlled large-scale industry in Iceland is out of the question.

The political parties' attitude to a foreign-controlled large-scale industry in Iceland is in the main clear. The leaders of the Indepen-

dence Party* (IP) and the Working People's Party** (WPP) declare for a large-scale industry to be built and controlled by foreigners. The Progressive Party*** (PP) has passed a resolution agreeing, if with certain reservations, to the establishment of such an industry.

The USPI and UWPI have officially stated that they are emphatically against a foreign-controlled large-scale industry in Iceland. Many members of the Independence, Working People's and Progressive parties are likewise against it.

The USPI calls on those who are opposed to the establishment of a foreign-controlled large-scale industry, whatever their party affiliations, to join their forces in a determined fight against all plans for allowing foreign capitalists to share in Iceland's economic activities.

III

This Congress declares that the leaders of the Independence and Progressive parties are trying to reduce the existing multi-party system to a bourgeois bipartisan system on the U.S. model.

The IP has gained very strong influence on the WPP, seriously imperilling its autonomy. It has succeeded in using the WPP as a vehicle of its influence in the labor movement and in gaining important positions in that party. The decline in the influence of the WPP in the Reykjavik municipality is due, among other things, to that party's links with the IP. The political positions of the WPP have been undermined to a considerable extent. The IP leaders therefore intend to take over the role played by the WPP. They want to do this in order to move their party into a dominant position in the country.

The Progressive Party makes no secret of its desire to set up a bipartisan system in Iceland. It has advanced the slogan of grouping all the enemies of the Conservatives within one strong party, namely, the PP.

With this aim in view, the PP leaders have been looking for supporters within the labor movement and the Union of the Working People of Iceland. This explains their high-sounding phrases about the struggle of the factory and office workers, although earlier they invariably backed the opponents of higher wages, and were against adjusting wages to price indexes.

Today the PP leadership is again raising these questions to reassure patriotic-minded members and hence most of Iceland's farmers, as well as to win the support of other sincere advocates of the liberation of Iceland.

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*A bourgeois Conservative party.—Ed.
**A Social-Democratic party.—Ed.
***A bourgeois farmers' party.—Ed.

But it is the PP leaders who are responsible for the authorization of extremely dangerous telecasts from the U.S. military base. They are also responsible for the presence of foreign troops on Icelandic soil and for Iceland's adherence to a military alliance.

The PP is a bourgeois opportunist party modifying its intentions according as it participates in the government or is in opposition. It has never been a party to which Iceland's workers could entrust their fortunes. In recent years it has had little to do with leading the factory and office workers' struggles for a higher standard of living. The people's resistance to foreign rule and to the influence of foreign troops would hardly grow were the PP leaders to support the people's fight.

On the other hand, were the PP to persist in its attempts to establish a bipartisan system (which it could hardly do without using force or greatly increasing the number of shopkeepers among its membership), the proportion and influence of peasants in the party would decrease accordingly. This means that the adverse effects of the bipartisan system would not be limited to the working class.

The working people of Iceland, primarily the working class, have sufficient opportunity and strength to prevent a bipartisan system. The workers formed a party of their own as far back as 1916. They constitute a politically mature class. They would never entrust their fate to two bourgeois parties which could offer them nothing but the prospect of voting for one or the other party, as in the case of Britain and the United States.

The workers and all working people of Iceland now have their own political party and their own trade union movement—the United Socialist Party and the Union of the Working People of Iceland. These two organizations rally the country's labor movement in a reliable alliance. The task of Iceland's people is to increase their political influence in appreciable measure.

On the other hand, this Congress considers it very important to do everything to strengthen and improve relations between the working class and those members of different political parties who support the labor movement in its fight for a higher standard of living.

This Congress lays special emphasis on the necessity for attempting closer cooperation with the WPP, a veteran labor party, both within the framework of individual trade unions and in other mass organizations of the working class. This is the paramount task today.

This Congress believes such cooperation to be essential to success in the forthcoming struggle for the working people's interests. It would be a step toward ruling out a bipartisan system.

Furthermore, such cooperation on issues affecting the every-day interests of the working people would pave the way for closer political cooperation of the two parties.

DEVELOPMENTS IN COMMUNIST PARTY OF SWEDEN*

Frithjof Lager
BOARD MEMBER, CPS

The radio, television and some newspapers in Denmark have lately shown an unusual interest in the Communist Party of Sweden —its political activities and its methods of solving problems of Party life. The CPS's stand and prospects have been widely commented on, with all sorts of hackwriters and wiseacres contributing heavily *Land og Folk* has for its part, printed comments on the situation in the CPS, its future, etc. It would be useful to explain certain points to the Danish public and make a brief digression into history, for history is always interesting and instructive.

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The history of our Party is part of the history of the international revolutionary movement. Our Party was founded in 1917 as a result of the withdrawal, or rather expulsion, of a group of members of the Social-Democratic Left Party. Our Party was represented at the First Congress of the Third (Communist) International. In 1920 the Second Congress of the Comintern adopted what were called the 21 conditions for admission into the Comintern. Those were very rigid conditions reflecting the character of the contemporary situation, which it would be hardly appropriate to go into here. One of the conditions was that every party joining the Communist International should be called the *Communist Party* of such and such a country (a section of the Third, Communist International). Lenin's theses stresed that "the question of the name is not merely formal and is very important."

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At our 1921 congress some delegates objected to these conditions, but the overwhelming majority voted for them and, consequently, for changing the name of the Party to the "Communist Party of Sweden (a section of the Comintern)."

Much has happened since. In 1943, after the Comintern was dissolved, having completed its historical mission there arose new problems, among them problems of the postwar period with its revolutionary changes, and the question of the name of the Party was posed again. Some comrades from the leadership, obsessed

*Abridged from **Land og Folk**, Nov. 26, 1964.

with the idea of breaking with old standards, proposed renaming the Party. But things never went beyond mere talk.

It follows that the idea of changing the Party's name is not new. The success scored by the Party in the September 1964 election settled this question. The electorate showed that it had nothing against the name of the Party and, indeed, approved of it as symbolizing a new policy and socialist renovation. Should a future situation necessitate further discussion, I believe our Party would be prepared to re-examine the matter without prejudice. The important thing is the policy of a party, not its name.

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Now for another and more important question, which has also been raised in the Danish press, namely, whether the change in the Party leadership effected means a change of policy, a shift from the firm position of scientific socialism to the shaky ground of unprincipled politics. There is no case whatever for putting the question in this way.

Now, as in the past, the Party adheres to scientific socialism, observing its principles and seeking better opportunities for applying them with due regard to Swedish reality. "Our Party has a clear socialist goal and works to make it the goal of the entire working-class movement," Party Chairman C. H. Hermansson stated at a Board meeting last November. "The balance of forces has to be changed if our population is to exert greater influence on social life. This implies a revision of the existing relations of ownership and control. The rule of big capital has to be ended."

Hermansson outlined a specific home policy program. He stressed that the Party supported the government's foreign policy of non-alignment and would do its best to increase Sweden's contribution to the effort to bring about disarmament, discontinue all nuclear tests and ban nuclear weapons, as well as to considerably increase aid to the developing countries. He reaffirmed the Party's solidarity with the forces fighting for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism, and its desire to co-operate with all nations and popular movements. He said the Party intended to exchange "experience and views with spokesmen for these forces in order to gain a broader understanding of problems and overcome national narrow-mindedness."

These few words make the position of our Party clear enough.

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Did the 1964 Party congress contribute anything new? To a certain extent, one generation succeeded another in the Party leadership during the congress, and the change was unanimously approved. The congress also showed that the Party had become more energetic in drawing practical conclusions from recent developments abroad and at home. It thoroughly analyzed the forms and

methods of Party work and discarded all that was obsolete, adopting new and progressive forms and methods. With the election campaign about to begin, we were resolved not to miss the new opportunity.

But that was only the beginning. In the autumn the Board set up a committee to review the Party Program adopted in 1951 and Program Statement of 1961. The committee was to submit its proposals in time for the next Party congress which under the Rules is to be held not later than 1967. Another committee was introduced to analyze the Rules and organizational structure of the Party.

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I have just mentioned recent changes in policy which we cannot ignore. Allow me to touch upon certain changes taking place in Swedish society.

Concentration of capital continues. The Swedish capitalists are active at home and show a tendency towards expansion abroad. The export of capital is growing, and the key positions of big capital in the country are as strong as ever. The statae and cooperative sectors of the economy account for about 10 per cent, with half of it belonging to the state sector, which tends to decrease rather than grow. Considerable migrations have been taking place, resulting in a marked growth of the population in some regions. Specifically there has been a considerable influx into the areas of Greater Stockholm, Central Sweden, Göteborg and Malmö-Helsinborg.

To cope with the growing communal and state expenditures, promote social security and expand public education, the ruling classes of Sweden imposed heavier taxes on the people. At present 50 to 60 per cent of the worker's income is swallowed by taxes and rent. According to some estimates, these expenditures will claim more than 60 per cent before long. Revenues, especially state revenues, have to be increased by finding *new sources*, which can only be done through a resolute onslaught on big finance capital and an active rationalization policy in the public sector. The migration I mentioned calls for well-considered state interference before chaos sets in.

★ ★ ★

Major changes have been effected in the administrative division of the country. Much more remains to be done, however—the communes are being amalgamated and district boundaries are to be revised.

An important reorganization has been going on in the trade union movement in recent years, with unions merging on the industrial principle and small federations being amalgamated. Trade union leadership and policy-making are being centralized. On the other hand there is a growing trend to leave it to the workers to

decide specific questions of the struggle for wages and draft collective agreements.

Needless to say, the Communist Party cannot stand aloof from this transformation which may enable it to test new forms and methods.

POPULAR UNITY AGAINST IMPERIALISM AND ITS NEW INTERNAL AGENTS

STATEMENT* BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF BOLIVIA

In analyzing the country's political outlook, the Second National Congress of the Communist Party of Bolivia stated: "The U.S. imperialists and the ruling bourgeoisie will not relinquish power easily. They will do all they can to retain it and to mislead the people. The elections are merely one of the methods for keeping the government in power. When this method has spent itself they will resort to a coup of d'état to hand the power to another government willing to carry on their policies. The reinforcement of the army and the policy pursued by the reactionaries are aimed at achieving this purpose." Thus the CP Congress anticipated a situation which has now materialized.

The CPB Political Committee report countered the factionalists as follows: "Petty-bourgeois despair drove them "Claure and Co.)** to seize on and spread Right-wing slogans: 'Abstain from voting! Everyone should come out against Paz Estenssoro*** irrespective of his political or ideological differences, to overthrow him and transfer power to others.' Transfer to whom? Would it be to the people, to the working class? No, to the reactionaries, who have greater opportunities for maneuver than the present government rejected by the people."

Have the Communists ever backed Paz? "The Communists are well aware of the policies of the Paz Government. There can be no doubt as to our future policy, which is to unmask the pro-imperialist policies of both the present and the future government of Paz Estenssoro and to isolate it."

This has been the CPB policy on Paz and his agents and on the imperialist alternative, the Bolivian Socialist Falange**** and the army. It is a policy directed against the government, classical reaction and the factionalists, the imperialists' mainstay in the country.

What was the upshot?

The country saw rapid developments of vast importance. The struggle which the universities and students had launched against

*Abridged.

Anti-Party group which the CPB considers "opportunist, Left-chauvinist and petty-bourgeois."—Ed.**

***President of Bolivia, 1952-64.—**Ed.**

****Party of the big bourgeoisie and Catholic clergy, linked with foreign capital.—**Ed.**

the Paz Government's policy of repression immediately after the teachers' campaign assumed a popular character. The resolve to fight spread fast to every town and every industrial center. The movement was reinforced above all by the cooperation of the more enlightened sections of the working class, in particular the miners, who joined in this unequal battle to defend democratic liberties.

For many heroic days, miners, university professors, students and other sections of the people fought the repressive machinery of the Paz regime, which used every force at its disposal including the police and the army, called "liberation army." This course of events, whose main feature was the people's revolutionary enthusiasm, threatened — despite a violent massacre — to get out of control and its implications were easy to foresee. The fighting masses were undaunted despite the dozens of killed and the hundreds of injured and arrested. The government's position was becoming precarious.

Judging by the experience of the Siglo XX Mine, the High Command took advantage of the situation to carry out its plan for a military coup. It did so to check the revolutionary upsurge and disrupt the working-class and popular movement. Its purpose was to curb the people. The coup resulted in a Junta headed first by General Ovando and then by General Barrientos, Vice-Chairman of the Paz Cabinet. The imperialists and reactionaries carried the day at this new stage of the people's fight against the cruel regime.

The military coup did away with Paz but not his regime. In view of certain contradictions within the High Command, the people spontaneously took part in the overthrowing of the government. This is now misinterpreted as an indication of popular support for the Junta. The people's minor transient victories are due to their participation in the overthrow of the government. Whether these gains will be preserved will depend on how far the working class and the people as a whole are willing to go. It is a situation in which the Junta and the classical reactionaries are bound to reveal their true face.

The spontaneous character of the movement was due to the lack of proper leadership of the people's fight. For the same reason there was no chance of so much as raising the question of taking state power. This made it easier for the Junta to gain the upper hand.

The Junta, which poses as non-partisan, actually rescued the regime. It is made up almost entirely of military men, members of the Nationalist Revolutionary Movement party. Among them there are men who, like the Commander of the Rangers, shot down miners in Sora Sora.

It is indisputable that the participation of the working class and the masses at large compelled the leaders of what was a classical coup d'état to make some concessions to the people. In this way certain liberties were secured. The armed people put an end to the Department of Political Control,* and the police immediately forfeited its repressive power. This should not delude us, however. The army was the regime's most powerful repressive weapon and it is intact. Indeed, it retains a certain aura. The army's Second Department is more dangerous than the Department of Political Control. Besides, the government and its masters, the imperialists, have the opportunity to re-arm their repressive bodies when they see fit.

The labor movement and its organizations have defeated splitters and agents provocateurs like Sanjines Ovando, Paz Torres, and others of lesser stature. This development affords promising opportunities of remoulding militant labor organizations — the Bolivian Labor Center, the national confederations and federations and the industrial trade unions — on the basis of democracy and lawful representation. The working-class movement can and must consolidate its position and gain strength, as it did after April 1952.**

Needless to say the Junta will be unable to use for a long time the demagogy which in the past won the people's support for the Paz Government. At that time the government profited by the slogan of "revolution." The revolution had been betrayed long ago, but it was referred to for demagogical purposes. The peasants, who until recently were more or less loyal to the bourgeois traitors, are becoming a powerful force that can and should be won over by the working class.

Specifically this opportunity is very real in the Altiplano and North Potosi areas. Our Party should do all it can to start work there. In the Valle area, the backers of Barrientos are now taking over where NRM influence has declined. But their positions are weaker than those held by the NRM earlier. These areas retain their special importance and the situation there calls for careful analysis, which, however, cannot be done here. Speaking generally, the situation is favorable now and we must make prompt use of the opportunities there are in the countryside.

While certain aspects of the present situation are more or less favorable, it is the general problems and trends that all revolutionary forces, in particular the working class, but above all Communists, should concentrate on.

It is true that one of the main agents of imperialist policy in Bolivia, Paz Estenssoro, has disappeared from the national scene.

*Secret police under the Pay Estenssore regime.—Ed.

**In April 1952 the Bolivian people rose against the ruling military Junta and overthrew it.—Ed.

However, we must not for a moment forget that while the methods used by the State Department have failed, those of the Pentagon have not and it will use the most violent means to safeguard monopoly interests. The ties linking the U.S. militarists and the Junta are patent. The Bolivian Minister of the Interior headed Civic Action, the military version of the Alliance for Progress plan. Our army is essentially Americanized, which is not to say that there are no Bolivian-minded elements in it.

U.S. military attachés play a decisive role in Bolivia. It is safe to say that they have recaptured the positions lost by Mr. Henderson.* General Barrientos himself enjoys the personal esteem and, indeed, unlimited support of Le May, Chief of Staff (USAF. The Junta's inaugural statements on world politics are among the antecedents that have to be taken into account in assessing the political course to be followed by the new government, which is new only in appearance. In these circumstances, the vigilance of the masses is of decisive importance.

The Bolivian Socialist Falange did its best to exploit the atmosphere of rebellion which set in immediately after the military coup, and the coup itself, to which the classical Right was a party. Putting on military and university uniforms, it went into the streets to revive the terrorist practices of the Paz Estenssoro regime. Its slogan is anti-communism and its method, violence. It controls the government radio. The White Shirts are an instrument of destruction and plunder. They intimidate working people and raid their homes.

And as the Junta abets the Falangists on rampage, only vigorous action by factory workers could stop them.

Now here is a noteworthy fact. The "Marxist-Leninists" of the factional group, whose propositions are being proved false by developments, claim the right to represent our Party in reactionary organizations, such as the proposed People's Revolutionary Committee. Let the people and our membership pass judgment on these filthy politicians.

This is how the true nature of Creole fascism and its factional flunkeys is being revealed. The immediate task of the working class is to bar the way of these neofascist legions. The people will never fight to bring the old scum back to power.

In this emergency, the working class, the masses, the peasants, university professors, students, teachers, specialists, and the petty bourgeoisie in town and country must choose the road they want to take. This road should lead to establishment of an anti-imperialist united front of the people, primarily the working class, a front which our Party began to call for long ago as a vital necessity. It

*U.S. Ambassador in Bolivia.—**Ed.**

has to be a front of the people and not an alliance with their enemies, a front of Bolivians and not an alliance with imperialist agents, a progressive front and not an alliance with the reactionaries, a patriotic front and not an alliance with the advocates of cosmopolitanism.

The struggle for the people's road is on and it can only be led by the working class. This, of course, does not imply a sectarian attitude to other sections of the population. What we mean is leadership and not participation — it is a question of the unity of all popular, progressive, democratic and revolutionary forces with the working people. This is the only way to prevent an eventual military dictatorship and a comeback of the counter-revolution like the Paz Estenssoro regime or even worse. And this is the only way to lay the groundwork for the changes in policy demanded by the nation.

Mass action, working-class unity and organization, an uncompromising fight for the demands of the working class and in defense of its gains, resumption of the banner of April, and consolidation of the positions of labor should be the watchwords of every patriot.

The forces of the National Liberation Front and the political parties which express the interests of the working people and of the nation, such as the CPB and the Left National Revolutionary Party, must join their efforts in this movement, the only one that will lead to a truly Bolivian solution. Today the program of the Bolivian Labor Center is the instrument rallying the main forces. It consists of the following items:

(1) Preservation of the arms obtained by the people during the rising; heightened vigilance to prevent the movement from being misled or betrayed.

(2) Respect for the trade union and parliamentary rights and democratic and constitutional liberties of all trade union and political trends.

(3) Restitution to the trade unions and popular organizations of their premises, radio stations and economic resources, as well as their political rights violated by the National Revolutionary Movement party.

(4) Unlimited freedom of the press and radio.

(5) Abolition of the Department of Political Control and the mercenary force.

(6) Immediate general election, and abrogation of the Election Regulations.

(7) Complete emancipation from all imperialist oppression, and immediate advancement of the national economy.

(8) A Repeal of the Decree of August 22, and the liberalization of foreign trade.

(9) Stimulation and protection of industrial progress.

(10) Defense and revolutionary promotion of the gains of the people, such as the nationalization of mines, the agrarian reform, universal suffrage, workers' control with the right of veto, and the educational reform.

(11) Confirmation of the transfer of the land turned over to the peasants, and an amendment to the agrarian reform law providing for the improvement of the peasants' condition by supplying them with machinery, granting them loans at low interest, and organizing cooperatives. Renunciation and abolition of the rural inheritance tax.

(12) Extension of the health service to the peasants, and the establishment of medical centers and maternity homes in the countryside.

(13) Complete autonomy and greater appropriations for the University; more schools and less illiteracy — the premises of the Department of Political Control and other repressive bodies should be turned into schoolhouses.

(14) Improvement of the economic condition of the population, and a general normalization of wages and salaries.

Respect for women, who must be granted social, economic and political rights on a par with men. Disbandment of women's squads.

We Communists advance the following slogans:

—Promote working-class unity and organization.

—Work for the immediate convening of a national conference of the working people by the Bolivian Labor Center.

—Maintain working-class vigilance.

—Uphold the demands of the people, of the peasants and workers. Preserve and foster the militancy of the masses defending their gains and liberties.

—Stop the counter-revolution, whether military or Falangist.

—Let the people keep their arms. Help them to build up their strength.

—Bolivia has never sought, and will never seek, a mere change of master.

Political Committee, CPB La Paz, November 12, 1964

NOTES

NOTES

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POLITICAL RESOLUTION OF SEVENTH CONGRESS, COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

Following is the full text of the Political Resolution* adopted by the Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India at its session on December 22:

Since the Sixth Congress of the Communist Party of India held at Vijayawada, big events have passed in rapid succession. Immediately after the Congress, the Party was called upon to implement its political line in the general elections of February 1962. Then followed the Chinese aggression which subjected the democratic movement to a severe ordeal by giving Right Reaction a most favorable opportunity to take the offensive. Before the country could settle down from the stresses and strains of this crisis, communal orgy of a serious dimension had burst out in several states. Finally, the crisis of the capitalist path of development, producing high prices, food scarcity, hoarding, profiteering and ministerial and other corruption of an unparalleled magnitude has overtaken the country.

During this period the differences inside the Communist Party which had already manifested themselves at the Sixth Congress entered into a new phase of acute tension and bitterness due to the activities of the dogmatic section which adhered to the ideological positions and the "splitting" theory of the Communist Party of China. These activities culminated in this section walking out of the Party and setting up a rival party of its own.

In spite of this tension and split, our Party boldly faced the crisis, championing all along the interests of the country and the masses. The resolution of the National Council in November 1962 for national defense was of historical significance in the life of the Party, laid the basis for fighting back the chauvinist reactionary offensive.

Since then, the Great Petition campaign and the Delhi March, the four stage workers' struggle, the magnificent *bandhs* in several states and the great all-India food satyagraha raised the democratic movements to a new height on an all-India scale never attained after national independence.

With the political resolution of the Sixth Congress as its guide, the Party has emerged out of the crisis, notwithstanding the split in its ranks, with a stronger bond of unity with the patriotic forces

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*New Age, December 27, 1964.

in the country and as a champion of the interests of the broad masses of our people.

WORLD SITUATION

In the midst of these grave difficulties, however, our Party and the country have before them an unusually favorable situation in the international sphere.

The world socialist system forges ahead in economic growth and military prowess, with the Soviet Union in the vanguard engaged in the creation of the material and technical basis of communism.

The collapse of colonialism continues, but the battle against colonialism and racialism is still not over and is being waged with ever greater strength in Angola, Mozambique and other Portuguese colonies, in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia.

Neo-colonialism has become a major threat to the independence of countries. Neo-colonialist designs of the imperialist powers are seen most glaringly in their intervention in Congo and South Vietnam, in the U.S. economic domination of many countries and in the creation of Malaysia.

A number of newly independent states are marching forward along the path of national democracy. The alliance between the socialist world and the newly independent nations has been strengthened.

Afro-Asian solidarity has grown. The non-aligned powers act in greater concert and exert an increasingly positive influence on the international situation.

In the imperialist countries, the anti-monopoly actions of the working class have reached new heights. Inter-imperialist contradictions have sharpened and the most aggressive imperialist circles are getting more and more isolated.

The forces of extreme reaction have received a setback notably in the defeat of Goldwater in the U.S. presidential elections. The Tory Party was defeated in the British general elections.

Despite some setbacks as in the Congo, new successes have been won in the worldwide struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence as, for example, the Moscow partial test ban treaty.

The main contradiction in the world today, that is, between socialism and capitalism, is increasingly being resolved in favor of socialism. The stage is set for the advance on a world scale and in each country, of the forces of peace, freedom, democracy and socialism.

At such a historic moment, what is the position in India today?

INTERNAL SCENE

During the past four years, the economic development of the

country, though on the basis of capitalism, has taken a step forward by fulfilling certain schemes of industrialization, etc. This has strengthened the economic base of our national freedom.

But the policy of capitalist development, pursued by the ruling party, not only heaps misery and burdens upon the people but hampers the very process of full national rebirth. The outcome of the successive five-year plans has been a meager growth of national income and even the comparatively low national income target set in the Third Plan is not likely to be reached.

At the same time, the huge taxation targets, mainly regressive indirect taxes, have always been overfulfilled ahead of schedule. The food crlsis literally engulfs every aspect of the nation's life and the people's welfare. The inflationary policies of the government have fleeced the common man. Prices rise at a galloping pace and make life unbearable for the overwhelming majority of the people. Unemployment increases.

The people's living conditions have not only failed to improve but even the meager gains won through unremitting struggle have been considerably wiped off, giving rise to universal unrest among fixed and low income groups. The plague of poverty attacks our toiling people as never before since independence.

People's sufferings due to high prices, food scarcity, high taxation, unemployment and low income have become boundless. Discontent of the masses, irrespective of their political affiliation, has grown as never before. Hoarding, profiteering and corruption have reached such unprecedented dimensions that the people have begun to lose faith in the capacity of the government to overcome them.

Monopoly groups have availed of every opportunity to put pressure on the Shastri government to change the character and direction of economic planning and remould it in their own interests, disregarding the interest of the nation as a whole. Yielding to their pressure, Prime Minister Shastri has raised the slogan of pruning new projects of heavy industry in favor of giving priority to agriculture and production of consumer goods.

While it is correct to put emphasis on the latter in view of the present crisis, it is dangerous to slow down the growth of heavy industries without which neither agriculture nor the production of consumer goods can be stepped up in the long run.

From a long-term point of view, the contradiction between agriculture and light industries on the one hand and heavy industries on the other is more apparent than real because without our own forge foundries and machine-building industries, machinery required for light industries, production of chemical fertilizers, etc., cannot be adequately developed.

REFORMS

For the sake of galvanizing agriculture production, progressive land reforms in favor of the toiling peasantry, nationalization of the wholesale trade in foodgrains in order to give the peasant a fair price, and bank nationalization for increasing the facilities for agricultural credit, are of supreme importance.

The Government of India had at one time flirted with the idea of accepting the Big Business advocacy of a smaller and so-called "realistic" Fourth Plan, but meeting with universal popular opposition it has now decided to propose an overall fiscal outlay of Rs. 21,500 crores. This according to the planners will generate an overall growth rate of 6.5 per cent per annum.

Even this inadequate growth-rate will not be realized unless its fulfilment is guaranteed by radical reorganization of the national economy through land reform, nationalization of banks, state monopoly over wholesale trade in food grains and the nationalization of export-import trade. These measures are also imperative in order to hold the price line and step up agricultural production.

The development projects for the new Plan will be faced with the problem of resources. An annual expenditure of Rs. 1,000 crores for defense is an additional strain. The extension of the state sector is essential in order to solve the problem of resources for the Fourth Plan. After an increase of indirect taxes from Rs. 980 crores in 1960-61 to Rs. 1,580 crores in 1963-64, further increase of tax burdens on the common people will spell disaster for their household economy.

RESOURCES

From the point of view of finding resources, the real alternative to further indirect taxation is to make the state sector the dominant sector, run it efficiently and earn substantial revenue from it without raising the prices of the goods produced therein and to tax appropriately the wealthier sections of society.

In the Fourth Plan there is a proposal to augment the state sector further but it will still not be dominant enough to find resources satisfactorily. Nationalization of banks is denied. State monopoly of the wholesale food grains trade is not accepted, though the formation of the State Food Corporation is a step forward.

Fraternal aid from socialist countries is another helpful source. Acceptance of Soviet aid for the Bokaro project and defense industries is an indication that this source is being increasingly utilized, but as yet it is not being tapped to the full extent available.

During the last few years, the quantum of such aid has grown but the Shastri government is not yet utilizing the full opportunities

available. For instance, a recent offer of the GDR government to give aid for heavy industry in India has not been accepted, though the terms offered were favorable, in order not to displease the West German imperialists.

Simultaneously, in the recent period, foreign private monopoly capital has increased its penetration and the Government of India is creating favorable conditions for its further growth, not hesitating to violate its own Industrial Policy Resolution in this regard.

For example, the import of U.S. private capital rose from Rs. 5.57 crores in 1961 to Rs. 11.48 crores in 1962 and Rs. 17.03 crores in 1963. Increased reliance on PL 480 and other forms of Western imperialist "aid" is a menacing feature of the situation.

Concentration of wealth and economic power in the hands of a microscopic minority has accentuated, the collaboration between foreign and Indian monopolies has increased, very often at the expense of small industrialists.

Corruption spreads like an evil cancer gnawing at the very roots of our present democracy. "Black money" abounds, tax evasion proceeds apace, speculation and hoarding increase. Thus, the economic base of Right reaction has been strengthened.

FOREIGN POLICY

In the field of foreign policy, non-alignment, peaceful coexistence and anti-colonialism continue to be the basic approach of the government, having withstood the terrible test of Chinese aggression, which encouraged Right reaction to go on the rampage against it, though these policies were then weakened.

Friendship with the Soviet Union, closer links with Afro-Asian states and non-aligned powers characterize an important aspect of the government's foreign policy. The adherence to the Cairo Declaration and the refusal to deviate from the policy of using nuclear energy only for peaceful purposes are positive features.

It is especially to be noted that in the present period, democratic unity has been reinforced in defense of the nation's foreign policy, with leading Congressmen and government personalities also playing an important role, though mass actions and campaigns as, for example, against the "air-umbrella" and Voice of America, in which the democratic masses following the Congress also took part.

WEAKNESSES

Nevertheless, serious weaknesses and vacillations have developed, especially in the direction of soft pedalling the struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism, in refusing to energetically protest

against the provocative maneuvers of the U.S. Seventh Fleet in the Indian Ocean and the open U.S. intervention in Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia and the Congo.

India is far from playing the role of pioneer and initiator in the Afro-Asian and non-aligned world and sometimes drags its feet. On Malaysia, the government of India has taken a stand which only helps the neo-colonial designs of British imperialism. In the Commonwealth Conference, the weak and vacillating stand taken by the representative of the Indian government disappointed the Afro-Asian countries.

National defense has become one of the major problems facing the entire people and the government. This has led to the renewed danger of Anglo-U.S. imperialist pressures and interventions on the pretext of rendering so-called military "aid" to India.

The Government of India, having embarked on a big defense program costing Rs. 8 to 9 hundred crores a year, is liable to make serious concessions and compromises on this, as is evidenced, for example, by the facilities given to Anglo-U.S. military officers to inspect our border areas where arms supplied by them are in use and the assurance that these arms would not be used against any aggressor other than China.

The government of India's defense policy, however, remains basically non-aligned. It has rejected the idea of defense pacts with the imperialists and refused to permit foreign bases on Indian soil. It has sought to develop the country's independent defense potential by seeking assistance from socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union, as well as from the western powers.

Outstanding in this connection is the MIG factory agreement, which vividly contrasts with the imperialist reluctance to supply vitally necessary heavy equipment and technical know-how. This opens the possibility of overcoming to some extent the dependence on imperialist powers.

The democratic forces, however, must maintain constant vigilance to ensure that our national sovereignty is not jeopardized in any way in the name of securing so-called Western "aid" for national defense.

The government has not made basic changes in national policies. It carries forward both the positive as well as the negative aspects of the policy in general.

But there has been a change in the internal situation for the worse. Under the mounting pressure of Right reaction, both inside and outside the Congress, the government has made dangerous anti-people concessions on issues of food and price policy, suppression of democratic rights, etc.

But in the recent period, the democratic movement has through

mighty campaigns and struggles not only compelled the Right to retreat on occasion but also forced the government to make concessions in favor of the people. The situation may deteriorate further unless popular democratic forces are able to check and reverse it through determined struggles.

CONFLICT

But the contradictions inherent in the situation, the growing conflict between imperialism and the Indian people including the national bourgeoisie, the policies pursued by the socialist countries to help India in her economic development and peoples' capacity to resist reactionary changes, are potentially stronger deterrent factors.

In this new situation, the vigilance of the organized democratic movement and active intervention of the Communist Party and other progressive democratic forces have assumed new importance. The task of building up the unity of democratic forces for the defense of India's progressive policies and for a shift to the Left can no longer be ignored, except at the peril of India's future.

The contradiction between the democratic masses and the ruling class, including its government, has sharpened in the recent past and the prospect is of its further sharpening, as the crisis of peoples' suffering born out of capitalist development unfolds itself more and more. The differences inside the Congress party are also beginning to grow.

Under these conditions, the most favorable opportunity exists for bringing about a shift to the Left in governmental policies by uniting all progressive democratic forces. This will give the rebuff to the machinations of Right reaction including the communal forces.

RIGHT REACTION

The results of the third general elections show a shift in favor of the parties of Right reaction. While the CPI not only maintained its position but also slightly gained, the ruling party lost mainly to parties of Right reaction, as a result of which they emerged more united and consolidated. In some by-elections that followed, the Congress in spite of maintaining its dominant position, has lost more to the Right than the Left. All the Rightist forces both inside and outside the Congress are being more and more consolidated.

Their drive for extending the private monopoly sector, for abandoning non-alignment, for taking India into the imperialist war bloc, for a nuclear shield and imperialist protection, for eschewing land reform and reversal of all progressive measures are being

sought to be strengthened by taking advantage of the people's growing discontent against government anti-people policies and the continued deadlock on the northern frontier.

Systematic refusal by China to accept the Colombo proposals as the basis for starting talks for the settlement of the border question is bringing grist to the mill of the Right reactionaries and their foreign collaborators.

During this period, the forces of communal reaction have also strengthened their position; they seriously endanger India's security and democracy. Right reaction has exploited casteism which has a powerful grip on the people today.

But at the same time experience has shown that mass campaigns and struggles led by the democratic forces against the anti-people policy of the government reduce considerably the capacity of Right reaction to mislead the masses.

At the same time, the democratic forces in the Congress have become more vocal and active, advancing alternative democratic slogans. This was reflected in the Bhuvaneshwar Congress discussions and later in the Congress Workers' Convention held at Delhi. They are groping towards internal unity as well as joint activity with other sectors of the democratic movement.

The participation by a large number of Congress leaders in the World Conference for Peace and International Cooperation held in Delhi and the participation of the official youth organization of the Congress in the National Youth Forum reflect the growing strength of the democratic forces inside the Congress.

Congress masses also have moved in the struggles launched by Left parties on issues like food, high prices, nationalization of banks, etc.

Under the impact of the crisis and due to the weakness of the democratic forces inside the Congress, the ruling party has reached a new stage of factional conflict in different states as well as at the center. These factions have at times used the people's discontent in some stages. The political prestige and the mass influence of the Congress, though still very extensive, has fallen appreciably.

These factional conflicts, combined with increasing exposure of ministerial corruption, continue to reduce the mass popularity of the Congress and undermine its unity. This will lead to a situation of instability, frequent political crises in some states, as has already happened in Kerala. Unless the democratic forces unite and intervene, the situation will be successfully exploited by Right reaction.

NATIONAL UNITY

In the recent period, the forces of communalism, casteism, religionism and linguistic chauvinism have posed new dangers to

the unity of our nation and to our secular democracy. Disunity and discord provide a fertile soil for the growth of Right reaction and constitute a serious obstacle to the building of the National Democratic Front.

The failure of the government to rectify regional imbalances, to implement the three-language formula and to curb the tendencies of casteism and communalism which are utilized by the ruling party itself, has further accentuated the problem.

The refusal to consistently implement the principle of linguistic states has helped the spread of linguistic chauvinism and bitterness. The utter inability to solve the problems of the tribal peoples has encouraged divisive tendencies and separatist trends.

The richest heritage of our national movement—the unity of our motherland—faces the serious threat of being dissipated and undermined.

Democratic unity at the mass level and from below has grown in the recent period. National slogans like nationalization of banks and state-trading in food grains advanced by the Communist Party and popularized through mass struggles of the working people, have won wide support. The democratic masses, including working women, have moved into actions as in the food satyagraha and the *bandhs*, with determination and unity.

The working class has moved not only in the interest of its own demands but has played an increasing role of initiator and unifier of the struggles of the masses, under the leadership of the Party and the trade unions of the AITUC acting in unity with other trade union centers. But working class unity is yet to be achieved, though some advance has been registered through the *bandh* actions.

Large sections of middle-class employees like government employees, bank employees, teachers, professors, doctors and pilots have come forward in strike struggles and other forms of mass action, as never before.

Simultaneously, the mass movement of the urban middle-class against price rises through the building up of consumer cooperatives and other forms of resistance against high prices have begun to develop in the big cities. The urban middle-class is in ferment and restive.

The task of the Party is to forge its living links with the masses including those sections who have not yet moved into action and develop these movements, giving them an organized character. Conscious, fraternal efforts must be made to bring about the widest possible unity of all democratic forces, including Congressmen and Congress committees, to make them participate in the common movement, in any form of organized activity that can serve the

interests of the people against the price rise, food scarcity, black market and corruption.

PEASANTRY

The peasants have also gone into action in the form of satyagraha, but it is clear that the peasant movement is lagging behind and the All India Kisan Sabha has become almost inactive and defunct. This weakness on the peasant and agricultural labor front is a serious handicap to the democratic movement as a whole and it sharply reduces its sweep and striking power.

The Congress agrarian reforms like tenancy legislation and the ceiling acts have not solved the land problem in the interests of the peasantry. Because of the loopholes in the tenancy acts millions of tenants have been evicted and thrown out. Even today millions of tenants-at-will and sharecroppers have not got security of tenancy. The ceiling acts have proved to be a failure. Ten per cent of the agricultural families even now possess 58 per cent of the land under cultivation.

The peasant is robbed both as a producer and as a consumer through the market manipulations. The Reserve Bank of India Report has proved that the agricultural debt burden has grown in the recent years. Cheap credit is not available to the vast majority of the peasantry. Huge tax burdens are levied. Unemployment and underemployment in the rural areas, by and large, is on the increase.

The minimum wages acts have not been properly implementsd. Even where the wages have been fixed they are much lower than the existing rates. In many parts of the country the agricultural laborers are still suffering from debt bondage, homestead bondage, social oppression and other forms of semi-feudal exploitation.

The government has failed miserably to distribute even the waste lands to the agricultural laborers and poor peasants. An overwhelming majority of agricultural laborers do not possess even house sites. The solution of these problems brooks no further delay.

The urgent necessity of increasing agricultural production and of national regeneration in the countryside demand their immediate solution. An all-India mass campaign and struggle should be organized for the solution of the above burning problems. The Kisan Sabha must be revived and agricultural workers organized in order to galvanize the peasant masses into action.

IMMEDIATE TASK

In the coming period, this must constitute the most important task of the Party throughout the country. Only by discharging

these tasks can peasant unity be built up and the workers' and peasants' alliance forged as the main lever of the democratic movement and the National Democratic Front.

Despite semi-feudal relations and oppression, consciousness among the women of India is rising. Participation of women in the kisan and workers' struggles, in the food satyagraha all over the country is worth mentioning. It has been clearly demonstrated in the increasing discontent against rising prices, which found expression in demonstrations, *morchas,* etc., by all sections of women, including housewives and middle-class women.

Under these circumstances it has become an urgent task to build a strong movement of all sections of women—housewives and working women in factories and farms—at all levels, in the form of mass organizations and to activize and strengthen the existing organizations.

The sentiment for unity of all the forces of the Left has acquired new impetus and is exerting its beneficial influence on the organized forces and parties of the Left. But anti-communism pursued by the leadership of the SSP and some other parties of the Left, continues to be detrimental to unity of action.

Among the parties of the Left, other than the Communist Party, the SSP which has emerged after the merger of the PSP and the SP, has an all-India character.

Before the merger, the right-wing leaders of the PSP and SP often sided with the parties of Right reaction and were notorious for anti-communism. Even after the merger, one section of leadership continues to toe the line of Right reaction.

But the rank-and-file members of the Party and a section of leadership are genuine Lefts, despite their anti-communist prejudices. It will be the constant endeavor of the Communist Party to win this party, as the other Left parties, for the National Democratic Front.

At the same time, fraternal criticism has to be made of the anti-communist prejudices of a section of the leadership of the SSP and of the tendency for all manner of opportunist alliances, even with parties of Right reaction including communal forces.

DISRUPTION

At such a time, the split engineered in the CPI by the dogmatic section will exert a negative influence on the work of building democratic unity for mass action. After having split the Party, they now threaten the unity of the AITUC. The Party must combat these disruptive trends and preserve the unity of the trade unions and other mass organizations.

In spite of all the disruptive and non-Communist methods and language of the rival party leaders, the CPI will adopt an attitude of patience, reason and fraternity. The CP will spare no effort in trying to draw the rival party into joint mass campaigns, while simultaneously exposing its wrong ideology, policies and organizational methods.

The CPI is confident that in this manner, learing from their own experience, an increasingly large number of those who have temporarily gone with the rival party will once again take their due place in the ranks of the CPI.

In this complex situation, the CPI sets itself the immediate task of going all out to build and consolidate the unity of all democratic and socialist forces for the defeat of Right reaction, for reversing the anti-people policies of the government and for bringing about a shift to the Left. It appeals to all the Left parties, to all progressive forces and personalities, including democratic Congressmen, to join together to discharge this sacred national task at this moment of peril and promise.

The CPI will carry forward to still higher levels its own independent mass mobilization and struggles, both on a local and all-India scale. It will carry forward the achievements of the all-India campaigns, the satyagraha and the *bandhs,* to the stage of *Bharat Bandh* combined with countrywide, peaceful mass peasant actions. It will work for united mass action, wherever possible, and convergent action wherever necessary.

It will spare no effort to build and strengthen the mass organizations of the workers, peasants, youth, toiling intelligentsia, women and students on the widest possible united basis. In order to discharge its duty to the nation and the people, it will continuously strive to consolidate itself ideologically, politically and organizationally and to build a strong mass Communist Party.

As a way out for the people and in order to effect a breakthrough, the CPI advances the following immediate platform of action. It is willing to discuss any and all items of this platform with any democratic party, group or personality in order to facilitate mutual understanding and for joint mass campaigning and action:

1. Institute state monopoly of the wholesale trade in food grains, with reasonable, assured prices for the peasants and a fair price for the consumer; introduce statutory rationing in all cities and towns and deficit states, like Kerala; open consumers' cooperative stores, fair price shops in urban and rural areas and guarantee regular supply of food grains and other essential goods to them.

2. Develop an all-India food production drive by distributing fallow lands to agricultural laborers and poor peasants; by granting occupancy rights to tenants-at-will and sharecroppers other than

the holders of land belonging to the rural poor and the poor toilers of the towns; by fixing fair rents; by amending ceilings acts in favor of the peasantry and implementing them immediately; by opening state farms wherever possible as in Suratgarh, by increased facilities for the toiling peasants to improve cultivation through irrigation, fertilizers and adequate credit; by expansion and democratization of the cooperative movement; by providing debt relief to the peasants and agricultural laborers; by securing a minimum wage and providing house sites for the agricultural laborers; by assuring fair prices for agricultural goods as well as supply of industrial goods at controlled rates.

3. Secure higher wages and increased bonus for industrial workers and middle-class employees and link their DA with the corrected cost of living index; ensure trade union and democratic rights for the working class in both the private and state sectors and for all government employees; secure opening of cheap price shops for supply of essential commodities in all factories and establishments employing 300 or more persons; develop and promote TU unity and united actions of the working class.

4. Nationalize banks, general insurance, foreign trade, oil, coal and other mines and plantations; impose control over prices, raw materials and rate of profit in the case of existing large-scale industries like cotton and jute manufacturers, sugar, cement, etc.; take over industrial units and establishments where industrial control measures prove inadequate to prevent mismanagement, corruption and profiteering; democratize the working and management of the public sector.

5. No further taxes on the people; increase taxes on the higher income groups and profits above the bank rate; cancel the privy purses and all princely privileges; reduce the existing unbearable taxes on essential commodities and reduce their prices to a reasonable level; direct tax burdens and peasants to be reduced and uneconomic holdings exempted from land revenues.

6. Remove and punish corrupt ministers and officials; take over companies guilty of swindling public money; take effective steps to unearth black money and to prevent tax evasion; ban forward dealings in futures and forward markets.

7. Lift the emergency, scrap the DIR, release all political prisoners and detenues and restore fundamental rights.

8. Promotion of communal harmony, secularism and national integration; ban all communal propaganda; ban the RSS; take effective steps for the security of the life and property of the minorities; take adequate measures for the rehabilitation of refugees from East Pakistan; campaign against casteism.

9. Take adequate measures for the uplift of the scheduled castes; scheduled tribes and other backward classes and tribals.

10. Defend and develop the national policy of peace and disarmament, non-alignment and anti-colonialism and move forward to the government's implementation of the Cairo Declaration.

11. Work for the settlement of the conflict with China on the basis of the Colombo proposals.

12. Work for friendship with Pakistan through bilateral talks for the solution of all outstanding problems.

13. Stop all cuts in allocations for health, education and other social services; introduce the regional language as the medium of instruction up to and including the university stage; ensure adequate salaries for teachers and for doctors in government hospitals.

14. Take effective and immediate measures for the democratization of the state machinery, basing it on the principle of decentralization and with more powers and finance to the elected panchayats and other local bodies.

15. Establish full-fledged responsible governments in the centrally administered areas of Manipur, Tripura, Himachal Pradesh, Delhi on a par with other states.

16. Break the Congress monopoly of power to form a government of all progressive parties, groups and individuals in whichever state the situation permits, in the first place in Kerala, without any alliance with communal parties.

FORWARD!

With this immediate platform of action, the Communist Party of India will go to the people, organize them and lead them into battle, together with all other democratic and Left parties, to take a gigantic step forward towards the completion of the national democratic revolution, for genuine national regeneration and for building up the National Democratic Front.

The Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India calls upon all the people, including Congressmen who desire to carry forward the best traditions of the national movement, towards democracy, progress and prosperity to come forward in multifarious activities for national regeneration.

Together we must combat and rout the forces of corruption, decay and parasitism born out of the remnants of feudal social relations, the new growth of the monopolies and imperialist machinations. The sufferings of the people and dangers threatening the progress of the country must make any party and group sub-

ordinate their narrow party interests and rivalries to the supreme interest of the nation as a whole.

The socialist forces of the world are marching ahead and the hitherto dark regions of Asia, Africa and Latin America have been roused and are taking forward strides. India shall not lag behind.

ON THE IDEOLOGICAL CONTROVERSIES AND UNITY OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

Following is the full text of the resolution,* "On the Ideological Controversies and the Unity of the International Communist Movement," adopted by the Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India in its session December 18:

Since the Sixth Congress of our Party, which took place almost immediately after the Moscow Conference of 81 Communist and Workers' Parties, the international Communist movement has been passing through bitter and prolonged ideological controversies. These controversies which came out into the open in 1960 assumed particularly serious dimensions with the publication of an alternative general line for the world Communist movement by the leadership of the Communist Party of China in the form of its June 14, 1963 letter to the Central Commitee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The National Council of our Party critically examined and appraised this general line of the world Communist movement embodied in the 1957 Moscow Declaration and 1960 Moscow Statement. The attempt by the CPC leadership to push this alternative line and impose it on the fraternal Parties created an unprecedented situation and brought the international movement almost to the brink of a split. That situation, unfortunately, still continues.

Like many other fraternal parties, our own Party too was seriously affected by this ideological offensive of the CPC leadership and its open call for splits. Splitting activities which have accompanied the propagation of this alternative line have been sought to be justified in the name of purity of Marxism-Leninism.

When the collective line of the world Communist movement was thus openly challenged and assailed, it became naturally incumbent upon Marxist-Leninist parties to defend the common line—the 1957 Moscow Declaration and the 1960 Moscow Statement. This became necessary not only for discharging their responsibilities towards the world Communist movement, but also for carrying out their tasks as national contingents of that movement in their respective countries.

The ideological struggle for upholding the Declaration and the Statement in the face of open attack on the part of the leadership of the Communist Party of China became inseparable in the capital-

*New Age, December 27, 1964.

ist world from the struggle for peace, national liberation, democracy and socialism. This has been confirmed by the experience of our own Party and the ideological struggles it has had to wage within its ranks.

The alternative general line of the CPC leadership found its most crude and destructive expression in relation to our country. Disregarding the fact that India is a non-aligned country adhering to the peace zone, to which China was allied in principles of Panchsheel, the Chinese armies made massed military attacks across the MacMahon Line in an attempt to solve the India-China border problem by armed force.

INTERFERENCE

This had already been preceded by open interference by the Chinese Party in the affairs of our country in the form of pronouncements about the character of the Indian government which went contrary to the declared decisions of our Party at its Vijayawada Congress. Chinese aggression against our country was followed by open slanderous attacks against our Party and call to split it, in the form of the article "Mirror for Revisionists."

The narrow nationalistic and chauvinist attitude taken up by the Chinese leadership on the border question and its attempt to solve it by armed force caused a major setback to our democratic movement as it created opportunities for the forces of domestic reaction to strengthen themselves and gain vantage positions in the country's political life. This made the struggle against the erroneous ideological and political positions of the CPC leadership all the more urgent in the case of our Party.

As far back as 1959, our Party had drawn the attention of the CPC leadership to their incorrect attitude towards the border question. We subsequently raised the question at the 81 Parties Conference as well.

It was under such circumstances that our Party came out openly to refute the Chinese line, save the democratic movement of our country from the disastrous repercussions of that line and defend the integrity and unity of our Party.

The National Council of our Party took note of the June 14 CPC letter and reaffirmed our Party's firm adherence to the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement. The Council repudiated the positions of the CPC leadership. In its report "For the Unity of the Party and the International Communist Movement" the National Council of our Party again comprehensively discussed the ideological issues and placed its view for discussion by the entire Party as part of the preparation for the Seventh Party Congress. This report has been discussed by many Party conferences at different

levels and the discussions have given general approval to the positions taken by the National Council on all questions of principle.

The Seventh Congress notes with satisfaction that these conferences have once again reaffirmed, through free and frank discussions, the Party's complete identification with the overwhelming majority of the Marxist-Leninist Parties in upholding the programmatic documents of the world Communist movement—the Declaration and the Statement.

In this connection, it is perhaps necessary to recall that the Fourth Congress of our Party had acclaimed the decisions of the 20th Congress of the CPSU which ushered in a new stage in the international Communist movement. Later, the National Council of the Party similarly highly appraised the decisions of the 22nd Congress of the CPSU. The Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement were acclaimed warmly in the ranks of our Party.

At the same time it must be emphasized that no effective steps were taken to conduct any ideological discussion in the Party ranks with the result that despite formal acceptance of the conclusions of the CPSU Congress and of the two Moscow meetings of the world Communist movement, the Party ranks remained by and large in the dark as to their full meaning and significance. The ideological struggle within the Party was not undertaken, not even when the decisions of the 20th Congress and of the Moscow meetings of 1957 and 1960 were being challenged by a section of the leadership within the Party. Further, until mid-1963 even crucial documents on vital issues of the world movement including a full and proper report of the proceedings of the 81 Parties Conference as well as of the stand of the Indian delegation on the Sino-Indian border question were not made available to the ranks of the Party. This failure to draw the Party members into discussions on ideological issues contributed in a no small measure to making the Party vulnerable to alien trends and splitting activities.

The Seventh Congress of the Communist Party deems it necessary to emphasize the supreme importance of drawing the entire Party ranks into ideological discussions, organized on the basis of making all important material available to the entire Party ranks, of conducting principled ideological struggles within the Party and equipping and strengthening the entire Party on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

On the basis of the pre-Congress discussions which have taken place in the ranks of our Party the Seventh Congress deems it necessary to sum up and conclude the results of these discussions by restating and re-affirming the positions of our Party in regard to the major issues of controversy, namely, the character and significance of the new epoch, war and peace, peaceful coexistence, national-liberation movement, national democracy, forms of tran-

sition to socialism, cult of personality, the unity of the socialist camp and world Communist movement.

In regard to all these vital questions, our Party disagrees with the positions taken by the CPC leadership and considers their alternative line as a repudiation of the line of the world Communist movement. In the course of the discussion within our Party, the positions of the CPC leadership have been appraised as dogmatic and disruptive and spelling out great danger for the world Communist movement as a whole and particularly for the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries, and the struggle for peace, democracy and national independence. Both in theory and practice, the line of the CPC leadership suffers from narrow nationalistic and even chauvinistic distortions.

The Seventh Congress of the CPI attaches the greatest importance to the correct understanding of our present new epoch. The definition of the epoch is essential for the working out of the strategy and tactics of the movement as a whole and equipping every Marxist-Leninist Party for fulfilling in the most effective manner the revolutionary role assigned to it, in all countries and in all situations.

NEW EPOCH

It is of fundamental importance to recognize that the main content of our epoch is transition from capitalism to socialism. Similarly, it is also to be understood and accepted that the most distinctive feature of the present epoch is that the world socialist system is becoming a decisive factor in the development of human society. It is not correct, therefore, to describe the present epoch merely as an epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution.

The main content of the present epoch and its distinctive feature have given rise to real opportunities for solving the cardinal problems of our time in a new way. Our own experience is that the refusal to fully accept the definition of the epoch given in the Moscow Statement results in dogmatism in theory and sectarianism in practice. It comes in the way of utilizing new opportunities for advancing the cause of the working class and the democratic movement.

The Seventh Congress of our Party fully endorses the definition of the epoch as given in the Moscow Statement and enjoins all Party ranks to keep this definition constantly in view in the context of theoretical work and practical activities of the Party in the mass movements of our country.

The Seventh Congress of the Party rejects all theoretical propositions that are based on the denial of the fact that the main contradiction in modern society is that between capitalism and social-

ism. Even before the world socialist system came into existence, this was the main contradiction and it is now immensely sharpened and has become all the more pronounced as a result of the advent of socialism as world system and of the advance of the contemporary international working-class movement.

The focal points of world contradictions are naturally concentrated where the most powerful and organized forces of socialism stand face to face against the forces of imperialism. This means that the contradiction between the world socialist system and the world capitalist system constitutes the focus of the contradictions of modern times.

It is incorrect to treat the contradiction between imperialism and the national-liberation movements, notwithstanding all their revolutionary potentialities, as the main contradiction of our time. Hence it is also not correct to say that the focal points of the world contradictions lie in the vast areas of Asia, Africa and Latin America, where the national liberation struggles against imperialism are in progress, even though these may be areas where imperialism is most vulnerable.

These national liberation struggles are delivering shattering blows to imperialism but then the fact remains that the decisive role in the world revolutionary process today is played most definitely by the working class and its chief creation—the world socialist system. Our own experience in the struggle against overcoming the legacies of imperialism and in achieving economic independence confirms this understanding.

The Moscow Declaration highlights the importance of the emergence of the "Peace Zone" comprising the socialist countries and newly liberated non-aligned nations. Our Party fully acknowledges the positive role of this Peace Zone in the worldwide struggle for peace and against colonialism. The Party Congress considers that it is the duty of all Communists, to work for expanding and strengthening the Peace Zone.

To negate or even underestimate the role of the Peace Zone is to restrict and weaken the anti-imperialist struggle, the common front against imperialism. The stand of the CPC leadership in this regard, particularly in relation to India, which is a vast country in the Peace Zone, means a virtual negation of this concept. Worse still, it weakens and undermines the Peace Zone instead of expanding and consolidating it.

Our Seventh Congress rejects the concept of the so-called "Intermediate Zone" put forward by the CPC leadership as contrary to the understanding of the Declaration and the Statement. It is one thing to recognize that inter-imperialist contradictions do exist and are growing, and to utilize those, but it is quite a different matter

to put forward, out of this, the concept of the "International Zone."

This is an erroneous concept which separates the USA from other imperialist powers and puts the latter in the same category with the non-imperialist capitalist countries and even blocs created by the imperialist powers such as NATO, CENTO and SEATO and underestimates the dangers posed by the imperialist block.

UNREALISTIC

This unrealistic and artificial concept also underlies the neo-colonialism of Britain, France, West Germany and Japan and so on. It goes without saying that the spearhead of these imperiailst alignments and their military blocs and their bases is directed, first and foremost, against the countries of the socialist camp as also against other countries, especially in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The Chinese theory of the "Intermediate Zone" in reality weakens the struggle against imperialism. Not only that, in practice it has been a cover for the most opportunist and unprincipled alliances in the field of foreign policy. The most crude expression of this has been the policy of China towards Pakistan, China's open tributes to the military dictatorship of Ayub Khan, her defense of Pakistan's membership of the SEATO imperialist war bloc, and her indirect support to Pakistan's demand for a plebiscite in Kashmir in the name of self-determination.

One of the most important questions over which the controversy in the international Communist movement has arisen is that of world war and peace.

The Seventh Congress of the CPI entirely endorses the call of the international Communist movement to regard the fight for peace as the prime task of all Communists. Our Party fully recognizes the new possibilities which have grown and are further growing day by day for preventing a world war by the combined efforts of all peace forces. The correlation between the forces of peace and those of war and aggression is constantly changing in favor of peace and against war. Hence it is wrong in theory and harmful in practice to put equal emphasis on the possibility of averting war and of its breaking out.

All this, however, does not mean that imperialism has changed its aggressive nature, or that the danger of war does not exist, or is not serious. It only means that the forces have arisen in the world arena today which can, by their united efforts, curb imperialism and prevent it from unleashin another world war.

The Seventh Congress of the CPI stands foursquare with the rest of the Communist movement in maintaining that the only alternative to destructive war is peaceful coexistence between

states with different social systems and looks upon the struggle to compel imperialist powers to accept this as of vital importance for freeing mankind from the threat of a thermonuclear war and for ensuring durable peace. Peace is clearly an ally of socialism and of progressive causes.

The experience of our people in their struggle against imperialism and for national regeneration has fully confirmed this proposition.

GENERAL LINE

In the struggle for peace the greatest role is naturally assigned to the countries of victorious socialism. The policy of peaceful coexistence has been very aptly regarded as the "cornerstone" and "foundation" of the foreign policy of socialist countries. It is but logical that this policy of peaceful coexistence should be regarded as the general line of the foreign policy of all socialist countries. Non-acceptance of this by any socialist country cannot but lead to serious mistakes of adventurism in foreign policy and weaken the struggle against imperialism and for peace and peaceful coexistence.

The Seventh Congress of our Party understands the slogan of complete and general disarmament as a fighting slogan of the masses and rejects the defeatist view that it is an "illusion" to expect general and complete disarmament so long as the system of imperialism and of exploitation of man by man exists. It fully endorses the confident line of the world Communist movement that by active and resolute struggle, imperialism can and must be made to meet the demand for disarmament.

The struggle for disarmament helps weaken and isolate the imperialists and the reactionaries and strengthens the position of all forces fighting for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. In this connection, our Party is in full support of the Moscow Partial Test Ban Treaty and looks upon it as one of the most significant achievements of the peace movement.

The prolification of nuclear weapons and the defiance of this Moscow Test Ban Treaty contributes to the heightening of international tension and encourages the nuclear arms race and spread of nuclear weapons. The Chinese explosion of an atom bomb in defiance of the Moscow Treaty has led, in the case of our own country, to strengthening the hands of the pro-imperialist reactionaries to clamor for making the atom bomb in India or alternatively to seek the nuclear umbrella of the Anglo-American powers.

The Seventh Congress of our Party totally rejects the view that the struggle for peaceful coexistence weakens the struggle for national liberation and the class struggles in the capitalist coun-

tries. The truth is that peaceful coexistence is itself a form of class struggle in the world arena between capitalism and socialism. It most definitely implies ideological, economic and political struggle. Peaceful coexistence only means that disputes between socialism and capitalism in the international arena must not be sought to be resolved through recourse to arms and war. Socialism does not need war to triumph.

Our experience confirms that peaceful coexistence creates favorable conditions for the development of class struggle in the capitalist countries and the liberation movement of the peoples. It should not be lost to the view that a large number of Afro-Asian countries have won their political independence precisely under conditions of peaceful coexistence.

In their turn, the class struggle and the national-liberation movement promote the cause of peaceful coexistence. It is an utter distortion of the common line of the world Communist movement to suggest that peaceful coexistence means abandonment of class struggle or conciliation with imperialism. On the contrary, peaceful coexistence demands the intensification of the struggles of the working class and all the peoples fighting for national liberation.

The Seventh Congress of the CPI fully recognizes the revolutionary significance of the national liberation struggle in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The national liberation movement is a component of the one and same revolutionary process, other components being the struggle of the working people in the socialist countries for building socialism and communism, the revolutionary movement of the working people in the capitalist countries and the general democratic movement. All these merge into a powerful single current that ensures destruction of imperialism and world capitalism. The interconnection between all these forces is of fundamental importance for the success of the world revolutionary process.

Contemporary events are amply proving the correctness of the Moscow Statement that world socialism has contributed decisively to the struggle of the colonial and dependent peoples. It has been seen in our own country as in other newly liberated countries that the world socialist system constitutes a reliable shield for independent national development. But for the disinterested economic assistance India receives from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the independent development of our national economy and its reconstruction under the Plan would not have been possible in the face of imperialist pressures.

The rapid victories for national liberation and the consolidation of the newly won freedom are ensured by the international working class and the socialist system. It follows, therefore, that in the interest of national liberation itself as for the larger cause of

world-wide struggle against imperialism, the bonds of the national liberation struggles with the international working class and the socialist camp have got to be constantly strengthened. Any step that weakens these bonds is contrary to the position of the world Communist movement and in fact objectively serves the ends of imperialism.

To approach the question of national liberation not as a component of the world revolutionary process but in isolation from the socialist camp and the international working class movement is wholly alien to Marxism-Leninism.

It should perhaps be reiterated here that national liberation is not completed with the attainment of political independence. Hence the revolutionary and progressive forces in the newly liberated countries have got to be organized in a common united national democratic front for carrying out the unfinished tasks of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal democratic revolution, for winning economic independence and for national rebirth.

The CPC leadership attacks socialist aid to underdeveloped countries especially to India on the plea that it helps imperialism. But the actual experience in our country speaks otherwise. Socialist aid helps in building an independent economy, thereby enabling our country to resist imperialist pressures.

What is particularly noteworthy in this connection is that such newly freed countries can advance along the non-capitalist path even without the existence of any sizeable industrial proletariat.

Significant socio-economic transformations which are in progress in Algeria, UAR, Ghana, Guinea, Mali deserve special attention. These newly-liberated countries are advancing not along the traditional capitalist path but more and more on non-capitalist lines, each however with its own peculiar features and its own correlation of class forces. In quite a few of such countries, the non-working-class democratic elements are playing a far more radical and revolutionary role than what was anticipated even a few years ago. Forces objectively working for the victory of Marxism-Leninism are emerging even outside the stream of the traditional Communist movement.

The working class and the international Communist movement are securing new and powerful allies, and the prospects of non-capitalist development and then of transition to the road to socialism are becoming brighter. Their success naturally depends on the development of a broader outlook and more flexible policies on the part of the Communist parties and democratic forces in building the broad united democratic front and fully exploiting the new opportunities.

Ours is the most advanced capitalist country among the newly independent nations. With the new possibilities mentioned above

and basing ourselves on the Moscow Statement, our Program holds the view that the perspective of national democracy is valid for our country and that, given the proper fulfilment of the revolutionary tasks in the present stage of our revolution, national democracy may provide a peaceful transitional form for advance to the road to socialism.

This perspective arises primarily from the shift in the balance of world forces expressed in the socialist system becoming the decisive factor in the present stage of world development. Further the achievements of the socialist camp as well as the disinterested and exemplary help which it renders to the newly-independent countries including India are revolutionizing the minds of millions of people.

POSSIBILITIES

Serious limitations and crises of the capitalist path of development and all-round discrediting of this path, the existence of a powerful working class movement with old traditions, and its great possibilities, radicalization of the middle class elements profoundly influenced by the ideas of socialism, the growing contradiction and differentiation within the national bourgeoisie sharpened by the growth of monopoly—all these greatly augment the possibilities for putting our country on the non-capitalist path.

For us in India, the struggle for the non-capitalist path and national democracy is indeed the struggle for forging a broad national democratic front based on the firm worker-peasant alliance and on mass struggle against imperialist strongholds, semi-feudal relics in our economy and for breaking the power of the monopolies. It is through such struggles in both economic and political spheres that a major shift in the balance of class forces has to be brought about for the establishment of national democracy and change-over to the non-capitalist path of development.

On the question of the form of transition to socialism, the Seventh Congress of our Party fully endorses the understanding and approach of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement. The standpoint of our Party in this respect is in full conformity with the line of the world Communist movement.

The Declaration and the Statement point to both peaceful and non-peaceful possibilities but do not merely stop at that. They explain that in the present epoch with its great change in the correlation of world forces in favor of socialism, the possibilities for peaceful transition are growing. It is therefore incorrect to equate the twin possibilities.

However, in what form the transition will take place in this or that country depends upon a whole complex of objective and

subjective factors, both external and internal—mainly internal. Communists should be ready for all possible twists and turns in the situation.

As far as our Party is concerned, it has long acknowledged the possibilities of peaceful transition and, indeed, has been working for strengthening these possibilities.

The key to utilization of the opportunities for peaceful transition, for transforming parliament into an instrument of people's will lies in the defense of the democratic rights and liberties under our present parliamentary system through mass struggles and in constant struggle for broadening and expanding democracy in all spheres of our socio-economic life.

TRANSITION

Peaceful transition does not mean abandonment of the class struggle or the militant mass revolutionary movement. On the contrary, peaceful transition is ensured by sharp class struggles based on the maximum possible unity and mobilization of the popular forces under the leadership of the working class and its Party.

The pre-Congress discussion within our Party has endorsed the understanding and approach of the National Council on this question, elaborated in the ideological document "For the Unity of the Party and the International Communist Movement."

Our Party is in complete disagreement with the one-sided dogmatic approach of the leadership of the CPC which ridicules the concept of peaceful transition as "historical idealism" and advocates the non-peaceful way as the only way for transition to socialism. The position of the CPC leadership on this question is an open repudiation of the Declaration and the Statement.

The Seventh Congress of the CPI reaffirms its full support to the struggle against the cult of personality and its harmful consequences initiated by the 20th Congress of the CPSU.

It was an act of courage on the part of the CPSU leadership to have boldly launched the struggle which not only unleashed a new mass initiative in the Soviet Union but which injected a new spirit into the entire international Communist movement. The Seventh Congress records its deep appreciation of the great strides that have been taken in the Soviet Union and the socialist countries in the restoration of socialist legality and Leninist norms.

The phenomenon of the personality cult was not limited to the Soviet Union alone. It developed in other socialist countries and had similar repercussions in Communist parties outside the socialist countries. The CPC leadership continues to glorify it even today.

Considering these developments, the Seventh Congress is of the opinion that a comprehensive examination of the various historical

and personal factors that lead to the emergence of the cult is necessary not only for understanding the phenomenon fully but for a thorough and faster eradication of all its consequences.

The emergence of the personality cult can in no way negate the basic and historic superiority of socialist democracy over bourgeois parliamentary democracy. The dazzling advance of socialist industry, science and culture have already proved this in practice beyond doubt. The cult of personality however distorts and vitiates socialist democracy. The struggle against the cult is a struggle for a constant broadening and deepening of democracy in every sphere of socialist life, social, political and cultural. The question of speeding up the process, including helpful institutional changes, calls for consideration.

The unity of the countries of the socialist system is the most decisive force for guaranteeing success in the struggle for world peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. The strength of the socialist system arises from the unity of the socialist countries. It is precisely this unity which invests our present new epoch with tremendous revolutionary possibilities and creates new opportunities for the world revolutionary movement.

DIFFERENCES

In the recent period, the unity of the socialist community has been very seriously impaired. Bitter ideological polemics among the ruling parties in these countries have arisen and have been projected into the sphere of state relations. This has emboldened the imperialists who now set great store by the disunity among the countries of the socialist system and bank on the possibility of splits in the world socialist system, for the furtherance of their aggressive designs.

The dangerous outcome of the disunity of the socialist camp stands out in bold relief in the increasingly aggressive moves of the U.S. and other imperialist powers in Vietnam and other countries of South East Asia, Cyprus and Congo, as well as in the intensified drive of the U.S. and West German imperialists for the creation of a multilateral nuclear force.

The responsibility for the present state of disunity in the socialist camp rests on the leadership of the CPC. The CPC leadership has repudiated the common line of the Declaration and the Statement including, in particular, the guiding principles laid down in the Statement for developing cooperation between the socialist countries and for strengthening the great socialist community of nations.

The restoration of the unity of the countries of socialism, the common united actions by them in the struggle for peace and

against imperialism and its aggressive moves, have assumed primary importance. The restoration of unity among the fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties and the peoples in the socialist countries is possible on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The objective possibilities do exist for overcoming these difficulties. For these it is, of course, necessary to work out concrete steps and policies, concentrating more on what unites them in common struggle rather than what divides them.

The Seventh Congress of our Party naturally welcomes the initiative which the CPSU and others have time and again taken for the cause of restoring the unity of the socialist camp and the world Communist movement. Unfortunately, these initiatives have been met with a negative response by the leadership of the CPC.

Certain questions pertaining to the international division of labor and planning among the socialist countries have lately come up. The mutual fraternal assistance and all-round cooperation on the basis of complete equality between the socialist countries in the interest of each socialist country and the socialist camp as a whole are essential for the victory of the cause of the international working class.

This objective is also accepted by all, but, in practice, difficulties have currently arisen in the actual implementation of this objective. Difficulties are, however, not insurmountable. Given the proper attention to socialist internationalism and socialist patriotism and firm adherence to the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, solutions to these problems can be found.

It is possible that the leadership of the ruling Communist Party of this or that socialist country may deviate from Marxism-Leninism and advocate and pursue certain wrong policies for a time. But a socialist country does not cease to be a socialist country merely because of such deviations or wrong policies.

Whether a country is socialist or not is to be determined by the fundamental fact as to which class is in power and who owns the means of production, distribution and exchange. Hence it is wrong to treat the People's Republic of China or Albania as anything but socialist states. Whatever the differences and however serious they may be, the question of excommunicating a socialist country whose leadership has deviated from the common line does not at all arise.

It is also necessary to emphasize that Yugoslavia is a socialist country since it is a socialist state by the same criteria and that it should be considered a member of the socialist community.

CORRECT LINE

It is, however, necessary on the part of the parties of other socialist countries and the world Communist movement as a whole to uphold the correct line of the movement and offer necessary criticisms. But such criticisms must be conducted in a fraternal spirit and must aim at helping those who have committed mistakes to rectify them. In this context, there is every need for forebearance, patience and flexibility in the interest of the unity of the socialist countries and the world Communist movement.

The strength of the world Communist movement lies in the unity and cohesion of its ranks, and indeed, unity of all Communists in each country. The pre-Congress discussions within our Party have been marked by the desire for unity of the international movement on the part of the mass om our Party members.

It is, however, to be realized that it is not enough merely to express sentiments for unity; the problem now is one of correctly understanding what makes for unity and of determining concrete steps for achieving this objective. The unity of the world Communist movement, as a whole, is secured, first and foremost, by the unity of the ideological platform, by identity of views on theoretical and practical questions of struggle against the common enemy.

Further, the cause of unity demands that all Communist parties submit to international discipline of the revolutionary proletariat. Observance of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, of proletarian internationalism and the carrying out by each Party of the international commitment accepted by it in relation to the movement as a whole, as laid down in the Moscow Statement, constitute the criteria of international discipline.

In approaching the question of unity of the world Communist movement, it has to be realized that it functions today under vastly altered circumstances.

RESPONSIBILITY

The conditions in which national Communist parties have to function and their vastly enhanced responsibilities demand full freedom for each national Party to work out its own policies in relation to its specific problems within the framework of an agreed international line and non-intervention by any Party in the internal affairs of other parties. The unity of the international Communist movement can now be based only on the full recognition of this reality, not only in theory but in practice.

Clearly, this calls for a great sense of responsibility on the part of the leadership of each Communist Party. If, in the exercise of its sovereignty, a Communist Party flies in the face of the commonly

accepted international line, it is bound to result in the path of disruption and, necessarily, with the passage of time, the path of narrow nationalism and chauvinism. Such a path is totally alien to the most elementary principles and ideals of Marxism-Leninism. Unfortunately, such a problem does face us today for which the Chinese leadership, most of all, is responsible.

Normally, open polemics between Communist parties are to be avoided and solution of differences are to be sought in accordance with the principles and conclusions laid down in the Moscow Statement. But when a Communist Party or a group of parties openly repudiate the common line, violate international discipline and seek to impose their views on others, such open polemics may become inevitable for the defense of Marxism-Leninism and the line of the world Communist movement.

But polemics must be conducted in a sober, principled and fraternal way with a view to helping the rectification of mistakes, overcoming the differences and restoring the unity of the movement. Simultaneously, efforts must be made to develop common action on anti-imperialist and anti-colonial issues and on the issues of the struggle for peace, disarmament and so on.

The question of achieving unity is not confined to bringing back the Chinese leadership and its supporters into the common fold.

There are differences even among the Communist parties that solidly support the general line of the 81 Parties Statement. The primary method of overcoming them is, of course, biltateral and multi-lateral talks between the parties concerned. In this connection, meetings of representatives of the Communist parties that to deal with common problems have been suggested. Such bilateral and multilateral meetings will not only help solve these particular differences, but also contribute to the unity of the international Communist movement.

As far as the unity of the Communist Party and Communists of a given country is concerned, this cannot be ensured and maintained unless all the Party members submit to the fundamental principles of Communist organization and, particularly, the principle of democratic centralism based on full internal Party democracy.

Ideological and political differences within a Communist Party, however serious they may be, must not be allowed to lead to a split. Solutions to differences must be sought within the Party itself and in conformity with Leninist organizational principles of the Party.

OBSTACLE

Life itself has demonstrated that the main obstacle hindering the further advance of the world Communist movement is dogmatism

and Left-sectarianism, while the danger from revisionism also remains. The overcoming of dogmatism is only possible through the use of the scientific method of Marxism-Leninism to boldly analyze the new reality that constantly emerges and to develop the theory of scientific socialism.

In view of the present unfortunate attitude of the leadership of the CPC, our Party has no illusion that the differences within the international Communist movement are going to be easily overcome. However, the Seventh Congress is confident that fundamental loyalty to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, to proletarian internationalism, will ultimately prevail and the leadership of the CPC and others who have broken away from the common line will rectify their mistakes and return to the common positions of the movement.

The Seventh Party Congress naturally shares the view that the open polemics for which the leadership of the CPC is responsible must be ended in the interests of the unity of the world Communist movement and appreciates the efforts made by the CPSU in that direction.

The Seventh Congress of the CPI endorses the proposal for holding the world conference of all Communist and Workers' parties and it expresses its most earnest hope that such a conference, with the goodwill and cooperation of all fraternal parties, will succeed in restoring the unity of the world Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationailsm.

PLANS FOR A 'BROAD-BASED' GOVERNMENT

JOINT STATEMENT BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE LEFT REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT OF VENEZUELA

After the electoral farce of December 1, 1963, the Communist Party and the Left Revolutionary Movement (LRM) of Venezuela declared that the Leoni government would be unable to end the the political crisis and would, in effect, continue the policy of capitulation and repression that marked the five years of Betancourt's rule.

The government is flirting with U.S. magnates, the national big bourgeoisie and the reactionary generals, while doing nothing to check the growing cost of living, end unemployment and resolve other serious problems facing the country.

The past months have revealed the failure of Betancourt's agrarian reform and the demagogic, fraudulent character of "industrialization." They have shown that foreign loans are used to balance the budget and finance demagogical projects, while nothing is done to promote independent economic development of the nation.

It has become clear that the government will go on with its reactionary onslaught on the universities—on their autonomy and on their role as centers for free discussion allowing no restrictions or privileges; that the policy of division and repression will be continued in the field of education at all levels; that democratic-minded lecturers will be victimized as before, whatever their past services; that the colleges will remain closed to patriots.

The Leoni government is stepping up persecution, although the number of armed clashes has dropped due to the unilateral termination of hostilities by the revolutionary forces. It continues searches, arrests, tortures and executions (as in the Miranda State), and massive offensives against the peasants in the guerrilla-controlled regions, especially in the states of Falcon, Lara and Miranda.

When the Leoni government was formed most parties and national movements proposed seeking solutions to pressing problems and above all taking measures to establish peace in the country. Urging "political and not police measures," Usiar Pietri declared that there should be "no more persecuted or persecutors." Jovito Villalba insisted on "restoring democratic legality." The election campaign centred on the issues of granting more extensive democratic rights and an amnesty, and of legalizing the LRM and CPV. Vice-Admiral Larrazàbal, the People's Democratic Force party, the

People's Nationalist Vanguard, the Revolutionary Nationalist Party and the National Opposition Front want an amnesty, the legalization of parties, and an end to persecution as radical measures to resolve the political crisis.

There are people even in the Democratic Action Party, who, sobered by the gravity of the situation and the loss of hundreds of thousands of votes, have adopted a realistic stand and expressed concern over the continuation of Betancourt's policy of repression and other anti-popular measures.

This aggressive and terroristic policy has been openly supported only by an insignificant minority — the Copei (Social-Christian) Party and the pro-Betancourt group of Democratic Action. They have been using high-ranking reactionary officers, the presence of Gonzola Barrios in the Ministry of the Interior, and the control they exercise over the repressive organs, to impose their will on other pro-government groups. The result is increased repressions.

The National Liberation Front, the LRM and the CPV have stated more than once that they were no worshippers of violence and that if they had an opportunity to fight by peaceful means they would use it actively. Indeed, to ensure that our people's revolutionary demands were met with minimum sacrifice, they respected, as far as the government's repressive policy allowed, the truce they had unilaterally offered. We did all we could to secure the amnesty of the thousands of political prisoners held unlawfully. What was the government's reply? It is known to all and we have repeatedly exposed it: fierce repressions, the systematic persecution of revolutionaries, and complete disregard for the demands for an amnesty. Moreover, Betancourt's backers campaigned against amnesty, misrepresenting the position of the revolutionary forces. The ruling party and the government itself followed suit.

A war is on against the peasants, aimed at encircling and destroying the guerrillas, who attempt no operations other than those intended to beat off attacks by the government troops. Aircraft, guns, mortars, helicopters and other modern weapons, used at El Bachiller some time ago, are now being employed against the peasants and guerrillas of Falcon and Lara.

Such is the situation in which maneuvers have been undertaken to establish a "broad-based" government. Surprisingly, those who have been holding forth on the need to end the division of Venezuelans into "persecuted and persecutors" agree, without protest or explanation, to form a government with those who are fighting the people. The argument that they want to maintain law and order is designed, in our opinion, to camouflage their desire to consolidate the anti-national tyranny ruling our country today.

We have never deluded ourselves or anyone else as to the real

purpose of a "broad-based" government. This government should not be judged by the program it has announced. Its program is too general and non-committal and is, moreover, supported by the very same political forces which today keep silent about the more specific programs they advanced in the recent elections.

We should judge the authors of the "broad basis" program by their deeds and class positions. The Democratic Action group, being in the government, acted in the interests of the big U.S. monopolies and the national moneybags connected with them. The Democratic National Front is joining the government by virtue of its links with these economic groups. The Republican Democratic Union is out to prove its ability to serve the ruling classes as faithfully as Democratic Action does. Such government, if formed, would bring about no changes. In fact, its purpose is to consolidate what exists already. A "broad-based" government would try to solve the problem of concessions in favor of the oil companies, come to terms with the reactionary brass-hats, gain a majority in parliament, and "settle" the problem of violence by suppressing revolutionaries and denying them the right to fight for their ideals.

Our parties have been striving sincerely to achieve peace in the country. But we shall never renounce our revolutionary aims. We are ready to do all in our power to pave the way for Venezuela's advance to revolution without civil war. But we are resolved not to buy peace at the price of submission of the revolutionary forces, the continued humiliation and oppression of our country by foreigners, a backward agriculture, and mass starvation. We are confident that all other revolutionary, democratic and nationalist forces, including patriotic-minded army officers, will also refuse to pay this price.

If "to end the division into persecuted and persecutors" means physically destroying the former, we say to the advocates of a "broad basis" that it is a hopeless job. There are many of us, the "persecuted," and we can draw on the inexhaustible solidarity of the people. We are not bragging when we say that our parties have become steeled in battles and that the people's vanguard in the National Liberation Front and the Armed Forces of National Liberation have the high morale of patriots and revolutionaries. We are fighting for a just cause, and we enjoy the growing solidarity of our people. We are invincible. If persecution is stepped up —as it already is — it will be the one-party government that will have to answer for it and not we, the revolutionaries, who have made a fair effort to achieve peace. It is this govenrment that is persecuting the popular movement, with help from those who offer their services in setting up a "broad-based" government.

Unless persecution is immediately stopped, the new government

will come into being in an atmosphere of persecution and violence. It will be rejected by the vast majority of the people, who demand peace and equality for all. We stress the great responsibility that rests with Jovito Villalba, Arturo Usiar Pietri and their parties for allowing a fierce government offensive even as attempts are under way to form a new government, which will lead to unrestrained violence.

We call upon all supporters of democratic peace to unite in order to stop persecution and offer the country another alternative. We call upon all who advocate full civil rights, the legalization of parties and the reinstatement of democratic-minded officers; all who are fighting for the release of prisoners and for an amnesty; all who are ready to fight against unemployment and the high cost of living, for higher wages and for changes that would make it possible to effect an agrarian reform in the interests of our peasants and our agriculture; all who want real freedom for our country to sell its oil — we call upon all of them to take the road proposed by us, a road leading to peace and the solution of the problems facing the country.

We urge the people, all democratic and revolutionary forces, to fight for a new alternative, to prove, in common with other progressive groups, the possibility of forming a government that would open the way to democratic and patriotic rule, rid the country of foreign domination, carry out an agrarian reform, establish democratic peace, bring freedom to all Venezuelans, and pursue an independent foreign policy.

Political Bureau, CPV National Leadership, LRM
Caracas, October, 1964

AN IDEOLOGICAL OFFENSIVE OF MARXISM IS INDISPENSABLE FOR OUR SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION*

Present-day reality, the socialist development of our society, calls for urgent measures to improve our ideological work. An ideological offensive of Marxism is indispensable for our socialist construction. Without it we can neither safeguard our achievements nor go on with socialist construction.

Last September the Agitation and Propaganda Committee under the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party held a conference of key ideological workers. In response to a written report and introductory remarks by Comrade Isvan Szirmai, Secretary of the CC, HSWP, the conference discussed the state of ideological work and the tasks involved, as well as the progress made in carrying out the relevant decision of the Eighth Party Congress. The free exchange of views covered various aspects of the Party's manifold ideological activities, the conference seeking for specific ways of launching an ideological offensive.

Below we comment briefly on certain important questions of ideological work that were prominent in the conference debate.

The ideological activity of the Party is not an end in itself but a part of the fight which the Communists are carrying on on many fronts to attain society's chief goal, the victory of socialism and communism. It was logical, therefore, that the report, which provided the basis for the debate, and most of the speeches delivered at the national conference examined ideological problems with due regard to the economic, socio-political and cultural situation and the requirements of the present stage of socialist construction. This is the only point of departure if we want to discuss ideological issues in the creative spirit of Marxism and determine the main direction of ideological work and our tasks in it.

Socialist construction in our country is not an isolated development but a component of the world revolutionary process, which consists in a worldwide struggle between socialism and capitalism. The conference therefore paid considerable attention to the international conditions in which our country's socialist construction, and hence the Party's ideological work, is taking place.

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*Tarsadalmi Szemle, No. 11, Nov. 1964.

PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE AND THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE

In the worldwide struggle between socialism and capitalism, the Communist parties base their strategy on the conviction that today peace and peaceful coexistence, and the prevention of a new world war are more essential than ever to social progress and the common interests of mankind. But peaceful coexistence does not imply discontinuance of the struggle between socialism and capitalism, or approval of the economic, political and ideological status quo. It is an international class struggle focussed on economic competition and the ideological battle between the two world systems.

Peaceful coexistence provides favorable conditions for the spread of socialist ideas. The expansion of economic, diplomatic, scientific and cultural relations between socialist and capitalist countries and comparison of the two world systems make the adherents of socialism more confident of their cause and contribute to the growth of their numbers. Most Hungarian citizens who visit capitalist countries come back fortified in their socialist patriotism and determined to champion socialism more staunchly than ever. Our socialist achievements arouse the interest of people from capitalist countries who familiarize themselves with our life. The appeal of socialist ideas is stronger and more widespread today than ever before. But it would be naive to imagine that the growing appeal of socialism is sufficient in itself and that we can win the ideological battle without vigorously and continuously promoting our ideas.

We must not underestimate the enemy in the ideological struggle. It is true that, historically, our ideas are far and away superior to bourgeois ideas, for ours is a just ideology while bourgeois ideology, increasingly helpless in face of the growing contradictions of modern capitalism, is sinking deeper and deeper into the morass of crisis. This is not to say, however, that bourgeois ideology today has no chances of checking the spread of the ideas of scientific socialism or, given the opportunity, of launching a counter-offensive. Just as the general crisis of capitalism must not be seen as evidence that capitalism is no longer capable of substantial economic, technical and social achievement, so it would be wrong to contend that bourgeois ideology is absolutely powerless and harmless. Modern bourgeois ideology is trying to devise more subtle forms of apology for capitalism, and it is not entirely unsuccessful. It even manages to mislead those who are unimpressed by the old-fashioned advocacy of capitalism.

The imperialists refuse even today to give up attempts at

overthrowing socialism and restoring capitalism in the socialist countries. But the changed balance of forces compels them to revise their former tactics of trying to achieve their aims through undisguised threats, the so-called "liberation" program, and economic blockade. In the new international situation, in view of the grave risk of a worldwide conflict and the failure of the policy of bans, they want to achieve their aim not through forcible "liberation," but by "inciting to rebellion," above all through political and ideological infiltration. Their plans assign ideological sabotage a special role. A West German journal, describing the nature of these tactics, commented that the "West" must smuggle its ideas into the public life of communist countries by subtler methods, using every medium of modern propaganda.

Those who apply these tactics to the socialist countries believe that the growing economic, political and cultural relations between the countries in the two world systems and increased personal contacts will help them carry out their plans. Our country and other socialist countries accept the challenge, for we have nothing to fear from an ideological competition between the two systems. It is a contest which socialism is bound to win. But because we are willing to accept peaceful coexistence and its practical effects, we must carefully prepare for the ideological struggle in every field, answer the questions posed by our time in the spirit of creative Marxism, foil the ideological sabotage of imperialism and launch an ideological offensive.

MARXIST-LENINIST PLATFORM OF WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT AND THE POLICY OF THE PARTY

The development and present state of the world Communist movement are an important factor in the ideological struggle. The 20th Congress of the CPSU ushered in a new era in the development of the Communist movement as a whole. The world Communist movement, which has rejected the theory and practice of the personality cult and which proceeds from the changed historical reality as it fights on two fronts, has set forth its new strategy in the Moscow documents of 1957 and 1960. The overwhelming majority of the Communist parties abide by this strategy in fighting for peace, the freedom of the peoples, and social progress.

Our prime duty is also to defend the collectively formulated Marxist-Leninist platform of the world Communist movement in the debate which has divided the world Communist movement. It is our aim to elucidate from the ideological point of view the questions raised in the course of this debate, to test our views in practice and carry them forward. We must defeat the offensive

against the unity of the world Communist movement and restore that unity which is the fundamental condition for further progress in the anti-imperialist struggle.

It is a most important guarantee of the success of the Communist movement, and of the re-establishment and promotion of its unity, that most Communist parties remain staunchly loyal to the principles approved by the Moscow meetings of 1957 and 1960. Special credit is due to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for the historic fact that its 20th Congress took the initiative in formulating today's Leninist line of the world Communist movement and that the CPSU is now leading in the pursuit of that line. With unflagging enthusiasm, the CPSU is championing peaceful coexistence and the unity of the international working-class movement as it presses forward its communist construction.

The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party educates its membership in the spirit of proletarian internationalism. In the ideological fields as well, it consistently applies the principles collectively formulated and approved at the Moscow meetings. The Hungarian Communists wholeheartedly support these principles, which also meet the interests of the Hungarian people and are proved correct by our own experience. But the debate in the world Communist movement is having some repercussions in our midst. In the circumstances, some people are trying to justify their sectarian or Right-wing views. It is therefore our internationalist duty to expose and reject the pseudo-revolutionary, petty-bourgeois nationalist trend which opposes the Marxist-Leninist platform of the world Communist movement. Moreover this is essential in order to defend the policy of our Party.

The policy of our Party was determined by the decisions of the Seventh and Eighth congresses. Our Party continues to work in the spirit of those decisions. During the past years the people have satisfied themselves that the Party is pursuing the right policy, and on the whole they support it actively. But we must never relax our effort to ensure that this policy is appreciated and consistently implemented. The tasks facing us are vast and complicated. Our work still encounters hurdles, and many political questions are not dealt with competently enough. Nor has the danger of various distortions been entirely eliminated. Our Party is vigorously combating sectarian dogmatism and Right-wing revisionism. The Hungarian Communist Party has come to know both dogmatism and revisionism in practice and has rejected them on the basis of its experience. But there still are cases of the implementation of the Party's policy coming up against the survivals of sectarianism and dogmatism, and revisionism is still a real menace, especially in our spiritual life. This is why we must go on fighting on two fronts

to defend the policy of our Party and consistently translate it into reality.

The Eighth Congress of the HSWP, making a Marxist analysis of the progress made, charted the road to the completion of socialist construction in our country. Creative labor in the economic and cultural fields, the promotion of socialist democracy, and the establishment of socialist national unity are the cardinal tasks set by the Congress. This is what our Party has to strive for in its ideological work. We must substantiate the policy of the Party from the Marxist point of view, and must be at one in interpreting it, in order to achieve ideological unity, which is a requisite for unity of action. We must see to it that the people understand and accept the policy of the Party. We must rally and consolidate the forces of our society to put the Marxist program for the completion of socialist construction into effect.

LOYALTY TO MARXISM AND ITS CREATIVE APPLICATION

The objective conditions of our society are favorable to the ideological struggle to spread Marxism. Progress in socialist construction has reaffirmed and strengthened Marxism, and hence the theoretical basis of the activities of the Party. It has been proved that Marxism alone makes it possible to solve, theoretically, the major problems facing Hungarian society.

After 1956 the Party, creatively applying Marxism-Leninism, solved the problems which had arisen during the fight against the counter-revolution and in the period of socialist consolidation, when it took steps to develop socialist industry and reorganize agriculture on socialist lines. To complete socialist construction, we must solve new problems, which can be done only by creatively applying Marxist theory. The victory of socialism will not be complete until we substantially increase labor productivity. With this aim in view, we must continue to improve our socialist economic planning, and the forms and methods of economic management. The establishment of socialist national unity—a task set by the Eighth Congress—is a complicated process. As we creatively apply Marxism, we can and must reveal the elements of this process and thoroughly analyze the changes that have occurred in the class structure of our society and in the position of the various classes. The promotion of socialist democracy is the key issue of our social development. It is an important theoretical as well as practical task to study the economic, socio-political, moral and philosophical conditions for the further development of socialist democracy. Many new questions crop up in the course of the continuing socialist cultural revolution, scientific progress and the all-round development of the arts and letters.

Neither the classics of Marxism nor contemporary Marxist works can provide ready-made solutions to all new problems. But Marxism-Leninism is the theoretical and methodological basis, the only truly scientific basis, on which new problems can be solved. For it reveals the law-governed nature of the development of society, elucidates the cardinal laws of the socialist revolution and theoretically generalizes the experience gained by the world working-class movement.

Like any other measure adopted by the Party, the ideological conference inspired those active on the ideological front to continue their effort in the creative spirit of Marxism, study reality and seek solutions to new problems. Numerous signs, including achievements to date in social science research, discussions of urgent issues and, last but not least, the attention which the conference devoted to the Marxist investigation of new problems show that ideological workers are eager to approach their tasks in a creative spirit. Our system, and the policy of our Party, provides ample opportunity for creative work on problems of Marxist theory aimed at achieving further progress. It stands to reason, however, that creative effort in this field is difficult and is often attended by contradictions.

We must always combat the conservative point of view which alleges that the Marxist doctrine cannot be carried any further, for this view paralyzes ideological activity. Furthermore, in tackling theoretical issues, theoreticians often have to combat their own timidity and hidebound thinking. Research into new problems does not always lead to the best solutions; moreover, it does not provide them at once. As the problems in question are complicated, several different opinions may be advanced on this or that point. It is not always possible to tell at once which of them is correct. More often than not, it is necessary to compare the various solutions to them, in order to find Marxist answers, reject the false solutions and carry forward the correct ones. No science can make headway without such discussions, and Marxism is a developing science. We therefore welcome any discussion aimed at finding the right solutions to new problems.

We must not forget, however, that work on new problems cannot result in new achievements and solutions furthering scientific progress and socialist practice unless it is carried on in keeping with Marxist theory and by Marxist methods. The conference report and debate called attention to certain negative trends in this respect.

One of the dangers is a relativist approach to Marxism. Those who dispute the lasting validity of the theoretical content of Marxism are disarming themselves, among other things, with regard to Marxist research into new problems. Marxism is not a collection of dogmas and does not contain ready-made solutions to every

new problem. But neither is it a stockpile of obsolete views from which one can at best borrow the method. The content of Marxism is not ephemeral. Indeed, it is being continuously renewed. It has withstood the test of history and has been proved correct by practice. It furnishes answers to the cardinal questions of our time as well. We must base our effort on the durable content of Marxism and enrich it through further research as we creatively apply Marxism and carry it forward.

Attempts to renounce the fundamental tenets of Marxism or ignore the unity of Marxist theory and practice in tackling new problems—attempts which we occasionally witness—inevitably lead into a blind alley. They give rise to fruitless discussions. Instead of thoroughly analyzing interconnections, people confine themselves to a superficial and one-sided appraisal of events. They create a semblance of new theoretical discoveries while in fact refurbishing hopelessly outdated views justly rejected by history and Marxism.

Liberalism toward bourgeois and petty-bourgeois concepts is another danger. It is a good thing that our ideological life is characterized by constructive discussions, but, unfortunately, these discussions do not always distinguish between correct, scientific, Marxist views, on the one hand, and incorrect, bourgeois or petty-bourgeois views, on the other. Our journals even publish an occasional article advocating scientifically unsound or downright anti-Marxist views. What makes it worse is that these articles are often not even criticized, let alone refuted.

In carrying on our ideological work, we must never forget that the influence of bourgeois ideology still affects our society. The strongest is the influence of those trends in modern bourgeois ideology which do not attack Marxism directly but try to reconcile Marxism and bourgeois ideology. One of these trends, which influences our estimation of the economic, sociological, political and other problems of social development, is the concept of a "single industrial society."

Referring to progress in science and technology, it discounts the distinctions between the social systems of capitalism and socialism. The influence of the existentialist perception of man also makes itself felt—in the form of an abstract, unhistorical approach to ethical issues, abstract moralizing, misrepresentation of the conflict between power and morality, and opposing the individual to a society alien to him. Philosophical problems are often examined from the standpoint of neo-positivism, which advocates "neutrality" in world outlook.

Such trends are in many respects concerned with real problems of our development, but the approach to the various problems, and

still more the manner in which they are solved, generally betrays elements of bourgeois ideology.

The only way in which we can defeat and eliminate this influence is to solve, in the spirit of creative Marxism, the problems posed by reality. Criticism of the wrong approach of bourgeois ideology should be a component of Marxist theoretical research and of the method used in solving new problems which arise in the course of our socialist development.

ECONOMICS AND IDEOLOGY

The importance of the socialist consciousness of the working people for the accomplishment of the tasks facing us has vastly increased at the present stage of our socialist development. Laying the foundations for socialism, the complete victory of socialist relations of production in every economic branch, the socialist reorganization of the class structure of society, the changes which have come about in the position of the various working classes, and progress in the socialist cultural revolution—all help to make our society socialist-minded and to further socialist progress in the social and economic spheres. The experience of the socialist countries shows, however, that the new, socialist life does not mould a socialist consciousness automatically or spontaneously. We must wage an ideological struggle and steadily promote socialist education if we want the people's consciousness fully to reflect their changed social being and to be freed from the survivals of bourgeois or petty-bourgeois ideology.

This is why the Eighth Congress stated that the Party's paramount ideological task is to "teach people to live, work and think in the socialist way." It follows that ideological work should involve millions of working people—workers, peasants and intellectuals.

The conference stressed the close connection between economic development and ideological work. This connection has two aspects.

On the one hand, the state and progress of economic activity, and shortcomings in it, affect the growth of political consciousness. This means that we must also take account of the ideological impact of every economic measure, support ideological education with a corresponding economic policy, and create the main economic, technical and organizational conditions for conscious socialist labor. Sound economic progress and improvements in the standard of living resulting from it provide what is on the whole a solid basis for the formation of socialist consciousness. However, speakers at at the conference cited numerous examples of ill-advised economic measures, drawbacks in labor organization, and bureaucratic excesses in economic management injuring the economy, hampering ideological education and producing an adverse effect on the people.

The ideological offensive has to be prepared, and this calls for well-considered economic, organizational and other measures to ensure that economic activity truly helps to mould socialist consciousness.

On the other hand, the active role which factors like consciousness, morality and world outlook play in the fulfilment of economic tasks is an increasingly important aspect of the interconnection of economic progress and ideological work. For that matter, economic activity itself should be inspired by socialist ideology. In completing socialist construction, we cannot fulfil our economic talks without encouraging a socialist attitude to labor, maintaining socialist discipline and consulting the working people. We must carry on day-by-day ideological work to help the people appreciate the tasks assigned them and see the interconnection of these tasks in terms of the factory and industry concerned, of the national economy and the class struggle. The ideological conference came to the unanimous conclusion that there still are immense unused opportunities in this sphere.

Logically enough, the conference gave a good deal of attention to the issue of a socialist attitude to labor, public respect for labor and, as a concomitant, labor discipline. It would be wrong to go from one extreme to the other in appraising the present situation. But if we want to make progress and accomplish the increasingly important tasks facing us we must frankly disclose the incorrect attitudes to labor that often manifest themselves and concentrate on rectifying them. Speakers at the conference pointed to the wasteful use of working time, bad work and loafing. On the other hand, to ignore our achievements in this field would mean taking a biassed and pessimistic view. After all, our country's economic progress is due first and foremost to the good performance of our working people. Since liberation the Hungarian working class has repeatedly set an example of devoted labor in the production sphere as well. The rapid consolidation and sound economic development of most producers' cooperatives shows that the cooperative peasants, for their part, work conscientiously.

We must remember that there still exist great distinctions between different sections of working people as regards socialist consciousness and the attitude to labor. Some work conscientiously, and are prepared to make sacrifices when necessary. Others, while fulfilling their duties honestly, are willing to consider the interest of society only insofar as it can benefit their own immediate interests. They have but a vague notion of the connection between personal and public interests, and therefore do not feel bound by anything that goes beyond their direct duties. Still others—they are few but their influence is most harmful—shirk their duties,

lack discipline, and live at the expense of the community. We must condemn and firmly oppose these parasitic elements. As for the overwhelming majority of the working people, we must draw on the opportunities we have to help them foster their socialist consciousness.

In shaping a socialist attitude to labor, it is important to use material and moral incentives in the right ratio. There was a time when both the economic development of our country and the growth of our people's socialist consciousness were handicapped above all else by a scornful attitude to economic inducements. As a result moral inducements also failed and appeals to people's political consciousness often had the opposite effect. The Party has ended this one-sided approach — it now attaches great importance to material incentives.

However, *moral* incentives have lately been neglected. Besides, the system of material encouragement does not always yield satisfactory results. The conference came to the conclusion that we must accomplish a double task. On the one hand, we must promote and improve the system of material encouragement so that it can prompt people to work efficiently and contribute more than ever toward reaching economic targets. On the other hand, we must increase the role of socialist ideas and moral principles. We should do more to foster public respect for those who work well, and must combat individualistic views.

SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALIST CONSCIOUSNESS

Active contribution to the victory of socialism and the experience gained in the process are particularly important in moulding the social consciousness of the people. The conference therefore paid special attention to these factors.

The issue of democracy and freedom of the individual holds a prominent place in the struggle between bourgeois and socialist ideology. Bourgeois ideology is trying to impose its idea of democracy on the socialist countries, which it accuses of having set up totalitarian regimes denying the people democratic rights and personal freedom.

We counter the bourgeois interpretation of democracy and freedom of the individual with socialist democracy, which is superior to bourgeois democracy in every respect. The bourgeois concept of democracy declares democratic rights and freedom of the individual to be independent of the freedom of society and the community, and often to the detriment of the collective interest. As for the socialist concept, it considers that freedom of the individual is invariably a part, or element, of the freedom won by the community,

of the effort of a society which knows how to use and apply natural and social laws. We regard it as the fundamental principle of socialist democracy that freedom of the individual must not run counter to the interests of society and the community.

The personality cult and the violations of legality attending it are foreign to the socialist socio-political system. Nevertheless, they tarnished socialist democracy in the eyes of many. Yet the personality cult was exposed by Communists—the socialist system logically rejected it as a harmful practice. The extension of socialist democracy, its steady development in our country, the re-establishment of the Leninist standards of Party life, all the activities of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the methods used by it are an earnest that the personality cult will never recur. In our country we have socialist legality and complete equality of rights under the control of society. The socio-economic conditions are such that no one is discriminated against, everyone is guaranteed freedom of creative endeavor, and scientists and artists have ample opportunities for experiment.

All this is not to say, however, that we may sit back, fully satisfied with the present state of socialist democracy in our country. We cannot foster the people's socialist consciousness unless we foster and perfect socialist democracy. This is true not only because the exercise of democracy is the basis and condition for enhancing socialist consciousness, but because socialist consciousness and collectivism are active components of effective democracy. Hence it is also important to distinguish between socialist democracy and liberalism, which substitutes individualism for collectivism, indifference for a high sense of responsibility, anarchy for conscious discipline. Our task is to promote active democracy and encourage the people's participation in the leadership of society and the management of public affairs, while doing away with liberalism, which manifests here and there.

Our social and political system and the vast network of voluntary associations afford the people every opportunity of taking an active part in public life. But these opportunities are often not properly utilized. To illustrate this, speakers at the conference cited the system of industrial democracy. The trade unions, factory councils and production conferences should serve as important vehicles of socialist democracy promoting socialist consciousness. But these forums often operate perfunctorily. Speakers pointed out that apart from such reasons as the reluctance of some business executives to inconvenience themselves, elements of a bureaucratic approach to economic management, and so on, the main reason for this is that economic and ideological activities are not coordinated.

To promote socialist democracy, we must organize, more effec-

tively than ever, the people's participation in public life, make better use of available opportunities, call a halt to formalism in this field as well, and look for further opportunities of heightening the people's activity in public life.

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST NATIONALISM

Moulding the people's socialist consciousness is a struggle against the survivals of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology, above all those of bourgeois ideas and trends which influence large sections of the people.

Nationalism is the chief element of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois trends which, more than anything else, hamper and imperil the spread of Marxism. The imperialists hope that nationalism will enable them to undermine the unity of the world Communist movement and the commonwealth of socialist countries. Nationalism runs through the tendency to disrupt our unity from a "Left" —or Right-wing standpoint, a tendency manifesting itself in the world Communist movement. In our country as well, it provides fertile soil for many remnants of bourgeois ideology. This is why the relevant decision of the Eighth Congress says that "the chief task in the struggle against bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology in our country is to eliminate the survivals of nationalism." For the same reason, the fight against nationalism received careful attention at the ideological conference.

This fight is primarily a practical fight. The socialist changes effected in our country were a decisive step toward removing the social roots of nationalism. But they did not eliminate the danger and objective possibility of nationalism. Socialist construction is taking place within national bounds and will continue to do so for a long time to come. The socialist countries have specific national interests in addition to their common vital interests. When they began to build a socialist society they had different economic, political and cultural legacies. Their economic cooperation, and measures to improve it, confront them with tasks unprecedented in history. Therefore, some are apt to put national form before the common socialist content. They may pose national interests against the international interests of social progress, exaggerating the national peculiarities of their countries and treating them as something absolute. This possibility becomes a real danger due to national distrust and prejudice, a grim heritage of the past.

Increasing economic cooperation between socialist countries, the gradual evening up of their levels, and the methodical coordination of common, international interests and specific national interests, that is, the final abolition of the social basis of nationalism, should be accompanied by a conscious ideological struggle against national-

ism, by a consistent internationalist policy, and the education of the working people in an internationalist spirit.

Nationalist views in the past struck deep root in the minds of people, pervading their thinking and their sentiments, and often intertwining with sincere patriotism. This is why the fight against nationalism is an exceedingly complicated and delicate task. We are not fighting nationalism from the position of national nihilism. We must not allow reactionary nationalism to exploit the people's national feelings, desire for national freedom, and national pride, for its own ends. The socialist countries have every opportunity of ensuring that these sentiments grow into socialist patriotism merging with internationalism.

National nihilism is as alien to socialist ideology as nationalism. Our socialist patriotism is based on the conviction that socialist construction in our country is the only policy truly fostering the progress of the nation. We can pursue this policy only as a member of the fraternal community of socialist countries and with the powerful support of working people the world over. We therefore regard socialist patriotism and socialist internationalism as inseparable.

ATHEISTIC EDUCATION

Religion continues to exert a certain influence on the masses. Atheistic education should therefore play an important part in the ideological struggle. We Communists have never seen the struggle against religion as the main issue of the class struggle. Within the framework of socialist national unity, Communist and non-Communist atheists alike work shoulder to shoulder with religious people, and we want this cooperation in labor and politics to grow, not to diminish. This makes it our duty to subordinate the fight against religion to the main issues of the class struggle, and to seek media of atheistic education that will not handicap this cooperation but will help to free religious people from the influence of religion.

However, there has lately been a certain confusion on these points in some Party organizations. This is because those who take a primitive view of the struggle against religion misinterpret the normalization of relations between state and Church, certain changes in the attitude of the Vatican and the recent concordat between our state and the Vatican. The normal relations between state and Church which have led to some degree of cooperation in many walks of public life do not imply that the ideological struggle between the scientific, materialist world outlook and religious ideas is over. For the Church makes no secret of its desire to take advantage of political cooperation and strengthen its ideological positions.

The ideological conference, therefore, stressed that religion remains a regressive world outlook and that the ideological fight against religion is still an urgent task. It pointed out, however, that in combating religions we must show proper tact, have a thorough knowledge of the situation, use the means of atheistic education discriminately, and above all promote the scientific, materialist world outlook.

In our anti-religious work, we must remember that religion has roots in the people's private lives and that these cannot be removed unless society finds a way of drawing people into the socialist community, into socialist construction and public activity. It is only by combining such extensive public effort and specific atheistic propaganda that we can make our struggle against religion effective and ensure that atheistic education reaches religious people, instead of being addressed to non-believers, as is often the case.

PARTY LEADERSHIP OF THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE

The spheres in which socialist consciousness is shaped, and the means by which this is brought about, are varied. Each has possibilities of its own and performs specific functions in the ideological struggle and all of them are therefore indispensable. Science plays an important part in ideological work, in the theoretical substantiation of the policy of the Party. Arts and letters, in their turn, have great influence over large sections of the population. The school is a most important instrument for the education of youth. Public education involves vast numbers of people. The press, radio and television are the most powerful media for shaping public opinion. Now that the ideological struggle has become one of the decisive fronts of the class struggle, it is highly important that the different forms of ideological work should be coordinated to serve the objective set by the Party. The complex process of forming socialist consciousness, and the ideological content of this process concern the Party most of all. It is the duty of the Party to do everything to keep this work on the right track, control its every form from the ideological and political points of view, influence them in decisive measure, take a definite stand on every fundamental political problem coming up for solution, and resolutely oppose all anti-Marxist and anti-socialist trends. The Party must organize, guide and control the Communists' ideological activities. To step up our ideological struggle, we must critically and self-critically analyze the situation in every sphere and ascertain whether we are making adequate use of available opportunities to fully implement the Party line and what else we must do to make our ideological activities more effective.

The conference itself constituted an important means of Party guidance of ideological work. Naturally, it could not discuss all the specific problems in equal measure or sufficient detail. Indeed, it set itself no such task. It examined the overall state of ideological work, above all the fundamental problems and tasks in each sector of the ideological front. The special problems of this or that important sector (such as literature or art) were less prominent in the conference debate. Nevertheless, the fruitful exchange of ideas on the state and tasks of ideological work and on the formation of socialist consciousness, which took place at the conference and whose conclusions are valid for every field of ideological work, is still going on. This is an important fact enabling Communists in every sector to prepare more effectively for the ideological struggle.

Ideological leadership connotes frank discussion of various shortcomings and public criticism of mistakes. The conference report and debate did both. There was legitimate criticism of the educational work in schools, the planning and coordination of scientific research, ideologically erroneous literary productions and works of art, the press, radio and television, and the work of Party and government bodies in charge of ideological matters. It was entirely constructive criticism, not aimed at individuals but intended to rectify errors.

We must re-emphasize the importance of Marxist criticism because some people do not realize its necessity or else misunderstand it. For instance, some writers and art workers take offense at criticism offered by Party or government bodies or by literary or art critics. Yet they themselves freely state their views, often erroneous ones. We must also dispel the false notion that fair criticism and public discussions result in coercive measures. Our policy on culture over many years shows that nothing of the kind happens.

Our Party has repeatedly declared—as was pointed out at the conference—that it considered the important thing in its guidance of cultural activity to be ideological and political influence, and did not propose to dictate artistic styles or interfere in the discussion of professional problems. But the Party must firmly proclaim and uphold its aesthetic ideal. It must formulate the fundamental demands which our epoch makes on socialist literature and art. This socialist ideal is determined by the principles of socialist realism. It is possible and necessary to argue about the exact definition of socialist realism. But although the discussion is not over, we may draw from the practice of socialist art certain basic theoretical conclusions concerning the nature of socialist realism. We can say that socialist realism is characterized by Marxist-Leninist social consciousness, partisanship, and the demand that reality

be portrayed in historically concrete terms, fully and in development. Socialist realism upholds the ideal of the active man, man engaged in creative effort and developing all his talents. It chooses forms of expression that can influence large sections of the people. With regard to the point of view which disputes socialist realism as an aesthetic requirement, the conference pointed out that a world which is being transformed through the socialist revolution naturally gives rise to a new, revolutionary art. It would be absurdly contradictory, therefore, to deny the new art and its new, revolutionary creative method while recognizing the new world and revolutionary reality. The conference debate on socialist realism was a fitting illustration of the Party's ideological leadership of literature and art.

A whole network of institutions, government bodies and voluntary organizations—schools, scientific institutions, publishing houses, editorial offices, art associations, societies for the dissemination of knowledge, and so on, are engaged in ideological work. The Party leadership must see to it that their work is properly organized and in accord with our socialist ideas. The responsibility of the Communists working in them, primarily those who hold key positions, is great. When an ideologically incorrect and politically harmful work, or a work in bad taste, gets the green light, especially in the case of such mass media as the radio, television, or cultural magazines, many people ask (as did some speakers at the conference): "Why do the leaders and staff members of such-and-such an institution—Communists, or non-Communists who agree with the Party's policies—allow that?" The Party expects its every member to champion its policies. It wants them to do all they can in their own particular fields for the implementation of its policies. This means, among other things, that Communists everywhere must combat bourgeois and petty-bourgeois views.

In ideological work, the central bodies of the Party and every Party organization, that is, the Party as a whole, must show determination, consistency and a high sense of responsibility. Ideological work is not only the duty of the Party bodies in charge of scientific research and cultural activities, or of the Party organizations of scientific and cultural institutions. It is the common task of the entire Party, and of every single Party organization. Party organizations must in this field display the same resolve, consistency and sense of responsibility as on other fronts of the class struggle, and as they displayed earlier, when establishing and consolidating state power, or when reorganizing agriculture along socialist lines.

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FUNDAMENTAL ISSUES OF OUR NATIONAL POLICY AND THE 1965 ELECTION CAMPAIGN*

Max Reimann

FIRST SECRETARY, CENTRAL COMMITTEE,
COMMUNIST PARTY OF GERMANY

I

This meeting has to decide on the application in the present conditions of the general line set forth in the Program Statement of the 1963 Party Congress, and to specify our tasks for the immediate future, including the Bundestag election campaign in 1965.

We base our struggle against the monopoly bourgeoisie and its party, the CDU-CSU, and also against the Wehner group in the SDP, on a constructive policy aimed at saving the nation. We want to awaken the working class and the people in general to the anti-national, anti-popular character of the policy of imperialism and revenge which robs them of every prospect for peaceful democratic development and may lead to catastrophe unless curbed.

The substance of the national question is to prevent a war from originating on West German soil. Two independent states exist in Germany today: the socialist German Democratic Republic, a champion of peace, freedom and social progress, and the Federal Republic of Germany, a country of state-monopoly capitalism from which comes the danger of a new war of revenge and which is dominated by political and economic reaction. The way to a peaceful settlement of the national question and to closer relations between the two German states can be paved only by renouncing nuclear armaments and the use of force, relaxing tension, and establishing mutual understanding. This means curbing the rule of the imperialists and militarists and enabling the workers, peasants and all democratic-minded citizens freely to exercise the right to self-determination in order to gain decisive influence in the state, the economy and society.

*Report to the 4th plenary meeting of the CC, CPG. Abridged from **Wissen und Tat**, January-February 1965

FIGHT AGAINST THE WAR MONOPOLIES AND MILITARISTS FOR THE PEOPLE'S RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION

Therefore, it is essential to peace and reunification that the working class and the masses generally should curb the influence of the war monopolies and militarists.

Any action against monopoly capital—the opposition of the peace forces to atomic armament, the struggle of the workers for their social and political rights, the protests of the peasants against ruin, democratic resistance to emergency legislation and violations of the Constitution, the efforts of the intellectuals to create a humanistic national culture and defend it against militarization—is a step toward settling the national question.

The CDU-CSU wants to use the notorious "Indivisible Germany" and other revenge-seeking organizations in its election campaign, so as further to poison the minds of people with chauvinism and revanchism. The Wehner-Erler group wants to do likewise, primarily among the workers. Our task is to combat revanchism and chauvinism and to assert, with due regard to the people's vital interests, our policy of peace, mutual understanding between the two German states, and reunification.

The ruling monopoly groups, which camouflage their true intentions with the catchword of "self-determination," want to win popular support for their revanchist, aggressive ends. They have always interpreted self-determination as their own unchallenged rule, with the people having no say. They never consulted the people where the division or unity of the nation, the conclusion of a German peace treaty, entry into NATO, or atomic armament were concerned. The Bonn government demanded a ban on our Party because we insisted that these vital issues should be decided by the people of West Germany. The imperialists, militarists and the CDU-CSU government sold out the West Germans' right to self-determination by concluding the Paris agreements on rearmament and entrusted the solution of all-German problems to the imperialist occupation powers by signing the special clauses. Fearing to negotiate with the GDR and to let the people know that they are planning a global and fratricidal war they pose as champions of reunification, and hold forth on non-existent four-Power responsibility for the solution of the German problem.

The Soviet Union, in keeping with the principles of self-determination established by international law, holds that German reunification is a matter for the Germans themselves to decide, and has always offered its good services to this end. All agreements with the Soviet Union, including the Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Understanding provide for the unrestricted exercise of

the right to self-determination by the GDR, specifically in all questions bearing on reunification.

We Communists declare that reunification is above all the concern of the Germans themselves. We demand the right to self-determination for the West German population. We demand the immediate annulment of the special clauses of the Paris accords.

Every people which has fought for national independence and freedom has had to defend its right to self-determination against imperialist encroachments. A German reunification can never be achieved in peace and freedom with the help of foreign or German imperialists.

To find new, effective solutions, it is necessary to restrict the influence of the revenge-seekers and militarists by promoting the initiative of the masses. We hold that there can be no reunification with the present monopoly rulers of the Federal Republic. It can be achieved only despite them, only by the working class and the people generally. Success in this matter will depend on the extent of their influence on the state, the economy and the government.

THE KEY TO SOLVING THE GERMAN PROBLEM

Of late some politicians, SDP Chairman Willy Brandt among them, have been advocating "a change through closer relations," a policy of "small steps" towards settling the German problem. Useful agreements may gradually become possible provided the cold war between the two German states is ended. There is no doubt that other outstanding issues can be settled by official negotiation, as for example the agreement on passes.

But we maintain that no change, however slight, can be achieved without first eliminating revanchism and hence the tension it generates in the FRG. A realistic policy calls for recognition of the GDR and the abandon ment of illusory plans for annexing it. This is the only basis on which the "small steps" policy can bring about useful agreements leading to bigger steps in the future.

The population and government of the GDR enjoy the unrestricted right to self-determination. They owe this to the fact that they have uprooted imperialism and militarism and thus created a sound basis for a peace policy.

Anyone who understands the policy of "a change through closer relations" correctly and takes it seriously is bound to come to the conclusion that the change must take place in the Federal Republic. It should result from independent actions by the working class and the people in general against the big monopolies and their policy of armament and revenge.

OUR NATIONAL AND DEMOCRATIC ALTERNATIVE

With a view to ensuring a peaceful future for the West German population and bringing about the settlement of the national question through reunification in peace and freedom, the CPG demands:

(1) rejection of the multilateral nuclear force and of any other plan enabling the Bundeswehr generals to possess or control nuclear weapons. Independent proposals and steps by the Federal Republic as Germany's contribution to disarmament;

(2) support for the proposed non-nuclear zone in Central Europe;

(3) good-neighborly peaceful relations with all states and peoples;

(4) renunciation of the emergency laws; respect for the Constitution;

(5) social security for the working people; fairer distribution of incomes and property; the solution of social problems;

(6) steps to lessen the tension and achieve mutual understanding between the two German states on German disarmament and reunification.

Let the working people pass their own judgment on our proposals. They will see that *everybody can rely on the CPG when the destiny of the nation—its peace, freedom and social and cultural progress—are concerned.*

That is how we see our contribution to the 20th anniversary of the defeat of fascism.

If we make our national policy the keynote of the election campaign, if all our Party organizations improve their political work among the masses, if they consider every development in the context of the vital importance of our national policy of peace, we shall increase our influence on the working class and the population in general, fulfil our tasks in the struggle to save the nation, and convince people of the need to support the struggle for a legalized CPG.

II

The development of state-monopoly capitalism is incompatible with the interests of the working class and the nation as a whole. Modern science and technology afford the possibilities for rapidly multiplying social wealth. In the GDR, where power belongs to the workers and peasants and where socialism prevails, the productive forces are being developed in the interests of the whole of society. In the FRG, where state-monopoly capitalism prevails, the productive forces are used to multiply the wealth of a handful of monopolists whose arms race increases the danger of nuclear war. It is becoming increasingly evident that state-monopoly

capitalism has grown overripe. Our people should take the road of building socialism in the FRG as well.

The monopolists are compelled to maneuver in order to camouflage the nature of their social system. With the help of concessions in the social sphere—made in no small measure under the impact of the GDR and thanks to the substantial growth of labor productivity and profits—they have succeeded in deluding a considerable section of the working class as regards the constantly increasing exploitation.

The continuing boom and the big demand for manpower have enabled many workers to win wage increases above tariff rates. The partial social concessions obtained in many cases without an aggravation of the class struggle have given rise to the illusion among workers that their social status has changed radically and can be made secure under capitalism.

The development of state-monopoly capitalism has brought about changes in the economic cycle. Whereas in the past economic booms alternated with severe crises, since 1945 production has never dropped to the previous year's level, although there have been considerable fluctuations in the annual growth rate and recessions and crisis-like phenomena in some industries. Hence the illusions in the FRG about the economic and social stability of the capitalist system.

THE POLICY OF THE WEHNER-ERLER GROUP IS A COMPONENT OF THE POLICY OF THE STATE-MONOPOLY SYSTEM

State-monopoly capitalism is that socio-economic background which enabled Wehner, Erler, Deist and other Right-wing leaders of the SDP to push through the Godesberg program of their party. This program signifies renunciation of an independent ideology and policy of the working class, of its socialist goal. It signifies a change-over to the positions of the state-monopoly system, which is precisely what the monopolies wanted. Hence the SDP Right-wing leaders' "policy of community" with the CDU-CSU, their support of the imperialist foreign, home, military and economic policy, and their stand on the German question. The last sharp clash of views took place at the Karlsruhe congress, when the MLF and emergency legislation were approved. Thus the Wehner-Erler group has over-stepped the bounds of the Godesberg party program which rejected the nuclear armament of the Bundeswehr in any form.

The main contradictions between the international working-class movement with its greatest creation, the socialist world system, and the imperialist system is manifested especially vividly

in Germany. The working class in the east of Germany has built its own state and established socialist relations of production. The successes of the GDR increasingly attract the population of West Germany. The working class of the GDR embodies the future of the German nation and shows the population of the FRG the way to solve vital problems.

BROAD ALLIANCE AGAINST MONOPOLY POWER

The increasing clash of interests between the non-proletarian classes and strata and the ruling monopolies and their government creates the basis for a broad anti-monopoly alliance of the working class with all the non-monopoly sections of society.

Also other contradictions of the capitalist system are becoming more acute. As more and more factories and mines are closed down it is becoming clear that a state-monopoly regulated economy, too, is characterized by large-scale waste of the means of production. As a result of the frenzied arms race the values created by society are being wasted on an unprecedented scale, with thousands of millions being spent on weapons which become obsolete while still in storage and consequently suitable only for scrap-iron. And all this for the sake of fabulous profits to the arms monopolies.

AIM MAIN BLOW AT ERHARD'S POLICY, AT THE CDU-CSU

Erhard continues Adenauer's policy of pressing for a multilateral nuclear force and for the adoption of emergency laws. This policy is a revanchist, anti-national, anti-democratic and anti-social policy, a policy inimical to peace. *Therefore the main blow in the election campaign should be aimed at Erhard's policy, at the CDU-CSU, which should be defeated and removed from power. Only in this way can conditions be created for working out a political alternative which will provide the FRG population with an opportunity of peaceful and democratic development conforming to national and social interests.*

There are real possibilities for this. The contradiction between Erhard's unrealistic policy and the existing correlation of forces impels people to search for a way out. They realize that this policy is more and more at variance with their interests, that with the mounting resistance of the peoples, this policy is leading to the growing isolation of the FRG. Such are the real causes of the crisis phenomena in Bonn. Hence the growing contradictions within the coalition and in the CDU-CSU leadership, in the first place. But for all that it is clear that the various groups and individuals in the CDU-CSU leadership adhere to revenge-seeking

aggressive positions on all major issues. None of them oppose the MLF, the emergency laws, revanchism and social reaction. They are in full agreement in this respect. They all seek, though in different ways, better methods of carrying on the old untenable policy, and all of them will support Erhard in the elections. Erhard and his policy must therefore be defeated if we are to prevent the realization of the plans of the nuclear war strategists, revenge-seekers and militarists in the FRG.

III

CONSOLIDATION OF THE FORCES OF THE WORKING CLASS, SUPPORTERS OF PEACE AND DEMOCRACY AND ALL THOSE AWARE OF THEIR RESPONSIBILITY TO THE NATION

It is of decisive importance for our people to counterpose to the concentration of the monopoly forces the concentration of the forces of the working class, the supporters of peace and democracy and all those who are aware of their responsibility to the nation.

The working class is the biggest force in the people's struggle against the monopoly rulers of the FRG, a force which, through the activity of its organizations, the trade unions in the first place, can steer developments towards peace, democracy and social security.

An end must be put to a situation in which the monopolies influence all areas of life, ignoring the opinion of the trade unions. Parliamentary institutions discriminate against the unions as "representing group interests" although they actually speak for three-quarters of the population of the country. The decisions of the government and the Bundestag run counter to the interests of the working class and the demands of the trade unions.

Therefore the trade unions have every reason for acting jointly to defeat the CDU-CSU at the polls and to remove the Erhard government from office. This goal is certain to be achieved if the working-class parties and their organizations, if the Trade Union Federation, the SDP and the CPG, join in the fight against a common enemy.

The program and decisions of the last trade union congress and the congresses of various unions rejected atomic armament in any form, and specifically the MLF. The T.U. program calls for a policy of peace as the basis of any social and cultural progress.

It insists on negotiations to settle disputed issues and steps towards disarmament on the part of the Federal Republic. But the Erhard government ignores this will of the trade unions and insists on atomic armament. The trade unions press for defense of the

Constitution, democratic rights and civil liberties, while the Erhard government presses for emergency legislation.

PUT DEMANDS OF THE TRADE UNIONS ON THE ORDER OF THE DAY

The only conclusion the trade unions can draw from the present situation is to fight against atomic armament and the emergency legislation and thus uphold constitutional rights, the future of their organizations and the democratic rights of the voters as stipulated in the fundamental law. This would also be in line with the demand of the trade union rank and file that only workers, farmers and intellectuals who uphold the interests of the working people, support the decisions of the trade unions, and owe allegiance to the working people and not to the monopolies, be elected to the Bundestag.

Wehner declared at the Recklinghausen conference of functionaries that he would like to see more resolute support of the SDP on the part of the trade unions, but at the same time he made it clear that the workers and trade unions would have no influence on the political decisions of the SDP leadership. Wehner wants the entire trade union movement to be subordinated to its "policy of community" with the CDU-CSU and the monopolies.

The Communists advocate more vigorous political action on the part of the working class, more active intervention on the part of the trade union in political and social life, the election campaign included. But the interests of the workers demand that the trade unions also have a decisive say in the policy of the SDP, most of whose supporters are organized workers.

The trade unions should work for the SDP policy to be brought nearer to their own line, for the SDP to present their demands in parliament.

OUR PROPOSALS FOR FAIRER DISTRIBUTION OF INCOMES AND PROPERTY

In order to counteract the workers' discontent with social injustices, the CDU-CSU and the Erhard government have put forward demagogic pre-election proposals concerning what they call concentration of property. In reality they want to preserve the power of the millionaires and change the distribution of incomes still more in their favor. At the same time they urge the working people to be moderate and make sacrifices for the sake of armament.

Leber's project for "concentrating property in the hands of wage-earners" cannot change the unfair distribution of incomes and

property as demanded by the trade unions. It changes nothing in the state-monopoly system and does not abolish the gulf between the billionaire tycoons and the dispossessed workers.

Leber promises the building workers a secure old age paid for out of a special fund after forty years of work in the industry. Every worker would welcome this. But Leber's plan is built on sand. With the existing working conditions most building workers can hardly hope to carry on for forty years. To tie the worker to a definite industry or a definite enterprise means restricting free choice of employment and thus hampering the struggle for higher wages and better working conditions. The Leber plan therefore offers the monopolies an instrument to be used against labor.

According to the Leber project, the worker would not be able to draw on the proposed fund for forty years. The present generation has seen our currency devaluated to rock bottom twice in the past forty years. The funds created by the workers were wiped out by armament spending. The First World War was followed by inflation which made money completely valueless in 1923. Under Hitler there were the "iron" and "Volkswagen" retrenchments. During the Second World War money was depreciated anew. The 1948 currency reform again robbed the working people of their hard-earned savings. Now too, the workers' money is to be placed at the disposal of the monopolists who twice in forty years were responsible for wars and inflation. This would provide the monopolists with additional means for strengthening their grip on the economy, increasing the exploitation of the workers, tightening the screws on them, and pressing on with the implementation of the policy of armament and revenge.

The stand of our Party on the distribution of incomes and property, based on our program statement, coincides in many respects with the position of the metal and chemical workers' unions, which reject the Leber plan. Specifically, we agree that an active policy on wages is essential for increasing the share of wages in the social product and reducing the share of profits. This would but a brake on the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few monopolists.

We support the demand of the chemical workers' union that part of the profits should be channelled to a special fund. The CPG considers that this fund should be controlled exclusively by representatives of the working class and be free from any interference by the monopolies and their state.

Just distribution of property and incomes is possible only through curbing and eventually abolishing the power of the monopolies and the system of exploitation, through the implementation of the principle "what the people create should belong to the people," through the establishment of the socialist system, which

has already been built by the working class of the GDR and which serves as an example for the rest of Germany.

FATAL DECISIONS OF THE SDP CONGRESS

We and our comrades in the SDP strive in common for a policy of peace and democracy, for social and cultural progress. It is in our mutual interests, therefore, to defeat the CDU-CSU in the elections so as to initiate a new policy. Hence the need to counter Erhard's policy with a political alternative and already now to press for its implementation.

Under the influence of Wehner, Erler and other Right-wing leaders the Karlsruhe congress adopted decisions that have nothing in common with such an alternative. The working class and its trade unions, all champions of peace and democracy, and above all the comrades from the SDP, should realize the gravity of the implications of these decisions.

They are designed to align the SDP with the policy of nationalism and revanche. The approval of the NATO multilateral nuclear force, the emergency legislation and the plans for restoring the General Staff of German militarism, and the support of the revanchist demand for a revision of the borders — all this shows that the Wehner-Erler group is out to make the SDP an integral part of the system of state-monopoly capitalism and its revanchist policy. These decisions run counter to the vital interests of the German people, who want peace, democracy and mutual understanding between Germans. In fact, the Wehner-Erler group is trying to continue the hopeless and adventuristic "positions-of-strength" policy of the CDU-CSU. We stress that the decisions of the SDP congress are the most harmful since 1945. Only if we state this with utmost clarity shall we be able to fully awaken those members and functionaries of the SDP who oppose these decisions to the responsibility resting on them.

Erler's arguments to justify the nuclear arms race policy coincide almost literally with Adenauer's demand "for the same weapons for the Bundeswehr as its potential adversaries possess," and echo Strauss' contention that atomic weapons are essential for national sovereignty. The best reply to Erler's demagogic attempts to ascribe his own striving for nuclear "equality" to the younger generation has been given by the Social-Democratic and other youth organizations of the working class. They demand equal opportunities for education and vocational training, respect for human dignity, and a say in deciding political issues. They are becoming increasingly aware that it is in the interests of the youth to fight against its mortal enemy—German imperialism.

MORE TO THE RIGHT THAN GODESBERG

The congress in Karlsruhe shifted even more to the Right than the Godesberg congress, as is evidenced by its approval of the MLF, the emergency laws and the military plan of Helmuth Schmidt. By demanding the restoration of the General Staff the SDP is taking a step which even the CDU-SCU has not dared to take, the crimes of Hitler's General Staff being still too fresh in the memory of our people and our neighbors. The Social-Democratic claimant to the heritage of Strauss and Hassel intends to push through the extremely dangerous plans of revenge despite the doubts voiced even by West Germany's partners in NATO.

The SDP's approval of the MLF and of the unilimited power of the monopolies, and hence their drive for profits, has stripped its statements on social and cultural progress of all semblance of sincerity. What social and cultural progress can there be when the spirit of militarism and the drive for profits reigns supreme everywhere? Social and cultural progress will only be possible when the working people get rid of the heavy burden of arms expenditures, restrict the influence of the millionaires and militarists and begin to play an ever more active part in political life.

Many workers, SDP members and trade unionists included, wonder how the Wehner-Erler group managed to block the progressive proposals submitted by party organizations and to push through its own concept. For one thing, the SDP leaders, who wanted their party to adopt a policy incompatible with the interests of the people, saw to it that the Karlsruhe meeting was not a democratically-convened congress whose delegates, elected in accordance with the will of the membership, would adopt decisions on the policy of the party in a free discussion.

But it would be simplifying things to explain everything by skillful handling of the congress. The main reason, in our opinion, is that the Social-Democratic rank and file do not yet approach the national question from class positions. They are still strongly influenced by chauvinism and anti-communism, and muddled by the concept of "social partnership." They do not realize the class nature of the West German state. Therefore they do not see the mortal danger of the "policy of community" with the CDU-CSU.

DEEP-SEATED CONTRADICTIONS REVEALED AT THE CONGRESS

Although no broad discussion or explanatory statements were allowed on the pretext that in order to win in the Bundestag elections, differences and contradictions had to be relegated to the background, the stage-managers of the Karlsruhe congress did not

succeed in concealing the sharp contradiction between their policy and the interests of the workers, peasants and intellectuals. This contradiction was revealed in the discussion on the MLF, on the application of the statute of limitations to Nazi criminals, and on the right to participate in managing the enterprises. Wehner was defeated on the question of extending the workers' right to take part in policy-making. This testifies to the discontent of many Social-Democrats with the policy of Wehner and Erler.

The Right-wing leaders tried to attribute the success of the SDP in the last municipal elections to their Godesberg line and "policy of community" with the CDU-CSU. In reality the SDP owes this success primarily to the disillusionment of the electorate with the CDU-CSU and to their hope that the SDP would represent their interests better.

The decisions of the Karlsruhe congress deprived the SDP of some trump cards in the Bundestag elections. In view of the declining influence of the CDU-SCU, the best thing for the SDP would be to counter Erhard's bankrupt policy with a clear-cut alternative. Instead, Wehner and Erler carried their "policy of community" to the point of approving such unpopular measures as nuclear armament and the emergency legislation. As a result, the voters cannot see any difference between the position of the ruling parties and the SDP Right-wing leadership on the main issues.

Evidently aware of this, Brandt tried to point out the differences between the positions of the SDP and the CDU-CSU. But these differences, as well as the positive effect of the pass agreement, are nullified by the approval given to the MLF and the emergency laws which destroys any hope for a policy of common sense and rapprochement.

The success of the pass agreement undoubtedly benefited the SDP. It demonstrated to the public the fallacy of the Bonn contention that it is impossible to negotiate with the GDR government. By initiating steps to ease tension and improve relations, the SDP could develop a political alternative to the position of the CDU-CSU which offers no perspective, an alternative that would appeal to the electorate and be of importance for the future of the entire nation.

This is realized by SDP functionaries who know the sentiments of the masses. Whereas Wehner and Erler doggedly cling to the unrealistic policy of revenge, non-recognition of the GDR and its forcible liquidation, suggestions submitted by party organizations to the Karlsruhe congress contained the demand for "realistic proposals" for putting relations between the two German states on a businesslike footing which could lead to "new talks broadening exchanges in the sphere of culture, science, economy and sport, as well as contacts between people."

COMMUNIST-SOCIALIST COOPERATION IN WORKING OUT THE ALTERNATIVE

We should give a helping hand to those SDP members and functionaries who oppose the "policy of community" with the CDU-CSU. The present differences with regard to the decisions of the trade unions could also be ironed out in this way. This would accord with the wishes of the members and supporters of the SDP who want to defeat the CDU-CSU. It would also furnish an answer to the many active Social-Democrats who are pondering the question of what to do once the SDP comes into office. We fully agree with those Social-Democrats who say that an independent Social-Democratic policy is needed to defeat the CDU-CSU.

Of exceptional importance for establishing unity of action with the comrades from the SDP are the recommendations on this question submitted to the Karlsruhe congress by such big organizations as those of Munich, Nuremberg, Dusseldorf, Frankfurt, Muelheim, Bremen and other industrial centers.

It is also noteworthy that proposals of a positive nature were made by organizations from regions where the trade unions are very active in the social and political fields.

These proposals are indicative of the existence of many points of agreement between us and these organizations. Hence the possibility of pooling efforts in the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress. To promote cooperation is a pressing political task of every Communist, every Party organization, every leading organ of the CPG. This is indispensable for the realization of an alternative to the CDU-CSU policy.

The proposals of SDP organizations which coincide with important decisions of the trade unions, the Easter March demands, and the social and democratic demands of big organizations of the working people, pave the way for agreement on united action.

Socialist-Communist mutual understanding and joint actions would enable the working class to fight effectively against the policy of the monopolies and defeat their party, the CDU-CSU. Only in this way is it possible to remove the barriers between the two German states erected by the millionaires and militarists.

IV

CEMENT WORKING-CLASS UNITY AND THE ALLIANCE OF ALL THE ANTI-MONOPOLY FORCES IN THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN

Our election campaign should promote the implementation of our general line and help build working-class unity and an alliance

of all the anti-monopoly forces of the nation. In order to defeat the CDU-CSU we have to undermine the influence this party exerts on the masses with its religious, national and social demagogy, and to show the people that the policy of the monopolies and their government damages their interests.

Working-class unity presupposes the participation of the Christian workers in the struggle for social demands, for peace and democracy. As the events in the Ruhr have shown, in social battles they fight on the side of their class comrades.

Catholic and Evangelical youth organizations join organized young workers in the Easter Marches, anti-fascist actions and the all-German forum. Protest against the leadership's obedience to the monopolies frequently emanates from the social committees set up by the CDU-CSU for the purpose of promoting its influence on the Christian workers. The committees often support the demands of the workers and the decisions of the trade unions.

This points to the great possibilities that exist for securing the participation of the Christian workers in the common struggle against the dangerous reactionary policy of the Erhard government and inducing them not to vote for CDU-CSU candidates.

Similar processes are taking place in other sections of the population, specifically among the peasants and handicraftsmen, many of whom have up till now supported the CDU-CSU. The middle urban strata, too, are protesting against the growing concentration and against the tax, economic and financial policy of the Bonn government which jeopardizes the interests of the middle sections.

COMBAT THE REACTIONARY AGRARIAN POLICY OF THE ERHARD GOVERNMENT

Many peasants are alarmed by the reduction of grain prices. The compensation promised by the government cannot fully make up for their losses. It is one of those "consolation measures" designed to secure the peasants' support for the CDU-CSU in the elections. An aggravating circumstance is that preference is given to capitalist agricultural enterprises, while small and middle peasants are left out in the cold.

The agrarian program of the Erhard government continues to be based on the premise that in the interests of the monopolies and the capitalist way of farming another million peasants must be driven off the land. Th eworking class cannot endorse this policy, which spells the ruination of its closest ally, endangers the population's supply of farm products from domestic sources, and gives the local and foreign monopolies even greater opportunities to dictate food prices.

As a counterweight to the anti-national policy pursued by the monopolies in the European Economic Community and to the agrarian policy of the government, our Party proposes a worker-peasant alliance and an agrarian policy which would accord with the interests of the workers, peasants and the population in general and act as a curb on the monopolies.

Now that the monopolies and their government have stepped up their efforts to sow discord among the workers and the peasants, the trade unions should work to establish closer relations with the peasantry and promote solidarity with and support of the peasants' movement. This will help the peasants to resist the propaganda of the nationalists and neo-fascists and become reliable allies of the working class in the struggle for democracy and social progress in the FRG.

V

OUR STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRATIC AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN THE FRG

The peaceful future of our people hinges on our ability to heighten the workers' class consciousness and militancy, to make them aware of their historical role as builders of the socialist future, and to lead them to the struggle for democratic change in the FRG. While promoting the struggle of the workers for their immediate social and political demands, we explain to them that they will be able to ensure their own future and the future of the entire German people only if they succeed in bringing about fundamental social changes. As long as monopoly capital and militarism dominate in political and social life, peace, democracy and social security cannot be guaranteed. The FRG needs radical democratization of the state, the economy and society. This is essential in order to put an end to the unchallenged rule of 94 millionaires, to end the crying injustices of the state-monopoly system.

How, we are asked, can democratization be achieved, how can the FRG be turned into a socially-just, democratic and peace-loving state? Our Party answered these questions in its Program Statement adopted by the 1963 congress:

A peace-loving, democratic and socially just system can be created only if the working class, in alliance with the other sections of the working people and democratic elements of the bourgeoisie, exerts increasing influence on political and social life and restricts and overcomes the power of monopoly capital and militarism. This struggle can be headed only by the working class as the biggest and best-organized democratic forces.

The working class will not be able to carry out this task unless

it achieves unity of action. Not a single step towards democratic and progressive changes can be made without vigorous actions of the working class and the masses generally, without a broad popular movement.

OUR PROPOSALS FOR DEMOCRATIZATION ARE BASED ON THE CONSTITUTION

The opponents of democratic development contend that our intentions contradict the letter and spirit of the fundamental law. We reply that our proposals for the democratization of the state and society are based on the fundamental law and are aimed at removing the contradiction between the Constitution and reality. It is precisely because of our positive and constructive attitude to the Constitution that we oppose any recourse to emergency legislation by the government and any emasculation of basic democratic freedoms. It is high time that such principles of the Constitution as living in peace with all peoples, the inviolability of the basic rights of citizens, the demand for building a socially just and democratic state, or the demand for preventing abuse of economic power, were implemented. Hence the need for the working class and its trade unions to fight in and outside parliament for social and democratic reforms leading to the realization of the trade union program.

It should be clear to the working class and all the democratic forces that militarism, the bulwark of big capital, is the chief danger to peace and to democratic and social rights, a danger that is heightened by the existence of U.S. atomic bases and an occupation army of half a million men on FRG territory. Every step towards social and democratic progress in the Federal Republic is blocked by German and foreign militarism and imperialism. No state in the world threatens our borders. If the Bundeswehr were concerned solely with ensuring the integrity of the FRG borders nobody would regard it as a menace to peace.

STEPS TOWARDS BUILDING A DEMOCRATIC PEACE-LOVING SYSTEM

The interests of security and democracy demand the restoration of our people's right to self-determination and national sovereignty. This calls for the removal of all the clauses restricting the right to self-determination which the imperialist occupation powers included into the Paris accords. Next should come reduction and eventually complete removal of the occupation troops, conclusion of a peace treaty, and withdrawal of the FRG from NATO and other military pacts. This would make military neutrality possible for the whole

of Germany and ensure the German people maximum security and the right to self-determination.

The struggle for democratization should be waged in and outside parliament. The trade unions will occupy their rightful place in political life when they begin to act on all political issues independently and in the interests of the working class and display their own initiative; when they guide themselves by the interests of the masses and convince the population of the need to defend civic rights and press for the satisfaction of their demands on the basis of democratic principles. This will enable the working class and all the democratic forces to ensure genuine popular representation in the Bundestag.

The essence of parliamentary democracy cannot be reduced to the voter going to the polls once in every four years, while his will is ignored in all other respects and parliament is excluded from political life, serving as a representative organ only for appearance's sake. The principle of the sovereignty of the people presupposes that the people themselves pass decisions on questions of vital importance to them and that the deputies, as representatives of the people, are accountable to the voters, and the government and its ministers, to parliament.

DEMOCRATIC DEMANDS OF THE WORKING CLASS AND ITS ORGANIZATIONS

In the interest of democratic development and the establishment of normal civil rights, we want an end to the emergency laws enacted in the cold war years and to prosecution on political charges, which the government uses against all opponents and critics of its policies. We agree with those spokesmen for the democratic forces who have lately stressed that the elimination of anti-communism as an official doctrine prevailing in the FRG and the restoration of the CPG's right to legal activity were the main requisite for this. Indeed, the prohibition of the CPG was decreed, and has been upheld, with the unconstitutional aim of suppressing and defaming all opposition. We therefore showed, in our statement on the eighth anniversary of the ban, that the repeal of this ban has become the touchstone of all civil liberties and democratic rights and of the Federal Republic's parliamentary system as a whole.

The working class and its organizations should champion the following democratic demands:

—respect for basic civil rights, and prevention of all attempts to abolish them by means of emergency laws and practices;

—extension of democracy in the social and economic spheres;

—full exercise of their constitutional powers by the Bundestag and the parliaments of the Laender and Gemeinden;

—the powers of the Laender and democratic self-government in the Gemeinden should be extended and financially guaranteed through a reform allotting one-third of the state revenues each to the Republic and the Laender and Gemeinden;

—the repeal of all electoral regulations running counter to the constitutional principle of equality, such as the "five per cent" clause,* and the introduction of proportional suffrage;

—elimination of monopoly influence on parties and parliament by banning all the lobbies of manufacturers' associations and monopolies, by disclosing every financial source and doing away with concentration of power in the press;

—granting the trade unions and democratic opinion a share in the supervision and control of broadcasting and television; carrying out a democratic school reform.

CO-MANAGEMENT LIMITS MONOPOLY POWER

We regard the struggle for the right of the factory and office workers and their trade unions fully to share in the management of the industries and in the economy in general as a decisive means of limiting monopoly power. The present form of participation in the management of the mining, coal and other industries is inadequate as a means of safeguarding the rights and influence of the workers in industry and in economic life in general. Otherwise the closure of mines, dictated solely by the interests of the coal and oil magnates, would have been impossible. To secure the right to co-management, the workers and their unions should go further than merely demanding it. The time has come to take practical steps in accordance with the demands of the Association of German Trade Unions and the Metal-Workers Union. In each plant, settlement hinges on the workers' unity and readiness for action and on how far the positions of the union are strengthened, first of all through the activity of the union delegates. The task here is to wrest concessions from monopoly capital that would subsequently be confirmed in agreements at industrial union level. This will add to the political weight of the working class and its unions. It will also have an effect on the life of society as a whole, including parliament, and will make possible legislative acts in favor of co-management.

Today the trade unions' attitude to the law on factory statutes and representation of personnel in the management is determined by the need to make full use of the opportunities arising from the

*A party which polls less than five per cent of the national vote gets no seats in parliament.—Ed.

statutes and safeguard the workers' rights against the menace of emergency legislation. In seeking real co-management, it is necessary to abolish those clauses in the statutes which commit the representatives of staffs and unions to act together with the employers and tie up union activity in the plants. Furthermore, an effort should be made to bring about legislative solutions guaranteeing the complete freedom of union activity in the plants and to extend the guarantees against dismissal now enjoyed by members of production councils to union delegates.

Those who represent plant collectives on the supervisory councils, and members of production councils should be accountable to the collective and unions concerned. Their present commitment not to disclose information is incompatible with this requirement. Disclosure of the balance sheets and transactions of the monopolies and big banks would give the working people a clear idea of the actual ratio between profits and wages, of monopoly power and abuses of power. To restrict this power, our Party congress proposed in 1963 that the production councils and trade union bodies be authorized fully to participate in the decision of all questions bearing on production, wages, working time, personnel, social services and holidays, as well as on investments, shares and dividends.

NATIONALIZE KEY INDUSTRIES AND BIG BANKS

Apologists for state-monopoly capitalism and Right Social-Democratic leaders are trying to scare the working people away from the fight for nationalization. They assert that nationalization would mean introducing a forced economy and make it difficult for the workers to seek social improvement, for they and their unions would be confronted by a super-powerful partner. Today the workers in the monopolies and state undertakings are up against state-monopoly capitalism, that is, the combined power of the monopolies, which use the state as their tool. Nationalization of a monopoly like IG Farben would make it possible to cut the prices of numerous consumer goods, such as synthetics, medicines and mineral fertilizers.

We advocate nationalization to restrict the power of monopolies and ensure that wealth serves the nation, not a privileged minority. This calls for the removal of monopoly representatives from their key positions on the boards and supervisory councils of plants, which are public property, and for democratic control and management with the decisive participation of trade unions, parliamentary bodies and other democratic organizations. This is why the unions should demand that state enterprises take the lead in ensuring that factory and office workers and their production councils and trade unions be given a say in the management. They should insist on

state enterprises no longer granting the big plants low tariffs, and secure for the people cuts in transport, electricity and gas rates. Model working conditions, wages and social security in these enterprises should demonstrate how much an economic system under democratic control can do for the working man. This would greatly stimulate the struggle for the nationalization of the big capitalist monopolies.

We agree with many workers who consider that the trade unions should, in keeping with the stipulations of their fundamental program, draw up a specific plan for the nationalization of the big monopolies in the war, atomic and coal industries and the decisive power industries, as well as the big banks, and call on all workers to fight for the realization of this plan.

As to compensation, our Party holds the view formulated at its 1960 Conference. We are of the opinion that nationalization, or the transfer of property to the state, should provide for compensating the owners, as envisaged by the Constitution. On the issue of legally establishing the amount of compensation, we favor full compensation to small and medium shareholders.

In connection with democratic measures for nationalization, the unions' proposals for the national budget, economic accounting, the planned management of investments, and scientific and technical progress in the interests of the national economy would also serve a useful purpose. At present the state influences economic activities through numerous measures. But it does so exclusively in the interests of the big capitalist monopolies. Democratic measures in the sphere of planning imply decisive participation by the trade unions, production councils and other representatives of the democratic public in the entire economic policy of the state.

FOR A PEACEFUL ROAD TO THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

Social-Democratic comrades and non-party people and Christian trade union members ask us how we Communists visualize the Federal Republic's road to socialism. This was answered in our policy statement—the CPG favors the peaceful road to socialism. Every socialist reorganization of society constitutes a radical change of the social system, a revolution, irrespective of the means used. It necessarily presupposes that the working class will, in alliance with other groups of the working people, take political power into its hands. Lenin repeatedly stressed that there is no solid wall between the democratic and the socialist revolution. How far we will succeed in creating favorable conditions for a peaceful and, as far as possible, a painless transition to socialism in the Federal Republic will depend primarily on the strength, breadth, organization and political consciousness of the people's anti-mono-

poly movement led by the working class, on the vigor of class and popular struggles waged by both extra-parliamentary and parliamentary means.

The closer the unity of action of the working class and the cooperation of all democratic forces in the anti-monopoly front, the greater the opportunities of isolating the monopolists and preventing them from using their coercive machinery, and the more favorable the conditions for effecting the socialist revolution in a peaceful way. This is what we are striving for. The opportunities for this are growing as the balance of forces changes in favor of socialism throughout the world and in Germany.

However, historical experience shows that the ruling classes never retreat without putting up a fight, which means that the bitterness of the class struggle depends not so much on the working class as on the reactionaries' use of force against the people. In any case, the working class and other working people in the Federal Republic should realize that the West German and foreign monopoly capitalists confronting them are experienced and highly organized opponents. This implies that democratic reforms and the socialist revolution can be brought about only through a sustained struggle.

Unity of action of the working class and its organizations, and cooperation of the SDP, CPG and trade unions are indispensable for overcoming the power of the militarists and monopoly capitalists, reorganizing political and economic life in the Federal Republic along peaceful and democratic lines, and above all for carrying on the fight for socialism.

To the Social-Democratic comrades who ask whether a merger of the two working-class parties is a prerequisite for the transition to socialism in the Federal Republic as well, we answer: the country is developing in conditions different from those prevailing in Eastern Germany after 1945. Even if they are organizationally independent, the two parties can fight for a socialist society jointly, in close comradely cooperation and in alliance with other anti-monopoly parties and organizations.

Hostile propaganda alleges that the Communists favor as a matter of principle a one-party system under socialism. This is not so; there exists a multi-party system in the GDR and a number of other socialist countries, a system under which the party of the working class confidently cooperates with other working people's parties. We consider that all the non-monopolistic sections of the people and their political and other mass organizations can cooperate on the basis of identical interests in fighting against monopoly capital and for the transition to socialism, and in building a socialist society as a system meeting their common interests.

Since the whole of present-day development leads to socialism and the possibility of peaceful transition is growing, it may well be

that this transition will be effected in the presence of opposition forces and parties. Established by the working class and all working people, the socialist government will staunchly defend their gains against counter-revolutionary attacks. However, this does not necessitate banning and suppressing a parliamentary opposition so long as it adheres to the Constitution and the laws of the socialist state approved by the majority of the people's representatives.

VI

PROMOTE THE UNITY AND SOLIDARITY OF THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

It is well known that most of the Communist and Workers' parties have declared in favor of preparing and convening a new conference of Communist and Workers' parties. We have repeatedly stated, and would like to say again, that we consider such a conference necessary. This confronts us with the task of again setting forth the position of our Party on how to overcome the differences and difficulties that have cropped up in the world Communist movement and how to promote its unity and solidarity.

There is no question of excommunicating anyone or of infringing the right of fraternal parties to shape and implement their policies in their respective countries. As we see it, the conference should help to promote the unity and solidarity of the world Communist movement, reaffirm the general line jointly formulated in the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement, and arrive through free discussion at a common point of view on certain new questions of principle.

Developments since the two Moscow conferences entitles us to make the following points. The 1957 Declaration and 1960 Statement are correct. The estimation of the trends of development and of the tasks facing the revolutionary movement have been corroborated by the experience of recent years. It follows that the Communist and Workers' parties have every reason to abide by the general line formulated at the two meetings.

Our effort in the way of preparations for the coming conference is aimed at reaching an agreement on joint anti-imperialist actions even if it should prove impossible to come to immediate understanding on every point.

It seems to us that we must create an atmosphere of serious and comradely exchange of opinions and stop all public polemics if we want the Drafting Committee and the international conference to prepare successfully for their task and to accomplish it. A further exacerbation and extension of differences and polemics could benefit none but the imperialists.

Experience tells us that joint action by all the fraternal parties calls for close cooperation on general and fundamental issues concerning all. This unity on fundamental matters of general importance is perfectly compatible with the autonomy and independence of each Communist Party in formulating and implementing its political line.

World Communist unity does not preclude different approaches in appraising one or another event, different views on certain questions. These distinctions are often due to the actual situation in the country concerned. While taking account of the particular conditions and specific problems in the various countries, we would like to stress that we must ensure unity of action in the world Communist movement on cardinal issues, and that the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism should be binding on all. We therefore oppose all attempts to exaggerate national peculiarities, undermine proletarian internationalism and encourage separatist trends.

VII

FOSTER THE ACTIVITY OF THE PARTY AND REINFORCE ITS RANKS

We can achieve proper activity by the Party on the everyday political issues provided we make clear our aim and ways of settling the national question in Germany, and also the fundamental concept of the fight against state-monopoly capitalism. Otherwise we will not be safe from vacillation and incorrect decisions on tactical questions, which are often very complicated and will have to be dealt with in the election campaign as well. Only from this standpoint can we correctly answer the questions of our relations with the SDP, of unity of action, and the formation of a broad anti-monopoly alliance.

The tasks for the election campaign and other tasks we have mentioned require more efficient ideological, political and organizational work by the Party. We can cope with these tasks only if we in the Party bring clarity into some fundamental ideological matters.

It was said in the Report that we have in recent weeks and months held Party meetings or delievered lectures involving many hundreds of Party members. These discussions and talks indicate that there are still considerable uncertainties in the Party about the national question and the nature of our national struggle. It is wrong to see a split Germany as the source of the war danger, or mere reunification as the substance of the national question. The

substance of the national question is to guarantee that no war will break out originating on German soil.

Thus the national question involves settlement of the irreconcilable contradiction between the peaceful interests of the vast majority of the German people and West German monopoly capitalist and militarist interest in profit and expansion. This contradiction can be resolved only by stepping up the class and popular struggle against monopoly capital. This struggle pervades every walk of public life. It is therefore essential to reorganize the work of our Party in order to ensure that our correct national policy and the tasks of our national struggle run through the Party's activity in every field.

We must explain it to our comrades. Only in this way can we bring the requirements of the national struggle home to them. Only in this way can we make clear that the national struggle is also a class struggle taking manifold forms. Only in this way can we enable the Party to show, in every action of the working class, its role and responsibility in the national struggle, and the need of a peaceful, democratic and socialist alternative for the whole of the German nation.

Those who take this view of the struggle to settle the national question cannot but appreciate the growing role and importance of the German Democratic Republic. Everyone can see for himself that full-scale socialist construction in the GDR meets the national interests of all Germans. Everyone should realize that the victory of socialism in the GDR accords with the national interests of the West German working class and people and is a decisive condition for a peaceful settlement of the German national question. In the interest of the national struggle, the working class and all popular forces of West Germany should take a firm stand in support of the GDR, reach an understanding with the working class and its organizations and rebut the falsehoods spread by hostile propaganda.

CONCENTRATE ON THE MAIN ISSUES

The fundamental tasks for the coming months may be stated as follows:

1. We must see to it that the basic political line of our national policy, which is also valid for our election campaign, is discussed by every leading body and every Party branch.

2. Safeguarding peace for the Federal Republic and carrying out the election campaign will depend on how effectively we develop the national struggle, the struggle against the NATO multilateral nuclear force and emergency laws. We must open the eyes of the people to the dangers that exist, and carry out trade union decisions through a variety of actions. May 8, 1965—the 20th anniversary

of the defeat of Hitler fascism and the termination of World War II—must not bring freedom to war criminals and Nazi murderers. This day, which is to come after the Easter Marches and May Day, should mark a new high in the fight against fascism, war and nuclear armaments, for a policy of peace and democracy.

3. In the course of a dialogue now going on between Germans, we must explain primarily to the working class that the MLF, the state of emergency and a revanchist policy block the solution of the German problem. It is necessary to achieve understanding among the working class, peace and mutual understanding between the SDP, SUPG and CPG, and cooperation between the AFGTU and AGTU. Explaining these problems to the working class should become the chief content of preparations for a German workers' conference and other meetings of German workers, peasants, handicraftsmen and intellectuals.

4. Extension of the struggle of the working class, in particular the miners' struggle for their jobs. We must be in the van of the struggle for higher wages being carried on by the workers in the iron and steel industry, the Federal railway system and postal services, and in other branches.

The struggle for social interests affords the best opportunities of establishing unity of action between Social-Democratic, Communist, non-party and Christian workers. This is the basis on which we must prepare for the elections to production councils, so that these elections should strengthen the trade unions and increase the militancy of the working class.

These are our immediate tasks. It is with them as our guide that we are entering the election campaign. In this campaign we are going to use every opportunity of working among the masses and of making our Party's national policy the policy of ever larger sections of the people. We are going to support all forces advancing and alternative to the CDU-CSU and their Erhard government.

This work will help the Party to win the confidence of the working class and the people as a whole, reinforce its ranks and show the working people that it is in their interest to have a legal Communist Party of Germany.

STATEMENT* BY THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY

On October 10, 1964, the Central Committee of the Party, which attaches special importance to the forthcoming municipal elections, emphasized that the election or re-election of UNR members and other reactionaries, whatever their camouflage, would make for fresh attacks on the powers of the municipal councils and raise further obstacles to the achievement of changes meeting the needs of the population.

To defeat the candidates of the UNR and reaction, our Party proposed putting forward a joint list with the Socialist and other democratic parties in the very first ballot in towns whose population exceeds 30,000, taking account of the respective influence of the parties concerned.

As for communes with populations under 30,000, the Party stated that the Communists would seek agreement with other democratic parties immediately after the first ballot, with due regard to the vote obtained by each.

In terms of preparations for the municipal elections, this attitude reflects the desire of the Party for unity aimed at barring UNR and reactionary representatives from municipal government.

In line with this decision, an agreement was reached in the Seine Department with the Socialist Party to put forward a joint list in towns of more than 30,000 inhàbitant.s Similar agreements were concluded in the Seine-et-Oise Department and in some towns elsewhere.

However, an agreement on unity between Socialists and Communists proved impossible in many towns because of the unprincipled coalitions formed by the Socialists, the MRP, the Independents and other reactionaries.

Such alliances sometimes go even further, as is the case in Mulhouse and in Strasbourg, where the Socialists appear in the same list as the UNR candidates.

In Bourges the Socialists share the same list with the reactionary Mayor, one of the staunchest backers of the government in the National Assembly. In Vierzon, the Socialists have refused to put forward a joint list with our Party and are preparing an alliance with the reactionaries, hoping to prevent the election of a municipal council headed by Communists.

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*L'Humanité, January 23, 1965.

This line of action seriously injures working-class unity and the alliance of the democratic forces. It plays into the hands of the UNR and reaction, and greatly imperils the outlook for our country's democratic regeneration.

The danger presented by such alliances with reaction, including an alliance with the UNR, should be pondered by those taking this road.

The Communist Party, which did all in its power to bring about the agreements on unity reached with the first ballot in view, will scrupulously abide by these agreements and seek further agreements of a similar nature.

Furthermore, it is resolved to do its utmost to ensure that the agreements reached on a reciprocal basis for the purpose of defeating the candidates of the UNR and reaction become universal in the second ballot.

On the other hand, the Communist Party, which is pursuing a policy of unity meeting the interests of the working people and the need to open up prospects for democratic progress, condemns all alliances with reactionaries concluded before the first ballot. It will withhold all support from those alliances in the second ballot as well.

The Communist Party intends to conduct a clear-cut and honest campaign to ensure that the municipal elections should not be projected to a dead past but on the contrary, should contribute to the achievement of genuine democracy in our country.

Political Bureau,
French Communist Party
Paris, January 22, 1965

JOINT COMMUNIQUE BY THE COMMUNIST PARTIES OF LATIN AMERICA

The Communist parties of Latin America met in conference at the end of 1964.

The Conference proceeded in an atmosphere of fraternal cooperation, in the spirit of a frank exchange of opinions and appreciation of common problems. There was a useful exchange of experience gained by all the peoples of the continent in their struggle against imperialism, for national emancipation, peace, democracy and socialism.

The Conference devoted special attention to the issue of solidarity with the people and government of Cuba. It is necessary to expand the movement for solidarity with Cuba all over the continent and to lend it a more resolute and organized character. By promoting the solidarity movement, organizations, leaders and parties not only fulfil their internationalist and Latin American duty but defend the interests, freedom, dignity and future of their own peoples.

In carrying out its tasks, the solidarity movement should make a special effort to achieve the restoration of diplomatic and commercial relations with Cuba, combat economic blockade, seek expanded trade, expose preparations for aggression, and the activities of counter-revolutionaries and other CIA agents, repel in good time the slander campaign against Cuba and its government organized and directed by the U.S. imperialists, and widely popularize the economic, social and cultural achievements of the Cuban revolution.

To support the anti-imperialist struggle of other Latin American peoples, the Conference approved the following recommendations:

—to encourage the formation of solidarity movements or juntas and lend campaigns against repressive measures a permanent character, so that this work would not be reduced to sporadic actions or occasional statements;

—to render active support to those who are being cruelly persecuted, specifically to the Venezuelan, Colombian, Guatemalan, Honduran, Paraguayan and Haitian freedom-fighters;

—to extend the anti-colonialist movement on the continent, firmly support the fight for the independence of Puerto Rico and British Guiana, the autonomy of Martinique, Guadeloupe and French Guiana, and the restituion of the Malvinas Island to Argentina,

and support the national aspirations of the British and Dutch colonies in the Caribbean;

—to organize on a continental scale an active movement of all the Latin American peoples for solidarity with the liberation struggle of the Venezuelan people;

—to intensify the movement for solidarity with the Panamanian people, who are fighting a difficult battle against imperialism;

—to step up the campaign for the release of unlawfully imprisoned Communist leaders—Jesus Faria, Gustavo Machado and Pompeyo Marquez of Venezuela, Pedro Saad of Ecuador, Jacques Stephen Alexis of Haiti, Antonio Maidana of Paraguay, and Mario Alves, Ivan Ribeiro and Astrogildo Pereira of Brazil—as well as all persecuted patriots, working-class and democratic leaders;

—to foster the spirit of solidarity among the Latin American proletariat by organizing protest movements of the workers of all factories and bringing them to the notice of the World Federation of Trade Unions and all the independent united labor centers of Latin America.

The Conference emphasized the need to achieve closer relations between different parties, comparing notes, and getting to know one another better.

The Conference carefully examined the differences that have arisen in the world Communist movement, and adopted a relevant resolution, the main points of which are cited below.

FOR THE UNITY OF THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

The Communist parties whose representatives have met to compare notes reaffirm their determination actively to contribute to world Communist unity based on Marxist-Leninist principles and the policy documented of the 1967 and 1960 Meetings.

The Communist parties consider that unity is the chief guarantee of the success of our struggle against imperialism, for the national and social emancipation of all peoples, world peace, socialism and communism.

We are deeply concerned, therefore, about the situation in the world Communist movement, in which there are sharp differences threatening a split and playing into the hands of our enemies, prompting them to take a more aggressive stand.

The Communist parties consider it necessary to do their utmost to pave the way for unity, ensure mutual understanding in the socialist community, and avoid all that increases the danger of a split, hampers fraternal and constructive discussion and makes it difficult for the fraternal parties to act in a united front with the aim of overcoming the present divergencies and turning all their energy to the fight against the imperialists and other reactionaries.

We must base ourselves on common points of view expressing our common ideology, Marxism-Leninism, and do everything to ensure that solid unity on questions of principle wins the upper hand.

In view of this and the fact that the differences in the form in which they have begun to be discussed injure the world Communist movement, this Conference insists on immediately discontinuing public polemics and stresses the need to find appropriate ways of settling the issues that have arisen in a fraternal spirit, which should govern the relations between Marxist-Leninist parties.

This Conference also considers that the unity of each party is a necessary condition for the further development of the revolutionary process in the country concerned. Consequently, all factional activity, whatever its nature and origin, should be emphatically condemned.

This Conference considers that resolute steps should be taken to ensure the unity of the world Communist movement. This calls for bilateral and multilateral meetings and conferences, or conferences of all the Marxist-Leninist parties.

SPEECH* BY FIDEL CASTRO

We may say that what we have learned in the past six years of revolution is our most important gain. And there is something we can learn, for the revolution is a great school. Those who enter this school may be good or bad pupils. We must do our best to be good pupils in this excellent and unique school.

In these six years we have all acquired what is most valuable, that is, experience. If we use this experience properly, we will be able to move mountains in the next six years.

We have every grounds to say that 1964 was a remarkable year of the revolution, a year which saw great progress in every field, and tremendous changes in organization and quality. Above all else it was truly an "Economic Year," since the economy was the paramount concern of the people.

Like other years, it was a year of education, and all of them were years of organization and economic growth. Nevertheless, attention was focused on the economic problem, which is important to the country.

It was a year of extensive rehabilitation and a powerful uptrend in our agriculture and transport. It witnessed a steep rise in all production spheres, which we achieved by drawing on our own resources and in the face of all kinds of difficulties.

We can note with satisfaction that there was an appreciable uptrend in industry and that we at least provided conditions for definite progress in those branches where they were lacking.

We may register it as a major achievement that this year we will have more milk and meat and eggs, and will use lesser quantities of dry feeds, which have to be made largely from imported raw materials . . . As for sugar cane, its output went up last year.

Our effort in agriculture prompt the enemies of the revolution, the mouthpiece of imperialism, to slander us, alleging that we have given up the idea of industrializing the country and our original plans for industrialization. That is not surprising, of course, because they will keep on resorting to various tricks and falsehoods to mislead the peoples. We are already in a position to assess the experience I have mentioned, and the results we owe to our knowledge and practice. We now know quite well what to put our resources into first of all. We have come to realize that there

*Abridged from a speech by Fidel Castro, First Secretary, National Leadership of the United Party of the Socialist Revolution, and Prime Minister, Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Cuba, on the Sixth Anniversary of the Victory of the Revolution, Havana, January 2, 1965.

always are various reasons for which we must make investments in a particular branch to the exclusion of another. And we will decide the question of priority in strict accordance with the nation's economic interests.

At the early stages of the revolution we were apparently not quite clear about a certain circumstance. I refer to our country's remarkable natural conditions and the vast potentialities of our agriculture. What happened? A single-crop economy based on sugar cane, the restrictions encountered by our sugar industry, and the lack of markets all caused a certain prejudice against cane. There was an allergy which may be described as lack of faith in agriculture. The need to develop industry, for its part, led to a certain underestimation of the potentialities of our agriculture.

Industrial production requires primarily plant and competent personnel. In agriculture, the decisive thing is land. And we have very fertile lands which, moreover, can be used virtually all the year round. No European country, no wealthy and industrially developed country of the world, can boast a climate comparable to ours. Neither the European countries, nor the United States, nor the other countries of the temperate zone, have such opportunities for agricultural development as Cuba.

We realized that in the new conditions, at a time when we had a practically unlimited market, when the people's requirements were growing day after day, and when the capacity of our home market was virtually unlimited, agriculture had to become the main factor in our development. As regards industrialization, it will not be long in coming — it will proceed in step with the rapid growth of agriculture and on its basis.

Fortunately, we saw that clearly and in good time. We know that it is not enough to have an ideal social system—to replace capitalism by socialism—unless the potentialities of the new system are properly utilized. Unless we have a clear idea of reality we will miss excellent opportunities even under socialism.

It should be clear, therefore, how important it is to apply Marxist-Leninist theory dialectically, from a revolutionary standpoint, in each particular set of conditions. This does not mean being a chauvinist or nationalist. Not at all. Chauvinism and nationalism pursue the selfishly ambitious aim of subordinating common to national interests, of betraying common interests to promote petty national interests. Yet national interests, that is, the interests of the woking people of a country, do not and cannot clash with those of the working people of other countries. For the interests of the working people both in the country and abroad can clash only with the interests of the exploiters, the enemies of the working class, in the country and on a world scale.

On the other hand, it should be clear that conditions vary from country to country and that every revolution develops in specific conditions differing from conditions elsewhere, often very considerably. There are both objective and subjective factors at work here. After all, different countries have different traditions, and their peoples have different characteristics which revolutionary leaders take into account in each particular case. This teaches revolutionary leaders not to imitate others mechanically but to make a through study of theory and apply it in practice, with due regard to the actual conditions in the country concerned.

Every people makes its own contribution to revolution and history. They contribute to the universal treasury of ideas and of culture as much as they can in the way of experience and knowledge.

We live in a complex and ever-changing world. It is indispensable for every country and every leading party which finds itself in a situation similar to ours, that is, in other words, engaged in a Marxist-Leninist revolution, to assimilate theory correctly and accurately in each particular case.

There is yet another important thing to point out: no one should try from anywhere to tell a revolutionary party what it has to do in particular circumstances. The policy to be followed by such a party has to be shaped by that party itself, by the people of the country in question. Of course, no one has ever tried to tell us what we have to do. First of all, because no party ever uses this method, and secondly, because should a party try such a thing on us, we would rebuff it with the greatest determination.

To those who have misgivings as to whose wits we should use, we say without the least hesitation: "We stand in no need whatever of borrowing anyone's brains! We don't have to borrow courage or heroism!"

These factors, which may be called subjective and which belong to the realm of consciousness, are plentiful in our country. But we are short of many material things. As a matter of fact, we are ninety miles from the U.S. imperialists, which means that our position is unlike that of any other socialist country. We are thousands of miles from the socialist community, and are the only socialist country in this hemisphere.

That is what makes it indispensable for us to be armed. That is why we need arms and why we asked for them. We are most grateful to the countries which have given them to us . . . The imperialists will never sincerely help a revolution anywhere in the world.

I believe no one doubts the imperialists' inability ever to make a disinterested contribution to a revolutionary process. Their "contribution" is aimed at making this process less revolutionary,

at checking it or leading it astray. Besides, the imperialists never help anyone without strings attached . . .

We have said that we were willing to live in peace. I think this is what every nation demands and seeks. No country or people ever seeks war or violaes peace. I mean the countries governed by the people, by those hardest hit by war. We have said that if the imperialists want to do business with us we would be willing.

We have also said that we are prepared to discuss the terms of compensation for losses incurred to promote reciprocal interests. It would be rather a question of token compensation.

When we speak of trade . . . we mean that trade could benefit both them and us . . . When they make trade and the discontinuance of their hostile attitude conditional on certain things, we answer them: "We recognize no conditions or obligations other than those imposed by international law and legal standards. We will never accept any other conditions."

What happened when our country said it was ready to hold discussions and to live in peace? What was the imperialists' reaction? They reacted in an insolent manner, because they thought our position was hopeless, and imagined that we were in the water up to our neck, that we were drowning and so were asking them for mercy. That is perhaps the reason why the imperialists were so very surprised when they heard the statement made by Major Ernesto Guevara in the United Nations on behalf of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba.

One of the newspapers peddling imperialists ideas expressed its surprise at the fact and commented that some people apparently had not known how firm and militant Cuba's position was. Now they all know! Perhaps they are surprised. This shows how easily the imperialists fall into error and how easily they are embarrassed . . .

We do not at all think we must speak of imperialism every day, letting weeds choke our cane fields in the meantime. We do not, because a revolution is accomplished not by means of words or theory alone but by labor, by work in field and factory. Where would the theoretical superstructure be without the material basis? Doesn't Marxism-Leninism tell us? How can we forget about the importance of economic matters?

It is very well that we know what our enemies are thinking and how they react to our policy. The imperialists were brazen enough to declare that we would have to sever our relations with the socialist community if we wanted the imperialists to treat us better.

I believe every single revolutionary citizen of our country thinks that this is a shameless statement. I think they all consider it to

be immoral and disgraceful. Even if the socialist camp were, represented by one country instead of the socialist community we have today, and even if it were limited to a country like ours, we would never barter away this one socialist country for a whole world dominated by the imperialists . . .

When we were attacked by the imperialists we began to receive assistance from the socialist community. We appreciated that assistance and were grateful for it. It was a source of inspiration to us. We will never be able to express our gratitude, we will never find the words to tell how generous that assistance was. But that assistance lulled our people into a somewhat complacent mood, prompting them to reason like this: "Oh, well, when the imperialists deprive us of something, the socialist camp makes up for it." It bred a tendency to consider our path easy.

We will have no right to regard ourselves as true revolutionaries, to feel strong and absolutely confident, until every revolutionary in our country is convinced that we will be able to overcome all difficulties with the resources of our own land, by the will and spirit and effort of our own people.

Does this mean that such a situation will arise? Perhaps we will never be put to such a test. But we prefer our people to be prepared for it and not to delude themselves by thinking that we will get everything from abroad . . .

The role of subjective factors has noticeably increased, now that our revolution is six years old. There can be no doubt that our people today are better organized, politically more conscious and more revolutionary than ever. I have not the slightest doubt that they could pass the test.

Socialism is a new social system based on tremendous creative energy, which gives rise to new ideas and brings added experience. It is in this sphere of ideas and experience that we must work. We must work creatively and must arrive at the right understanding of the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin as we make our contribution in accordance with the new conditions. It is our duty properly to carry forward the idea of the role of the Party and to establish institutions that will ensure the closest possible links between the masses and their vanguard, the Party.

We are gratified by the fact that these links are growing stronger from day to day as the working people take an increasingly active part in building up their vanguard and putting forward the finest and fittest for enlistment in this vanguard. The point is that a party which is the vanguard of the working people and represents the masses cannot be built up behind the backs of the masses or without them.

The idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat is inherent in

Marxism-Leninism. Socialism is, in fact, a transition period politically embodied in the dictatorship of the proletariat. People all over the world have a distate for the term "dictatorship" which they associate with the dictatorship of individuals or camarillas, and above all with the dictatorship of exploiters. But the dictatorship of the proletariat is not exercised by an individual or camarilla. It is the dictatorship of a class which is not one of landed proprietors, big merchants or bankers, of course.

The dictatorship of the exploiters brought suffering to the people even under so-called representative democracy; it was either a military or a parliamentary class dictatorship. Those who sat in such parliaments represented the landowners, bankers, wealthy merchants and industrialists, and foreign monopoly interests.

Does the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat run counter to the concept of democracy? Not at all. We will see it easily if we go deeper into the matter and get to its root. In the United States, for example, there is a class dictatorship of the big bankers and monopolists. It exists in a form which may be called a bourgeois democracy. The dictatorships existing in Nicaragua, Honduras and Guatemala are dictatorships of the monopolists and landed proprietors. But in those countries they take the form of military dictatorships and not bourgeois democratic regimes. In other words, there is no democracy there but a class dictatorship.

Under socialism, state power is in the hands of a different class. The bourgeoisie has no political rights in the country and wields no power. The concepts in operation under socialism are entirely different.

We must create institutions which will properly apply the principle of proletarian democracy within the framework of the class dictatorship of the proletariat. Our Party should constitute their principal element and main content.

Our revolution is six years old. In the next few years we will have to establish our political institutions and local government bodies, and formulate constitutional laws at national and local level. These laws will be different from the bourgeois constitutional laws of the past.

Our future is clear. We will have to live in unfavorable international conditions for a long time to come.

When will the imperialists bring themselves to talk with us? We would like them to talk with several revolutions rather than with one. For it is not merely a question of the imperialists respecting our rights and pledging themselves not to interfere in Cuban affairs. We must tell them that they must promise not to interfere in the affairs of Vietnam and Venezuela, and to stop interfering in Guatemalan and Congolese affairs.

Who is to tell the imperialists when and how they should begin negotiations? The peoples. They will teach the imperialists to do that. Some day the imperialists will have to talk with Cuba as well as other countries. When will that be? Nobody can say exactly. All that we can say is that the day will come. Sooner or later the imperialists will learn to talk with the revolutionary peoples who have cast off imperialist tyranny. We have to be realistic. Before starting any talks with us the imperialists will no doubt put forward certain conditions. And we have said that we would accept no conditions set by them.

However, we are revolutionaries and hence realistic. We must not adhere to one position in theory and to another in practice. We must not approach theory in one way and practice in another. I am quite certain that even in present-day conditions in our country we can, for all the hostility of the imperialists, carry on our creative effort and make progress, specifically economic progress. We have no forebodings and are by no means anticipating bad times. We say this without the least hesitation. But we must work hard if we want to make proper use of our favorable prospects.

Sugar prices on the world market have dropped and that means we will be deriving less foreign exchange from sugar sales than we need for purchases on the world market. But it is just as certain that in many industries we will have more products as a result of our effort.

We may experience difficulties for another two years or so. But we are making fairly rapid progress in other branches of the economy and are in a position to increase the rate of growth, improve the supply of consumer goods, and put out other export items. The fact is that all we can export at the moment is sugar. We have always been dependent on our cane harvest and on sugar price fluctations on the world market. But then a substantial amount of our sugar goes to the socialist countries at stable prices which satisfy us.

We will continue to export as much sugar as at present. But the extra output of sugar will go mainly to the socialist community, at prices satisfactory to us.

This means that the bulk of our output will go to consumers who have stable commercial relations with us and pay us good prices.

So long as our economy retains its specific features, it will be important for us to have more foreign exchange for the purchase of goods on the world market. But this is not a decisive factor. We will not run into debt with any capitalist country. What the imperialists say in an effort to undermine our trade with other countries is so much slander. We had occasion to state that we

would go hungry if we had to rather than fail to pay all our debts, down to the last centavo.

Does anyone doubt that we will cut all of our sugar cane? Of course not. Yet we have plenty of it and we must cut it all. The imperialists may doubt that but we don't. We will cut all of our cane, to the last stalk. We will do it even if we are short of labor, of volunteers. How? By mobilizing everyone if necessary. We already have 500 combine harvesters and an even greater number of loaders . . .

Our defenses are stronger now because we are better organized. And while in the past we gave a great deal of attention to defense, we can—now that we are much stronger—make a greater economic effort. . .

I would like to touch on yet another question. What is the evil we must uproot? Did you say red tape? Well, we think you are perfectly right. But how are we to go about it? Should we create unemployment by firing people? No, that would be wrong and unfair. If we were to lay off anyone we would have to began with ourselves, because it is we who have bred red tape. To be precise, red tape has come down to us from the past, but in some cases we contributed to it and in others failed to combat it effectively.

Does this mean that those who work in government offices should be looked down upon? Not at all. There is administrative work that is indispensable. We must not confuse administrative activity with red tape. Red tape is due above all else to the belief that the office means everything. To begin with, that is a 100 per cent petty-bourgeois image of the world as an office, something utterly alien to the proletarian spirit. Secondly, it is a matter of gross overestimation of certain administrative functions, which, too, can be traced to a definite world outlook.

In many organizations there is a persistent tendency to set up vertical associations covering the whole of our long and narrow island, spanning it from tip to tip. Very often this is at variance with the degree of development of the branch of the economy concerned. Undoubtedly, we must improve or reorganize many government bodies to make them more flexible and efficient. It is organizational patterns prompted by erroneous notions that often breed red tape. Moreover, they foster a petty-bourgeois psychology within the framework of the proletarian revolution and a careless attitude to state funds on the part of many officials.

Red tape has many roots. It is an evil that belongs to the past only in part. I feel very strongly that socialism will have to fight red tape as vigorously as it fights imperialism. It will be fought by the masses and the Party. Today there are many organizations, and even factories, that are overstaffed. We are not going to fire

anyone or cut anyone's pay by as much as a centavo. We will set up trade schools, but we do not plan to entrust this job to any one organization. The Party will contribute its share, coordinating its work with the Ministries of Labor and Education.

But what are we to do if tens of thousands of our people turn out to be out of useful jobs when we have accomplished this rationalization? We will have to make them study.

What shall we call this year? Did someone suggest calling it "Sugar Cane Year"? What's that I hear about red tape? Oh, I see, it is suggested that we make it "Fight Red Tape Year." However, some suggest calling it "Agricultural Year."

I admit that I like the idea of making it a "Fight Red Tape Year." The suggestion about agriculture isn't bad at all, either. But I fear that red tape may survive if we don't fight it . . .

Someone here suggests calling this year "Production Year," but I think that just now this sounds too vague. I repeat that calling this year "Agricultural Year" is a good idea because it implies studying agriculture, increasing its efficiency, developing it, setting up specialized schools, publishing great quantities of agricultural literature, and so on . . .

I think that suggestion is an indication of the common sense of the masses and we will concentrate on this branch—agriculture —in particular on greater use of machinery.

On the other hand, since we realize the need to fight red tape, we must entrust our Party with carrying out the people's mandate, which is to combat this evil.

On the sixth anniversary of our revolution we wish our people happiness and success in this "Agricultural Year" on behalf of all the comrades in the Revolutionary Leadership.

Patria o muerte! Venceremos!

BUILDING A MASS PARTY*

Claude Jones

The 20th Congress of the Communist Party of Australia set the aim of laying the foundations for building a mass party and laying down an 18-month plan in preparation for a decisive advance to this goal. In so doing Congress finally settled accounts with sectarianism and narrowness which confused and distorted Party thinking on this vital question, despite decisions of previous Congresses.

In particular, it marked the final rejection of the Hill group's opposition to and sabotage of Party building. Hill counterposed the absurd concept of a small "pure" group of "Marxist-Leninists" —a narrow sect isolated from and contemptuous of the working people.

The 20th Congress issued an inspiring call to build the Party. This arose not only from the subjective wishes or desires of Congress delegates. Building the Party means extending its influence and leadership to wider sections of the working people. It means tackling in a more sustained and vigorous way the problems of mass work and leadership and lifting the level of mass ideological propaganda and explanation. It is a pressing necessity if the Party is to carry through the tasks set before it by life itself.

The clarification of the Party line and the impressive unity behind this line are a clear pointer to the maturity of the Party. The Party at all levels is surer in its work and is beginning to make bigger strides in building the unity of the working class in the struggles against monopoly capitalism and in seeking out, initiating and leading the struggles of the people on all sorts of big and small issues. Providing the proper political and organizational leadership is given at all levels, significant and important advances will be made during 1965.

The mood and temper of the working class is militant and for struggle. From one end of Australia to the other, but particularly in the three eastern states, there have been widespread and sustained struggles during most of this year. Workers are demanding higher wages and margins, and in many cases winning them. There is growing hostility and increasing mass criticism and ac-

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*Communist Review, November 1964

tion against both Federal and State Arbitration Courts and their penal provisions.

There is deeper understanding of unity and more and more practice of the united front in action. There is an increasing isolation of the Right wing and routing of the NCC candidates in union election by candidates standing for unity and struggle.

The hope of the capitalist class and governments that the workers would be bought off with the mid-year basic wage increase was not realized. The widespread and barefaced price increases following so quickly on the wage gains are stimulating all sorts of mass opposition and protest. The workers see the enormous profits of monopoly, experience the increasing intensity and speed-up of labor and are vigorously demanding an increased share.

In addition to the workers, wide sections of the people are becoming alarmed at growing monopoly exploitation and the cynical and wholesale disposal of our natural resources to overseas monopolies. In this developing favorable situation we need to discuss much more concretely the role and character of our Party. We are a militant socialist Party guided by Marxism-Leninism. Our purpose is to lead the working class to fulfil its historic task of ending capitalism and building a socialist Australia. This aim conditions our thinking, policies and activity.

But the starting point is deep concern and involvement in the down-to-earth struggles of the workers around immediate demands. The Party needs to be deeply connected with the people, not only with the working class, but all sections of the working people. This depends upon its ability to give leadership to the many questions arising in the day-to-day struggles against monopoly capitalism, its governments and agents.

Every action, every struggle of the workers is assisted to the very best of the Party's ability and capacity. The fight for immediate demands enables the workers to fight better for the future. The ability of the Party to lead the workers in their daily struggle is constantly improving. As subjectivism and sectarianism are shed, the Party's leadership becomes better both collectively and individually.

Everywhere there are splendid examples of very good activity involving a wide mobilization of the workers and requiring the solution of quite complex tactical problems. The line and proposals of the Party are accepted and the respect for the Party and individual Communists grows. But it is often found during the course of the struggle and at its successful conclusion that the Party had either grown little or not at all.

Too often it is said "wait till the struggle is over and we wil get some new members." To put the question this way denies th

leading role of the Party. It is in fact submergence of the Party in the mass movement, a rejection of the concept of building a mass Party. It is also opposed to long years of experience that it is in the course of the struggle itself that the political consciousness of the worker is heightened, his attitude to the Communist Party changes and he is more likely to become a member.

It is true that the prestige and influence of the Party and individuals grow during struggle. This is a very good thing which can and should lead to an increase in the strength and influence of the Party. Mass political action and the building of the Party cannot be separated. The statement "wait till the struggle is over and we will get new members" does in fact separate mass political action from Party building and is in fact a right opportunist approach to this vital question of building the Party. This is one of the weaknesses which must be tackled if the Party building campaign is to be successful.

There are other impediments in the way which will have to be tackled, such as "the branch . . . it is pretty dead and it wouldn't be good to bring a new member in." Some honest workers won't join the Party because they believe they "are not good enough to be a Party member." The life and activity of the Party branch require constant attention, as well as our personal attitude to the people.

A relatively small Party, no matter how hard working and heroic, cannot tackle and handle the very complex problems of the class struggle in the way that can bring the whole movement forward. Our 20th Congress unanimously rejected the thoroughly incorrect view that what the Australian working class needs is a small elite Party of "pure Marxists" ready to spring into action when the time comes, and declared for the building of the biggest and broadest Party in the conditions of today.

Whilst it would be wrong to suggest that the Party is on the verge of enrolling tens of thousands of members, the conditions exist for increasing Party membership and consequently extending the Party influence considerably beyond the present position and laying the foundations for building a mass Party.

The concept of a mass Party is not something new or "revisionist." Lenin long ago attacked those who, because of sectarian narrowness or fear of new people, put up barriers against the building of a mass Party and the wide enrolment of militant workers. Writing "On the reorganization of the Party" in 1905, he said: "The working class is instinctively, spontaneously social-democratic, and more than ten years of work put in by social democracy has done a great deal to transform this spontaneity into consciousness. Don't invent bugaboos comrades! Don't forget that

in every live and growing party there will always be elements of instability, vacillation, wavering. But these elements can be influenced, and they will submit to the influence of the steadfast and solid core of social democrats." The 20th Congress resolution was in line with Lenin's long substantiated correct views when it stated: "By going boldly among the masses and recruiting widely, the Party not only increases its size but greatly enriches its collective experience and wisdom. New members may bring into the Party all kinds of non-Marxist ideas, but these are overcome by participation in mass activity, in Party life, and the study of Marxism-Leninism."

If the decisions on Party building are to be carried through successfully there must be a critical and concrete examination of all aspects of Party work. Bare exhortations and schematic plans will not bring success. Political cobwebs and a certain conservatism need to be cleared away in the course of frank and comradely discussions. Discussions are needed in the light of today's possibilities and reality of some fundamental questions on Party building which are too often and erroneously regarded as self-evident.

Recently a series of discussions on Party building was held in a number of sectors of work in Queensland. These preliminary discussions were stimulating and encouraging. The Party organizations concerned were made up of devoted capable comrades enjoying wide mass support and respect, elected and re-elected to high positions in their mass organizations despite the most vicious campaigns by the capitalist class and the NCC. Collectively they know intimately and work with hundreds of militant workers, but the membership remains the same and press sales and finance are way below what they could be.

During the discussions some comrades were somewhat startled to come to the realization that the main problem in building the Party was in their own thinking. Concrete plans are arising from these frank and splendid discussions. One group plans to double its membership by 1965; others are discussing increasing membership by 25 per cent to 50 per cent. Already proper planning and checking are bringing increased press sales and will bring finance.

These discussions are raising other points about the internal life of the Party organizations and about the various forms of Party organization. Are we too conservative in our approach to forms of organization? Are we in some cases and places hanging on, in dogmatic fashion, to forms of organization which have become either outdated in new concrete conditions or have proved inadequate in practice?

Is the level of mass ideological work of a high enough quality? Do the propaganda and agitation of the Party show clearly the

connection between the present and the future, aiming all the time to lift the socialist consciousness of the workers? Is enough thought and skill being given to the form, content and topicality of all the propaganda media?

These questions and others are important ones to solve if the Party is to hold and consolidate the hundreds of new members which will be won during 1965. They are questions arising from life and cannot be discussed or solved in a vacuum. Organizations which discuss them concretely and link them with the solution of the political organizational problems posed by the Party building campaign will gain excellent all-round results.

Such questions arise from reality. They will be properly discussed and solved in the course of the political, organizational activity of Party organizations carrying through the Party building campaign.

The aim during 1965 is to build and strengthen the Party, paying particular attention to winning and consolidating new members. The targets set by the Central Committee of 500 members, £120,000 and a 10 per cent increase in press sales are modest ones and can be fulfilled. But the targets are not mechanical things in themselves. In conducting the ideological, organizational work to reach and pass them, the Party committees and branches are lifting their collective understanding, and grappling more concretely with both left and right hindrances which hold the Party from the masses and prevent the building of the Party.

With proper attention from leading Party committees, involving the full and enthusiastic participation of all committee members, 1965 can become a significant year of successful Party building.

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WALTER ULBRICHT ON THE WARSAW CONFERENCE*

Q: What was the reason for calling the Warsaw conference, which has aroused worldwide interest?

A: The meeting was made necessary by the new situation in Europe, which seriously imperils peace and security. This situation is characterized, among other things, by the increasingly adventurous policy of the West German Federal government. Nuclear armament, dogged attempts to gain control of atomic weapons, plans for nuclear mine belt along West Germany's eastern frontier, the agggressive "forward strategy," the threat of "undercover" and civil war against the German Democratic Republic, made by high-placed spokesmen of the Federal Government, the unrelenting arming of West Germany, and a more and more active policy of revenge are some of the essential elements of the new situation.

The West German government, which is itself a product of international tensions and hopes to promote its revenge-seeking policy by maintaining and increasing them, is playing — obstinately and with old disdain for people — the role of an international center resisting the effort for peace, security, and mutual understanding between nations.

Q: That business of a nuclear mine belt has undoubtedly caused widespread alarm. But both in West Germany and elsewhere there are quite a few people who refuse to see the danger. They believe — and want *us* to believe — that — there's no evil intention behind the idea, that the devil is not so terrible as he is painted.

A: Our people had to pay dearly in two world wars for the underestimation of the aggressiveness and adventurism of the then imperialist rulers of the country. They mustn't scorn the lessons of history any more.

Note that high-ranking government officials in West Germany openly discuss plans for war on German soil, to be waged with both conventional and nuclear arms, and have already begun to test those plans in army maneuvers. Vice-Chancellor Mende, who is a member of the cabinet and the Defense Commission of the Bundestag, that is, a man who should be well posted on the Bonn government's plans and intentions, openly threatened us

*Abridged interview with Walter Ulbricht granted to Gerhard Eisler, Chairman of the GDR State Broadcasting Committee. The full text of the interview was published in **Neues Deutschland** on January 25, 1965.

with "undercover" and civil war. National Defense Minister Hoffmann of the GDR was obliged, at a press conference, to give warning about the fate that would befall anyone who took part in aggression against the GDR.

Preparations for the NATO multilateral nuclear force have already resulted in bringing West German military personnel into very close contact with atomic warheads and carrier missiles and in enabling it to train carefully in that field. There is at least one ship equipped with atomic missiles, and manned in part by West Germans. Were the plans for the MLF to materialize — in a U.S. or British or some other version — a number of ships carrying atomic missiles would find themselves under the command of West German generals and admirals, who during World War II showed what they are capable of.

The West German government has made preparations for the manufacture of atomic arms of its own both in West Germany and abroad. Missile production is already under way in West Germany. The number of West German military men in key NATO posts and staffs is so great that there can be no question of the West German militarists being controlled by their NATO allies.

Anyone who shuts his eyes to these and many other no less convincing facts risks pursuing an illusory policy. We, however, are in the habit of taking account of facts and not of the fine talk that wolves dish up on big occasions. This means that we are appraising the new situation and drawing proper conclusions with due regard to the facts, even though the wolves resent it.

Q: Why was the conference held in Warsaw?

A: The Political Consultative Committee could no doubt have met in the capital of some other member country. But I think it was most appropriate to hold it in Warsaw.

A few days before the conference Poland celebrated the 20th anniversary of Warsaw's liberation from Hitler occupation. Twenty years ago Warsaw lay in ruins. Comrade Gomulka mentioned that in his introductory remarks. In that Polish city alone, some 800,000 men, women and children fell victims to the Hitler German militarists. In other words, two-thirds of the 1,200,000 people who lived in the Polish capital on the eve of the Second World War were destroyed by the invaders.

The Polish people rebuilt Warsaw through tremendous effort and sacrifice, and the city today is more beautiful than ever. The bitter experience of a city so cruelly ravaged by the German militarists undoubtedly provided a suitable background for our conference.

Q: What did the allied socialist countries want to achieve in Warsaw?

A: The Conference Communique reveals that the Political Consultative Committee was to appraise the new situation, examine its possible consequences for the peace and security of our nations, and plan joint measures.

Account was taken of the fact that the growing war danger in Europe is in the final analysis a result of constant violations of the fundamental provisions of the Potsdam agreement by Bonn, violations which the imperialist Western Powers abet. This necescitated discussion of the ways and means of restoring respect for international treaties.

We discussed and partly planned measures in the most different fields, considered necessary for safeguarding peace and the security and peaceful labor of our countries. Thus the conference was also aimed at calling the potential aggressor to order and at taking effective steps toward peace and security.

We regard the outcome of the conference as a gain for European peace and security. It has opened a new stage in the fight against granting the West German Federal Republic a share in the control of nuclear weapons in any form.

Q: It is natural that a conference as important as that should begin with an appraisal of the situation. You listed some elements of the new situation, particularly as regards the aggressive policy of Bonn. What was the appraisal agreed on in Warsaw?

A: The Communique answered that. The GDR delegation circulated to the delegates a memorandum giving irrefutable factual data on atomic armament, the "forward strategy," and West Germany's preparations for an "undercover" war. Among other things, the memorandum speaks frankly, forcefully and in detail of the strategic doctrine of Bonn as an expression of its revanchist aspirations towards the socialist countries, of the steadily growing influence Bonn exerts on the NATO nuclear powers' target planning and atomic war planning in general, and of what Bonn is doing step by step to gain control of nuclear arms.

I would like to state that there was complete agreement on the appraisal of the present situation. This applies particularly to the role of Bonn as an international center obstructing the effort for peace and international understanding.

The entirely negative policy of the West German Government is not the only thing characteristic of the new situation. The principal trends of world history point the other way: at this stage they are characterized by the growth of the peace forces.

There was also agreement on the appraisal of the special role envisaged for a NATO multilateral nuclear force involving West

Germany. This plan was unanimously condemned as a serious threat to European and world peace.

It is clear, however, that the military technical resources at the disposal of the Warsaw Treaty countries' armed forces create a situation in which every aggressor must remember that he can be destroyed.

Q: What do you think of the role of the Erhard cabinet, whose members have taken the initiative in proposing a multilateral nuclear force?

A: Federal Chancellor Erhard declared in taking office that he was going to pursue a middle course, that is, a policy of smoothing things over. It is quite obvious, however, that his actual policy is aimed at anything but smoothing things over. Indeed, he is out to foster the policy of revenge. The actual difference between Erhard and Adenauer as politicians is chiefly that Erhard seeks an agreement with the United States that would give him a share in the control of atomic weapons. Furthermore, he sees France and Britain as auxiliary forces, while Adenauer put the alliance with France first, hoping that he could with the help of France and its nuclear arms force the United States into aggreeing to West Germany's nuclear armament and into backing the revanchist policy of Bonn.

Q: Would you mind describing, in as simple terms as possible, the nature and aim of the policy of multilateral nuclear armament? After all, this issue has become exceedingly complicated.

A: The point is that the dominant groups in West Germany are trying to blackmail the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries by linking their revanchist demands with the claim to a say in the use of nuclear arms and the organization of war provocations.

Unfortunately, the opinion prevailing among the Social-Democratic leaders is that a nuclear war policy is the means by which the GDR can be incorporated in the West German Federal Republic.

Q: What did the Warsaw conference say about the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons?

A: The Warsaw Treaty countries are opposed to the proliferation of nuclear arms, especially to the transfer of such arms to the West German militarists in any form. This means that they consider a NATO multilateral nuclear force in any variant incompatible with a ban on the spread of nuclear arms.

We think this particularly important because the U.S. government evidently reckons that the socialist countries would favor an agreement banning proliferation even after a multilateral nuclear

force had been created. We are convinced that the issue of banning nuclear arms proliferation provides a basis for broad international cooperation against the nuclear arming of West Germany. True, the United Nations has already passed several resolutions insisting on such a ban, but that is not enough. We think it indispensable to lay down this demand in an international treaty.

Q: The Bonn government was defeated at the NATO Council meeting in Paris. Some people contend therefore that the danger of the MLF is no longer so great. What is your opinion?

A: Bonn was defeated because it linked its so-called initiative on the German question with a direct claim to a share in the control of nuclear weapons. France and Britain, and even the United States, rightly fear that given such a policy, the West German leadership might draw them into a nuclear war. In addition, neither France, Britain nor the United States wants German reunification.

Nevertheless, the United States still wants to hasten West Germany's atomic armament, provided it is done under American leadership and command. In other words, it favors atomic blackmail against the socialist countries but wants this blackmail to remain under its control.

It is wrong, therefore, to imagine that the danger of the MLF is no longer so great. This danger will persist so long as a West German government reaches out for nuclear arms, so long as there is no disarmament and revanchism has not been eliminated.

Q: Some West Germans feel that Bonn's plans for atomic armament and a nuclear mine belt are so insensate that nobody need fear they will ever materialize. Would you like to comment on that?

A: Historical experience disproves that point of view. I think we would deserve a thrashing if we forgot the lessons of history.

When, in 1940, shortly after the beginning of World War II, the German imperialists and their Hitler generals, some of whom today head the Bundeswehr and hold key positions in NATO, decided on attacking the Soviet Union, some top-level statesmen refused to take it seriously. After all, the war in the West was not over yet, and so those statesmen considered such a plan, clearly suicidal to the aggressor, to be improbable.

The peoples, including the German people, had to pay an enormous price for that underestimation of the traditionally adventurous policy of the German imperialists and their generals, and for their just as traditional inability to assess the balance of world forces in realistic terms. Historical experience suggests that no plan for aggression is too adventurous as far as the present West

German government and its revanchist politicians and Hitler generals are concerned.

Herr Strauss, the leader of the Christian-Social Union, said a while ago that Hitler had wanted no world war. According to Strauss, Hitler had not imagined that Britain would step in after the Wehrmacht had marched into Poland. This means that Strauss wants to justify the attack on Austria, Czechoslovakia and Poland. Only, he thinks Hitler should first have satisfied himself that Britain was amenable to an agreement of the Munich type on Poland as well. This shows the spirit that is still alive among the ruling circles in West Germany.

Q: Some NATO governments affirm that the MLF would prevent the Federal Republic from gaining control of nuclear arms. Would it?

A: I regard that assertion as a deliberate attempt at deceit or, at best, as an indication of remarkable naïveté. However, it is the sort of naïveté that certain dominant groups in Britain, France and the United States have for many years shown in their dealings with German imperialism.

Let me remind you of Munich or the well-known naval agreement between Britain and Hitler Germany. In one case the Western Powers helped Hitler commit an act of aggression, mistakenly hoping that they would thereby safeguard peace for themselves and divert the aggressor to the East.

In the other case, the British government gave its contractual consent to a limited naval armament of Hitler Germany, hoping thus to keep Hitler's naval force within bounds tolerable to Britain. In reality, however, the Western Powers' Munich deal paved for the German militarists the way to aggression and World War II. As for the naval agreement, Britain merely legalized Hitler Germany's naval arms drive, which until then had been carried on illegally and had therefore been somewhat slow and had encountered certain difficulties.

Q: Comrade Ulbricht, do you see any connection between the revanchist policy of the Bonn government, the attempt to set up a NATO multilateral nuclear force and Bonn's claim to West Berlin?

A: There undoubtedly is a connection. Bonn's claim to West Berlin and the forms in which the claim is expressed — such as the illegal and provocative meeting of Bundestag commissions or the provocative conduct of the Federal President — are an important component of the policy of revenge, as are also the ideas of "forward strategy," a nuclear mine belt, and participation in a multilateral nuclear force.

Let there be no mistake: West Berlin does not belong to the

West German Federal Republic, and never will. The issue of West Berlin affects vital interests of the German Republic.

This matter is as important to us as, say, the question of the peace frontier along the Oder and Neisse is to People's Poland. Like the other Warsaw Treaty countries, we flatly reject Bonn's contention that West Berlin is part of the Federal Republic.

Q: What did the Warsaw conference recommend to safeguard peace in Europe?

A: Since peace on our continent is indivisible, the Political Consultative Commission declared in favor of a series of proposals designed to create step by step a genuine system of collective security for all European nations.

Those proposals include the ones for an end to the nuclear arms race, and a denuclearized zone in Central Europe, and the well-known Polish proposal for a European conference to discuss collective security measures. There are also the still valid and urgent proposals for a non-aggression pact between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO countries, and for the removal of the remnants of World War II and for a peaceful German settlement.

The Communique stresses that the Warsaw Treaty countries support the German Democratic Republic's proposals for the renunciation of nuclear weapons by both Germany states. I am certain that by renouncing nuclear weapons the Germans would make a valuable contribution to European peace. Besides, the Political Consultative Committee also supported all proposals for the complete prohibition and destruction of all nuclear weapons throughout the world, and for global disarmament.

Q: What is the opinion of the Warsaw Treaty countries about cooperation between European nations?

A: All speakers at the Warsaw conference voiced a desire for close cooperation among all nations of Europe. The GDR shares that desire. It holds a special position as a state. As a result of historical development since World War II, it has become the focus of the main problems of European coexistence. In a certain respect, mutual understanding with the GDR is the key to durable peace and mutual understanding throughout Europe.

Because we are the peaceful German state which has outgrown its part, it is natural that the German Democratic Republic should have taken the initiative in seeking a lasting peace for the German people.

Is a thaw in Europe possible? I think so. The ice of cold war, which has blocked cooperation in Europe for so long, can be melted. Our policy is aimed at a thaw in Europe. We are willing to cooperate with all Europeans of goodwill.

We should begin by achieving a genuine detente through normal

relations between European nations. This calls first of all for goodwill on the part of all and a readiness to cooperate on the basis of mutual trust.

We are convinced that such a thaw would benefit all European nations as far as the maintenance of peace is concerned.

We favor a European security system safeguarding the security of all European countries and relieving all Europeans of the war menace. In connection with disarmament measures, we also favor an agreement on control over the manufacture of armaments, and control measures in both German states to prevent surprise attack.

We believe that a common history and an age-long culture to which every European nation has made its own unforgettable contribution, and also the common interest in safeguarding peace are conducive to peaceful coexistence and close cooperation irrespective of differences in world outlook and political views.

We, the socialist countries, feel that we have a special responsibility for the European nations' humanistic and cultural heritage, because two-thirds of European territory belongs to the socialist countries and every other inhabitant of our continent is a citizen of this or that socialist country.

THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS AND THEIR AFTERMATH*

Luigi Longo

GENERAL SECRETARY, ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

This meeting of our Party's Central Committee is going to examine the political situation following the presidential election.

Our Central Committee is the first among the leading bodies of the different political parties to meet after the long and arduous battle which Italy's political forces had to carry on in twenty-one ballots over thirteen days. We emerge from that battle with considerable success and with increased faith in our strength and our political line.

It is no accident, of course, that the Christian Democrats, on the other hand, are still unable to so much as fix the date of their National Council. They were defeated in that battle, with the result that they are rent by serious differences and have lost a good deal of prestige.

The fight against Leone's nomination was primarily aimed at defending the Constitution and opposing the Christian Democrats' Dorothean** candidate. The firmness and unity which the parliamentary groups of the Communist Party showed from the first, and their explicit resolve to arrive at an agreed solution based on Left unity inspired the resistance of various groups to Dorothean domination.

From the first ballots on, our parliamentary groups made clear that they were going to vote for a lay or Catholic Left candidate who guaranteed that he would pay heed to the serious requirements of the nation's socio-political progress and would, unlike the Dorothean candidate, express the will of a wide range of democratic forces. That is why our explicit aim throughout the ballots was to bring about the broadest possible unity of the democratic Left forces, lay and Catholic alike.

It was no easy task to achieve that aim, for there were contradictions among the lay as well as the Christian Democratic Lefts.

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*Report to the CC, ICP. Abridged from **l'Unita**, Jan. 15, 1965.

**The term "Dorothean" is applied to the Christian Democratic group of conservative leanings which in January 1959 met at the Convent of Santa Maria Dorotea (hence its name) and decided to relieve Fanfani of his office as Party secretary and Prime Minister. Today the Dorotheans represent the relative majority in the CDP and lend a markedly "centrist" character to the policy of the "Center Left" government.

Besides, the four candidates were opposed to one another, and to the last minute this made it impossible to rally the forces they headed in support of one candidate.

These difficulties should be borne in mind by anyone who wants to appreciate the success scored through the defeat of the Dorothean candidate. In the previous presidential elections, the Dorothean candidate defeated his Left opponent, while in these it was the other way round. The CDP leaders stinted no effort to push their man through. They sought contact with us in a bid for our votes. They even said they were ready to join with us in looking for a candidate—a Dorothean if possible, or at least a Christian Democrat who would be acceptable to all. However, they ruled out the nomination of Fanfani or Pastore, proposed by us, for the two men were considered "rebels" who had violated CDP discipline.

The deadlock over Leone, who was losing votes from ballot to ballot, even after Fanfani and Pastore had withdrawn their names, compelled the Dorothean leadership to extend the list of candidates as well. When we proposed nominating Saragat, whom we had always said we were willing to vote for, Rumor contended that the Christian Democrats could not vote for a "lay" candidate who was a Socialist and, moreover, had opposed their official nominee. The Christian Democrats stood pat in several ballots. But when they saw that they were getting nowhere they tried a different approach. They raised the question of the procedure to follow in seeking for a candidate who could win a majority. They suggested putting forward a so-called assembly candidate, that is, appointing one candidate to be agreed on at a meeting of parliamentary group leaders. They imagined that through such an appointment, apparently behind the backs of the parties, they would be able to put forward one of the candidates they had in store.

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Needless to say we flatly rejected the procedure they suggested. We repeated that we were ready to discuss the choice of a common candidate with all democratic groups, that we were not biased either against the lay candidates who had appeared in the various ballots (Saragat and Nenni) or against the Left Christian Democratic candiates (Fanfani and Pastore), and that we did not even rule out the possibility of considering some other candidate although we could think of no acceptable names just then.

However, we made all agreement conditional on open and frank discussions unequivocally precluding all discrimination against us. This was a principle of our activity, along with the effort to achieve unity of the Lefts, who from the very first ballots had opposed the Dorothean candidate, and constituted a substantial majority. Should it prove impossible to achieve Left unity on one opposition candi-

date, the votes at our command would still enable us to exert decisive influence on the choice of the candidate and force the Christian Democrats into serious talks with us on a candidate acceptable to us.

There was a moment when we thought Fanfani might be able to win a Left majority. But he failed to bring support from the syndicalist "basists,"* even from those of them who had promised it. In the case of the lay Lefts, Fanfani only secured the votes of the Italian Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity. All this was logical.

The strong stand taken by Fanfani against the Moro Dorothean group and the Moro cabinet must have marked him as the candidate who undermined the government's position more than anyone else. That stand lost him the votes of the Left Center parties. I believe, however, that Fanfani seriously considered the possibility of making Rumor accept his nomination. The struggle inside the CDP compelled Fanfani to seek for contacts and agreements with all non-Dorothean Christian Democrats. It should be remembered that his opposition to the Center Left has never been quite clear as to its content, nor is this accidental. To be specific, it has always been such as not to jeopardize a possible convergence of Right-wing votes on his name—meaning not only those of the liberals but possibly those of the Italian Socialist Movement as well.

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We must now trace back some of the important stages of the presidential elections and of the actions initiated by our Party. The eighth ballot suggested that the various positions had crystallized to such an extent that the elections could not be brought to a positive conclusion.

That is the reason why, after the eighth ballot, we proposed to the Italian Socialist Party, Italian Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity, Italian Social-Democratic Party and Italian Republican Party that we should meet to decide jointly on a collective vote.

By declining our invitation, the ISDP made the five-party meeting impossible. But while putting it on record that the meeting could not be held, we declared that we we would keep in touch with all democratic forces to resolve the crisis on the basis of unity.

Nothing but united opposition by these forces would make it possible (a) to defeat the Dorothean candidate; (b) to continue the search for a candidate representing all the Left forces, and (c) to leave the door open, in any case, to eventual talks with the Christian Democrats in order to impose a non-Dorothean candidate upon them. In the circumstances, our Party's activity and initiative were decisive, because our Party was the only one that could rally the different, still divided forces and establish a homogeneous and

*Left-wing trade unionists.

decisive majority. But whatever our initiative, it must not undermine, or even create the impression of undermining, either by lay Left forces or the forces of the Left Christian Democrats. In fact, it was the continued resistance and opposition of these forces that prevented the Dorothean group in power to impose its candidate.

After Saragat had withdrawn his name it looked as if Fanfani had a better chance of securing the required majority. We strove for unity on this but Pastore and Fanfani complicated things by refusing to run, even though dissension continued, finding expression in blank ballot-papers.

The Socialist leadership and parliamentary groups began a new phase by proposing the nomination of Comrade Nenni. They explained that they were addressing this proposal to "all the lay and Catholic Left parties and groups to enable the National Assembly to find a way out of the difficult position in which it found itself, lacking an adequate majority for the election of the Head of State." Thus Nenni's name promised to rally the Left votes. But this was true only in theory, for the ISDP had no intention of voting for Nenni, whereas the ISP had voted for Saragat.

In the tenth ballot, when Nenni was first nominated, Leone had already been defeated beyond hope. But even in those conditions we felt that we had to work on patiently for the unity of the lay and Catholic Left forces, being careful not to demoralize either group or push it, to a compromise with the Christian Democrats. We extended our contacts and activities with regard to all Left parties and groups. But the results were scant. There were still too many blank ballot-papers.

Besides, no political initiative was taken by those who could and should have done so to help gain a solid vote for one of the candidates. Our groups therefore decided in the twelfth ballot to vote for Comrade Nenni. They wanted once more to give clear expression to the spirit of unity toward the Socialist Party, point to a suitable, explicitly democratic and anti-fascist solution of the problem of the Presidency and facilitate the search for broader democratic unity, so as to ensure the election of the President.

The Dorothean leadership finally had to renounce Leone, also because the ex-Chairman of the Chamber of Deputies had refused to remain a useless target for all the internal and external opponents of the CDP.

True to the spirit and letter of the Constitution and to our entire policy of broader alliances and agreements, we called on the leading CDP groups to take their failure into account and make up their minds about serious talks with all democratic groups in order to resolve the presidential crisis at an early date.

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At last the Dorothean leadership secured its parliamentary groups' authorization to hold talks about a non-Christian Democratic candidate as well. However, the more rabidly Dorothean groups set out to torpedo any decision favorable to the Lefts. When the CDP leaders accepted the idea of supporting the renomination of Saragat, they thereby accepted a candidate whom we had proposed in the very first talks, along with Nenni, Fanfani and Pastore, and whom they had originally turned down. But they tried to block all contacts and all talks in respect of this candidate between the ISDP and the ICP.

It was in that situation that the talks which had been held before the last ballots acquired their full political significance. The task was to counteract the Christian Democrats' discriminative, anti-Communist claim and foil their plan of defeating Saragat again.

As soon as our Secretariat got word of the discriminative condition put forward by the CDP, it unequivocally reaffirmed, in its statement of December 26, that the Communists would vote for a candidate who would be capable of winning adequate democratic support, provided there were frank discussions ruling out all discrimination.

The Christian Democrats had to abandon their discriminative stand when faced with the self-evident results of the subsequent ballots, which fully precluded the possibility of Saragat being elected without Communist support, and also with the open refusal of the ISP to discriminate against Communist votes in the presidential elections. Then Saragat took the matter of talks into his own hands to ensure his election. In an interview with him we stated the reasons for which the Christian Democrats' opposition to our voting for him had to be removed. We left it to Saragat himself and to the ISDP to find the method which they thought best for remedying a situation created by Christian Democratic obstruction. The result was Saragat's statement on December 28 which said: "I am running for President of the Republic for the second time and I would like all democratic and anti-fascist groups to vote for me."

The significance of that statement was made even more obvious by a letter we received from De Martino, Secretary of the ISP. Enclosed was a copy of the letter by which Nenni withdrew his name and said that he would like the Communists to cast their votes for Saragat, also because he had made a statement "ruling out all discrimination against you."

It seemed clear to us then that our position had been appreciated and accepted. We therefore considered that proper conditions had been provided for our voting for Saragat in common with the Socialist comrades.

I think there can be no doubt that Saragat's election to the

Presidency constituted a triple defeat for the Christian Democrats: (1) because after fifteen ballots the Christian Democrats found themselves unable to secure the election of their Dorothean candidate, Giovanni Leone; (2) because subseqeuntly they were compelled to agree to the nomination of a layman, as their candidate, one, moreover, who in the first ballots had opposed the official CDP candidate; (3) because their votes did not suffice to ensure the election of Saragat and they had to renounce discrimination against Communist votes.

These votes were officially sought by the ISDP and the ISP. The latter agreed to vote for Saragat provided the Communists were also asked to vote.

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No one has ever imagined, and it would be absurd to imagine, that with the election of the President it would become possible to solve all outstanding political problems overnight. Among these problems are the political orientation of the parties, the government coalition, relations with the CDP, relations between the Lefts, and relations with the ICP. This is not to say that it is immaterial—in the light of the powers which the President exercises under the present Italian regime—what President we have or what political forces he represents.

The recent experience with Segni is a case in point. Segni influenced the Christian Democrats, and hence the entire Center Left, in the spirit of the Dorothean conservative trend. From this point of view, Saragat's election deprived the Christian Democrats of a power center which asserted CDP hegemony at the summit of the state. But the important thing was, and still is, particularly in the political situation prevailing in Italy today, not only the choice of President but the political activity which can and should be conducted with regard to various political alignments and groupings, without yielding to the illusion that all outstanding political problems can be easily solved at once and in the way we want them solved.

Throughout the election battle we strove to take advantage of all possible coincidences of interests, and to pave the way for a cooperation that would facilitate the further promotion of our action for unity, renovation and social progress in the near future.

I think that, speaking generally, we fulfilled our intentions in the different situations which arose as we went along. I also think that our activity contributed in large measure not only to Saragat's election to the Presidency but to the shaping of the political situation and the creation of greater opportunities for united actions and for renovation which obtained after the elections and as a result of them.

To be sure, neither the political crisis paralyzing Italy's economic and social life, nor the government formula of the Center Left was eliminated in those thirteen days. This also applies to the question of relations between Left democrats and between them and the Christian Democrats.

I think, however, that it would be wrong, at variance with reality, and dangerous to the progress of our entire activity to say that the political situation, the attitude to outstanding problems, and the state of various questions relating to the Center Left, to its orientation and vitality, have remained unchanged since the presidential elections.

All political groupings are busy reappraising their past positions and orientations. In the CDP, this reappraisal calls into question not only that party's activity during the presidential elections but the validity of the moderate limits within which Christian Democratic policies have been kept so far, relations between the various trends and various groups in power, and, in an indirect and timid sort of way, the very unity of the CDP and the Catholics in the CDP.

In the ISP, the vicissitudes of the elections, the attitude of the CDP, and the blow delivered to the Dorothean leadership have exacerbated the tone of Nenni's own supporters and increased the resistance to the CDP, which they want to explain its internal alignments, its political orientation, and the relations the CDP plans to maintain with the Center Left. True, this is so far taking place at top level only, but it is realized and stated, too, that this cannot go on and that something is bound to change. This realization prompts the more forward-looking groups in the ISP (the new Lefts, Lombardi, the youth) and the CDP (the syndicalist "basists," the youth, and Fanfani, who is following a line of his own) to insist openly on more progressive policy directives and new relations between Lefts and with the Communists.

The Social-Democrats cling more tenaciously than anyone else to the present position of the Center Left. They believe there is no need either for crisis or for improvement. In their view, everything can and should go on as in the past so long as the proportion of "their presence in the government" is unchanged.

The Right Christian Democrats and the Right-wing economic groups hold that nothing should be changed. They are more anxious than ever to maintain the present impotence of the Center Left as a cover for a conservative policy that would allow full scope, as it has done so far, for monopoly "free enterprise" in reorganizing industry and consolidating the system of capitalist accumulation.

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Today there is serious discord within the CDP, rooted in the

Left Christian Democrats' growing resistance to the hegemony of the leading Dorothean group.

The gravity of the economic situation necessitates prompt and bold measures to overcome these difficulties and the limitations of the socio-political system dominating Italian sociey. This necessity is obvious to the more advanced Christian Democrats, who reject the moderate trend of CDP policy and stress the need for increasingly competent solutions to the country's problems.

The Sorrento congress of the young Christian Democrats, who had hailed the "historic turn" in Naples as a promise for democrats, defined the Center Left as "a mere parliamentary majority operation," a new formula, a smoke-screen behind which the old, moderate content of Centrist politics has been smuggled in.

There is a lively debate going on between these Left trends in the CDP. It is aimed at reciprocal clarification, and hence an agreement on united action to defeat the moderate policies which today predominate in the CDP.

Discussion in the country and within the various political groupings should center on general orientations, programs, and the choices to be made. It is these choices that should help reveal the forces which can lead these groupings onward, without allowing themselves to be paralyzed by absurd prejudice and discrimination.

In this connection we think that while the Italian Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity reaffirms its traditional position on unity, the ISP Left-wing was right when it stressed some important points by explicitly pronouncing itself for a government that would abolish the discriminative principle of setting limits to the Left-wing section of the majority.

It is well aware that this abolition implies a reversal of the principle which has so far guided the Dorotheans holding sway over the Center Left, for the political premises on which the present government coalition is based have proved utterly inadequate in the light of the serious requirements of political renovation and economic and social progress which are appreciated by all.

It would seem that the young Socialists are heading in the same direction when they recognize the need for a realignment of political forces, that is, the restoration of relations between all components of the working-class movement with the aim of establishing a Left-wing alignment, they say—one that would be neither Social-Democratic nor "frontist."

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It is within the range of these more general problems that a debate is going on these days on the conclusions to be drawn from the elections, from the contradictions, exigencies and new oppor-

tunities that have been emerging in respect of the policy, formula and program of the present Center Left.

As soon as Saragat was elected Comrade Nenni called for a sorting out within the CDP. He did this for the implied purpose of starting on a more consistent and resolute implementation of the program of the Center Left.

There is a need for a new political line, but this line can only emerge from an overall reshaping of policy to defeat the present government combination which has so dramatically betrayed its inefficiency and which during the last parliamentary campaign revealed an alarming lack of cohesion, increased weaknesses and disruptive antagonisms.

This is the only way really to end the years-old "crisis" of the Center Left, and the deeper crisis which the country and the political alignments are going through. It means tackling the country's real problems in a new spirit—constructively and with a real desire to solve them.

Comrade Nenni says that one should proceed carefully and should not provoke a government crisis blindly. We don't say at all that one should provoke it without knowing where one wants to get. All we say is that we must not keep coming back to one and the same thing, and must promptly clear up moot points. Nor can this clearing up be limited to a general discussion of formulas.

In the political debate which is in progress, and in relations with the various parties, it is necessary to elucidate program directives, the alternatives to be chosen, and the forces which can put these alternatives into effect.

Unless these questions are dealt with, the debate will remain abstract and futile, the situation will deteriorate and it will be impossible to overcome the government paralysis. It is not a question of blindly provoking a crisis but of getting as speedily as possible out of the darkness, of the swamp in which the Center Left has been floundering for months. It is a case of thoroughly clearing up questions that have to be cleared up if we want progress.

This is the only way to avoid the hypocrisy—as Comrade Nenni puts it—of pretending that nothing has happened, that the events which characterized the presidential elections did not occur.

Moro's hope that all this can be settled through "painless" reorganization or through increased activity by the Center Left seems naive or designed to camouflage the maneuvers of the leading Dorothean group, which is resolved, if it gets the chance, to bring about a further swing to the right contrary to Nenni's expectations, so as to "counterbalance" the election of Saragat, a Left candidate. This group is resolved to keep its allies in the inferior position in which they have been so far, and above all to prevent the Socialists

from encouraging by their attitude the resistance and offensive of the Left Christian Democrats.

Now is the time to resist and foil these Dorothean attempts. The outcome of the presidential battle has restored to the ISP some of the influence it had lost in the government alliance. Increased Left pressures in the CDP may create fresh opportunities for the success of the struggle going on both in and outside the Center Left, a struggle to put the political and economic leadership of the country on a new, more progressive basis.

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Socialists — adherents of Nenni or Lombardi — often speak of "processes of reshaping" which are alleged to be taking place in our Party. Nenni's supporters hint mainly at ideological, political and organizational reshaping, while Lombardi's supporters hint at reshaping in programmatic and socio-economic matters. We would like to know better what it is all about. Our Party is continuously shaping and carrying forward its general political line and line of action. This has by no means led us to a "revision" of the fundamental principles of what we have called, and still call, the "Italian road to socialism." Indeed, it has always prompted us to criticize and reject the results of the recasting and revision accomplished by the Socialists in recent years, such as the revision which has seriously affected the character of the ISP as an autonomous class party earnestly seeking socialist changes, or the revision which has led this party to ideological and political concessions, and to subordination to the CDP and the conservative policies of its leading groups. We think these concessions and revisions are incompatible with the revolutionary class nature of a socialist party and have embarked the ISP on the road of social democratization.

In working out and carrying forward our political line, we have never refused to recognize—despite the ideological and political involution of the ISP—certain points, questions and themes of study which could lead to a comparison of ideas, and to agreement and understanding with a view to defending the immediate material and democratic interests of the working classes and the people as a whole, and also to breaking monopoly power and substantially reforming the economic and political structure of Italian society.

We must admit that with regard to these points and issues, we have found the trends which have gradually shaped in the ISP in opposition to the process of Social-Democratic involution to draw nearer and nearer to us and to appreciate our own preoccupations more and more. First it was the Left trend which afterwards gave rise to the Italian Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity, and now it is the new Left trend and the Lombardi group. We have not failed to underline certain points of the well-known Giolitti Plan, on

whose basis we think we could usefully exchange views and, indeed, find points of contact and agreement.

We have suggested, and still suggest, studying ways and means of limiting and then checking the process of fragmentation of the socialist forces, which was intensified by the involution of the ISP. This can be done either by encouraging contacts and cooperation between all the forces which consider themselves in some form or other to belong to the working classes and to socialism, or by starting discussions and exchanges of experience—with the aim of the eventual organzational unification of all those forces, parties and groups which remain loyal to the socialist perspective and intend to fight for it in the present situation.

This is neither a "crisis" nor "reshaping and revision," as our political opponents and even our Socialist comrades and friends, say—in different tones, we admit. It means charting our Italian road to socialism. Our goal is precisely socialism, to be attained through democratic action and struggle by the masses. A necessary condition for this is the broadest possible cooperation of democrats and the people, the broadest possible fighting alliances and unity (in the most expedient forms that can be worked out jointly within the framework of one party) of all the truly socialist forces loyal to the revolutionary struggle of labor, primarily the working class.

With regard to the relations between Socialists, we must say a few words about our comrades of the ISPPU, relaticns with whom are an essential component of our unity policy. We maintained close relations with these comrades during the parliamentary battle as well, and continuously exchanged opinions.

However, we did not proceed alike in all the ballots. In the end they voted for Nenni like us, but in the closing ballots they refused to vote for Saragat. It is not for us to judge them, of course,. They adopted a perfectly independent decision which they thought most suitable for their orientation, their aims and their policy within the working-class movement, as well as among the lay and Catholic Lefts.

The difference in the behavior of the various organizations of the Italian Left in the various ballots is indicative of the complexity of the positions and the relations existing between the Left and Socialist forces.

We must bear this complexity in mind, not only in order to appreciate the actual state of affairs but to step up our effort for more effective united action. In other words, we must remember that there should be no room, especially in the relations between our Party and the ISPPU, for erroneous interpretations of the position of either party in any given situation.

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The situation clearly suggests the necessity and urgency of ascertaining how the new government combination is to proceed, and what are the program and the points they want to realize in the immediate future. This has to be done because there are pressing problems and because things are not going well in the country. The workers' condition goes on deteriorating—there is greater exploitation of labor, wage cuts, the threat of unemployment, low wages and high profits.

Nevertheless, Dr. Carli, Director of the Banca d'Italia, insists that that is not enough. He says accumulation should grow—to the detriment of wages and the position of the workers, of course. The employers' offensive against the workers' living standards and working conditions is accompanied by an offensive against the right to strike, against the powers and the autonomy of trade unions, against the General Confederation of Labor program, which demands economic program-making, and even against the Pieraccini Plan, which is itself a rehash of the Giolitti Plan of last July.

In their fierce opposition to reform, the Rights put the GCL and Minister Pieraccini, whose economic views differ considerably, on the same footing as "destroyers" of the system. This is why the year 1965 promises to be one of great and hard social and trade union battles. The term of many contracts, involving almost all the main categories, has expired and the contracts have to be renewed. Almost seven mililon working people will have an interest in this. It is envisaged that industrial output next year will go up—from a 1.5 per cent increase last year to a 7 per cent increase in 1965. But despite this increase, Confindustria plans to cut employment by more than 100,000 people next year and roughly by 200,000 in 1966. This is not a theoretical prospect but a plan which is already being carried out through continuous dismissals, speed-up, and the use of more intensive methods of exploitation. Dr. Carli wants technical, production and financial reorganization to boost monopoly profits. Italian industry is to be made more competitive at the expense of the factory and office workers, The workers cannot accept these plans and prospects. In 1964 the upsurge of monopoly activity was firmly resisted by the working people, although the results unfortunately fell short of the sacrifices made.

In the circumstances, the demand for democratic program-making has quite concrete aims, namely, complete employment, public control over investment, an agrarian reform, stimulation of forms of accumulation to counter monopoly forms, elimination of the imbalance between North and South, a reform in urban development, an educational reform meeting the demand for the renovation and spread of culture, a reform of pensioning, a new system of public administration, and the exercise of regional autonomy.

It is along these democratic lines of development that the struggle

of the working people should be led. And it is with due regard to these issues that one should decide how popular, democratic and renovating is the government that will emerge from the present difficulties and discussions.

Our Central Committee, which met last month, thoroughly discussed all these questions and worked out an appropriate line of action. The forthcoming conference of Communist factory workers should be one of the important components of this line. We recall such questions in order to examine them in the light of the political situation resulting from the presidential elections, and to foster their decision by using the increased opportunities for understanding and cooperation provided by the election campaign. We also recall them in order to stress the necessity in the new situation for greater political and organization effort, which the Party must exert in dealing with these and all its other problems.

We know that the tasks facing our organizations are manifold. These tasks are set by reality. We must assess our opportunities and plan our work in keeping with reality and not with bureaucratic habits. We must make our leading bodies and instruments of leadership more efficient. We must carry out the decisions of the Naples conference and intensify all the elements of our work and leadership. It is imperative to specify our orientation and our political line. What we need today more than ever is unity, contacts and dialogues with all political forces in and outside factories, in and outside the elected bodies. The presidential elections have created a more favorable climate and new opportunities of promoting unity.

We must use these opportunities, above all in factories, among the working people, in contacts and discussions with the working people of every political trend—Socialist, Social-Democratic and Catholic.

The point is to launch and carry forward a public discussion of the programmatic, political and organizational problems whose solution has become an urgent issue and requires cooperation, unity of action and political unity of the working class, and a stubborn effort to surmount obstacles.

RESOLUTION OF THE CC, ICP

The Central Committee approves the activities of the Party Leadership and the parliamentary Communist groups during the presidential elections. The line that was pursued—first of all the continuous effort to bring about the broadest possible cooperation of the Left forces, lay and Catholic alike—made it possible to defeat the domination of the Dorothean group, frustrate its more insidious maneuvers and resolve the presidential crisis in a positive manner.

The contrasts of the presidential elections threw a stark light on the contradictions of the Center Left majority and its inability to meet the country's democratic requirements. They confirmed the need and possibility of new alignments of consistently democratic and progressive forces.

The economic and socio-political position of the country, and its international position with all its implications—from the UN crisis to the intricate maneuvers aimed at forming a multilateral nuclear force to the increasingly brutal imperialist intervention in the Congo and Southeast Asia—necessitate the broadest contacts among the Left forces and a maximum of effort by each to initiate and promptly determine new political directions.

This necessity seems particularly urgent in view of the continuous aggravation of problems such as the extent of employment and the living standard of the working people, the growing pressure of the monopoly groups in favor of a policy that would fully suit them, and in view of the present government's evident reluctance to resist this pressure, solve the problems of employment, the workers' condition and the steadily worsening state of agriculture and of the South, introduce statutory rights for the working people, grant autonomy to the regions, effect a radical reform in urban development and a democratic school reform, and implement a progressive economic development program.

It is with an eye to these issue, to this imperative necessity for a new government line, that the Left trends in the Christian Democratic Party and the socialist forces should take an unequivocal and consistent stand divorced from all ruinous compromise with the Dorothean group, whose domination and conservative line were defeated in the presidential elections, without any attempts whatever to "revive" the present government coalition, whose survival would plainly contradict the country's requirements. Today it is necessary resolutely to put an end to the program of the Moro government, which is completely inefficient, and to its principle of discriminating against and splitting the Lefts.

The Central Committee calls on all Party organizations to seek —also with the aim of speedily changing these new political and government combinations—for meetings with other Left forces, both lay and Catholic, and to make every effort to establish direct and fruitful cooperation on the basis of explicit programmatic and political principles in solving the problems of communal and provincial Giunte, defending the rights and urgent demands of the working people, in order to initiate the realization of the more pressing socio-political reforms and an anti-monopoly policy of democratic program-making in the economic sphere.

REPORT* TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY OF AUSTRIA

E. Kodicek

MEMBER OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU

The discussion on workers' participation in the management of industry and the economy has been going on in the Party for a year now. The results have been summarized in a document to be published as part of the discussion in preparation for our congress, which will adopt the corresponding resolution on the matter.

In this document the concept of workers' participation in management does not always conform to the concept hitherto held by Communists, or to what Marx and Lenin had to say on the subject. In Marx's works we find hardly any direct reference to the question. Lenin in his works noted on several occasions that at times of revolutionary upsurge, on the eve of revolution the working class must fight for workers' control. We know from the history of the working-class movement in Austria that this question arose in the past. Thus, the conference of members of production councils in the metalworking industry, held in February 1921, was the first to demand the participation of production councils in socialization, "in order to prevent any attempt to restore the old capitalist system." No such demands were made, however, during capitalist stabilization in 1923-25.

After the end of World War II this demand reappeared in various programs, for example in the decisions of trade unions and in the well-known resolution of the first conference of production councils held in December 1945. It will be remembered that the working class rejected the law of 1947 on production councils for ignoring, as a Communist-initiated statement said, the demand for workers' participation in production management. The resolution of one of the production council conferences read, in part:

"We will not allow ourselves to be deprived of the rights we have won. We have already won the big right to participate in the management of enterprises." Indeed, in the specific conditions of the immediate post-war years the workers, especially those of the big enterprises which are state-owned today, not only had a say in production matters but also actively participated in the manage-

*Volksstimme, January 16, 1965.

ment of enterprises. Much of the credit for initiating economic development at that time goes to the working class.

The bourgeoisie's attitude to the law on production councils can be seen from an article which appeared in one of the newspapers of the Austrian People's Party on April 19, 1947. We read that "the industrialist must remain the master at his enterprise. This proposition stands." The bourgeoisie thereby unequivocally announced that it had gained the upper hand in the talks on the law.

Did we correctly assess the importance of the struggle for participation in management at the time? Our representatives at all congresses of the Federation of Austrian Trade Unions and at all production council conferences demanded this right; on the other hand, however, we warned against illusions that might arise in this connection, and did not express a definite opinion regarding the possibility of workers being able to take part in management under capitalism.

Why are we pressing for this demand now? Is it because it is also voiced by the Socialist Party, or because similar slogans have been advanced by the FATU? This is not the reason. The real reason is the changed balance of world forces, which led our Party to the conclusion regarding the possibility of the peaceful advance to socialism. In 1958 our Party adopted a document "Austria's Road to Socialism," charting the general line of the struggle. The Communist parties are not waiting passively for the victory of socialism, the advent of the "great day" of the revolution. They are not merely preaching socialism but are organizing the struggle for it.

Hence the need to outline partial and transitional objectives, to organize the struggle of the Communists and build the broadest possible alliances for the attainment of these objectives.

The comrades know of the decisions of the November 1959 Rome conference of 17 parties calling for effective restriction of the power of the monopolies. The decisions note that this could be achieved through nationalization of certain monopolized industries, democratization of the management at nationalized enterprises, promotion of workers' initiative and influence on all aspects of economic life, and through establishment of democratic control over investment plans. Although this would not as yet abolish the exploitation of man by man, it would restrict the power and the means of the monopolies.

The struggle for broader democratic rights, renovated and extended democracy, and for democratic structural reforms constitutes in our time an important part of the struggle for socialism. The demand to be given the right to participate in the management of production is one of the aspects of this struggle.

The question of participation in management still needs to be

elaborated. None of the Communist parties has as yet worked out a document on this problem. We consider, however, that our attitude conforms to the specific conditions of Austria and that it can help develop new concepts regarding democratic structural reforms.

Participation in management does not mean partnership with the employers. Nor does it mean that it can be ensured by half of the seats on control councils being held by workers or their production councils. We also reject the "labor directors" institution patterned after the West German model. We want the working class to have a say in economic and production matters, and to use its influence so as to rule out a situation in which it has to shoulder the burden of unilateral decisions taken by the capitalists.

We will not make every minor issue the pivot of our struggle for participation in management. We are concerned with major problems, such as investment and financial policy, foreign trade orientation, the prices policy, etc. We are concerned with the main aspects of the working-class movement, i.e., decisive economic problems bearing upon the worker's standard of living, on his future, the solution of which must not rest exclusively with the capitalists. It is a question of declaring war on the freedom of private ownership held sacred by the capitalists and on the right to dispose of the means of production as they see fit, to restrict the right of big capital to pass decisions on its means of production and of pursuing a corresponding policy.

To sum up. Participation in the management of production means countering in all major issues the capitalist concept with the working-class concept, and fighting for its realization. The struggle for participation in management is therefore not a concession to the social partnership policy, for this struggle can be won only in sharp class struggle.

The demand to participate in management is not a mere propaganda slogan. This demand should serve as the basis for united action and raise the class struggle to a higher level. We orient ourselves on this struggle, and this is what the document we shall submit for pre-congress discussion aims to show. The results of this discussion will be made known to the working class.

Although it is not the accepted thing nowadays to conclude reports with quotations, I should like to do just that, to quote Lenin, who in 1916 outlined in a few words what is the essence of our present struggle for participation in management, for the renovation and extension of democracy:

"The socialist revolution is not one single act, not one single battle on a single front, but a whole epoch of intensified class conflicts, a long series of battles on all fronts, i.e., battles around the problems of economics and politics, which can culminate only in

the expropriation of the bourgeoisie. It would be a fundamental mistake to suppose that the struggle for democracy can divert the proletariat from the socialist revolution, or obscure, or overshadow it, etc. On the contrary, just as socialism cannot be victorious unless it introduces complete democracy, so the proletariat will be unable to prepare for the victory over the bourgeoisie unless it wages a many-sided, consistent and revolutionary struggle for democracy."

We hope that the document we will issue shortly will be useful to our Party and our working class in their struggle.

L'HUMANITE CORRESPONDENT INTERVIEWS MOHAMMED ENNAFAA*

QUESTION: After the M'Saken events** you voiced support for the government's position on behalf of the Tunisian Communists. What significance do you attach to this move?

ANSWER: To begin with it should be noted that this is not the first time the Tunisian Communists have had occasion to support certain steps taken by the government of independent Tunisia. For, although our concept of socialism differs from that of the Destour Socialists, and although the Communists criticize some of the latter's erroneous or inadequate positions, we nevertheless do not reject positive moves capable of promoting the economic and social development of our country.

As regards the events in M'Saken, the Tunisian Communists appreciate the fact that despite the open reactionary opposition the government had the courage to denounce the big proprietors, reject their claims and reaffirm its determination to continue the policy of reform and planning under state leadership. This attitude is essentially an indication of something new. It denotes a change in the general orientation affirmed before the congress in Bizerta and which appeared to have triumphed at the congress.

Q: Could you give our readers a general idea of the substance of the orientation?

A: On the eve of the Bizerta congress last October the reactionary elements inside and outside the Neo-Destour came out against economic planning, structural reform and any interference by the state in the economic and social spheres. At the same time the moderate and legitimate demands of the working class were rudely turned down and a broad and vociferous campaign launched further to subordinate the labor unions.

Reactionary pressure unquestionably made itself felt at the Bizerta congress. Retarding the process of reform started under the three-year plans, it strengthened the positions of the big capitalists. Concessions were made to private capitalists, especially foreign. The agrarian reform was rejected. Along with the decision to transform the Neo-Destour party into the Socialist Destour Party, the Congress affirmed its negative attitude with regard to improving

*Interview with Tunisian Communist leader in **L'Humanité,** January 30, 1965.

This is a reference to the anti-government demonstration staged by the owners of olive plantations against the organization of agricultural cooperatives in southern Tunisia at the end of December 1964, after which the government decided to nationalize the olive plantations.—Ed.**

the position of the working class and the peasant poor. It also confirmed the old inflexible concept of national alliance, ignoring the problem of social classes, class contradictions and class struggle. All these negative aspects naturally tend to slow down the economic and social development of the country.

It must be said, however, that despite the reactionary offensive, other noteworthy aspects of a positive nature emerged at the Bizerta congress. For example, the condemnation of the capitalist path of development. Or the fact that despite the concessions to private capital, the congress endorsed the policy of planning, the need to develop the state industrial sector, strengthen agricultural producers' cooperatives and promote the cooperative movement.

Another positive fact is that the resolution on Destour socialism does not speak of private property as an immutable principle, but leaves room for a possible restriction of big land ownership. Elaborating a concept of socialism which is still far from scientific socialism, the resolution nevertheless draws attention to certain basic principles of socialism, as for example "the elimination of exploitation," "to each according to his labor," etc.

On the foreign policy plane the congress reaffirmed the line based on non-alignment and actions in favor of peaceful coexistence.

In sum, the Bizerta congress revealed the existence of contradictory positions, and although it sought to bring about a certain equilibrium between them, the possibility was not excluded that these contradictions would grow sharper and that new problems would emerge. Nor was it excluded that, as the situation developed, the positive aspects would become decisive and give a new impetus to the progressive reformist tendencies. M'Saken was a striking example of this.

Q: What do you think of the prospects at the present time?

A: The experience our country has gained since independence shows that with the progress of decolonization the struggle has assumed the character of a clash between progressive and reactionary forces, for or against the radical choice of national democratic development along non-capitalist lines.

There are grounds for assuming that the aggravation of the contradictions already manifest will lead the working class, the peasant poor and the intellectual youth to affirm more clearly their role and their position on the need for more drastic measures to spur economic and social development. At the same time the big proprietors and other reactionary elements will continue by diverse means to resist any radical steps in this direction.

We hope that the reformist wing of the socialist Destour Party will rid itself of the illusion that it is possible to win anything by

making common cause with the Right-wing reactionaries, without isolating them politically, without relying firmly on the advanced social forces. The lesson to be drawn from the events in M'Saken is that it is necessary to go as far as possible along the road of structural reform.

For one thing the agrarian reform must be carried out without further delay, the economic power of the big landowners must be curtailed, the land must be turned over gratis to the agricultural workers and poor peasants, with or without parcelization, depending on the concrete circumstances. At the same time, a social policy answering the urgent needs of the urban working people, the mining centres and villages would help to free the masses from the influence of reactionary propaganda and win their active support for progressive orientation for our country.

With such a perspective the Tunisian Communists naturally side with the forces of progress. They are anxious to speed their country's progress toward the democratic, non-capitalist road, to help the progressive ideas of socialism to take firm root among the people. The influence our Party has won among the active sections of the working class, the poorest peasantry and the young intellectuals enables us to promote the interests of the people.

Q: What do you think of the reaction to your statement on the M'Saken events?

A: That statement was favorably received. The wide publicity it was given by the official TAP agency, the state radio and the local press clearly shows the importance the government attaches to Communist support. I, for my part, would like to see in this evidence of a favorable evolution, a sign of a departure from certain anti-Communist prejudices.

In any case it showed that where there is a progressive policy, the views of the Communists and the more advanced Destour Socialists can be brought closer together. And this is all the better, for this can only redouble the activity of the progressive forces and help isolate the Right-wing reactionaries.

At the same time these developments have shown that the measures adopted in 1963 outlawing the Tunisian Communist Party are out of date. Without reverting to the conditions in which this administrative measure was introduced, one can only say that the time has come to abolish it.

TUNISIA FACED WITH CHOICE OF TAKING PROGRESSIVE PATH OF DEVELOPMENT*

Khaled

Tunisia is at the crossroads. The direct vestiges of colonialism have been almost completely eliminated: the base at Bizerta has been evacuated, the colonialists' land has been expropriated, the country's indebtedness, which hampered progress, has been settled; the difficulties connected with the war in Algeria and the existence of a military base on Tunisian soil, and also with the replacement of the colonial regime by a national state, are now things of the past.

The choice of a truly progressive path of development conforming to the will of the people, to national possibilities and the international situation acquires added urgency in view of the fact that the basic tasks of a purely national revolution are practically completed, while new tasks, those of a social revolution, are arising in an ever more lively atmosphere of competition created by the considerable success of the progressive, socialist and revolutionary forces all over the world and near our own frontiers.

GOVERNMENT POLICY

The government based economic development on a three-year plan. Several positive beginnings and achievements can be noted in this field.

A number of industrial projects, such as sugar refineries, pulp and cork factories and textile mills, have been completed while others (an iron and steel mill and an assembly plant) are in the development stage. All these projects have been realized, in the main, by the state, the National Society of Investments and various national agencies. As a result, a step towards industrialization has been made.

The most significant measures, however, have been effected in agriculture. The nationalization of the rest of the colonialists' land (350,000 hectares), an important anti-colonialist measure, has returned the best arable land to the country and opened up greater possibilities for carrying out the agrarian reform.

*Abridged from **Democratic Nouvelle**, November 1964. This article was written before the congress of Socialist Destour Party, which defined its program and decided to reorganize its organizational structure.

Another important measure is the setting up, on state-owned land, of agricultural cooperatives consisting of small and middle proprietors thereby preventing big owners from taking possession of this land.

Yet why is it, despite all these achievements and efforts, that the country's development still lags behind the expectations of the broad masses, progressive intellectuals and students, and even behind the objective possibilities of present-day Tunisia? We think it is in place here to point out and analyze the factors responsible for this.

(a) Administration

The disregard for priority in investments is particularly conspicuous. Investments in the infrastructure continue to exceed investments in industry; too much is being spent on the tourist trade; housing construction is consuming inordinately large sums while benefiting only a small minority. Moreover, no attention is being paid to costs and profitability. Wasteful and extravagant spending are limiting the possibilities for productive expenditures ensuring employment.

The administrative system itself is bureaucratic, authoritarian and not subject to any control. A case in point are the agricultural cooperatives. Because membership is obligatory, the peasants are wary of them. Bureaucratic administration deprives the cooperative members of any initiative and virtually turns them into agricultural laborers.

The two years' experience in planning shows that there are other, even more serious drawbacks hindering genuine development.

(b) Rejection of Radical Reforms

First, about the agrarian reform. The cooperatives could undoubtedly become elements of a real agrarian reform provided membership was voluntary and the peasants were given a say in democratic management. The return of the land seized by the colonialists could also contribute to this end. But progress in implementing the reform is intolerably slow, falling short of even the very moderate planned targets. Nor should it be limited to state-owned land, for only a small part of it has been used for the cooperatives.

A few remarks about the cooperatives themselves.

The bulk of state-owned land, it is said, will be sold to cooperatives and even "preferably" to agricultural workers, but where will the landless and land-hungry peasants get the money to buy the indivisible plots of land?

In addition, the profits, if any, are to be distributed in accordance

with the size of the peasants' pooled plots, which are not all the same. This may lead to a differentiation within the cooperatives, to the enrichment of those who gave the biggest plots, at the expense of the others.

The cooperatives do not include all the peasants in the locality: they do not accept disabled persons; only one member of each family is allowed to work on the cooperative; those whose land is situated in the area of a cooperative and who do not wish to, or cannot, join it are compelled to lease their holdings to the latter.

It must be stated therefore that the cooperatives, although essentially an element of progress as compared with the old agrarian policy, still have to undergo big changes before becoming what they should be.

A genuine agrarian reform is supposed to give land to the landless peasants and those with smal holdings. This means that in the North, for instance, at least 2 million hectares are needed if 150,000 poor households there are to be given land. But state-owned land and small private plots total not more than one million hectares. Where to get the other million? Here is revealed the contradiction between reality and the socio-economic needs of the country, the pernicious consequences of maintaining big land ownership (5,000 persons own nearly 600,000 hectares of fertile land), the great inequality of the land-tenure system (and this in regions with predominantly small holdings), and the possibility for persons of other professions to own agricultural property and for big farmers to lease their land.

All these facts are well known in our country. They are indicative of the acuteness of the land problem. It is equally clear to all that the agrarian reform is indispensable for overcoming backwardness, ending unemployment and part-time employment, for expanding the domestic market and paving the way for industrialization.

But does the Tunisian government realize this? Will it continue its policy of gradually implanting cooperatives or take drastic measures and restrict big property? It is hard to see what its exact intentions are, for one day it speaks of introducing a genuine agrarian reform only to assert the very opposite on the next day.

What can be definitely said is that its policy is determined by two contradictory factors: on the one hand, by its unwillingness to encroach on big Tunisian property (although measures have been taken with respect to some individuals) and its striving to develop a class of well-to-do middle peasants as the regime's base in the countryside; on the other, by its realization of the need to solve certain economic and social problems (management of state-owned land, the precarious situation in the village) and to satisfy the

demands of the young forces inspired by socialist ideas and by the experience of the expanding countries.

But the policy of rejecting radical reforms is not limited to the agrarian policy. The old foreign-trade contacts, the source of non-equivalent exchange and the chronic foreign-trade deficit, have still not been disrupted; no serious study is being made of the possibilities for trade with the socialist countries, which could purchase our mineral raw materials (phosphates) and other products; little is being done to end our economic dependence, a source of constant blackmail, best exemplified by France's recent denunciation of the Economic Convention. The government still refuses to nationalize the mines, banks and insurance companies and contents itself with participation in mining companies, which is a progressive but clearly insufficient measure.

It also refuses to nationalize foreign and wholesale trade. The measures imposing control and restrictions that have been taken to date are certainly progressive but again, absolutely insufficient.

(c) Foreign Aid

The government continues to cherish the illusion that backwardness will be ended and an economic "uptrend" ensured chiefly with the help of Western and, above all, American aid.

It is true that our foreign policy has been somewhat modified following the announcement—in official documents, at least— of a policy of non-alignment. Accommodation with the UAR, the normalization of relations and even a certain rapprochement with Algeria have led our country out of the isolation in which it opposed any progressive government in Africa. Several agreements with socialist countries have been concluded, and some projects (dams, an institute of technology) will be built with Soviet help. But the main tendency continues to be pro-Western, pro-American.

Well-known facts illustrate this persistent striving to remain in the pro-Western orbit despite all the lessons of other countries and our own experience. Here are the facts:

U.S. businessmen carrying on geological prospecting are followed by Krupp, who is entrusted with the job of indusrialization!

U.S. aid makes up the main part of the foreign financing of the three-year plan.

The leadership of the Tunisian Workers' Unions, whose dependence on the government and the Destour is common knowledge, doggedly clings to the ICFTU and resists the establishment of an independent federation of African trade unions.

Last but not least, this tendency is manifested in the refusal to take a clear-cut stand with regard to the threats of aggression against Cuba and against the Vietnamese people, whose magnificent victory at Dien Bien Phu heralded our own liberation.

The harmfulness of this policy needs no further proof. Suffice it to add, without going into detail, that Western aid, most of which comes from the United States, is obviously insufficient. What is more, it is given irregularly, as is even admitted in official quarters, as a result of which the development of the state and cooperative sectors is retarded. It is granted on the condition that Tunisia accept inadmissible control over her economy. It unavoidably makes for conservatism and a bourgeois orientation.

Social Policy

The demands of the working people continue to be ignored. Wages have been frozen since independence while the cost of living has been steadily climbing, adding to the difficulties experienced by the wage and salary workers, who have to spend more than 40 per cent of their income on rent and other services. Even the TWU leaders have been compelled to call attention to this intolerable situation and speak out for higher wages. Disregard for the needs and demands of the masses is combined with measures to "constrain" them, to prevent the emergence of an independent movement among them, to resist any demands.

This is the predominant trend, despite the fact that the people have had some benefits from improved public health, education, social maintenance and industrialization.

Absence of Democracy

Even prior to 1963 democracy was formal and limited, contradicting the spirit and letter of the Constitution and the aspirations of the people. The patently reactionary plot of December 1962 enabled those opposed to democracy to liquidate it altogether. The Communist Party was banned and progressive publications suppressed. The regime grew more repressive and arbitrary, depriving citizens of effective guarantees against arrests, proscriptions and other measures decided on by the all-powerful administration.

On top of this the one-party system was implanted. Many arguments were advanced in defense of it but none of them hold water.

One such argument was the desire to avoid anarchy, ensure the necessary discipline and prevent the Right from resisting the "socialist" policy. To this we can reply that instability is a feature of every authoritarian regime which regards violence as the only means of effecting change. Besides, the necessary discipline does not at all presuppose the absence of freedoms, independent organizations and discussion. Rather the reverse is the case if this discipline is to be conscious and hence effective. As regards the

forces of the Right whose activities were supposed to have been suppressed, they are to be found in the Destour itself and in the organizations controlled by it. A blow was struck, as a matter of fact, only at the Communist Party, progressive and Left forces in general.

The establishment of the one-party system was a manifestly anti-democratic, anti-progressive and anti-communist measure designed to suppress just criticism and free discussion which pointed to the inconsistency of the "socialist" orientation, and to check the growth of Communist influence and the spread of Marxist ideas among the students and young people generally.

Those who abolished democracy now find themselves in a tight corner. They hold forth on democracy within the framework of one party, the Destour. But experience shows that liberty is indivisible. The ban on the Communist Party and the Left press and the consequent repressions have cut short all discussion and criticism, even constructive criticism. They have created an atmosphere of distrust, fear, suspicion, apathy, indifference and reticence against which even the Destour organizations are complaining.

The liquidation of democracy is a blow not only at the Communists, who are deprived of the right to voice their opinion, have their own organization, propagate their ideas, participate in the ideological struggle and pursue a constructive policy in the interests of the masses. It is detrimental to the country's development for it nullifies even the best decisions, gives the irresponsible, uncontrolled latent Right opposition a free hand, breeds apathy and indifference to politics, and prevents the masses from taking part in construction.

THE MAIN OBSTACLE

Tunisia was one of the first African countries to win its freedom and has unquestionable successes in the anti-colonial struggle to its credit. Why, then, does it not rate today among the foremost revolutionary states? Why, in spite of the exceptionally favorable international situation, did our country embark on the policy of planning, cooperation and non-alignment later than many other countries, and then not without reservations? Why is it so slow and hesitant in carrying out its own policy of reform? The main reasons are of an ideological and social order.

First of all the class nature of the Tunisian state must be taken into account. Although it is a national state which emerged as a result of the struggle of the entire people, its essence is determined today by the national bourgeoisie, and its social basis in both town and country is the petty bourgeoisie.

Part of the bourgeoisie grew rich in the period of the French

protectorate. Another became active in agriculture, transport, trade, public works and new branches of industry only after independence, thanks to state support and credits issued by state banks; this comparatively small privileged section emerged from the petty bourgeoisie and remains rooted in it. It is augmented by a bureaucratic stratum enjoying definite privileges whose role is steadily growing.

The government which came into being in the course of the struggle for independence waged by the entire people fostered for a long time a so-called free, i.e., purely capitalist, economy in spite of its obvious deficiencies because of class considerations. For the same reason the government, even after proclaiming an allegedly socialist policy, continues to encourage the middle bourgeoisie and to safeguard its specific interests and ambitions, subsidizes more than 400 private enterprises and in no way restricts the private sector dominant in all branches of the economy (93 per cent of all industrial enterprises and 40 per cent of all investments are private).

These class reasons explain why the government has given private business a free hand with the bulk of the commodity stocks in the country, why it is reluctant to impose limitations on landed property or to nationalize foreign and wholesale trade, why so many of its public declarations favor private interests, and why ministers spend so much time reasoning with representatives of the Tunisian Industries, Trade and Handicrafts Association. Because of this the national anti-imperialist revolution has bogged down at its bourgeois stage instead of moving ahead towards social revolution.

At the same time the contradiction between the country's development needs and the social basis of the state is becoming increasingly glaring.

The petty-bourgeois nature of the Neo-Destour party which makes it sensitive to pressure from the masses, the existence of a striving for reform at grassroots level despite the influence of the General Workers' Union, the work done by the Communists to bring the fallacy of the present policy and the need for a new, more effective and more realistic course to the people led to rejection of the classical type of capitalism and adoption of a policy of reform. But with this the first symptoms of contradictions emerged. Ever since the policy of planning, state intervention in the economy and establishment of the state and cooperative sectors began to be implemented it has caused discontent among some property owners even though it has not prevented them from thriving. Hence the smouldering opposition now in evidence on the part of the propertied classes and the Right wing of the Destour party, an opposition directed, if not against the government

which it is hoped may yet "think better of it" or at least mark time for a long time to come, then at least against the advocates of the new policy.

Things, however, cannot be explained from the social standpoint alone. We have seen the development needs of other countries and the bigger opportunities opened for progress prompt these countries to take the road of radical reconstruction. The Tunisian government itself has begun to pursue a policy which is logically bound to bring it into conflict sooner or later with the dominant section of the very forces it relies on, and, if it does not beat a retreat, even with the Right-wing elements in the government itself.

This brings us to the "ideological" factor. The bourgeoisie in the underdeveloped countries is not firmly entrenched and hence unable to ensure progress. But there is a large and influential petty bourgeoisie, which often is sensitive to mass pressures and the interests of which in many respects clash with the interests of the big bourgeoisie. Hence the leaders — and they play a role of prime importance, especially if they built up their prestige in the independence struggle — usually are petty-bourgeois intellectuals whose world outlook was shaped in the course of the anti-colonial struggle. People of this type are likely to give thought to promoting the national economy and in some measures to respond to the demands of the masses. Although their ideology is bourgeois, they can be to one or another measure receptive to progressive ideas.

Whether development will proceed rapidly or lag behind depends largely on the extent to which the leaders respond to the pressure and demands of the masses and accept progressive ideas. *Hence the decisive significance of the ideological factor, the decisive influence (positive or negative) of the political and ideological concepts of those at the helm of state.* These concepts may faciliate the choice of a progressive path of development, or, conversely, prevent such a choice.

As regards Tunisia, it must be said that so far the ideological factor has acted as a brake. The Tunisian leaders subscribe to a capitalist ideology with a heavy imprint of anti-communism. Their outlook is a bourgeois nationalist one. They deny the existence of classes and class contradictions, underestimate or ignore economic and social problems, assume that the only road of progress is that taken by Western Europe, believe in the alleged anti-colonialism of the United States, etc. Moreover, their nationalism is utterly out of step with the times, a nationalism blind to the present world balance of forces and hostile to, or at best suspicious of, the socialist forces and the socialist countries. Though anti-colonialist, it is the old, classical nationalism, "liberal" in the sphere of the economy, "Western" politically, and bourgeois socially. It is this

nationalism which above all has determined Tunisian policy since independence.

In time, however, what used to be taken for granted inevitably was seen to be questionable and unsuitable. As the old nationalism grew obviously outdated, a certain evolution began towards renunciation of some prejudices. A reform policy came to the fore once again, primarily in the shape of the plan worked out by the General Workers' Union in 1955 and of the official Neo-Destour "socialism."

The significance of the new orientation is self-evident. It shows that it is no longer possible to wave the banner of capitalism and to laud it, even before people hostile to socialism, as the only path of progress. In this sense it is a reflection of the growing influence of triumphant socialism. One hardly need underscore the value for Tunisia of extended dissemination of the once tabooed ideas of socialism.

Destour "socialism" is designed to preserve the political monopoly of the Neo-Destour at a time when the masses are turning away from it and young intellectuals are challenging its tenets. It claims to meet the requirements of further development, to offer a more realistic road than that which the country has followed so far. Approaching it from this standpoint without bias, it may be said that the doctrine has some positive elements, viz., planning, the establishment of a state or mixed sector, cooperatives, etc.

But if we try to define the content of Neo-Destour socialism we come up against utter confusion. There are as many interpretations as interpreters. Some are prepared to socialize the means of production, others confine themselves to talk about social justice, fair distribution of wealth and equal opportunities. The ideologues of Neo-Destour "socialism" regard it in something completely different from any other variety of socialism, counterposing it to scientific socialism, Marxism, and denying the existence of class struggle within the country and the struggle between socialism and capitalism on a world scale. The state sector they advocate is nothing but state capitalism under which the workers play no active part and which is wholly dependent on the bureaucratic bourgeoisie.

Therefore, in reality it is neither socialism nor the Tunisian road to socialism; at best it is moderate petty-bourgeois reformism hemmed in by survivals of the old, classical concepts of nationalism.

Further, it is an obsolete type of reformism, with deep-seated anti-Marxist prejudices stemming from its own genesis and the influence of Social Democracy, the anti-communist Left in France and the American reformist labor leaders. This explains why it seeks to combat Communism, to caricature Marxism and the policy of the Tunisian Communists, and claims it is superior to Com-

munism as regards "concern for man" in the matter of "use of force," in taking cognizance of the "specific conditions." Like all types of reformism, Neo-Destour "socialism" is blinded by its own illusions and seeks to "build socialism" with the aid of U.S. imperialism and foreign private capital, relying on the bourgeoisie whose interests it is pledged to safeguard and eschewing such reforms of a more radical nature as those carried out in Egypt or recently in neighboring Algeria.

Apart from the ideological confusion and narrow-mindedness stemming from old illusions and prejudices, the Neo-Destour hardly offers a channel for socialism to assert itself. Although it is a mass party it does not accord the masses the role due them. It above all seeks to monopolize all political life and essays to unite everybody: the Right, the Left, the reformists and reactionaries alike, including those who are opposed to all planning, state interference in the economy, and cooperation. It is a party in which the lack of inner democracy precludes any battle of ideas, a party in which the supporters of reform have no opportunity to disseminate their views and consolidate their influence. It is a party whose core was never imbued with a socialist spirit inasmuch as the idea of socialism as such entered it largely from without.

This class base and ideology tend to retard the development of our democratic revolution. The government is capable of going in for any amount of political tight-rope walking, encroaching on the interests of some property owners and at the same time giving reassurances to others, paying lip service to socialism and at the same time shying away from every measure that might really met the demands of the masses; it may take steps forward along the path of reform but it is equally likely to retreat. Hence it cannot solve the problem of our progress; *its policy may alarm the propertied classes but it does not meet the demands of the masses or give them inspiration.*

CONDITIONS FOR POSITIVE DEVELOPMENT

For Tunisia to develop along the lines demanded by the masses —the workers, peasants, progressive intelligentsia, students — and made possible by the internal and external conditions (witness the examples of the UAR, Algeria and Cuba), some important conditions must be met and some important qualitative changes effected in the political, social and ideological spheres.

In other words a clear and unequivocal choice must be made between the present course with its illusions, its inconsistencies and limitations, and the path of genuine progress, with all that this implies for the solution of the main issues in all spheres. This

is an issue of national significance. It affects all of us, and it is the duty and the right of all Tunisians to help resolve it. They must insist that the former course be abandoned and a new course chosen. Whether they belong to the Neo-Destour Party and other national organizations or not, whether they are Communists, progressivists, reformists or simply men and women concerned about national development, about the international prestige of their country — they must all press for this choice, the choice in favor of progress, in the direction of historical development, to be made as soon as possible.

a) in order to ensure genuine progress it is necessary to take radical measures in the sphere of economy, to choose the non-capitalist path of development.

b) for this policy to succeed, it is necessary to rely on the workers and the poor peasantry who comprise the overwhelming majority, those who have nothing to lose but everything to gain from a policy of planning, expansion of the state sector, agrarian reform, and cooperative development. They alone with their creative enthusiasm can make this policy work and defend it from all attack both from within the country and from without. It is likewise necessary to pursue a correct policy with regard to the middle classes, taking care to avoid anything that could antagonize them and impel them to give their support to the big property owners.

To rally the masses it is essential to:

—satisfy their material demands;

—gradually win their interest;

—democratize the government, do away with bureaucratic authoritarianism;

—draw the masses into policy-making, the implementation and control over the realization of policy;

—reconstitute the factory advisory committees into genuine committees of management;

—pursue a strict policy of economy, excluding all pomp and ostentation;

—restore, observe and expand democracy in the trade unions, put an end to measures depriving the Communists, who are the consistent champions of the workers' and peasants' interests, of the right to have their organization and to express their opinion.

This presupposes radical changes in the social policy of the government, and in addition—and this is the chief thing—changes in the structure of the social forces on whom it relies.

It presupposes rejecting the official policy of national alliance which has hitherto implied subordination of all classes to the interests of the bourgeoisie. National alliance should be invested

with a new content so that the workers, poor peasants and the progressive intelligentsia should become its motive force. If some section of the national bourgeoisie prepared to agree to the limitation of their interests is permitted to participate in the development of the country, it will not of course have the dominant role.

It presupposes differentiation everywhere, and specifically in the Neo-Destour, so that the Right capitalist wing which stubbornly opposes the present policy and is naturally hostile to any radicalization, to any progressive policy should be eliminated from political life.

This calls for intensifying the role and influence of the workers and peasants who will exert pressure on the political orientation and change the balance of forces in their own favor. The Communist Party and the other progressive forces should be legalized and strengthened.

c) Radicalization of economic, social and political life along the above lines calls for *ideological clarity.*

Modern reformism, "Destour socialism," must put an end to its confusion, it must rid itself of its obsolete form and hangovers from the past, overcome its basic misconceptions on the question of classes and the class struggle, abandon the pro-Western orientation to which it stubbornly clings, and reject anti-communism.

Whether one wishes it or not, Marxism remains the only scientific criterion of the genuineness of one or another brand of "socialism." It is therefore unreasonable for socialism, even the Destour variety, to dissociate itself from scientific socialism, to isolate itself from the socialist countries, in other words, to close its eyes to what is actually happening in the present-day world, to eschew scientific analysis of any kind.

To achieve the ideological clarity essential for the evolution of Destour socialism itself, to rid it of its illusions and prejudices, to enable it correctly to assess the alignment of forces in Tunisia and the rest of the world, it is essential to encourage and not suppress the broad and free discussion of ideological problems, or at least to compare the different viewpoints on socialism.

The present character of the Neo-Destour, the fact that its ranks include Right capitalist reactionary groups, can in the final analysis lead to retreat or at any rate to marking time. That is why it is essential to fight for the conditions essential to development.

But no one and nothing can replace the struggle of the masses themselves who advance their own economic and other demands, express their opinion, exert their healthy influence on the general course of development in order to steer it in a progressive direction, to place it in the service of the entire nation, and not of a few individuals.

This struggle to impart a new direction to policy in the interests of the whole people, to take the path of fundamental socio-economic reform, should find support among the progressive intellectuals and the students. In the present circumstances they have an important role to play and hence theirs is a special responsibility. They are able to formulate and express the demands and aspirations of the masses; to describe the poverty and misery of the masses, and tell of the fate that has befallen them eight years after independence and three years after the choice in favor of "socialism."

The joint actions of the masses and the intellectuals which should be carried out throughout the country, in the Neo-Destour, in the mass organizations and outside them, can lead to political, economic, social and ideological changes. All these aspects are closely interlinked.

FOR NATIONAL DEMOCRACY

We do not yet speak of the socialist Tunisia that is our principal objective and which we hope above all to see in our epoch, the epoch of the transition from capitalism to socialism. For us there is no such thing as "Destour," "Arab," or "African" socialism. There is only one socialism, scientific socialism which, of course, is applied differently in each country in accordance with the specific conditions.

In the present conditions it is a question of establishing a progressive, independent, free Tunisian state which would join the advanced contingent of revolutionary states of Africa. It is a question of investing the Tunisian state with a progressive socio-economic content through far-reaching political, ideological and socio-economic changes.

The history of the past few years has provided many examples in this respect: Cuba's transition to the path of socialism, Algeria's choice of the socialist path, the realization by the UAR of a number of important reforms which pave the way to the non-capitalist path of development. The Tunisian Communists are carefully studying these and other examples. They are closely following all the changes and developments in our own country. They seek, in the light of creative Marxism, to examine all possibilities of transition to socialism, all the transitional forms, however different they might be. They offer a program whose realization would lead to the establishment of a state of national democracy which could become one of the possible forms of Tunisia's transition to socialism.

So far the immediate task is to extricate the country from the slough of conservatism in which it is floundering, to release the brakes and destroy the barriers to progress. This means smashing

the fetters of the present reformist policy just as the fetters of the former liberal policy were destroyed. On the whole, it is a matter of pursuing a policy more in keeping with the conditions of the modern world, the possibilities and the most urgent needs, a more modern policy, more worthy of the international prestige our country enjoys.

Tunisian Communists believe that their criticism, their analyses, their highlighting of realistic and urgent tasks, in a word, their persistent struggle has done much to open the way to a policy of genuine development in the interests of the entire nation.

The Tunisian Communists have always — both before and after the institution of repressive measures against them—fought against the temptation to succumb to sectarianism, Right or Leftist opportunism. Their policy has always been to support all positive steps, all positive measures, however insignific nt, and to criticize and denounce everything negative, all mistakes and illusions. They have never ceased to support the left trend, even if it is limited, not sufficiently stable and susceptible to anti-communism. They have not ceased their efforts to begin a friendly debate even when the other side has done everything to discourage such efforts.

Both before and after the banning of the Communist Party, the Communists held and still hold that it is necessary and possible to begin carrying out the minimum program they have always advanced and which includes the following basic points:

—a resolute struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism;

—industrialization through the state sector;

—agrarian reform with restriction on big landownership and distribution of the land gratis to the landless and land-poor peasants;

—nationalization of foreign trade;

—nationalization of the banks, mines and insurance companies;

—a genuine policy of non-alignment, a policy of peace and friendship with the socialist countries;

—satisfaction of the material demands of the workers, office employees and minor officials;

—restoration, observance and expansion of democracy, and primarily legalization of the Communist Party and removal of the ban on Left newspapers.

NIGERIA AND MARXISM

W. O. Goodluck

VICE-CHAIRMAN SOCIALIST WORKERS' AND FARMERS' PARTY OF NIGERIA

The October Revolution opened a new epoch in the history of humanity. That epoch is the epoch of Socialist Revolution. It made Communism no longer a spectre haunting Europe, but the greatest social force gripping the world and rapidly transforming it for the lasting happiness of mankind.

A hundred years ago only a handful of men dared identify themselves with the working class revolutionary movement. Today the army of the revolutionary working class movement has grown to several millions and states with a Marxist-Leninist government embrace over 1,134 million people, a third of mankind.

Against this background of inspiring revolutionary development appears the dying but stubbornly clinging to life—imperialism. It is not enough to proclaim the inevitable doom of imperialism, and thereby fold our arms and expect it to pass away. Imperialism even in its present decaying stage remains the greatest obstacle to man's future happiness. It remains dangerous, more cunning, treacherous and reckless. During the last hundred years, it has gained experience, it has improved its method of exploitation, it has multiplied its profit, it has succeeded in tightening its grip on the state machine and proceeded from national state-monopoly capitalism to international state monopoly capitalism. Yet it remains a giant with clay feet. With the united effort of the socialist countries, the world revolutionary working class movement and the national liberation movement, imperialism shall be toppled and crashed into smithereens.

In the battle against world imperialism, the working class remains the most conscious, revolutionary and effective force to combat the might of international monopolistic capitalism. It follows therefore that it requires an effective militant trade union organization. The trade union movement today has been divided into two distinct leaderships. On the one hand are the Right-wing reformist leaderships, who advocate the line of capitulation and

*From an address to the Conference of the USSR Academy of Science Institute of World Economy and International Relations; on the Centenary of the First International; **The African Communist**, No. 19, October-December 1964.

class collaboration, the line of agreement reached behind the backs of the working people and against their will. It is this labor aristocracy who serve as a brake on the militancy of the working class and an obstacle to the unity of the working class against capitalism.

On the other hand are the militant Left-wing revolutionary leaderships who advocate the line of unity founded on defense of class principles, on the consistent struggle for the independence of the union from both the employers and the reactionary ruling class. Representatives of this leadership depend on the workers and organize the struggle for their demands under the banner of trade union unity.

With the ruthless exploitation of the working class by the monopolists, the vicious attack on the hard-won gains of the working class, the frequent police raids on trade union premises, the growing arbitrary arrest and imprisonment of militant trade union leaders; the ever growing unemployment problems and the spiral soaring of the cost of living, the mass of the working class, the rank and file, have swung to the offensive by founding Joint Action Committees over and above the heads of the reactionary Right-wing leadership.

The waves of strike movement in Western Europe, America, Latin America, Asia and Africa are eloquent testimony of the offensive of the working class against the monopolists. The development of Joint Action Committees of trade unions of different ideological orientation all over the world is the latest phenomenon which has overthrown the applecart of reactionary Right-wing trade union class collaborators and their monopolistic capitalist masters.

IN NIGERIA

At this stage it is useful to cite the successful application of the Joint Action Committee tactics in respect of two important country-wide strikes which have shaken the forces of neo-colonialism and monopoly capitalism in Nigeria to their foundations. Nigeria today is the largest populated African state with an officially declared population of 55 million (even though this figure is in dispute). After the end of the Second World War, as a result of the general economic upheaval, the activities of the national liberation movement, and the marked deterioration in the living standards of the working class and the masses as a whole, a countrywide strike broke out in 1945 which lasted up to forty-four days, ending in the victory of the Nigerian movement. Ever since, the British colonial powers, alarmed at such a grave threat to their economic interest, threw all their weight into the battle to divide and weaken the movement. Experts on labor problems were sent from the Colonial

Office to advise the colonial administrators. The reactionary Right-wing leadership of the British Trade Union Congress and other "experts" helped to devise trade union ordinances which encouraged weak and ineffective unions.

In addition to this, the breakaway bodies of the ICFTU sent experts to assist in the break-up of the militancy of the trade union movement. Trade union leaders were offered scholarships to study at Ruskin Trade Union College and on their return offered appointments either in the colonial government offices or absorbed into highly paid personnel management jobs. To complicate matters the ICFTU also came through the back door to add to the division.

Besides these elements of division and confusion the militant Left-wing leadership fell into the hands of pseudo-Marxists, ultra-Left dogmatists and crooks. As a result for almost a period of eighteen years, apart from the strike of the Enugu coal miners in 1949 when twenty-one miners were shot dead in cold blood, and the strike of mercantile employees of the subsidiary Unilever Group, the United African Company Limited in 1950, the leaders of the Nigerian trade union movement were engaged in fruitless battle against themselves, leaving the monopoly capitalists alone to wax strong and given a free rein to exploit the workers ruthlessly. The Nigerian trade union movement became an object of international ridicule and derision, weakened and divided.

SOCIALIST AID

During this period it must be recorded that both the moral and material assistance rendered by the trade union movement of the socialist countries as well as the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) played no small part in helping to keep the militant Left-wing of the movement growing.

The First Revolutionary Convention of the Nigerian Trade Union Congress which took place from August 4th to 8th, 1963, marked the turning point in the history of the Nigerian trade union movement. At that Convention a new leadership was elected to office, a leadership which had been tested and proved honest and determined, a leadership which has roots in the trade union movement and which recognizes the necessity of working together with all the progressive classes—especially the Marxist intellectuals. This leadership at the end of the Convention advocated as its main task a joint action program of all trade unions with different ideological orientation based on the demand for a guaranteed national minimum wage, control of prices and rentals and abolition of the daily paid system.

The Central Working Committee of the Nigerian Trades' Union

Congress immediately embarked on this program by calling a wage conference of all unions and central trade union organizations irrespective of their international affiliation. Seeing the impact which this call evoked, the leaders of the ICFTU-affiliated center, the United Labor Congress, hurriedly sent out another invitation on a similar theme of wage demands. This move no doubt set the Nigerian Trade Union Congress a problem whether to attend the conference called by the ICFTU-led United Labor Congress. The Central Working Committee met and carefully examined the implications and came to the conclusion to attend the wage conference called by the United Labor Congress and at the same time to go ahead with the preparation of the original conference called by the Nigerian Trade Union Congress.

At the meeting of the ICFTU-led United Labor Congress wage conference, the reactionary Right-wing leadership ignored the presence of the leaders of the NTUC and pretended that it was only a conference of their affiliates that was in progress. Several leaders of the NTUC who raised their hands to speak were ignored. However, the rank and file members of both the ULC and the NTUC affiliates who were directly involved raised their voices and demanded that the leader of the NTUC be given the floor to speak.

The NTUC leader who spoke stressed the urgent need for a Joint Action Committee. He pointed to the inability of any section of the existing central labor organization to carry out industrial action effectively and noted that even though official Government recognition had been granted to the ULC the Government had no respect for it. He stressed the deplorable conditions of the workers and the great harm which the division of the trade union movement was causing them.

At the end of the NTUC leader's speech the rank and file members who were present unanimously rose up and demanded the immediate setting up of a Joint Action Committee composed of ten members from each side. The meeting also approved the attendance of the ULC at the NTUC wage conference and also mandated the twenty-man Committee to enlarge its membership and make room for other trade union bodies.

COMMISSION OF ENQUIRY

At the NTUC wage conference the ICFTU Nigerian Workers' Council, the neutralist Nigerian Union of Railwaymen and other neutral trade unions attended and the Joint Action Committee membership was enlarged.

The immediate task of the JAC was to demand the setting up of a high-powered Commission of Enquiry to overhaul the existing

colonial wage structure with the aim of bridging the gap between the lower income group and those in the senior service and the upper segment of the civil service, public corporations and private enterprise.

The Federal Government of Nigeria felt that the demand was a joke. It did not believe that the JAC could last a week, and relied on the Right-wing leaders of the ULC majority, to whom it offered board appointments. The Federal Government bluntly refused to appoint a Commission of Enquiry.

The workers became enraged and on September 27, 1963, a countrywide strike started from Lagos, and by the 29th it had spread all over the country, involving 800,000 workers. During this period the Nigerian Government which had been hard pressed by the progressive forces was compelled to invite the strike leaders to a meeting on the eve of October 1st, the anniversary of independence and the installation of the first President of the Republic Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe. The Government was compelled to come to terms, having realized that the workers were determined.

The Federal Government, represented by four cabinet ministers, reached agreement with the leaders of the Joint Action Committee on terms dictated by them and the high-powered Commission of Enquiry was set up.

No sooner was the strike called off than both the Government and the ICFTU combined together to break the Joint Action Committee. In fact the IFCTU-led Nigerian Workers' Council that represented an insignificant section of the mercantile workers was expelled from the JAC when it came out in opposition to the September strike call.

The leaders of the ICFTU-led United Labor Congress also used their regional leaders to intensify the call for the dissolution of the Joint Action Committee. However, the leaders of the NTUC mounted a strong propaganda in support of the JAC and sent out its leaders to meet the regional trade union leaders and encourage them to form branches of the JAC all over the country.

The formation of regional branches of the JAC weakened and exposed the leadership of both the ULC and the NWC, and the majority of their affiliates openly disagreed with their directives. Thereby for fear of being isolated and destroyed they had to change their tactics.

The high-powered wage and salary review commission sat for a period of three months. Memoranda were submitted by the JAC, some trade unions, progressive economists, medical practitioners, the Federal and Regional Governments as well as the Nigerian Employers' Consultative Association—NECA.

After six months of the appointment of the Commissions and no

submission of a report, the workers became very restive. The Government, which felt that it had weakened the JAC enough, became obdurate and arrogant. It would not give a specific date when the report would be ready.

Under the auspices of the JAC a representative meeting of all the trade unions was summoned and at this meeting a resolution was passed giving the Commissioners seven days to submit their report failing which another countrywide strike action would start. Before the end of the seven days ultimatum the report was submitted to the Federal Government. The representatives of the JAC approached the Government for a copy of the report but the Government turned down the request. The workers were not in the mood to wait any longer and thereupon gave another ultimatum.

STRIKE ACTION

At the expiration of the given period a mass meeting of all workers was called to take a decision to start strike action. Simultaneously the Government sent for the JAC leaders, doing its utmost to break the solidarity of the leadership. When it became clear that no report was forthcoming and it was discovered that the Government had deliberately called for the talks with a view to preventing a decision at the mass meeting, the JAC leaders left the Government representatives. The rank and file seriously attacked the leaders for ever attending the last-minute meeting with the Government. The workers then decided to start a countrywide strike action after twenty-four hours.

The decision was hailed with great jubilation and the workers, defying the ban on public procession, poured into the streets and started a march to the Parliament. They were met at the middle of a bridge linking the mainland to the island of Lagos by steel-helmeted police, who attacked the workers with tear gas and baton charges and succeeded in breaking up the demonstration.

Leaders of the JAC were wounded, arrested, locked up and charged in court.

The unanimous and united support of workers for the strike was inspiring. Both the Government and the foreign monopolist capitalists consoled themselves that the strike could not last more than a week. At the end of the first week the strike continued to spread further and further, the docks were paralyzed, the trains stood still, the shops were closed, the police and the army were confined to barracks and the economic life of the country gradually ground to a standstill. Over one million workers were on strike.

The striking workers started to raise the slogan of "Balewa's Government must resign." After the ninth day of the strike the

Prime Minister, Tafewa Balewa, broadcast a message to the nation in which he ordered the workers back to work within forty-eight hours or face mass dismissal. The workers became indignant and defied the order. At the end of forty-eight hours the workers at a mass meeting of almost 250,000 workers gave the Balewa Government an ultimatum to either adopt the Commission's report or resign.

Before the end of the workers' forty-eight-hour ultimatum, the Balewa Government called for talks with the JAC leaders and at the end of the second day of talks the strike was called off after the Federal Government had agreed (i) to withdraw its White Paper in which it rejected the finding of the Commission; (ii) to treat the thirteen days' strike period as earned leave; (iii) to withdraw all dismissal and termination papers; (iv) to withdraw cases in court against JAC leaders and strikers; (v) non-victimization of strikers.

UNITY FROM BELOW

From the above experience of the Nigerian trade union movement it can be seen that working-class unity should be looked for from below, among the workers who directly experience the day-to-day attack on their standard of living. The agreement from below among the working class based on their suffering is the keynote to the further growth of the Joint Action Committee in the battle against imperialism.

Although the cause of the strike was based on economic demands, yet in its development it has raised possible political action which with a developed Marxist-Leninist party could have led to proletarian revolution. It also raises the problem of the role of the trade union in the national liberation movement.

NATIONAL LIBERATION

The division of a large area of the world among the capitalist powers and the deprivation of the majority of the people of their independence gave rise to antagonism and opposition to the capitalist rulers, which led to sporadic risings here and there. In West Africa and in Nigeria in particular such risings were led by the local chiefs, Obas and Emirs. The British had to enter into treaty with some of the compromising rulers and to establish the indirect rule system to subdue the people.

The national liberation movement in Nigeria took a national character after the end of the Second World War. Before then there was only local opposition and the demand for reforms was confined to the coastal areas. There was no national movement of

any significance over a large area of Africa. Historically before the outbreak of the Second World War, with the exception of the one-fourth independent American semi-colony of Liberia, the whole of Africa was in the grip of the European capitalist powers.

The defeat of the fascist forces at the end of the Second World War let loose the demand for national independence. But Comrades! Let us not kid ourselves, it was not only because of the might, or the better weapons of the national liberation movement, that the colonial powers abandoned the colonies. It was also because of the might of the socialist countries, their support, morally, financially, materially and militarily that the colonial powers were forced to yield. If the Soviet Union had not gone to the aid of Egypt when both the British and French imperialists invaded her territory, today there would not have been a flourishing United Arab Republic under President Nasser. And if the UAR had been crushed in 1956, which African state would have dared to challenge the imperialists?

Let those erring comrades who have lost their bearings stop and think. The further success of the national-liberation movement primarily depends on the continuous assistance and support from the socialist states and the world revolutionary working-class movement. To isolate the national-liberation movement from its inseparable root means only to turn over the gains of the national-liberation movement to the neo-colonialists who are feverishly prowling around for any prey.

The national-liberation movement in some countries has been led by the growing national bourgeoisie. The national bourgeoisie is made up of two distinct groups. On one side are those who wish to compromise with the foreign monopolies, to cooperate with them, to go into partnership with them, to open up markets for unbridled exploitation and to oppose the call for nationalization of the property of the monopolists.

To this group in Africa belong the Government of Nigeria, the Senegalese Government, the Liberian Government, the Cameroons Government and several other Governments that adhere to the former Monrovian bloc.

On the other side are the governments of the progressive national bourgeoisie who are engaged in the completion of the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist revolution. They advocate the nationalization of the foreign banks, insurance companies, shipping, etc., and proclaim as their main objective the building of socialism. They establish commercial relationships with the socialist governments and enter into mutual and advantageous economic agreements. To this group belong the Governments of the Ghana Republic, the United Arab Republic, the Mali Government and the Algerian Government;

and recently the newly independent governments of Tan-Zan and Kenya.

ROLE OF MARXISM

It is a well known fact that there were hardly any well organized and developed Marxist parties in any of the colonial territories before the victory of the national-liberation movements. In Nigeria there existed various pockets of Marxist groups. Attempts made to unify these groups on different occasions were not lasting. In any case, the national-liberation movement struggle appealed to and unified all forces fighting against colonialism.

It was after the victory of the national-liberation movement and the inability of the ruling national bourgeoisie to complete the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist revolution that the formation of Marxist parties took place.

Considering the socio-economic stage of development in some of the African developing states, where there is practically no industry, where the working class consists of white collar merchant clerks, where capitalism is still in its infancy, where the mass of the people are illiterate and the country is still in the feudal stage of development the classical textbook solutions do not apply and therefore new methods and tactics are required to guide the people to socialism.

There is therefore no ready-made answer for Marxist-Leninists in Africa. It is our duty to map out the road to consolidate the victory of the national-liberation movement and support it to complete its anti-feudal and anti-imperialist struggle. In some of the African states like Ghana, the United Arab Republic, Algeria and Mali the question has been raised whether there is a necessity to found a purely Marxist-Leninist Party as distinct from the popular nationalistic governments. In some of these countries existing Communist Parties that have played leading roles in the national-liberation movement have been banned and their leaders jailed.

As Marxist-Leninists, we must admit that we are capable of making mistakes, if we become dogmatic, if we feel that we are the only chosen people to herald scientific socialism and that the move towards socialism not necessarily based on scientific socialism by others must be opposed. If, rather than using our knowledge to guide others towards our goal, we create the impression that as individuals we are the only group to rule the people, then we are bound to end up in isolation. The realistic application of Marxist-Leninist tactics by the Cuban Communist Party in support of the national-liberation movement of Cuba led by Fidel Castro is worthy of very close study.

It follows therefore that in countries where the national leader-

ship is not necessarily Marxist, but simply an anti-feudal and anti-imperialist, it is the duty of true Marxist-Leninists to place their services at the disposal of such a government.

It would be sheer dogmatism for Marxist-Leninists to insist that the newly emerging African states must traverse the road of capitalism from feudalism so as to afford Marxist-Leninists the luxury of creating the ideal atmosphere of a proletarian revolution.

UNITED FRONT

In the African states where power has fallen into the hands of the reactionary national bourgeoisie, the approach of the Marxist-Leninist party and the militant working class is to work for the creation of a United Front of all progressive forces and to fight for a National Democratic Revolution. Depending on the reaction of the ruling class in different countries, the path of struggle may lie in parliamentary struggle or extra-parliamentary struggle.

Where the Marxist-Leninist party is banned, then depending on the prevailing circumstances, the party may take up armed struggle, but great care must be taken that the populace support an armed struggle, otherwise the Marxist-Leninist party which prematurely resorts to armed struggle will soon find itself in isolation and consequently face destruction. Such a party can only do great harm to the revolutionary working-class movement.

SOVIET RECOGNITION

Another problem which has caused a great deal of confusion and accusation against the Soviet Government and other socialist countries is the establishment of diplomatic relations with the reactionary African governments and the rendering of substantial material and financial assistance to them.

These are very important problems which require very close study. Some African Marxists feel that this is a betrayal of Marxist revolutionaries. This conception is wrong. The establishment of diplomatic relations with any African state whether reactionary or progressive is a positive and correct policy.

The fact that the national-liberation movement has succeeded and freed the people from colonial rulers is a very significant development. It is a defeat for the forces of imperialism. If the Soviet Government or any socialist government refuses to recognize a newly independent African state because the national bourgeoisie who came to power are reactionary, then the Socialist government would cease to be Marxist-Leninist.

The establishment of diplomatic relations with reactionary Af-

rican governments rather strengthens than weakens the chance of the growth of the revolutionary forces.

The African Marxist-Leninists have their own contribution to make to enrich the treasure trove of Marxism-Leninsm. They call on our comrades everywhere to assist the national-liberation movements to complete the anti-feudal and anti-colonialist struggles. They call for active support to the armed national-liberation movements of Angola, Mozambique and "Portuguese" Guinea against the ruthless Portuguese colonialist government. They call for support to the patriots fighting the American-controlled government of traitor Moise Tshombe in the Congo. They call for active participation in the world fight against apartheid in South Africa, and the encouragement and growth of the organization of African unity.

Long live the unity of the Marxist-Leninist parties!

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ON THE POLITICAL SITUATION AND THE TASKS OF THE PARTY

NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEETING, COMMUNIST PARTY OF CANADA, JANUARY 16-19, 1965.

Our 18th National Convention fulfilled its responsibility by working out our party's three point program but it was not able to deal in a thoroughgoing way with our party's concepts and practices. The June, 1964 plenum posed this question before our members, opening up a party-wide examination of what needs to be done to close the serious gap that has been developing between the mass movement of the people and the organized influence and strength of our party. This plenum must supply answers to some of the questions raised. But it must do so in the light of the political and economic changes that have developed internationally and in Canada during the ten months that have passed since the 18th National Convention.

THE WORLD IN CHANGE

There has been a substantial change in the general political situation since our national convention; a progressive trend is emerging on a world scale. There is a world-wide growth of the deep popular desire for peace, for policies of peaceful coexistence, against United States interference in the domestic affairs of newly independent countries, for democratic progress. The strength of this desire was demonstrated dramatically in the U.S. when Senator Goldwater was rebuffed by 46 million votes. It was reflected in the election of the Labor government in Britain, in the increased votes cast for candidates of the Communist parties in Italy, Belgium, Sweden, and in the election of Giuseppe Saragat, as president of Italy.

Combining, in its effect, with the strengthening of the democratic trend in capitalist countries, socialism is growing stronger with gathering resources of the 1,000 million people of the socialist states, there is added now the momentous fact that, in numerous newly independent countries, the peoples and their governments are choosing the path of socialist development. These are not yet socialist countries in the full sense but their adoption of the socialist path, as the means by which to protect their newly won sovereignty from imperialist schemes, extends greatly the area in

which economic development is planned on a non-capitalist path and it intensifies still more the crisis of imperialism in decay.

These changes are of vital importance. They reflect the growth of democratic action and its power to influence the course of events. They testify to the possibility for a broad democratic advance to the extent that the world-wide desire for peace and democratic progress is united and makes its influence felt.

It must be noted however that the growth of democratic sentiment is not yet expressed in organized form. The desire for peace finds wider and wider public expression, including support from some capitalist politicians, but there has been an actual slackening of organized peace action. The shift in favor of policies of peace and democracy is only in the early stages of development—strong enough to administer a setback to the most reactionary forces of imperialism but not yet committed to the necessity for a decisive repudiation of them.

The forces of reaction and of the drive to war are still very strong. The people of the United States voted by such an overwhelming majority that it evoked public opposition to Goldwater even within the Republican Party. But, he received nearly 27 million votes. Goldwaterism remains entrenched in many key positions with active support from the most aggressive circles of state-monopoly capital including some circles of the Democratic Party. The strength of Goldwaterism is reflected in the evident pressure that it exerts upon the President and the extent to which it is able to obstruct the introduction of policies such as the people expected. The President, who was elected by the greatest popular vote in the history of the United States, supports some enlightened measures to buttress state-monopoly capitalism. But, he promised civil rights for all citizens and a month after the election his administration resumed its persecution of the Communist Party of the United States. In defiance of a judgment by the Supreme Court of the U.S. the Johnson administration is making another attempt to enforce the discredited McCarran Act, repeating its rejected prosecution of the Communist Party and of Gus Hall and 44 other United States citizens. It is an act of Goldwaterism in defiance of the votes of the people. It is a betrayal of the President's election promises. The Communist Party of the U.S. correctly describes it as "desperate and malicious".

The President assured the people that he would honor the sovereignty of newly independent nations but, less than a month after the election he associated the United States with Belgian reaction in one of the most shameful invasions of another country ever recorded; air-lifted Tshombe's hired killers into the Congo. U.S. imperialism continues to be a bulwark of reaction in Africa.

The President assured the people that he would not spread the dirty war in Vietnam into North Vietnam. But within weeks of the election, General Maxwell Taylor, U.S. ambassador to South Vietnam and the President's chosen adviser on military questions, announced that, having discussed the matter with the President personally, he will "step up" military operations across the frontiers of South Vietnam. In his State of the Union message, the President revealed clearly the aim of trying to exploit the differences existing between socialist states and indicated his intention to place increased emphasis on United States aggression in South Vietnam.

The very grave situation in Vietnam makes this a matter of vital concern to Canadians, indeed to the people of all countries. The categoric public declaration by the government of the People's Republic of China that it stands ready to go to the assistance of the people of Vietnam should cause all men of good will to insist that the governments of their countries press the United States to withdraw its military forces from Vietnam.

In his State of the Union Message to the United States Congress on January 4th, the President said: "With the Soviet Union we seek peaceful understandings that can lessen the danger to freedom'" . . . "I hope the new Soviet leaders can visit America so they can learn about this country first hand." He added that, in this, he was obeying the people's "command".

But, a few words later in his Message the President promised to continue the U.S. aggression in Vietnam. He solidarized himself directly with the West German ravanchists and their aim to absorb the German Democratic Republic. In a slightly veiled form he aligned himself also with the reactionary dream of re-establishing the imperialist influence in some socialist countries of Eastern Europe, a dream which is also shared by the West German militarists.

The U.S. government continues to press its scheme to give the revenge-seeking militarists in Western Germany nuclear weapons in the form of a multilateral force and to set up a multilateral force in Asia, to arm Japanese imperialism also with nuclear weapons.

Mankind craves for peace, with a growing realization that universal world disarmament is now our sole alternative to the worldwide proliferation of nuclear weapons. But President Johnson continues the United States policy of cynical opposition to universal disarmament. In his State of the Union Message he boasted that the military power of the United States is overwhelming. And he added to the members of Congress: "that superiority will continue to grow as long as this office is mine—and you sit on Capitol Hill".

This policy of emphasis upon preparation for nuclear war is the background upon which the Johnson administration tried to organize a majority to support illegal action against the Soviet Union in the United Nations and of its continuing attempts to bring about large-scale military invasion of Cuba. The people voted in their overwhelming majority for peace, democracy and social progress, but the ultra-right is still strong, the danger of war is still grave. To defeat Goldwaterism conclusively in the U.S. there is need for continued and growing democratic action in the spirit with which the progressive forces permeated the Democratic election campaign.

FOR AN INDEPENDENT CANADIAN FOREIGN POLICY

In the sphere of foreign affairs the Pearson Government pursues, in the main, the line of the foreign policy of the United States—even to "pulling U.S. chestnuts out of the fire" at times.

Lester B. Pearson promised the people that he would negotiate a reduction of Canada's nuclear commitments if he became Prime Minister. Instead, the Pearson Government has enmeshed the Canadian people even more deeply in the United States nuclear war plans. In addition to nuclear warheads for Bomarc missiles, large storage dumps of U.S. nuclear weapons have been established in Canada and the Royal Canadian Airforce in West Germany is committed to a nuclear "strike" role.

While paying lip service to the idea of non-intervention in the domestic affairs of newly independent states, the Pearson Government continues to give active support to United States aggression in several countries. Canada is a member of the International Supervisory Commission to prevent foreign interference in Vietnam, but the Pearson Government refuses to call for a meeting of the Geneva Conference of Powers to act on the flagrant United States aggression in that country and neighboring countries.

The Pearson Government does maintain some distinctions in its foreign policy. Most evident are its continued maintenance of diplomatic relations with Cuba, defiance of the United States to sell hundreds of millions of bushels of wheat to socialist countries, expressions of doubt about the wisdom of the U.S.-West German plan for a multilateral nuclear force, the statement by Paul Martin that Canada will not take part in such a force, and his protest against its organization by negotiations carried on outside NATO. These distinctions are important and peace-loving Canadians should compel extension of such distinctions to crucial areas of foreign policy. We should reject the government's proposal to spend an additional $1,500 million upon new and expanded means of destruction during the coming five years. Canada's real interest will be served by a mass popular demand upon the members of the

House of Commons to compel the government to discard that proposal. The Prime Minister should be pressed to carry out his election promise instead.

Canada should send all nuclear war-heads back to the United States. Canada should call for the reconvening of the Geneva Conference and stop the war in Vietnam. Canada should make a public demand that the United States drop its plan to put nuclear weapons in the hands of the West German militarists. Canada should take a clear public stand in favor of complete general world disarmament.

The change of leadership in the Soviet Union and the official statements of policy by Premier Kosygin and Secretary Brezhnev are being responded to by several governments with invitations for exchanges of visits. Now is the time for Canada also to propose reciprocal visits. Let us develop active relations, increase trade and cultural exchanges between our countries. Let us associate our countries, neighbors across the Arctic Ocean, in action to achieve lasting world peace and friendship between peoples. These are the keys to world peace, the characteristics of the foreign policy which is necessary now to regain Canada's independence.

THE PEOPLE AGAINST THE MONOPOLIES

There is developing in Canada widespread democratic opposition to the monopolies and resistance to their exploitation. It finds expression in a variety of forms but its universal content is that of "The people versus the monopolies". It is a gratifying fact that the science of Marxism-Leninism enabled the 18th National Convention of our party to discern the elements of this development and to indicate this as an important avenue of progress in Canada.

There is a marked upward trend of democratic action, and of its power to influence the course of events. The issues around and the forms in which it finds strongest expression differ between French and English Canada, but the demand for progressive social change is outspoken, its growing support it evident, and there is a developing political ferment.

The most evident expression of this trend so far is the militant readiness of the rank and file members of the trade union movement to meet the challenge of the monopolies, including readiness to act together regardless of affiliation.

Monopoly-rigged prices have forced our cost of living up to the highest level in history and the workers want wage increases to maintain their purchasing power. They are no longer satisfied with the traditional settlements of their demands for wages, fringe benefits and better working conditions. They want more paid holi-

days. They want more adequate pensions and they want to be able to receive the pensions before they are completely broken by the merciless killing speed-up which is shortening the working lives of Canadian workers. They want to abolish the inequitable gap between the wages paid in Canada and the wages paid in the United States for the same type of job and the same amount of work.

The monopolists are developing a new counter-offensive against the workers. Holding down wage levels in spite of a revolutionary increase in productivity, maintaining exorbitant prices in spite of lower and lower costs of production, they drag out negotiations while applying ruthless measures against attempts at job action. They are resuming again the use of organized large-scale scabbery, they use injunctions increasingly to restrict trade union action when the workers are forced to strike. Their courts are stepping up their service to the monopolies against the trade unions, exemplified by the fine and costs totalling nearly 2.5 million dollars imposed upon the Steelworkers for the Murdochville strike.

The battle to protect the workers and their unions against the rapacity of the monopolies when automation is introduced is becoming very sharp. Printing trades workers in Toronto and Montreal, longshoremen in Newfoundland, electrical workers in Dunnville, automobile and steel workers, all these are confronted by the preliminary effects of automation. They are advance detachments of the trade union movement in the battle that is being forced upon the working class by the monopolies. The lockouts and strikes in which these workers are being increasingly involved, are the beginning of a great social struggle that is developing to decide how the coming re-organization of Canadian economy is to be carried through, and what its results are to be for the masses of the people.

In addition to the defensive battles being forced upon the unions, they are fighting also to advance; to win for the workers some benefit from the enormous increases in the profits being made by the great corporations through killing speed-up in the plants and rapacious monopoly price-fixing in the market. Demands fought for by the workers illustrate a vital change that is taking place. The form of their actions is still that of trade union economic struggle, but at the heart of the conflict there is the fact that, to survive, the trade union movement must challenge the right of corporations to be the sole judges of what they will do with "their" increased profits, and what they will do about workers whose labor is replaced by automation. Thus the essential content of these struggles is political. Recognizing this, the Canadian Labor Congress is pressing for far-reaching reforms, to give the trade union movement a voice in carrying through the re-organization of the

national economy. Jean Marchand, president of the Confederation of National Trade Unions, declares categorically that the working people must have a direct voice in the direction of an all-embracing reconstruction of the economy of Canada. A great democratic movement must develop to unite the trade unions around this demand in both English and French Canada. There should be developed broad movements in every province to fight for legislation which guarantees security for every worker whose job is taken over by automation.

There is a rising democratic demand, in both French and English Canada, that the federal government should come to grips with some of the problems that beset the two nations of this country, and that the government implements some of its promises, particularly the election promise made by Pearson that, if he became Prime Minister, he would negotiate a reduction of Canada's nuclear role.

Indications that electoral support for progressive policies is increasing are to be seen in the results of municipal elections in various parts of the country. In a number of places progressive candidates, including Communists, received substantially bigger votes than in the previous election. In by-elections for the House of Commons the changes in the popular vote have also been encouraging. The indications so far do not justify a forecast of the trend in the event of a federal general election but they do show the influence of the widespread desire for change. Our audience is growing. The proposals advanced by our party are being listened to with growing respect. There is increasing recognition of the fact that many of the democratic proposals which now command wide support were advanced first by the Communist Party.

GROWING CONTRADICTIONS IN THE ECONOMIC BOOM

Economic activity in Canada is, currently, at the highest level in more than ten years. Corporations profits are at an all-time high. Dividend disbursements are the highest ever — 10 per cent higher in 1964 than in 1963.

Gross national product in 1964 was 6 percent more in volume than in 1963. There has been large-scale expansion of production facilities through 1963 and 1964. Total private and public investment including housing, was $10.8 billion — more than 25 percent of the gross national product. Boosted by the sale of half a billion dollars worth of grain to socialist countries, Canada's exports have, for the first time in 15 years, exceeded our imports of merchandise.

The speed at which the policy of integration is reducing Canada to complete dependence on the United States is illustrated by the

growing burden of debt and its effect. During the first nine months of 1964 Canada exported products to the value of $6,159,600,000. We shipped out of this country more goods than we brought in, to the extent of six hundred and thirty-six million dollars worth. But interest and dividends, and other costs of integration were so enormous that, for the year, they consumed all the surplus earned by the export of products, plus an additional six hundred million dollars. Thus, even in such an exceptional year when we exported ten percent more than we imported, Canada is still forced to borrow six hundred million dollars to service debt.

Automation and cold-blooded killing speed-up is increasing productivity per worker to such an extent that Stelco is reputed now to have one of the highest rates of production per worker of any similar plant in the world. In November, Canadian economy was breaking records for production and corporation profits, with 258,000 workers still chronically unemployed. The boom has not overcome the contradiction between the rate of growth of Canada's population and the very slow growth in the number of jobs. Because of the effects of automation, young workers have become the main victims of technological change and automation is only at its beginning.

Monopoly capital has enjoyed a boisterous recovery from the relative decline of 1956 to 1961 and the stock markets are booming. Professional business forecasters are assuring the capitalist class that the economy will continue to expand through 1965. On the surface, it appears that optimistic forecasts are justified, but consideration of the underlying factors upon which the boom depends, compels a more cautious estimate.

A very big factor in the present boom has been new investments, which accounted for more than a quarter of the gross national product in 1964. New investment was triggered, mainly by increased foreign demand for products of the resource industries. That demand and the decisions for or against new investment in this country each depend to an alarming extent upon conditions and interests which are outside Canada.

The majority of all production in this country, including 60 percent of the manufacturing, is controlled now in other countries, mainly the U.S.

Since the Pearson Government took office the U.S. has been taking over control of our country faster than ever. Today 89 percent of all Canadian exports are either industrial raw materials, partly processed raw materials, or agricultural products. In 1963 we exported $780 million worth of finished manufactured products but we imported more than $3,000 million worth, mainly from the United States. Buying finished manufactured products from the

U.S. we create for ourselves the chronic mass unemployment of workers, especially young workers, who could be employed producing them here.

The rate of economic expansion is slowing down in the United States as well as in some overseas capitalist countries. It is unlikely that foreign demands for Canadian industrial raw materials will continue to grow as rapidly through 1965 as it did in 1964.

The economies of a number of advanced capitalist states are strained and extremely sensitive to any unfavorable development in capitalist economy as a whole. This found dramatic expression in the alacrity with which eleven imperialist states, including Canada, joined in placing an international credit of $3 billion at the disposal of the government of Britain.

The magnitude of that credit, the speed with which it was arranged, and the simultaneous raising of the bank rate in the leading countries, combined to make that an international financial operation without precedent. It betrays the extreme nervousness of state-monopoly capital and its governments lest a financial or other form of economic "break" in any one of the advanced capitalist countries should touch off an international chain reaction through the tension ridden imperialist system. The *Financial Post* was impelled to comment, editorially: "Never before have so many nations come together so promptly and so effectively to stamp out a financial fire that could have led to a competitive devaluation race in currencies and widespread economic holocaust." (*Financial Post,* Dec. 5, 1964)

These factors are not evident in Canada as yet but they will effect our economy.

The fact that the people of Canada are going to be compelled to deal with crucial economic problems in the near future is admitted in the Report of the Economic Council of Canada, published on January 12th.

This documented statement admits that our economic development has fallen far behind our potential and that it will be necessary to create new jobs during the coming years, twice as fast as we created them during the past fourteen years, just to keep pace with the growth of population. Even more significant is the fact that this Report admits that we can do this, provided that a larger area of this country's economy is developed under public ownership and control.

Our 18th National Convention saw this problem developing and emphasized it. The difference is that, whereas the Economic Council of Canada evades the question of what, specifically, should be done, our convention told the people of this country forthrightly what needs to be done and proposed that we join forces to do it.

The Pearson Government on the other hand, with the co-operation of the Conservative and Social Credit parties, is trying to sidestep this issue by selling still more of Canada and control of our lives, to the United States. Writing in the current issue of a United States magazine, *Foreign Affairs*, Prime Minister Pearson adds his voice to the chorus of monopoly propagandists who are pressing for the pooling of all the natural resources of Canada and the United States. One of the objectives of this plan is to divert vast quantities of fresh water from Canada's lakes and rivers to the United States by canals to head off the threatening famine of fresh water in that country. This is simultaneously a plan to head off development of conditions there which would induce numerous industries to transfer their production operations from the United States to Canada. It is Canadian monopoly capitalists and their political representatives who are "selling us down the river" by integration and they are making fabulous profits out of their operation. But their victim is Canada. They are selling our country's future. The long-term tendency of integration is to turn the direction of Canadian economic activities from East-West to North-South. Contrary to the assurances being given concerning free trade in automobiles and parts, and in spite of the fact that some very transitory advantages may be derived from this, the overall effect of integration is to transfer control of Canada's economy to foreign hands. This is why the president of the New York City Bank prophesied to a meeting of Toronto businessmen early in January that there will be "a custom union" between Canada and the U.S. within ten years. Integration is the policy of subjugating Canada completely to the United States. Against this there will arise, there must be developed a great national-democratic Canadian movement for *a new economic policy*, to bring the monopolies under democratic public control.

A VOLUNTARY PARTNERSHIP OR A DIVIDED CANADA

Our country is inhabited by two nations, English and French Canadians. As nations we are distinct from each other as both of us are distinct from the older nations from which we all are descended. The one way by which we can prevent a "break-up" of Canada, is by recognizing that, in the conditions of today, neither of her nations can be subject to the other one. The relationship between English Canada and French Canada must be changed to one of voluntary partnership in a new and genuine confederation.

For us to enter voluntarily into partnership the primary requirement is mutual recognition of the necessity for us to do so, in a new confederation. Only on this basis can the two nations

approach the distribution of governmental powers in a new confederation, that is to say, which powers are to be retained by each nation to be exercised as it decides on its own territory, and which are to be assigned to the confederal government with the necessary safeguards to protect the national status and rights of each nation in that government also. Instead of a pretended confederation of ten provinces, Canadians need a genuine voluntary confederation of the two nations. Joint elaboration of such an agreement between the two nations is indispensable. It is the Liberal and Tory refusal to acknowledge this fact that could lead to a "break-up".

The Pearson Government "tipped its hat" to the necessity for a Canadian Constitution when it set up the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. But today, even before that commission has completed its public hearings, the Pearson Government is engaged in backroom negotiations, behind the backs of the people, in an attempt to reach an agreement between the federal and provincial governments, Liberals and Tories, upon the means by which to retain the British North America Act as the constitution of Canada on the basis of the reactionary idea that Prime Minister Pearson describes as "co-operative federalism". That high-sounding phrase is in fact a deceptive verbal fig leaf for a cunning plan to defeat the demand for solution of the crisis between the two Canadian nations. It is represented to the people as simply an elastic conception of the relations between federal and provincial governments, to the extent that all provincial governments can exercise freedom to choose when they will be an integral part of Canada and when they will not. It does include that. Its immediate effect is to encourage provincial governments to jockey and bargain with the federal government and with each other, each becoming increasingly concerned to be the sole agent for the monopoly or monopolistic group, the interest of which is dominant at the time. It provides loopholes by which governments, provincial and federal, may evade their responsibilities. It fosters the competition between provinces which leads to elements of anti-French propaganda in some parts of English Canada. The logic of the conception corresponds with the perspective of the dissolution of Canada as a sovereign confederation. It is no accident that Mr. Pearson, at the convention which elected him National Leader, refused to pledge himself to "maintain the Canadian identity."

English Canada and French Canada will both be victimized if the Liberals and Tories are allowed to continue to inflict upon us the unworkable distribution of powers and responsibilities laid down in the outdated BNA Act, particularly with the additional handicaps imposed by "co-operative federalism".

English Canada needs a new constitution to enable the people to correct the anomalies that have developed because of the BNA Act, to carry through needed changes without infringing upon the rights of Quebec, to redistribute responsibilities and taxing powers of the different levels of government, in accord with the conditions of today, to stop the systematic dispersal of responsibilities that is proceeding now.

French Canada needs a new Canadian Constitution to satisfy her demand for constitutional recognition of her full and unqualified national status and of the right of the people to decide for themselves whether they will remain in partnership with English Canada. How important that is, to Canada, as a whole, was illustrated by René Lévesque, a minister in the Quebec government, when he replied to an interviewer in a CBC television program: "No I am not a separatist." But, if we cannot reach agreement with English Canada, then, "I could become one." A Canadian Constitution is necessary to preserve Canada as a two-nation state.

In French Canada the struggle for national rights is inseperable now from the people's struggles for social justice. They want to develop their economy, to abolish unemployment and they want democratic control of the conditions of their lives. They want educational opportunities for their sons and daughters. They want social security. The rise of new socialist organizations in Quebec represents the merging of national aspirations with socialist consciousness. A growing number are inspired by the ideal of socialism, a society which rejects war and the exploitation of man by man, in which the full free opportunity for the development of each guarantees the harmonious development fo society as a whole.

People are becoming disillusioned with the evasions of the Lesage Government. Jean Lesage promised that his aim would be to make the people of French Canada "masters in their own house." Instead he has, in effect, repudiated the principle of the right to national self-determination through to victory. Great demonstrations of farmers, school teachers and others, demanding social justice, are dramatic expressions of the fact that,in Quebec, an alliance between distinct groups of democratic forces is already in action.

Steadily there is a coming together in French Canada of patriotic national aspirations and economic discontent. The merging of these will achieve a new status for French Canada. It will be in a new voluntary partnership of equals or it will end the present anomaly in some other way.

Along with the necessity to solve the crisis between the two Canadian nations, Canada needs a new constitution to overcome the undemocratic features and the gaps and the anomalies the pervade the outmoded British North America Act. In addition to the neces-

sity for changes in the constitutional division of powers and responsibilities between the different levels of government, Canadian democrats must write some provisions in our new constitution which are notable by their absence from the BNA Act.

Every Canadian needs the protection of a Bill of Rights, entrenched in the constitution and free from the limitations and restrictions that are imposed on the Bill of Rights today by the provisions of the outdated BNA Act.

The organized labor movement needs constitutional guarantees of the civil rights of workers—an end to the use of injunctions, full democratic right to strike and to picket, immunity of trade unions as such from legal actions.

The national minorities in Canada need constitutional guarantees of civil rights, particularly the right of immigrants to attain citizenship regardless of his or her race, color, creed, or political affiliation. The present situation, in which immigrants who have seen active service with Canada's armed forces may be refused citizenship on the word of a secret R.C.M.P. informer, and have no opportunity to confront the informer or even to know what the alleged information is, must be ended. Deportation of workers without a public trial must be stopped. Members of national groups in Canada need guarantees of cultural rights to continue to enjoy the treasures of the culture of the lands of their birth without being treated here as a second class citizen.

For our self-respect as a people, all democratic Canadians need a new constitution to codify an end to the historic injustice that we have committed and are continuing to commit against the indigenous people of our country, the Indian and the Eskimo peoples.

Every person of Indian and Eskimo birth must enjoy the full rights of Canadian citizenship without any loss of treaty rights, or other governmental assistance. Every boy and girl of Indian and Eskimo birth must be guaranteed the right to education equal to the rights enjoyed by the children of other Canadians. Every young man and young woman of Indian or Eskimo birth must be guaranteed an opportunity to learn a trade or a profession. The Indian and Eskimo people must be guaranteed all social services, federal and provincial, enjoyed by other Canadians.

Now at least we have a distinctive Canadian flag. We greet this. The Communist Party has advocated consistently since 1926 that we adopt a flag that is distinctively Canadian to symbolize Canada's sovereignty. We rejoice in the fact that it is greeted with such wide approval in both French and English Canada. Now that our flag is uniquely Canadian, surely we should agree that the constitution under which we live should be uniquely Canadian also. All who love this country, all who want to see her two nations associated

in firm and lasting partnership, in the independent two-nation state of Canada, should support now the demand for: *a new Canadian Constitution,* written in Canada to express the national relationship and the constitutional needs of today, by 1967.

Such are the outlines of the general political situation and the changes taking place as the people of Canada start the year 1965 confronted by a growing necessity for energetic democratic action to get Canada's foreign policy on to the path of peace, for domestic action to solve the constitutional crisis, to stop the depradations of the monopolies, to make automation serve the people instead of creating unemployment and economic chaos, to reorganize Canada's economy, to regain Canada's independence. These issues which were emphasized by the 18th National Convention of our Party, continue to be at the heart of Canadian politics. The three point program, adopted by the 18th Convention of our party expresses in broad outline the needs of Canada and her people.

TOWARDS DEMOCRATIC UNITY AGAINST THE MONOPOLIES

The urgent immediate need of Canadians in all walks of life, in French and English Canada, who want peace in the world and democratic social progress at home, is the development of cooperation on the path to a democratic alliance of progressive forces. Working people, professional and other middle class people in the towns and on the farms, all who recognize the necessity to end the unbridled rule of the monopolies and the steadily increasing commitment of our country to nuclear war, are faced with a challenge. It is a challenge to our ability to unite for democratic aims. There is need to bring together, in French and English Canada, alliances of progressive forces in opposition to the monopolies and to the political parties which serve monopoly capital. To fight for Canada, for broadening democracy, for peace, for socialism, in the conditions prevailing in this country today, means to work to build electoral unity and extend it systematically until it is broad enough to end the monopoly of parliament by the Liberal and Conservative parties.

Until now the great majority of Canadian workers have voted in elections for the candidates of the Liberal and Conservative parties. There is a long-term trend among industrial workers, of a turn away from their once "deep-dyed true blue" loyalty to the Conservative Party, but this is not yet a rejection of capitalist politics. The tendency of large segments of the popular vote to swing from one of the old parties to the other shows that the majority of people do not see any essential difference between the two old parties, many workers are losing confidence in both of them. There is a growing leftward trend, expressed in the NDP, in the rise of socialist organizations in Quebec, and in the rising militancy of the working class.

Working class support for the NDP is growing, although not yet in the way that is necessary to end the Liberal-Tory control of parliament.

The struggle to win support for the program of our party, does not contradict critical support for the NDP in elections. Our party has advocated the building of a broad electoral party since we were first organized in February 1922. Our program makes it mandatory upon us to give critical support to the NDP, to help it to increase its strength in the House of Commons, while convincing more and more of its members of the necessity to develop cooperation between our two parties. Critical support must extend beyond election campaigns however; it must include consistent day by day activity to help members of the NDP to recognize the full role that their party can play if it will become part of a broad democratic alliance against the monopolies. Such alliances in opposition to the monopolies and to the political parties which serve monopoly capital, must be built in French and English Canada on the basis of the popular democratic movements of each nation and they will have to be extended until they are broad enough to rally the largest grouping of the electorate and elect majorities.

To win recognition of the necessity for such a development and of the role that the NDP must play in it, is one of the main tasks of our party. It must be at the center of our work as an essential link between the present situation and the winning of socialism.

The necessity for cooperation between the Communist Party and the NDP, and between both of us and other socialist parties or groups must be emphasized particularly in relation to our proposals for far-reaching reforms and the necessity for democratic unity to achieve them. The Communist Party will strive for the development of consistent cooperation between our party and the NDP, and all socialist-minded workers, in action to win immediate demands and in longer term action to bring about an anti-monopolist coalition of democratic forces.

OUR PARTY IN THE GENERAL ELECTION

Maneuvering for party advantage has become the main preoccupation of the parliamentarians, completely overshadowing the legislative needs of the Canadian people. It has brought parliament to a state of near-paralysis, at times almost to popular ridicule. There is a growing opinion that a general election is becoming necessary, even if only to end the harm that is being done to the image of Canada's Parliament.

The Pearson Government would prefer to avoid a general election at this time, particularly while it is on the defensive against accusations of attempted bribery and coercion. The leader of the official

opposition on the contrary, has been so anxious to force an election that his tactics in the House of Commons have verged at times upon irresponsibility. The Liberals have avoided defeat until now, because the other parties and even some Conservatives members have rejected the idea of another election so soon.

It is not possible as yet to define what changes if any will take place in the relationship between the political parties of the capitalist class between now and the election. It is evident that a good deal of maneuvering and some negotiations are taking place. The Quebec Conservatives in the House of Commons split from Diefenbaker on the issue of the flag, some of them may leave the party. Premier Manning of Alberta flew a trial balloon on the possibility of some measure of electoral unity between Social Credit and another party. Premier Bennett, along with crystallizing West Coast finance-capitalist interests, is bent openly upon strengthening his regional authority and political autonomy.

The elements of flux that are indicated in the maneuvers of the capitalist party leaderships reflect the increasing underlying pressure of change. They emphasize the necessity for our party to bring forward as strongly as possible the challenge, and the possibilities, that this situation presents to the progressive movement. These possibilities are reflected in the tactics of the Pearson Government.

The cumulative effects of hard fought battles by the working class movement over the years, are impelling the Pearson Government to try to make the Liberals appear as the party which will serve the interests of the working class. As part of this strategy, the government has brought in some of the legislation that its spokesmen promised in their election speeches. The Canada Pension Plan and The Canadian Labor (Standards) Code are each of this character although concessions to the insurance companies and other finance-capitalist interests have reduced the Canada Pension Plan seriously and concessions are being made now on the Labor (Standards) Code. The workers are being assured that medicare will be next if the government is re-elected. The Canada Pension Plan and the Labor (Standards) Code can both be passed and become law during this Parliament if the democratic forces of the country exert united pressure for them but powerful lobbies are seeking to delay their passage and to emasculate them still futher.

In the event that a general election is called before the next meeting of the National Committee and in circumstances which prevent a special meeting, the Communist Party will fight the election campaign on concrete proposals which express the aims of the *Three Point Program* adopted by the 18th National Convention, in terms of the pressing current needs of the people, in English Canada and in French Canada.

The party will nominate candidates in both English and French Canada, and will fight energetically to elect them. We will fight everywhere in Canada to win support for our program. In constituencies in which there is no Communist candidate we shall work for the election of the NDP candidates.

The party must begin now to focus its activity on preparations for the coming election. Our aim is to integrate every party club in the campaign in a lively active way on the constituency level as well as to relate our national platform as an influential factor in the campaign as a whole. This means a concrete study of each constituency, the local issues as well as their relation to the national picture; an appraisal of the sitting member as well as the alternative candidates and the most flexible ways to develop our influence in each constituency.

The question of party candidates will be a subject of consultation between the National Executive Committee and the provincial leadership in each province. Decisions whether or not to nominate, in which constituencies, and who is to be the candidate, must be based upon the concrete circumstances in each case.

We shall emphasize the role that the NDP can and should play in uniting Canadian democracy against the monopolies. We shall urge the NDP to invite other progressive parties and organizations to form constituency elecoral alliances in support of its candidates.

Because of the position of the NDP on the national question, the attitude of the progressive forces in French Canada towards it differ considerably from that of progressive people in English Canada. The electoral relationship that will emerge between the NDP and other progressive forces in Quebec, including the trade union movement, will determine the role that it plays in the struggle for the idea of a democratic anti-monopoly coalition in French Canada. The Communist Party will fight for the idea of electoral unity of the anti-monopoly forces in French Canada as in English Canada, on the basis of the issues and the organizations and the forms of struggle involved.

The party's electoral platform should be built around our 3-Point Program.

a) A new foreign policy of peace, disarmament and world trade, starting with the removal of all nuclear weapons and bases from Canada. This section will include immediate demands such as: Canadian initiative in the UN to outlaw the use of nuclear weapons in any circumstances. A demand for the re-convening of the Geneva Conference to stop U.S. aggression in South East Asia. Concrete proposals on trade, economic assistance to newly independent countries, etc.

b) A new constitution for a united Canada made up of the two

free and equal nations dwelling together in friendship.

c) A new economic policy of jobs, all round Canadian economic development and Canadian independence—to curb the monopolies, place them under public control and bring the benefits of the scientific industrial revolution to the people.

This section will include our concrete immediate demands relating to people's welfare, as well as the longer-term proposals for reorganization of the economy.

In campaigning for our election platform or specific proposals from it, our party will seek, consisently and sincerely to cooperate with all democratic Canadians who favor peace and social progress. In working to develop such cooperation we must correct a mistake that we have made in the past. We must change our attitude, as a party and as individual Communists, to progressive people who are not Communists. This is particularly important in relation to the socialist groups in French Canada and to all workers in both nations who subscribe to the idea of socialism but do not join our party. Many such are members of the NDP. In French Canada some are members of socialist organizations, many of them in both French and English Canada are not members of any political party. But such workers are interested in the same demands for which our party is fighting and usually support the struggles for them.

In the past we have adopted a mistaken attitude to such workers. Failing to understand that people fight for what they believe to be right, in their own way, we have obscured our view of their political activities by our own special smokescreen of prejudice — against reformists and against social reformism in general.

This prejudice must be overcome. The harm that it is doing to our party and the over-all struggle for peace and socialism in Canada must be stopped. It will require serious self-critical work by all of us, as a party and as individual Communists, beyond the election campaign, right through to the stage when we and the socialist workers and the party or parties that they belong to, cooperate in mobilizing a democratic anti-monopoly coalition, in the election of a People's Government, and through to the building of socialism in Canada. It is our task to start earnestly now as an indispensable feature of our preparations for and campaigning in the federal election.

THE PARTY

Our party is the politically organized direct continuation of the socialist movement to which capitalism gave birth in Canada with the rise of modern industry during the 1890's. The Communist Party is inseparable from the transition to socialism on a world scale, ushered in by the Great October Revolution. To make its most

effective contribution to the advance of the working class to political maturity, and to the struggle for over-all democratic progress in general, as well as in the forthcoming general election, our party is called upon now to strengthen its struggle for the creative development of the ideological positions of Marxism-Leninism and to improve its work to integrate Marxism-Leninism in the broad labor movement.

The most urgent immediate measure by which we can increase the effectiveness of our contribution to the labor movement and to the development of the anti-monopoly coalition is by building our party.

The growth of the party is directly related to helping the working class go beyond trade union consciousness, to bringing socialist consciousness into the broad labor movement and strengthening the leading role of the working class as that force around which an anti-monopoly coalition can be brought into being.

This long term task can be achieved to the extent that the party's leading role is strengthened, enabling it to give conscious, bold and timely leadership in this period of great change. To negate or underestimate the party's leading role is to fall into the pitfall of spontaneity or reformism and opportunism and weaken and isolate the party.

There is need to deepen understanding of the party's attitude to these cardinal questions. From this it follows that the strengthening of the party's influence among industrial workers must be at the center of attention of the party. From this it follows that party organization must be placed on a firm footing and all tendencies towards looseness and diffusion strongly combatted. This cannot be carried through by administrative measures but by patient ideological work convincing and activizing the party members.

To make the party a more effective force in the developing movements of the people, to build and extend its influence, demands an all-sided struggle against opportunist passivity which leads to lagging behind events and a struggle against dogmatism and sectarianism which isolates us from these movements.

To accomplish the tasks that stand before the working class and our party requires a radical improvement in our style of work, and methods of leadership.

Nationally this requires stronger, more decisive and operative leadership, more initiative, directed to inspiring the party and helping it to influence the course of events. This needs to be combined with a critical and self-critical examination of the work of the party, a continuing study of the processes at work in our country and creative development of policy. It requires a continuing study and utilization of the personnel of the party with

a view to strengthening key areas of work and promoting younger comrades into positions of responsibility. It likewise requires a strengthening of the ideological work of the party, combatting both revisionist and dogmatic and ultra-leftist tendencies in the party and around the labor movement, and a radical improvement in the educational work of the party.

As we have recognized for some time our party is passing through a difficult period.

Our membership and the readership of our press is not growing, and is in fact in many areas declining. Consequently, the age level of our members and immediate supporters is increasing, affecting our ability to campaign and influence the course of events.

We devoted our last National Committee to an effort to dig into some of the root causes of this grave problem. The discussion initiated at that meeting is helping to sharpen our critical examination of our work—and that self-criticism, which is the law of growth for a Communist Party, must continue and go deeper yet.

We need to continue the fight begun at the last plenum to raise up the sense of responsibility of each individual member for the work of our party. We need to continue to stress the high value we place on the initiative of our members who strive, in the best way that is possible for each of them, to become part of the people's movements, and to work there for our policies. The ways in which this can be done are far too varied to be the subject of blue-prints provided by leading committees.

The more we succeed in enhancing the initiative of our members, the more will our clubs become what they ought to be—the place where Communists exchange experiences, receive education, guidance and inspiration from discussions with others, all for the purpose of helping our members to work among other people.

We must take our point of departure from the situation in which we work in this country today, from the fact already stated in the resolution that "there is a marked upward trend of democratic action, and of its power to influence the course of events . . . the demand for progressive social change is outspoken, its growing support is evident, and there is a growing political ferment."

Wherever we have been able to become part of these developments our experiences are positive. In the municipal elections, in which most of our public activity has recently been centred, in meetings with university students, and church groups, in discussions with militant trade unionists, in participation in such media of public discussion as the Couchiching Conference, EPIC, etc.—we have found a friendly response to the propositions we put forward, and a willingness on the part of others to take up these propositions. While anti-communist prejudice remains widespread, there is

a distinct decline in open red-baiting, and far less tendency to exclude Communists.

The barriers erected against our participation in the movements of the people in the earlier years of the cold war period are breaking down. Participation in broad people's movements is increasingly possible today, requiring only consistent action on our part. The chief obstacles that stand in our way in this period are of our own creation—tendencies to withdrawal, unjustified fear of the consequences of being known as Communists, routine preoccupation with inner affairs, passivity growing out of failure to appreciate the changes taking place within the working class and among the democratic people generally.

Along with this goes a problem of our understanding of the movements of the 60's, a tendency to think too much in terms of the mass movements of earlier days. Progressive movements are arising today, in conditions of relative prosperity, and are expressing the demand for a good life which working people are increasingly aware is made fully possibly by the advance of science. We need to strive much more to identify ourselves with these positive forward strivings.

The whole attention of our party needs to be turned to the problem of becoming fully a part of these developing movements of our class, and of the democratic people of our country, to which we must bring our own specific contribution.

That contribution includes the popularization, in public campaigning as in the federal election, of the three point program adopted by our 18th National Convention, the singling out in a concrete way of immediate goals towards which it is practical for a particular section of the mass movement to strive at a given time, and a constant focus upon the need for achieving the broadest unity of action in every struggle.

STRENGTHEN THE PARTY'S IDEOLOGICAL WORK

We must strengthen the party's ideological work in all its aspects. We must develop more effective methods by which party members and progressive non-communists can study the application of Marxism-Leninism to our problems in Canada, today. This must be an increasing important feature of the educational work of the clubs, evening classes, week-end courses and seminars, and summer schools. As soon as possible the party must re-establish the National School.

In our ideological work we must deal increasingly and concretely with the problems of Canadian development, and we must subject our Marxist-Leninist conclusions to the test of public debate on the widest scale possible.

Some progress has been made in the publication of materials putting forward the party's position and proposals on problems confronting the Canadian people. In addition to the briefs submitted in public hearings of commissions on various matters of public concern, the party has published pamphlets and booklets dealing with the problems of power development, automation, the need for a new economic policy, on the need for a new constitution and, in the French language, on the necessity for a new social policy in French Canada in place of the present bourgeois policy. In addition, *The Marxist Quarterly* has made special contributions to the ideological work of the party by its issues devoted specifically to the crisis between the two Canadian nations, automation, and the centennial of the founding of the First International, as well as by its articles on other subjects.

To a limited extent, public discussion of our party's position has been developed. A great deal more is necessary, however. We must do more work on, and also at, the point of the impact of these new problems on the lives of the people. We must deal directly with the actual effects of automation where they are evident, and with the practical measures that should be fought for to protect the workers immediately concerned. To the workers on the job this is as important at the moment as is the fundamental contradiction between the social consequences of automation and private ownership and control of the means of operating it.

There is need for an authoritative but popular exposé of the grim meaning for Canada of the scheme now being supported by the Pearson Government to divert enormous volumes of Canada's fresh water to the United States. There is need for Marxist-Leninist treatment of the problems of social reconstruction which confront Canada and which, to an increasing extent, will be subjects of popular discussion. On these and similar projects we should seek to cooperate with all who will join in the work of elaborating Marxist analyses of Canadian reality. We should seek to extend Canada-wide participation in the work of the Marxist Study Center, looking to the development of a Marxist-Leninist Canadian Center of Social Studies.

Along with such extension and over-all enrichment of our ideological work we must, more effectively, expose and combat the anti-Leninist character of the line propagated in Canada by those who support the position of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. We must show to all who support the ideal of socialism, to all who cherish peace, how the danger of war is increased by the division in the world Communist movement. Furthermore, workers who are interested in the cause of socialism must be shown convincingly, by our actions as well as by the truth

and logic of our arguments, that the political line of our party and the immediate proposals in which our line is expressed concretely, are the consistent revolutionary application of Marxism-Leninism in Canada. Workers who are sincerely interested in socialism and attracted by revolutionary generalization and radical-sounding phrases should be approached in a comradely way. It is our responsibility to help such workers to get a clear understanding of the revolutionary science of Marxism-Leninism as our guide to action.

We must arouse supporters of Marxism-Leninism more effectively to isolate those who, for whatever reason, set up organizations such as the Progressive Workers Movement, in opposition to the Communist Party. We must reach out to the growing number of workers and progressive middle class people who want social change but who have not yet accepted Marxism-Leninism. To such people our ideological work should have the character of an extended hand as well as being the clear application of our world-historical science in Canada.

REFORMS AND THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

Our party is called upon now to place a great deal more emphasis upon the vital relationship between the struggle for needed reforms and the socialist revolution. It is necessary that we eliminate the erroneous theory, expressed in the non-Marxist formula that "reforms are only by-products of the revolutionary struggle." Writing on this question during 1916, Lenin pointed out that the essence of reformism lies in mitigating an evil and not destroying it:

> "A reformist change is one which leaves intact the foundations of the power of the ruling class and is merely a concession leaving its power unimpaired. A revolutionary change undermines the foundations of power." *(Collected Works,* Volume 22, page 344)

A few lines down the page Lenin added: "But, as everybody knows, in practice a reform is often merely a step towards revolution."

We must emphasize the special importance of this today, in the conditions of the world historical transition to socialism.

Precisely because we are living in the epoch of the transition to socialism on a world scale, because of the deepening historical crisis of imperialism, because wider and wider circles of people are recognizing socialism as the just alternative to the increasing evils of imperialism, mass working class struggles for needed reforms have a significance that is related to the new epoch. Every genuine mass struggle to back up demands upon monopoly capital or upon the capitalist state is, objectively, part of the many-sided

historical process through which, eventually, the monopolies will be defeated by the people. It is well to recall that, in his famous *Inaugural Address* at the founding of the First International, Marx greeted the victory of the struggle for the ten-hour day in Britain's factories and mines as "the victory of a principle".

In Canada today there is sharpening need for reforms some of which, to paraphrase Lenin, undermine the foundations of capitalist class power. Typical of such reforms is the urgent necessity to take away from the monopolies the right that they exercise now to decide when and how they will introduce automation, regardless of its consequences. Another is the necessity for public control of a growing proportion of all new investment. This necessity is creating another, namely, the necessity for public control of capital accumulation—the heart of monopoly capitalism. Repatriation of ownership of natural resources, nationalization of banking and credit. bringing the monopolies under democratic public control, the right of the working class to have a voice in a radical re-organization of Canadian economy, indeed our program of democratic reconstruction of the economy as a whole, these exemplify the growing need for reforms which will undermine the power of monopoly capital. These and other changes of this character will be achieved only as the working class along with other progressive forces in French and English Canada unite and win their rightful place and role in the leadership of their respective nations. Because of this, struggles for peace, to end the use of injunctions, and so on, are all part of the process of changing the structure of our political life.

The conditions and traditions of working class struggle indicate a strong probability that, in our country, the socialist revolution will be carried through successfully, as the culmination of tireless militant popular struggles to overcome the opposition of the monopolies to needed reforms, including structural reforms. Provided that the popular forces for progress, including other progressive political parties besides the Communist Party, are united in that, a powerful coalition of democratic forces can be united in political and economic action against the monopolies. Mass popular struggle to put the monopolies under control, is right on the main political path to the election of People's Governments in both French and English Canada.

Paying careful attention to differences between French and English Canada in the urgency of issues, and to the differing forms of action by which struggles are developed around them, the party will carry systematic, well-organized activity all over the country to help develop democratic action around the issues which are at the heart of the parliamentary crisis. Beneath the maneuvering of

the parties in the House of Commons, obscured by their maneuvers, it is a crisis of policy, of leadership. Our party must reach out to democratic people on the widest scale, with the truth. What is involved is in fact the question whether Canada shall move forward along the path of peace and democratic social progress; or backward, to be shackled still more harshly under monopoly domination and enmeshed deeper and deeper in our commitment to nuclear war. Our party will strive to make these alternatives clear to all democratic Canadians as part of our continuing campaign for our three point program and a democratic advance to socialism in Canada.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE NON-COMMUNIST LEFT

It is by thus becoming part of the movements of the people, and by contributing to their development that our party can grow in influence and membership and come to exercise its vanguard role in the full sense of the term.

In working in this direction, it is essential that we pay special attention to the development of unity between ourselves and that growing mody of Canadians outside our party who are seeking a socialist answer to the problems of our society.

In the first place, cooperation between ourselves and this socialist left, can have the most positive results in terms of influencing the movements of the people as a whole in the direction of greater militancy and unity in the struggle against the monopolies. Of no less importance, is the fact stressed at our last national committee meeting that it is largely from amongst this socialist left that our party will gain new members and supporters.

We have a problem of winning the confidence of the socialist left—one that we will only overcome as we enter into frank discussion with those who are part of it.

That discussion must go beyond immediate issues, and take up fundamental questions with respect to the road to socialism in Canada.

In putting forward our position, we must make clear that we look forward to long term cooperation between ourselves and others on the left in the winning and building of socialism, which includes the concept of the probability of multi-party coalitions. We must develop our ideas on the process by which socialism will be achieved in Canada through the struggle for the democratization of our society through deep-going reforms which curb and weaken the monopolies and strengthen the working class.

We must, better than we have done up until now, show not only how this is the realistic road to the socialist revolution, but how it is the basis for the inspiration of all socialists (including

ourselves) with the conviction that in the movements of the present we advance the cause of the socialist future of our country.

We must recognize that in conditions of mounting social criticism and ferment many ultra-left and pseudo-revolutionary sentiments will arise, especially among younger Canadians. These ideas while expressing on one hand frustrations at the slow progress of socialist development among the people, and petty bourgeois idealistic searching for quick answers and alternatives, none the less represent sincere and honest motivations in most cases.

This tendency poses a threat to the working class movement in Canada because it joins at times with discredited Trotskyist elements, as well as being objectively in harmony with the divisive line of the Communist Party of China.

The necessity to isolate the line of the CP of China can only be realized by the confidence and mastery and development of our own program and policy and in sharp debate and discussion on all divergences.

However our attitude to most of our critics from the left must be one of patient debate and example, without conceding one element of principle.

This is especially true in relation to younger people who are developing a social consciousness on the basis of their own experiences, and without a firm footing in the history and tradition of the working class movement in Canada and the world.

We have to find a basis for cooperation with all who act for peace, democracy and progressive change, with special emphasis upon the necessity to find common ground for joint action and discussion with leftward moving young people.

The prime responsibility for putting into life all that is indicated here devolves upon the party leadership. It is fully responsible for initiating and giving firm consistent direction to this vital change that our party will make. It must be emphasized that great improvement is necessary in respect to this. But, for the party as a whole to become seized with the revolutionary significance of the change, the membership as a whole, at all levels of party organization, must be drawn into the process of mastering the idea of the change, and bringing it about.

We need to continue to stress the high value we place on the initiative of our members who strive, in the best way that is possible for each of them, to become part of the people's movements, and to work there for our policies. The ways in which this can be done are far too varied to be the subject of blue-prints provided by leading committees.

The more we succeed in enhancing the initiative of our members, the more will our clubs become what they ought to be—

the place where Communists exchange experiences, receive education, guidance and inspiration from discussions with others all for the purpose of helping our members to work among other people.

The party demands that its leading personnel works consistently to take advantage of the widening opportunities for public work and for strengthening our relations with the people's movements.

The party leadership must work, constantly, to encourage and develop more spokesmen for our party policy in all communities, in all sections of the democratic movement.

Party leadership has the responsibility of lifting up the work of our party, focussing the attention of our membership on the new developments in Marxism-Leninism, and their application in a creative way to present-day Canadian problems. A most necessary part of the process of the improvement of the work of party leadership at all levels is the promotion of younger comrades of proven ability in working among the people and in meeting the challenge of new conditions.

The stress on individual initiative, and upon the variety of directions in which the work of our members can establish new real relations with the mass movements, has to be combined with emphasis on one task which needs to be made a feature of the work of every Communist wherever he or she may be. That task is the spreading of our press and literature.

We should at this National Committee meeting re-state the emphasis placed upon this question at our plenum in November 1963, when we stressed the need to make the building of the circulation of our press the first job of every party member, and to make our press "the means of spreading ideas, comment, new points of view and entering into debate on a far wider plane than now."

We must strive to win at first hundreds and then thousands of new readers among people active in the democratic movements, particularly those of the socialist left. The fight to win new readers for our party press is an integral part of the all-round struggle to build the party, to win new supporters for its proposals, to extend its influence to wider circles of workers and progressive farm and urban middle class people.This is the path by which our party will bring the science of Marxism-Leninism into the broad progressive movement and make its full contribution to the triumph of peace, democracy and socialism in Canda.

MOTIONS ON YOUTH WORK

The following motions, flow from discussions held in the NEC concerning the memo on youth work which was presented and

tabled at the last meeting of the National Committee. The discussion at this time is complicated and made more difficult because of the virtual elimination of the national office of the YCL during the period between plenums. While this fact makes more difficult our discussion at this time, it also underlines the necessity of coming to grips with this field of activity, of developing a perspective and to begin moving on a predetermined course.

It is necessary at the outset to remind the Committee as to where the youth memo stands at present in the discussion. The following is point 10 of a letter to the membership from Number 2 of *Viewpoint*:

"10. A memorandum prepared by the national office had been circulated to the National Committee prior to its June meeting, in which a number of steps were proposed to establish firmly the principle of party responsibility for work among young Canadians. The memorandum was not adopted by the National Committee but referred to further discussion and a future meeting inasmuch as it made proposals with respect to the YCL that required this discussion. However, steps which have been taken by the NEC to appoint a national party youth secretary, and a party youth director in the Metro Toronto area, were approved, as well as plans to publish a paper for young Canadians later this year. In the discussion, descriptions were given of experiences in Toronto and Edmonton of party clubs of young people which have been set up since the 18th Convention. In each case a number of positive achievements were registered and some of the prospects for work by the party in the youth community were outlined. Some speakers in the discussion were not generally in favor of "youth clubs" of the party although they agreed that the experiences in Toronto and Edmonton could be regarded as valuable experiments. National Committee members from French Canada (and from B.C.) emphasized that they needed the YCL and that it should be retained as a local organization even if the national YCL organization were to be abandoned, as the memorandum on youth work suggests. (The memorandum lays great stress on the existence of youth groups in the localities, for which the local party would take responsibility.")

Progress has been made in developing the magazine, an advance flyer has been produced and well received throughout the country, and the first issue is now well under way.

MOTIONS

1. This meeting of the National Committee, having considered the need to decidedly strengthen work among young people, reiterates again that work among youth is a direct political responsibility of the party. This should guide the work of all party organ-

izations. Furthermore it expresses agreement with the proposal that, for the period immediately ahead the concentration of the party's activity in the field of youth work shall be focussed on local groups of young people as circumstances make possible in each area.

2. The National Committee expresses the view that there is need for further clarity and perspective with respect to forms of organization best suited to attract young people to socialist ideas. Experience so far would indicate the need for flexibility. In some places, YCL groups function, in others different types of youth organizations as well as teenage discussion groups have come into being. In still others party clubs composed of young people have been established. Out of the development of these and other diverse forms of activity and practice the groundwork will be laid for the formation at a later stage of an all-Canada youth organization.

3. To strengthen work in the youth field at this time, and to bring together all facets of this sphere of activity, party youth committees should be set up in the main centers, to work closely with the National Youth Committee of the party. The task of these committees should be to develop appropriate forms of youth activity, such as teenage groups, campus clubs and other forms. The party youth director should be considered as a Communist Party spokesman among youth.

4. Such youth committees should in the main be composed of younger comrades actively engaged in various facets of youth work. These committees should also maintain and develop liaison with other youth groupings and organizations, and as a Communist Party spokesman among youth. Provision should also be made for national and regional conferences, meetings and seminars on policy matters relating to youth questions as the need arises.

5. The National Committee calls upon the party to give full support to *Scan* now being launched and will press throughout the country to win readers for it among young people and to build up supporting committees to spread its circulation. We should see the success of *Scan* as decisive step in bringing our ideas to young Canadians as well as providing a forum of opinion for questioning young people. In the long term the success of *Scan* can ensure a cohesive force in our efforts to weld a Canada-wide youth movement.

The National Committee taking account of the specific problems, and developments among university students, proposes that a coordinating committee be established at the national center to develop work and policy among Communists on different university campuses. This committee shall be responsible for the production of a newsletter on university questions, as well as other forms of communication.

7. The National Committee registers a criticism to the NEC as well as of itself for indecisiveness and slowness in discussing and working out Party youth policy which led to a disorientation among the comrades directly involved in this work, and which resulted in the virtual liquidation of the national leadership of the YCL.

8. Bearing in mind the complex problems facing young people which will become accentuated with the advance of automation and technological change, the NC proposes that a program of public actions be undertaken around the issues of education, training, leisure and job opportunities for youth, and that particular attention be paid to making them issues for the entire labor and democratic movement with the objective of pressing for appropriate legislative measures at all levels of government.

FOR UNITY OF THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

1. Our party has repeatedly supported the proposal for an international conference of Communist and Workers' Parties. Such a conference is necessary in the interests of the unity of the world movement, for the strengthening of the forces of socialism, and in the struggle against the imperialist policy of aggression.

We therefore welcome the decision to convene a meeting of the preparatory committee on March 1st, so that ground-work, the materials and agenda for such a conference could be adequately prepared. The National Committee welcomes too, the request that parties state their views on the basic questions which need resolution, and instructs the National Executive Committee to outline the views of our party and present them to the preparatory committee once it begins its work.

2. In our opinion the preparatory committee ought to be guided by the fundamental line and thesis of the documents adopted in 1957 and 1960. This fundamental line which is honestly supported by our party and the overwhelming majority of Communist Paries of the world has in the main been supported by events and should continue to be the basic guide line for the world Communist movement. At the same time events since 1960 emphasize the need for an examination of what has changed in the world situation and what conclusions need to be drawn from these changes with regard to strategy and tactics, so as to facilitate the further development of the revolutionary processes throughout the world.

The National Committee believes too that there is need for more intensive study on questions such as: the varied paths to socialism, their unity in diversity; the world socialist system and the new stage of the national struggle for independence, as well as the relationship of the struggle for peaceful coexistence to the struggle for socialism; problems of the working class movement in the

highly developed capitalist countries; the socialist states and socialist democracy.

Involved in all these questions is the necessity to deepen understanding of the relationship between proletarian internationalism and of the defense of national interests.

This meeting of the National Committee therefore instructs the National Executive Committee to initiate a study of these questions in preparation for the presentation of our views to the preparatory committee and to consider the advisability of a National Committee discussion on these matters at a later date.

3. The National Committee firmly believes that if all parties are guided by the basic documents of the world Communist movement, by creative Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the path to unity will be found. We realize that the restoration of the unity of the world Communist movement will require patient, persevering work and persistent effort. In our opinion the process of restoring the unity of the world movement would be helped were agreements reached on ceasing public polemics while the preparatory committee conducts its work. What is required in the interests of the unity of the world movement is to seek out ways and means of solving differences as laid down in the document of the 1960 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties.

Such an approach pre-supposes an end to splitting and interference in the internal affairs of fraternal parties with its consequent harmful results both to the world movement and to struggle for peace, democracy, independence and socialism. It pre-supposes too, a desire for unity and opposition to the formation of splinter groups on a national and international scale. For our part, we shall continue our efforts to isolate and defeat all those who seek to split our ranks, both nationally and internationally.

4. In expressing these views the National Committee believes there is need to seek out those points of agreement around which the process of restoring unity can be advanced, taking time to resolve differences and being always guided by the need to establish a common front against imperialism.

The complex international situation and developments in various parts of the world make concerted action of the world communist movement and of the socialist states an absolute necessity to beat back and defeat the aggressive actions of U.S. imperialism and other reactionary forces, be it in South East Asia, in Africa and in the direction of spreading nuclear weapons to West Germany and elsewhere. Thus, while it may take time to come to agreement on those ideological questions which have divided the world movement, no time ought to be lost in achieving concerted action, on a firm class basis, so as to strengthen the world-wide movement against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

It is the hope of the National Committee that existing difficulties and differences will be overcome, step by step, through comradely discussion in line with the principles of relations between fraternal parties and on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, thereby creating the conditions for restoring the unity of the world Communist movement.

We shall do everything in our power to help bring this about.

5. The National Committee is of the opinion that all parties which participated in the 1957 and 1960 Conferences should be invited to attend the international conferences when it is convened. In addition to that, Marxist-Leninist Parties which were formed in those countries *where no parties existed at the time of the 1960 Conference* should also be invited to attend.

RESOLUTION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, AKEL

The Cypriot people are waging a hard, difficult, just struggle for national liberation. The aim of this struggle is to free Cyprus from all kinds of bonds which imperialism has imposed upon our people under the Zurich-London agreements, to gain complete independence for Cyprus, defend its territorial integrity and uphold the internationally recognized inalienable right of the people freely to decide their own destiny on the basis of the principle of self-determination. This just struggle of our people has brought a violent reaction from the Anglo-American imperialists and NATO, the inspirers and actual instigators of the rebellion of extremist leaders of the Turkish-Cypriot community, the same people who are to blame for repeated threats of aggression against Cyprus by the neo-sultanist, chauvinist rulers of Ankara. The Anglo-American imperialists' main aim is to impose NATO sovereignty upon Cyprus and make the island their military spring-board and nuclear bridge-head serving their predatory interests in the Near and Middle East countries.

Fighting as a united force, the Cypriot people have achieved some glorious victories. Their brave resistance has foiled all the evil plans of the NATO imperialists for the enslavement of Cyprus and frustrated their efforts to impose a solution of the Cyprus problem beneficial to their own interests. The unity of all popular forces, the common struggle of the people, the armed forces and the Government, and the courageous stand of the President of the Republic against imperialist pressure — a stand which essentially expressed the consistent and anti-imperialist will of the Cypriot people — enabled us to say an emphatic NO! to imperialist pressure and blackmail.

The fact that our people survive in spite of hard trials and that Cyprus has been able to maintain its independence and sovereignty, repulsing all the acts of aggression by NATO and Ankara, is due to the joint struggle of the people, to their fighting spirit, heroism and self-sacrifice, as well as to the valuable support given by Greece, the decisive solidarity of true and powerful friends, such as the socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union and the uncommitted Afro-Asian countries headed by the UAR and, finally, to the support given by all liberal-minded and democratic mankind.

As a result, the Cyprus state still exists in spite of imperialist machinations, and the Cyprus question is on the agenda of the pre-

sent UN General Assembly. Anglo-American imperialist reaction was unable, for all its intrigues, pressure, threats and blackmail, to prevent the issue being placed on the agenda of the present session of the UN Assembly and discussed by the United Nations.

While appreciating the achievements of the joint struggle of our people, we cannot disregard certain negative aspects in the approach to the Cyprus question, which have harmed our cause, particularly as regards the support of friendly countries.

The AKEL Central Committee is convinced that all those countries which stood by our side in the course of our just struggle, offering their valuable material and moral support, will continue to support us in the difficult struggle we are going to wage during the discussion of the Cyprus question by the United Nations. And of course, in the front line of those countries is, besides Greece, the mighty vanguard country of socialism, the USSR.

Following a recent statement by Mr. Gromyko, the Soviet Minister for Foreign Affairs, on the Cyprus problem, certain circles made desperate efforts to cause confusion and uneasiness among the people with regard to the position of the Soviet Union on our just struggle. Some of these people allege that the Soviet Union has abandoned Cyprus, aligned itself with Turkey and betrayed our people and their national-liberation stuggle.

The AKEL, CC and CCC condemn the unfounded and provocative allegations and express their conviction that the Soviet Union stands steadfastly by the side of the fighting Cypriot people.

The statement of the Minister for Foreign Affairs makes clear that the Soviet Union:

a) steadfastly and consistently defends the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Cyprus Republic, which is a member of the UN;

b) resolutely opposes all foreign intervention in Cyprus' internal affairs;

c) unreservedly supports the "unquestionable and inalienable" right of the Cypriot people to decide their own destiny, within the framework of their own independent state;

d) underlines that "complete and real independence and security" must be achieved in Cyprus and that to achieve this, "all foreign troops must unfailingly be withdrawn from Cyprus and all foreign bases abolished";

e) declares that only after securing real independence and territorial integrity "could the people of Cyprus be *really free* to solve all their problems without intervention from outside."

The above statements, made with absolute clarity and sincerity, are a positive contribution showing the Soviet Union's full and

unqualified support for the struggle of our people, and its emphatic opposition to any attempt at imposing a solution from outside, or at blackmailing the people in one way or another in order to impose on them a solution which in reality would serve foreign interests—such as, for example, a "union" of the Acheson type or the Lemnitzer partition plan.

The above-mentioned points of the statement are in absolute accord with the declared line of the Cyprus Government and fundamental principles of the UN Charter, and are in full harmony with the explicit and firm position of support or the just, anti-imperialist national-liberation struggle of our people, to which the great country of socialism, the USSR has adhered to this day. This new statement of the Soviet Union strikes a strong blow at NATO imperialist circles which are plotting continuously against Cyprus in a persistent effort to abolish the sovereignty and independence of the Cyprus state and to impose—with foreign intervention or by means of a coup d'etat—a solution to the Cyprus question contrary to the real interests of the people of Cyprus. The main task of the people of Cyprus at the present stage is not simply to maintain the state of Cyprus and safeguard the independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus, but to strengthen the state, which is threatened by the imperialists, in order to enable it to exercise its powers without pressure or blackmail from outside, and play its role locally and internationally in the freest and most effective way. The statement of the Soviet Foreign Minister is an imporant and positive contribution towards the realization of this task.

In that statement Mr. Gromyko also referred to the internal structure of the Cyprus state. Repeatedly stressing that it is the "full and sovereign" right of the people of Cyprus to decide this question themselves, he went on to express the opinion that the people "could also choose a federal type of state structure *if they wished.*" Our party has clearly stated its position on this question.

Proceeding from the fundamental proposition that the essence of the Cyprus national problem lies not in forming a separate national entity with a distinct national consciousness, but in effecting the national reunion of the Cyprus people, the overwhelming majority of whom are Greeks, the CC reaffirms the line set forth by the Tenth Congress: complete independence, demilitarization and self-determination. That line remains unchanged. The CC therefore rejects federation in principle for a number of important considerations. Such a solution of the problem would be wrong and unpracticable for the following reasons:

a) The Turkish population of Cyprus, constituting only 18 per cent of the total, is dispersed among the Greek majority over the entire area of Cyprus, a fact which makes the formation of any

separate local state organs impossible. Only by uprooting populations could a Turkish area be created. That, however, is not only contrary to the principles of the UN Charter but could also cause much suffering to both the Greeks and Turks, and would eventually lead to partition.

b) A Federal state structure under Cyprus conditions would create a situation which might give the imperialists a chance, by applying the well-known motto "divide and rule", to incite and foment racial animosity and contradictions and thus become the real regulators of the political life of the country, as well as to blackmail the governments of Greece and Turkey.

c) A federal state structure, far from doing away with the spirit of distrust fostered by the imperialists through intrigues, would become a constant source of new difficulties and hardships for the whole people, a source of more serious disturbances and anomalies which would seriously endanger peace in the Middle East and internationally.

While expressing our opposition to the federal form of state structure, we most strongly underline the necessity for fully guaranteeing the international recognized human and democratic rights of the Turkish and all other national minorities.

The approach to our Turkish compatriots should be more positive. We should show them by more concrete and pratical measures that we sincerely wish to live in peace with them. We must persuade the Turks that it is our firm resolve not to permit any national discrimination against them.

AKEL believes that the Cyprus question will be settled by the joint and consistent struggle of the entire people against imperialism and its intrigues. The people of Cyprus will not be able to obtain full sovereign rights and freely to decide their future until all foreign troops leave Cyprus and the Treaties of Guarantee and Alliance and the British "sovereign" military bases are abolished. Only after securing its unfettered independence will the people of Cyprus be able to realize their national reunion and a genuine union with Greece, without any conditions, without any foreign military bases and without any compromise.

Our struggle will be hard, difficult and protracted. In this just national-liberation struggle we shall be faced at every step with violent reaction and internal subversion by the imperialists. Hence the repetition of untimely and irresponsible statements of activities can only multiply the difficulties of our struggle. In face of such difficult tasks, it is necessary further to strengthen the unity of the whole people, as well as unity in the army and the Government. We need more tenacious and resolute joint effort to abolish foreign military bases, deliver Cyprus from all imperialist bonds,

and win unfettered independence, demilitarization, self-determination, and *enosis*.

The message which the Central Committee and the Central Control Committee address to the people is a message of faith and optimism. Hard as our struggle may be, we will finally triumph through the joint heroic effort of our people, with the valuable help of Greece, with the moral and material help and support of all our mighty friends—the socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union, the non-aligned Afro-Asian countries and all the progressive and freedom-loving people of the world. AKEL will continue to fight, together with all patriotic forces, until our people, really delivered and free from all foreign dependence and intervention, are able to exercise their inalienable right to decide their future on the basis of the principle of self-determination.

Central Committee, AKEL
Nicosia, January 26, 1965

ENLARGED MEETING OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, SUDANESE COMMUNIST PARTY

Delegates from all provincial and regional Party organizations and representatives of the Students' Communist League took part in the enlarged meeting of the CC, SCP held in Khartoum on January 14, 1965.

The meeting discussed the report of the General Secretary of the CC, reports on organizational and fiancial matters, the work of the Party's newspaper el Maidan, *and the draft resolution on the Communist Women's Union.*

Printed below is a detailed summary of Abdel Khalek Mahjoub's report on the political situation in the country, the changes that have taken place since the previous CC meetings, and the tasks of the Party and the revolutionary movement in defending and promoting the revolution.*

Before proceeding forward we should analyze the many events that have taken place since our previous meeting two months ago. It has become a constant practice of the CC to draw theoretical conclusions from its experience, for there can be no revolutionary movement without revolutionary theory.

It should be said that the theoretical conclusions drawn at the previous meeting were incomplete, for we could not make a profound theoretical analysis in the short time we had at our disposal. Herein lay the cause of certain mistakes. One of our conclusions was that the revolution of October 21 was a national-democratic revolution, but we failed to follow it up with the necessary explanation. By saying that it was a national-democratic revolution we meant, on the whole, that our country was still at the stage of the national-democratic revolution, i.e., that the struggle was still directed against foreign imperialism, its allies—the semi-feudals and bureaucrats—and its agents; that the working class, various sections of the peasantry, the revolutionary intelligentsia and the national bourgeoisie free from the influence of foreign capital were the main driving forces of the revolution. These forces were in varying degrees opposed to the old regime. The same forces were called upon to lead the Sudan forward after the proclamation of independence.

It is essential, however, to have a clear idea of the situation. We

*El Maidan, January 23, 1965.

say that the revolution of October 21 was a national-democratic revolution, that is, a national revolution at the stage of national-democratic development, that it is to culminate in the establishment of a national-democratic government representing all the above-mentioned main forces of the revolution, a government which will fully implement the program of the national-democratic stage of the revolution and prepare our country for entering upon the socialist path. As is known, a clear line between the national-democratic and socialist revolutions cannot be drawn. National-democratic administration in such a country as the Sudan can become, in effect, a form of transition to socialism.

The revolution of October 21 is a national-democratic revolution from the viewpoint of the objective conditions in the country and the sentiments of the masses which launched it. But the tasks of our national-democratic revolution have been implemented only in part. The changes that have taken place in the country do not yet entitle us to say that all the tasks of the current stage of the revolution have been carried out.

FACTORS WEAKENING THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

The revolutionary movement was weakened by a number of factors impending the realization of the tasks of the national-democratic revolution. The political strike was the only weapon the revolutionary movement could employ against the army. There were no armed detachments to support the strike and no close cooperation with the revolutionary forces in the army. The army virtually remained in the hands of the reactionaries, who sought to give all power to the Right. The inter-party talks that were held at the time pursued the same objective. We all remember well that at first the Communist Party was barred from these talks, and that attempts were made to isolate it.

But the reactionaries' intrigues fell through. It proved impossible to isolate the revolutionary forces in view of mass pressure and the continuing political strike. Then the reactionaries attempted to put an end to the strike. But the traditional parties* proved unable to do so and were obliged to invite the revolutionary forces to the talks.

The reactionaries from the army who participated in the talks managed to secure the representation of the reactionary forces and the traditional parties in the government, although both the former and the latter had nothing in common with the militant movement and had stood aloof from the revolution of October 21. They also

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*The old bourgeois-feudal parties and groups that existed before the military coup, such as Al Umma, the National Unionist Party, the People's Democratic Party, and others.—Ed.

succeeded in setting up a caretaker government, regarding this the first step towards the restoration of reactionary power in the country.

LACK OF DEMOCRATIC UNITY

Lack of democratic unity of the masses during the revolution was another factor that weakened the revolutionary movement. Unitary trends among the democratic forces were particularly strong in the weeks preceding the revolution, but it broke out before complete unity could be established. Therefore the revolutionary forces headed by the working class were unable to guide the popular movement and provide it with a revolutionary center.

THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT

We must make an appraisal of the present government. Although it for the first time includes representatives of the revolutionary forces, we cannot say that it is a national-democratic government representing an alliance of the workers, peasants and revolutionary intelligentsia. A national-democratic government cannot, naturally, be transitional as it completes a whole epoch in society's development. It can be called that only in the narrow sense of transition from the national-democratic to the socialist stage.

What we now have is a transitional government which includes both representatives of the Communist Party, the workers,* the peasantry and the progressive-minded intellectuals and representatives of national parties, rightist ones included. We can say that essentially it is a national and anti-imperialist government although the forces represented in it are so different. Its dual nature affects its activities. Its policy does not reflect the profundity of the revolutionary movement and the striving of the masses for cardinal change. It ignores the people's demand to purge the administrative apparatus and bring to court those who abused power.

WHAT HAMPERS DEVELOPMENT OF THE REVOLUTION

Moreover, some steps taken by the government harm the revolution and may lead to a reactionary comeback. For instance, it has refused to grant the revolutionary forces representation in the Constituent Assembly and failed to change the old electoral systm, which does not conform to the recent revolutionary changes; it disregards the distinctions between the developed and backward regions of the country and between the various political forces and

*i.e., workers' trade unions.—**Ed.**

groups some of which represent the advanced sections of the people (the workers, organized peasants, progressive-minded intellectuals) while others represent backward strata connected with small-scale production (nomadic cattle-breeders, non-organized peasants, etc.). Nor have any considerable changes been effected in the administrative apparatus, which does not truly represent our people. The imperialists not only continue their activities in the country, but, in fact, are stepping them up.

THE GOVERNMENT'S ROLE

In the light of these facts we once again, as at the previous meeting, raise the question of the role played by the present government.

As the Charter points out, it is to pave the way for the national-democratic development of the country, set up a national-democratic government, and bar the reactionaries' way to power. This means that the government is to meet the demands of the people, guarantee political and democratic freedom to them, and resist the activities of the imperialists and their agents. This can be done, not by separate decrees, but through legislation guaranteeing the general political, trade union and other rights of the revolutionary masses.

The situation demands that the government oppose imperialist influence in all its forms, that it serve the interests of the people, destroy all the footholds of imperialism, clear the administrative apparatus from anti-democratic elements, set up an effective security system to protect the interests of the popular movement, turn the forthcoming elections into a triumph of the revolution, and ensure the real exercise of democratic rights to promote the growth of the revolutionary movement and prevent the transfer of power into the reactionaries' hands.

Hence our task to do everything to help this transitional government achieve these aims. We also have to rally the popular forces to fight for their demands and organize their actions aimed at having these objectives realized.

CORRELATION OF FORCES FAVORABLE FOR THE REVOLUTION

The correlation of forces remains favorable for the advocates of revolutionary transformations. Notable changes have taken place in the revolutionary forces themselves. The industrial working class increasingly strives for independence and grows more and more aware of its revolutionary potentialities. The opportunities for winning the broad masses for the revolution are greater than ever

before. This, naturally, calls for vigorous ideological struggle against the reactionaries, which is a perfectly feasible task. It is also necessary to combat the opportunists who deny the independent role of the working class and therefore oppose its interests. Although they have quietened down somewhat during the rise of the revolutionary movement, they may again raise their head in working-class organizations.

HOW THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE WORKING CLASS SHOULD BE UNDERSTOOD

The independence of the working class and its unity with the Left forces, towards which it gravitates, are not necessarily to materialize under a single banner, that of the Communist Party. Serious changes in the working class should be taken note of. Various socialist trends have appeared, and one should not go to extremes when dealing with them. This is very dangerous and can only strengthen the positions of our enemies among the working masses. The most important thing is to promote the growth of the existing revolutionary forces and strengthen them with socialist ideology. This is a challenging task calling for work not only in trade union committees and Party branches alone. It is necessary to broaden the democratic front through drawing into it all progressives who believe in the cause of the working class and in the Sudan's socialist perspective, whether they accept Marxism or not.

We should not underestimate this problem and rest content with the changes that have taken place already. We should not forget about the influence of alien ideology on the working class and the presence of opportunistic elements in it. It should also be borne in mind that the changes in the working-class movement can not only promote the revolution but also drag it backwards if they are not consolidated through ideological work and correct leadership. The conditions for launching ideological work are quite ripe today. The bourgeois parties are beginning to come out openly against the working class. For instance, they protested against the inclusion of its representatives in the government and against the establishment of workers' electoral areas.* The agents of the bourgeoisie operating among the workers are unable to justify this attitude of the bourgeois parties. But we, for our part, have been doing little to expose such actions of the bourgeoisie and its agents.

OFFICE WORKERS

The revolutionary transformations have influenced not only the

*Special areas for workers and organized peasants to be set up for the elections to the Constituent Assembly.—Ed.

industrial workers, but also the office employees, and we should revise our attitude to this category of working people whom we unjustifiably ignored in the past. We should differentiate between them and the top officialdom. In conditions whenever more people are getting an education, including university education, minor officials have no opportunity for promotion.

In addition, there have appeared skilled workers enjoying a privileged position, and officials cannot look down on them any longer.

The minor officials are revolutionary by virtue of their present position, and they should demand the right to form trade unions of their own. It is our duty to see to it that this contingent of the working people joins the ranks of the Left.

REVOLUTIONARY CHANGES IN THE PEASANT MOVEMENT

Major revolutionary changes have taken place among the peasants, in particular those living in the White and Blue Nile valleys. These changes are significant chiefly in connection with the agrarian reform, and our Party should analyze them. Slogans and trade union demands are not sufficient to translate the reform into reality. The peasants movement is to have a clear common line with regard to the agrarian reform. We should explain to state-employed cotton-growers that the growth of capitalist relations bars the way to progress and that therefore we should advance along the non-capitalist road, towards socialism.

PRIVATE FARMS

We should work to free private farms from exploitation by foreign capital, promote the development of cooperatives under state supervision, and encourage peasants with small holdings to unite in cooperatives.

There is one more section of the peasantry—nomadic tribes engaged in cattle-breeding. The first expression of their opposition to the local authorities is an encouraging fact; those of the nomads who have received an education are already coming out openly against the local authorities. This opens up possibilities for securing the participation of these tribes in the peasant movement.

WHAT IS NECESSARY FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PEASANT MOVEMENT

How to talk to the peasant masses and how to organize them are highly important questions. The peasant masses openly strive for independence, wishing to take their destiny into their own

hands. This will deliver a crushing blow at the reactionary elements, who have for many years enjoyed the peasants' support secured by fraud and economic pressure. We should pay special attention to this question. We must tackle the problem of ensuring the independence of the bulk of the peasantry if we want our country to develop along the road of national democracy. It has become clear now that the reactionaries can no longer deceive the peasants into submission. Hence their resort to religious customs and prejudices, their attempts to present progress as the enemy of religion and in this way to retain their influence on the peasants. It is therefore essential for the Communists to find a correct approach to the peasants, to respect their religious views. The Communists should always know the needs of the people, both material and spiritual. To overlook these needs means to hamper progress. There is nothing hypocritical in our attitude to religion for we know that no religion can give people more than socialism gives them. To leave the field of activity among the religious masses in the reactionaries' hands would be inexcusable.

AL ANSAR PEASANTS

Special attention should be paid to the peasants inhabiting the White and Blue Nile valleys. These peasants, members of the Al Ansar community*, are displaying an ever greater striving for independence. We should find the means of establishing contact with them. Having revolutionary traditions of their own, they continue to contribute greatly to the development of the peasant movement.

PRIMARY REVOLUTIONARY TASK: BUILD A WORKER-PEASANT ALLIANCE

To build a worker-peasant alliance is the most important revolutionary task. The growing trend among the workers and peasants to act as an independent force provides the basis for this alliance. The conditions are ripe for it, particularly in view of the attempts of the traditional parties to affirm the class inequality of workers and peasants. Therefore it is no longer a matter of propaganda but a pressing task. In order to establish this alliance we must convince the masses of the need for it by showing on the basis of their own experience how class inequality affects them.

It is also important that the alliance should materialize not only at the level of leading bodies. It is necessary to set up joint committees of trade unions and peasants' organizations. We should

*One of the biggest Moslem communities in the Sudan, founded by the followers of Mahammed Ahmed el Madhi who headed the revolt against British rule at the end of the 19th century.—**Ed.**

broaden the participation of the masses in building the alliance and in this connection discuss, among others, the question of establishing a joint committee for the agrarian reform and the solution of the other pressing problems facing the country.

The worker-peasant alliance will form the basis for a democratic bloc, for a national-democratic front, and give a powerful impetus to the revolutionary movement.

FORMS OF ORGANIZATION IN RURAL LOCALITIES

Different forms of organization of peasants should be studied. Serious consideration should be given to the expediency of isolating regional organizations from one another by connecting each of them directly with the central body. Take, for instance, the Blue Nile province, the center of the peasant movement. Which is better: to have all work there done under the guidance of a single provincial committee or to divide the province into districts in accordance with the production principle (Gezira and Manaqil, Blue Nile, White Nile), with district committees directly connected with the Central Committee of the Party?

All possible forms of organization should be studied in order to intensify and broaden the peasant movement.

IMPORTANT CHANGES IN THE INTELLIGENTSIA

Important changes for the better are to be observed among the intellectuals. Representatives of this category took an active part in the revolution of October 21. Seeking to reverse the trend, the reactionaries are trying to bar office workers from political activities.

On the other hand, these changes are as yet insignificant as compared with the changes among the workers and peasants. Therefore we should draw as many intellectuals as possible into the revolutionary movement, either through rallying them around the Party or by securing their participation in Party work itself.

In addition to political activity, intellectuals should be drawn into ideological work. Up till now we have not paid sufficient attention to this question. Revolutionary-minded intellectuals should be induced to join the National Democratic Front, where they can play an important role.

THE SITUATION IN THE SOUTH

Although the influence of the reactionary forces in the South has increased because of the military regime's mistakes, the democratic and progressive forces are gaining strength there, even in such extreme rightist organizations as the Sudan African National

Union. However, their voice was barely audible during the military rule, and therefore they invariably found themselves under the influence of the extreme Right forces.

The position of the Right would most probably be weakened if a policy of peace were pursued in the South, backed up with determination to fight the imperialists and imperialist intervention. The rightists have no material basis in the South, for there are no semi-feudal relations there. But they may supply the imperialists with a pretext for intervention or take the road of narrow nationalism. In view of the foregoing, we can say that there exists a real possibility for the South to advance along the democratic path toward Socialism. There are no serious obstacles to this, with the exception of traditional conservatism and narrow nationalism.

INTERVIEW* WITH A. MAHJOUB

GENERAL SECRETARY, SUDANESE COMMUNIST PARTY

Q. Does the Sudanese Communist Party consider the situation in the country following the period of militancy dictatorship favorable to the democratic forces?

A. The defeat of the military dictatorship provided new opportunities for democratic development. After six years of military rule the democratic forces — trade unions, organized peasants, and intellectuals — formed a united front. Preparations for it had been going on for a long time. While the front was in the making the Communists took advantage of the antagonisms between the military junta and the Right-wing parties. At the end of 1960 and the beginning of 1961 an illegal opposition came into being. It was joined by all political parties, Right and Left alike. The Communists strove to extend the democratic, progressive front. In so doing they used the contradictions between the military government and the Rights, contradictions which did not allow the government to concentrate on curbing the democratic movement.

That situation did not last, however. In 1962 the Right-wing opposition surrendered to the government. The workers, peasants and students continued to fight, and were persecuted. When, at the end of last October, the revolution opened the prison cells, it was the Communists, progressive-minded workers and peasants, and servicemen opposed to the fallen regime who came out. There were no Rightist prisoners — evidently because the military in power had not found them dangerous.

During the revolution, in October and November 1964, the military dictatorship tried to come to terms with spokesmen for the Right-wing parties and wrest the leadership of the victorious revolution from the democratic forces. It was willing to talk with the old bourgeois parties only. But its maneuvers failed. The progressive forces launched a decisive battle and on October 23, 1964, formed a powerful national front with a thoroughly democratic core. The front includes the trade unions, the Gezira Peasant Union and the organization of Sudanese intellectuals.

The revolution opened up new opportunities for the democratic forces. It began by removing the reactionary warlords, the chief obstacle to the country's democratic development. It helped to change foreign relations, primarily with the neighboring countries.

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*Rude Pravo, Feb. 2, 1965.

I must stress that the Sudan's support of the revolutionary forces in Congo is highly important, and revolutionary forces in the Congo is highly important, and revolutionizes the masses in the Sudan itself. Better relations with the UAR are another important development — the anti-imperialist and socialist slogans of the UAR inspire the Sudanese masses.

The progressive forces in the Sudan are encountering serious difficulties in striving to democratize the country. They are under continuous attack from reaction. Certain foreign powers are trying to complicate the situation, above all in southern Sudan. But so far the democratic forces have stood their ground by joint effort.

Q. How will the Communist Party react to attempts to eliminate its influence on the government bodies?

A. Reaction has from the outset opposed Communist participation in the government. But its efforts have borne no fruit. The absence of the Communist Party, one of the major forces of the revolution, from the government would be unthinkable. So far the reactionaries have not brought themselves to insist on excluding the Communists from the government. But they are trying to weaken the positions of the Party. They would like to create difficulties in the government and put the blame on the Communists. They attack the democratic forces. They attack the trade unions for their active role in the government, and come out against the political activity of government officials, trying to split the unity of the organized peasants. But the progressive forces are prepared to repulse any attack on the principles of the revolution of October 21. Led by the Sudenese Communists, they are forming a broad national democratic alliance, which should isolate the reactionaries and foil their plans.

Q. How does the Communist Party envision the elections and how is it preparing for them?

A. The Communist Party will take part in the elections on the basis of a new broad alliance, or front, including the association of labor unions and the Peasant Union. This front is widely supported by the masses.

As regards the Communist Party, it is going through a certain reorganization. Until recently it was illegal and its organizations had to operate accordingly. Today the Party is functioning on a mass basis. The masses welcome this change. A mass Communist Party is bound to be an effective force in the elections. A few days ago the Party set up a canvassing center that will have branches in all Sudanese provinces, including the South. We will soon hold our Fourth Congress. Preparations for it are complete. The Congress is to rally the membership to fight for the development of a broad-based mass movement and for participation in the election campaign.

Q. Does the Communist Party think the problem of southern Sudan can be reasonably solved in the near future?

A. The problem of the South is inseparable from the development of the whole country. The previous regime dealt with this problem in its own way. It discriminated against the progressive forces in the South. The South was isolated. That policy in no way differed from the imperialist and colonialist policies of the past, and it played into the hands of the separatists. The new Sudanese government has declared an amnesty for all prisoners representing the South. It has afforded those who under the previous regime were compelled to flee from the reign of terror and seek refuge abroad the opportunity to return. The new government wants to grant the democratic forces in the South self-government within the framework of the new state. The Communist Party favors national and administrative autonomy for the southern provinces. The atmosphere which the new government is creating for the solution of the problem of the South is reliable and truly conducive to the peaceful unification of the country. Already many Southerners reject a separatist policy and imperialist intrigue.

Q. Statements made by various political parties suggest that in the Sudan it is a fashionable as in other African countries to speak of socialism, or rather of "Moslem socialism" or "collective socialism," and so on. Since when has the prestige of socialism been so high in the Sudan, and why?

A. Before the military came to power the Communist Party was the only party to advocate socialism. The other parties attacked socialism, alleging that it was contrary to Islam, that it did not suit the Arab countries and was, in fact, dangerous to them. At present, however, all Sudanese parties seem anxious to insert the demand for "socialism" in their programs. This is evidence of the prestige and popularity which socialism enjoys among the masses. It also shows how utterly unpopular was the capitalist policy pursued by the previous government. It led to economic collapse and political dependence. Needless to say the popularity of socialism in the Sudan was fostered by the socialist countries' achievements at home and abroad and by developments in the Arab world.

If the bourgeois parties of the Sudan want to follow socialist policies we would welcome it. It would be an indication of the pressure which the masses bring to bear on the policies of these parties. We would readily cooperate with any party striving for socialism. But it would have to be socialism without anti-communism. "Socialism" which connotes anti-communism has nothing to do with democracy, it simply means a new dictatorship of reaction. We distinguish between the so-called socialism of the reactionaries, who use socialist slogans as a smokescreen to attack

the Communist Party and the progressive forces, and a sincere desire to build socialism, even if on a different, non-Marxist-Leninist basis. Other socialist schools, distinct from Marxist schools, also have their roots in the masses. But they are certain to realize, in their turn, that scientific socialism is the only method by which they can attain their goal. Such a realization is incompatible with anti-communism and should lead to cooperation with the Marxists.

Q. How does the Communist Party view the socialist future of the Sudan?

A. The future of our country lies in gradually transforming the people's social conditions. The people should take an increasing part in government. The state machinery should be democratized and all working people united. We want socialism to be based primarily on a corresponding economy, which means that the economy should create conditions for the further democratization of social life. The democracy advocated in our country from 1954 to 1958 was purely nominal. The people lacked democratic rights. Socialism alone can fill the democratic form with a democratic content.

The present demand that electoral districts be established for the organized workers and peasants is one of the first steps toward introducing genuine democracy. The votes of this politically-conscious section of our population — a section which is still very small — and those of the progressive intellectuals, who earlier secured the establishment of special electoral districts, could be overwhelmed by the votes of the backward section of the rural population still dominated by religious sects and feudal rulers. Such election returns would have an adverse effect on democratic development in the country. Our demand for electoral districts for the workers could constitute a first step toward a national democratic state.

COMMUNIQUE*

OF THE TENTH PLENARY MEETING OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, WORKING PEOPLE'S PARTY OF VIETNAM

The Party CC met in December 1964 to discuss progress in home and foreign trade, and the price policy.

With due regard to the line elaborated by the Third Party Congress and to the present stage of the socialist revolution in North Vietnam, the meeting analyzed the trade and price situation since the restoration of peace. Its unanimous conclusion was that the past ten years in North Vietnam have been important, deep-going economic changes and a considerable improvement in the material and cultural standards of the people, brought about under the leadership of the Party, the Government and President Ho Chi Minch. In exercising overall leadership of the national economy in order to transfer small production into large-scale socialist production, our Party and Government have attached great importance to the role of trade and the prices system. They have been taking steps to place trade and prices in the service of socialist changes, the development of a sovereign economy, and the transition from capitalism to socialism.

The revolutionary practice of the past decade has proved the Party policy on trade and prices to be correct. The effort made and the progress achieved have considerably increased the role of trade and prices in improving production and the standard of living, strengthening North Vietnam, and providing a solid basis for the peaceful unification of the country. However, work in the field of trade and the price policy still have many defects and flaws due to the great difficulties arising from a complex objective situation and organizational shortcomings.

The transformation of the North Vietnam market is one of the major revolutionary changes brought about in the national economy. The result is a single socialist market, with state trade playing the leading role. State trade has won strong positions in wholesale trade and is beginning to play the preponderant role in retail trade. Cooperative trade, which strengthens the standing of state trade on the rural market, has become widespread. Capitalist trade has been transformed into state-capitalist trade, and small-scale trade is being transformed as most of the small traders are transferred into the production shphere. Exchange between industry and agriculture,

*Abridged from **Nian Dan**, Jan. 19, 1965.

between town and country, between economic areas, is growing continuously.

At a time when there is an imbalance between many aspects of the economy and when progress in production is on the whole lagging behind the fast-growing requirements of society, a serious effort has been made to put home trade in the service of production and to use it as an instrument for improving the standard of living, increasing exports, strengthening the dong, completing socialist changes, and increasing accumulation, which is indispensable for the socialist industrialization of the country. But home trade does not yet contribute to the development of production in sufficient measure, particularly in agriculture and local industry. The materials and commodities needed for production and consumption are not yet being distributed rigorously and wisely enough. There are numerous shortcomings in supplying the needs of the population. They are in evidence, first of all, in the organization and control of the distribution of food grain, in the supply of foodstuffs to towns and industrial areas, in the provision of the countryside with manufactured goods, and in the stabilization of food prices. Trade in the mountainous areas is inadequate. The necessity for reorganizing private trade is often disregarded and profiteering is not combated vigorously enough.

Our foreign trade has been growing steadily and has undergone important changes in the course of economic rehabilitation, reconstruction and development. Attention has been given in these years to measure designed to expand foreign trade and promote economic cooperation with fraternal socialist countries. Simultaneously steps have been taken to increase trade with certain other countries. Exports have been steadily expanded by utilizing the vast natural resources, the potentialities of a tropical agriculture, and the large manpower reserve. Foreign trade has prompted the re-establishment and growth of certain export industries, and has made it possible to give jobs to tens of thousands of people.

Imports, which supply the needs of capital construction, production, and in part consumption, have been growing at a fair rate. We have established a foreign trade monopoly, created a socialist foreign trade and geared it to the service of socialist industrialization. We have been using it as an instrument for the rapid development of industrial and agricultural production, as a means of guaranteeing production in the country, improving the standard of living, and furthering the foreign policy aims of our Party and state.

In the light of the needs of socialist industrialization, however, we have yet to achieve adequate results in encouraging reliance on our own strength, industry and thrift in developing our country,

and to exercise more strict economy in production and consumption. We have yet to make full use of the our production potential to put out greater quantities of profitable export commodities and properly increase the share of farm produce in the country's export balance in order the sooner to raise exports to a level meeting import requirements. In importing goods, we have in many cases failed to take into proper account the necessity for meeting basic requirements and for rationally equipping the state sector with new plant.

The Party has in the main mastered the economic laws of socialism; it has been making correct use of the law of value in deciding questions of price formation, and has been doing its best to use prices for the solution of economic and political problems. Prices in the country have been balanced and a price system has been established within the framework of our independent, sovereign socialist economy. This system is contributing effectively toward economic development according to plan. The purchase prices of agricultural produce and retail prices are fairly well balanced and on the whole reasonable. Prices play a definite stimulating role in production development and in distribution according to work. They make for a higher standard of living, the establishment of the right ratio between accumulation and consumption, and of closed links between industry and agriculture, and for a stronger alliance of the workers and peasants.

On the other hand, the control of price formation has not been all-round, there have been cases of underestimation of and sluggishness in setting prices in the state sector. Price stabilization on the free market has not been receiving adequate attention. There have been discrepancies in fixing the prices of some agricultural products, of commodities differing in quality, and discrepancies in price fluctations by areas. For this reason, price formation has not developed sufficiently as a major production lever, one that helps production, accelerates the technical revolution and contributes to a new division of labor, increased productivity per worker, higher quality, and lower costs per item produced.

The meeting considers that it is necessary to press forward with greater energy the revolution in production relations, and the technical, ideological and cultural revolutions — by developing the economy, transforming small-scale productive into large-scale socialist production in order to advance the country to socialism at a fast, steady and powerful rate, and making North Vietnam a solid basis for the struggle to unify the country along peaceful lines. The key task is to concentrate on the technical revolution in order gradually to mechanize all economic branches fully or in part, provide the material and technical basis for socialism, replace

the greater part of manual labor by highly efficient mechanical labor, and accomplish a new social division of labor.

It is necessary to continue the effort to draw the remaining individual peasants into cooperatives, reorganize lower-type into higher-type cooperatives, associate small cooperatives in large collective farms in keeping with the actual conditions, transfer most of the small traders into the production sphere, and re-educate the capitalists. It is also necessary steadily to enhance the leading role of the state economic sector, reinforce the cooperative sector, and perfect and carry forward socialist relations of production.

At the present stage the socialist revolution, which has political, economic, ideological and cultural aspects, is a continuation of the struggle between the socialist and the capitalist path, a continuation of the class struggle throughout the period of the revolutionary transformation of a backward economy (chiefly small-scale, individual and dispersed in character) into a socialist economy with large-scale modern and proportionately-developed production, bypassing the capitalist stage of development.

We must do all in our power to consolidate the people's democratic state, which is fulfilling the historic tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat, in order to build socialism and complete socialist changes, exercise dictatorship in relation to the counter-revolutionaries, curb the activities of anti-popular, anti-socialist elements, and counteract subversion by which the U.S. imperialists and their flunkeys try to provoke war.

In future we must work steadfastly for the successful realization of the first five-year plan, take a stride along the path leading to socialist industrialization, step up the technical revolution and complete socialist changes. We must promote and perfect new relations of production, accelerate the ideological and cultural revolutions, create an independent and sovereign socialist economy, continuously improve the material and cultural standards of the people, vigorously develop the advantages of the socialist system, strengthen North Vietnam, turn it into a stronghold for the struggle to unify the country on peaceful lines, and contribute actively to the consolidation of the socialist camp, to the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism all over the world.

In industry, the task is to work more vigorously to provide the material and technical basis, giving priority to heavy industry, make further headway in the technical equipment of every branch of the state sector, primarily industry, increase the output of commodities for home consumption and for export, and strengthen the country's defenses.

In agriculture, we must increase food output so that it can fully

meet domestic requirements. We must hasten the expansion of areas under the more important technical crops, take a big step toward overcoming the imbalance between land cultivation and animal husbandry, ensure the powerful and steady all-round developments of agriculture, rapidly increase gross agricultural output, raise labor productivity and purchasing capacity in the countryside, and make agriculture the real basis for industrial progress.

In the sphere of distribution, we must, by developing production and exercising economy in consumption, radically improve the management of home and foreign trade and of prices. We must combine this with better work in the sphere of finance, credit and material supply in order to expand production, increase exports, increase state and cooperative accumulation, and improve public services, primarily taking care to meet the demand for food, clothing, footwear and housing. The task is to enable everyone to receive an education and medical care. We must take measures to provide guaranteed wages and gradual increase in the incomes of factory and office workers and all working people in the towns, and to raise the living standard of peasants to that of the well-to-do middle peasants.

In the sphere of home trade, we must — with a view to supplying production and meeting the needs of the population more effectively — promote state and cooperative trade, continue socialist changes in the trade sphere, improve organization and management of the rural market, strengthen and expand the single socialist market, and extend organized exchange between industry and agriculture, between the state and the cooperative economic sectors, between town and countryside, between lowland, highland and costal areas. We must strive to expand exports, strengthen the dong, complete socialist changes, and perfect the new relations of production.

Home trade should foster production, particularly in agriculture and the local industries. We must pay special attention to providing the collective farms with means of production, light industry with raw materials, and the export industry with commodities. At the same time we must take care to supply food to the areas producing technical crops and vegetables for sale to the state.

We must also improve our work in the field of distribution, properly supply the population, improve the distribution of foodstuffs in the country, stimulate greater output of food crops, exercise economy, ensure that consumption remains within reasonable bounds, and create conditions for a radical solution of the food problem. We must see to the supply of products to people engaged in heavy physical labor, engineers, technologists and skilled workers,

children, sick people, and compatriots in the highland areas, and do all we can to aid low-income families having many children. We must meet the country's defense requirements and increase state stocks of indispensable materials.

The main task of foreign trade is to promote socialist industrialization, the provision of the material and technical basis for socialism, and steadfastly increase exports and imports. To be able to increase imports, we must do more for the speedy expansion of exports. By increasing output and exercising economy in home consumption, making fuller use of the great potentialities of a tropical agriculture, vast natural resources and labor power reserves, we must rapidly expand output and improve the quality of export commodities, striving to increase the share of farm produce (including pre-conditioned produce) in our exports.

On the other hand, we must closely combine exports and imports, and import the best in technical facilities. In keeping with the country's general economic position, we must ensure the import of complete plants and individual machines to equip new enterprises and modernize the entire national economy, the import of certain raw materials, fuels and spare parts needed for the normal, steadily expanding operation of every economic branch, and the import of certain consumer boods for the population. We must actively expand the foreign market, shape our export and import policies according to the needs of economic and cultural development, and of the foreign policy of the Party and the state.

In the sphere of trade and prices, we must firmly abide by the Party line of carrying out socialist industrialization and settling questions of the relations between industry and agriculture. We must step by step establish economic plan links between industry and agriculture, between the state and the cooperative economic sectors, and promote relations of cooperation, mutual encouragement between industry and agriculture — relations which further the development of all branches — accentuating the leading role of industry as we do so.

In the sphere of prizes, we must create a balanced price system, radically stabilize prices, normalize price formation, and strive to reduce prices by carrying forward the technical revolution, perfecting production, introducing a new division of labor, increasing labor productivity, reducing costs per unit produced and circulation costs, improving and tightening financial and economic control, exercising strict economy, and combating corruption, waste, and red tape.

Prices should make for a more equitable distribution and redistribution of the national income and thereby accelerate socialist accumulation, ensure extended reproduction, improve the standard

of living, normalize consumption, and guarantee strict economy. They should promote cost accounting in the state and cooperative enterprises, and make for more extensive commodity exchanges, a more solid socialist market and a stronger socialist economic sector in town and country.

The Party and the Government must control trade and prices more efficiently. It is necessary to ensure that the Party's policies and fundamental propositions regarding the socialist revolution, trade and prices are thoroughly understood and put into practice by people in all spheres and at all levels, above all by those directly engaged in these particular fields.

In distributing products, goods and the national income, trade and prices should actively contribute toward revealing and using potential economic reserves to increase accumulation for socialist industrialization. They should also lead to steady improvements in the standard of living. The distribution of consumer goods should be based on the principle of combining distribution according to work, on the one hand, and the satisfaction of the basic requirements of all sections of the population and extended supply of the needs of the population, on the other. The object of this is to heighten the class consciousness of the people and strengthen their unity, rally them for an all-out effort to expand production, and foster their enthusiasm and their desire to achieve further and greater results in socialist construction and the peaceful unification of their country.

The meeting holds that the management of trade and price formation is a revolutionary, mass activity. It is a complex and difficult activity exerting a direct and far-reaching influence on production and life, on the economic and political situation as a whole. This is why Party bodies at all levels — from the central bodies to the primary organizations and cells — should thoroughly improve their guidance of this activity. They should take special care to strengthen the Party cells in trading institutions and establishments.

The Party and the Government must take correct decisions on all matters relating to the management of trade and price formation, clearly specify the tasks and responsibility of every branch and every section, properly differentiate the functions of the central body and local bodies, and strengthen and improve the organizational structure of home and foreign trade agencies in order to make them equal to their tasks. Along with the further implementation of socialist changes in private trade and the transfer of the majority of small traders into the production sphere, it is necessary to strengthen and improve the organization of state and cooperative trade, effectively situate the network of establishments

for the purchase and distribution of goods, and properly organize their work. This should result in a lower expenditure of social labor in the sphere of circulation and distribution, make it possible to abolish redundant intermediate elements, and achieve the greatest speed, convenience and economy in the circulation of commodities, the purpose being to foster production and continuously improve the standard of living. Special attention should be paid to the organization of the movement "for a higher sense of responsibility for more efficient financial and economic management, against corruption, waste and red tape."

It is necessary to pay constant attention to the training and education of leading and rank-and-file workers in the spheres of trade and the monetary system, strengthening their class positions and revolutionary moral principles, encourage their industry, thrift, honesty, incorruptibility and unselfishness, their reliance on their own strength, their conscientious and assiduous effort for the development of their country, their desire to advance production and serve the people and the Party's political line, heighten their sense of responsibility, organization and discipline, and improve their technical and professional standards, so that they can fight even more resolutely against all manifestations of an ideology foreign to the proletariat, of bourgeois habits, in fulfilling their tasks.

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Economic reorganization and development during the past ten years have shown the organization of socialist trade and the elaboration of a socialist price system to be a revolutionary activity. This activity is aimed at steadly developing the productive forces, improving financial and economic management, increasing socialist accumulation, improving the material and cultural standards of the people, strengthening the alliance of the workers and peasants under the leadership of the working class, promoting and developing the system of socialist property, and leading North Vietnam toward socialism with firm step, at a fast and unrelenting pace.

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COMMUNIQUE

OF THE CONSULTATIVE MEETING OF REPRESENTATIVES OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES IN MOSCOW

On March 1-5, 1965, a Consultative Meeting took place in Moscow of Representatives of the Communist Party of Argentina, the Communist Party of Australia, the Brazilian Communist Party, the Bulgarian Communist Party, the United Party of the Socialist Revolution of Cuba, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the Communist Party of Finland, the French Communist Party, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the Communist Party of Germany, the Communist Party of Great Britain, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the Communist Party of India, the Italian Communist Party, the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, the Polish United Workers' Party, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Syrian Communist Party. Representatives of the Communist Party of the United States attended the Meeting in the capacity of observers.

The participants held consultations on questions of mutual interest and exchanged opinions on the ways and means of surmounting differences and strengthening the unity of the world Communist movement.

The consultative meeting proceeded in an atmosphere of fraternity and friendship and was imbued with the spirit of active struggle for the cohesion of the Communist movement in the name of its great historic tasks. The participants expressed the firm determination of their parties to do everything in their power to cement the world Communist movement and to strengthen its unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism and the line defined in the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement.

The representatives of the parties agreed that consolidation of the positions of socialism, upsurge of the national liberation and the international working-class movements, and growth of the forces advocating the maintenance and strengthening of peace, constitute the basic trend in world development under the present conditions. At the same time, it was noted that world reaction, primarily U.S. imperialism, is becoming more active in various regions of the globe, trying to aggravate the situation and undertaking acts of aggression against the socialist countries, the newly-liberated countries and the revolutionary movement of the peoples.

In this situation it is more than ever necessary for all Communist parties to show their sense of internationalist responsibility and to unite for the common struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and against the rule of monopoly capital, for active support to the liberation movement and defense of the peoples who are objects of imperialist aggression, and for the struggle for world peace based on respect for the sovereignty and integrity of all states.

In a Statement, the participants expressed their solidarity with the heroic people of Vietnam and the Party of Labor of Vietnam, and issued a call for international solidarity in the struggle against the aggressive acts of the U.S. militarists.

Cohesion of all the revolutionary forces of our time — the socialist community, the national-liberation movement and the international working class — is of crucial importance for the success of the fight against imperialism. This cohesion calls insistently for the strengthening of world Communist unity.

Divergences in the Communist movement weaken its unity and thereby do damage to the world liberation movement, to the Communist cause.

The participants voiced their conviction that what unites the Communist parties greatly outweighs that which at the present time disunites them. Even though there are differences over the political line and many important problems of theory and tactics, it is quite possible and necessary to work for united action against imperialism, in the matter of all-round support for the liberation movement of the peoples, in the struggle for world peace and the peaceful coexistence of all countries, big and small, with different social systems, and in the fight for the vital interests and historical goals of the working clas. Concerted action in the fight for these common goals is the most effective way of surmounting the existing differences.

The participants stressed that the Communist parties must exert collective efforts to improve relations between them and to strengthen the unity of the world Communist movement on the basis of the observance of the democratic principles of the independence and equality of all the brother parties.

In the struggle for the solution of tasks common to the whole of the Communist movement, it is desirable to exploit all possibilities and ways, including bilateral and multilateral meetings between representatives of fraternal parties and other forms of Party contacts and exchanges of opinion.

The participants are unanimous in the opinion that under present conditions, as is declared in the 1960 Statement, International Meetings of Communist and Workers' Parties are an effective

means of exchanging views and experiences, enriching Marxist-Leninist theory by collective effort and working out united positions in the struggle for common aims. Such Meetings, held with observance of the principles of complete equality and independence of each Party, can render good service to the cause of surmounting differences and cementing the Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism. Therefore, in the opinion of the participants, active and all-sided preparations for a new International Meeting, to be held at a suitable date, fully conform to the interest of the world Communist movement.

To convene the new Meeting and to secure its success, it is necessary to prepare it both as to its content and as to organization, actively to create by joint effffforts favorable conditions for all fraternal parties to participate in its preparation, and to work tirelessly for an improvement of the atmosphere in the world Communist movement. The Meeting should serve the common cause of all Communists. Emphasis and concentration of efforts on the urgent tasks confronting the Communist movement will, more than anythig else, bring our positions on the fundamental issues of the time closer together.

The participants expressed the opinion that it is desirable to hold a Preliminary Consultative Conference of representatives of the 81 parties that gathered at the 1960 Meeting in order to discuss the question of a new International Meeting. It is necessary to hold consultations with all these parties to decide the question of convening this Preliminary Conference.

The parties represented at this meeting have declared themselves in favor of discontinuing open polemics, which are in character unfriendly and degrading to the fraternal parties. At the same time, they consider it useful to continue, in a comradely form and without mutual attacks, an exchange of opinion on the important contemporary issues of mutual interest. The participants declare themselves in favor of the rigorous observance of the standards governing relations between parties as defined by the 1957 and 1960 meetings, and against the interference by any Party in the internal affairs of other parties.

In expressing their opinion on the ways of surmounting the difficulties in the world Communist movement and on its further development, the representatives of the parties were guided by the wish to strengthen the Marxist-Leninist unity of the Communist ranks in the fight against imperialism and colonialism, for national liberation, peace, democracy, socialism and communism.

The representatives of the parties trust that all fraternal parties will respond favorably to this consultative meeting.

THE EVENTS IN VIETNAM

STATEMENT BY THE PARTICIPANTS IN THE CONSULTATIVE MEETING OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

On March 3 last, the participants in the consultative meeting of Communist and Workers' parties unanimously adopted a statement on the events in Vietnam. The following is the full text of the statement:

The representatives of Communist and Workers' parties who have met in Moscow for consultations on matters of mutual interest call the attention of all the progressive and peace-loving forces, of the masses generally, to the dangerous situation created by the expansion of military intervention by the U.S. imperialists in South Vietnam and by their acts of aggression against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

U.S. imperialism, defeated in its attempt to strangle the liberation movement of the South Vietnamese patriots, has embarked on open aggression against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. In defiance of the elementary standards of international law, the U.S. military are pursuing the most brutal and undisguised colonial policy. The brutal bombings of populated areas in socialist Vietnam create a new situation in Southeast Asia which is fraught with serious complications for the whole world.

The U.S. armed intervention in the affairs of the peoples of Indo-China not only imperils the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the independent states in that area but seriously injures world peace. It is fresh evidence that imperialist reaction is stepping up its activity and trying to aggravate the situation in various areas of the world by launching acts of aggression against the socialist countries, against countries which have freed themselves from colonial rule, against the liberation movement of the peoples.

The U.S. imperialists' actions in Vietnam are severely condemned by all the revolutionary, democratic and peace-loving forces. The peoples that have cast off colonial tyranny and are fighting to consolidate their independence rightly regard these actions as an attempt at forcibly suppressing the national-liberation movement, as an undisguised encroachment on the sacred right of every people to shape their own destiny.

The representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties express their internationalist solidarity with the fraternal people of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the heroic Party of Working

People of Vietnam, and the National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam, who are waging a courageous fight against imperialist aggression. The Marxist-Leninist parties regard it as their internationalist duty to work to ensure united action by all the progressive and democratic forces in resolute support of the Vietnamese people's heroic struggle for their freedom and independence. We demand the immediate withdrawal of the armed forces of the United States and its satellites from South Vietnam, and an end to military attacks on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

The representatives of Communist and Workers' parties assembled in Moscow call on all the Communist parties and socialist countries, on all the forces of national liberation and the working-class movement, on all who champion peace and progress, to promote unity of action and solidarity in the active struggle against imperialist aggression, for national independence, for peace and the security of peoples.

MEETING OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA*

On January 27-29 last, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia met to discuss guidelines for better economic organization, planning and management. Comrade Josef Lenart presented a report on the principles of management and the problems of implementing them. The CC also examined, on the basis of a report by Comrade Jiri Hendrych, questions relating to the work and structure of the Party and other mass organizations.

The debate, which reaffirmed the need consistently to solve the problems of the further development of the socialist economy, dealt in detail with political and organizational measures for the successful realization of the proposed principles of economic management and organization. Party work, the Party's leading role, and the activities and role of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement (RTUM) and other mass organizations were also discussed.

The Central Committee passed a resolution on the main lines to be followed in improving economic planning and management and on Party work. Another resolution concerns the position, role and tasks of the RTUM during the full-scale construction of socialism.

RESOLUTION ON THE MAIN LINE TO BE FOLLOWED IN IMPROVING ECONOMIC PLANNING AND MANAGEMENT AND ON PARTY WORK.

The 12th Congress of the CP of Czechoslovakia showed that the advance of our society to communism calls for the fulfilment of two interdependent tasks: orientating the economy on intensive development, and organizing the management of our society, particularly the national economy, along scientific lines.

The experience gained by the Party in recent years leads to the conclusion that the present system of economic management, which has fulfilled its historical mission in socialist construction no longer meets the growing requirements and that the economic directives of the 12th Congress cannot be carried out unless this system is fundamentally readjusted.

The Central Committee considers it necessary to utilize all the

*Abridged from **Rude Pravo**, Jan. 30, 1965.

positive aspects of the present system, enrich it with new elements and in this way introduce a superior system of socialist management. Better management will make it possible to use every advantage of the socialist system more effectively, to use for the benefit of socialist society the vast opportunities provided by the present revolution in science and technology.

An improved system of management should also allow better use of the advantages of international cooperation with fraternal socialist countries, especially through the Council for Mutual Economic Aid.

I. MAIN PRINCIPLES OF THE NEW SYSTEM OF ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT

The Central Committee proposes the following lines to be followed in improving the socialist system of management.

—creating the most favorable conditions for steady economic progress through higher productivity of social labor and greater returns, to be achieved by making the most extensive use of science and technology and by consistently applying the principle of material incentive and of the responsibility of all working people for the results of labor;

—improving centralized economic management and making better use of its advantages;

—combining social planning with socialist commodity-money relations;

—extending the powers and responsibilities of enterprises and encouraging the workers' individual and collective initiative.

The Central Committee stresses that the new system of management cannot operate automatically and will require a higher standard of management. The effectiveness of the system will depend entirely on how well its significance is understood by the working people, particularly managerial personnel, and how they apply it in dealing with practical matters. This calls for proper explanatory work by the Party, which must show that the new system will benefit individual workers and the staffs of enterprises provided their labor effectively contributes to the economy. It is also necessary to use moral and political factors as effectively as possible and foster comradely relations between people.

ROLE OF CENTRALIZED PLANNING AND GUIDANCE OF THE ECONOMY

Centralized guidance of the socialist economy by the Government and its agencies is based on a knowledge of the laws govern-

ing the development of socialist society. Accordingly, the Government and its agencies draw up scientifically sound economic plans and devise the best economic policies. The central leadership concerns itself with basic economic questions, which cannot be decided by the lower bodies inasmuch as their knowledge of the decisive economic relationships and interconnections is bound to be only partial and hence inadequate.

The Central Committee considers that decisions at the center should be taken:

—on basic production proportions, division of the national income into accumulation and consumption funds, the relationship between personal and social consumption, and ways of improving the standard of living;

—on the main lines of development of the productive forces. To this end, it will be necessary to direct the development of the various industries in such a way as to ensure the most effective branch structure and specialization. And this means that the central bodies must plan basic investments according to long-range scientific concepts, ensure the continuous improvement of the working people's skills and specify the main objectives of technical progress and the tasks arising from international division of labor, as well as from economic and trade agreements. They are also responsible for the balanced economic development of the country's various regions, primarily by properly distributing basic investments.

—on the methods of applying the economic levers of management, on guidelines for price and wage policies — to ensure that the initiative of enterprises aimed at increasing the production of social labor, improving production and its organization and introducing new lines of output, is continuously encouraged and supported—and on credit and finance policies.

THE ECONOMIC PLAN IS THE MAIN INSTRUMENT OF MANAGEMENT

The national economic plan, which ensures proportional economic development, is the main instrument of socialist economic guidance. To raise the scientific standard of the plan and all decisions on economic planning and management, it is necessary to use objective criteria and on their basis to choose the best possible solutions.

Previous practice considered the satisfaction of certain requirements out of planned resources to be the important thing. More, it seldom took the effectiveness of the decision adopted into proper account. Under the new system, decisions on the requisites

for our further progress are to be taken with due regard to the following circumstances:

(a) how effective the proposed decision is in comparison with the world high in terms of quality, technical indices, and outlay;

(b) what economic results it will produce considering the investments and production expenditures made;

(c) to what extent it will deplete or save economic development resources.

To guide the operation of enterprises from the center does not mean determining every decisive aspect of their work but continuously and flexibly influencing the economic situation which the enterprises go by in making decisions. The point is that enterprises should, while taking account of their own interests, meet the interests of society as a whole. This means that one of the new important tasks of the central bodies will be constantly to harmonize individual interests and the interests of society by flexibly using economic levers and to implement the principle: what is good for society should be good for the enterprise and the individual.

The entire economy and its every branch need a clear outlook the details of which should be continuously specified. This means adopting the following system:

(a) a long-range program for 10 to 15 years, based on an analysis of the state of our economy, the trends of development of public life and the use of scientific and technical achievements, and taking as its point of departure the role we expect to play in the world economy, particularly within the socialist system;

(b) a five-year plan giving concrete expression to the long-range perspective and research findings throughout the economy. It will be the main guide to concrete management at all levels and provide guidelines for current plans.

Simultaneously with drawing up the five-year plan, the central bodies must establish basic rules for the provision of material incentives, especially the principles and rates to be applied in making deductions for the state budget and in creating reserve funds, the manner in which enterprises are to participate in financing capital investments, and so on.

It is essential to ensure that the enterprises, guided by the long-range program and acting on their own initiative and with due regard to their own needs, systematically make their own analyses of the home and foreign market, and of the conditions and requisites for further development, in order to ascertain the best ways and means of achieving the world standard as regards production outlay, quality, and the technical, aesthetic and other characteristics of their products.

(c) The annual plan, drawn up with a view to the prospects of the next year or two (the two-year perspective will be particularly necessary in capital construction), should be aimed at reaching five-year plan targets.

The central bodies will exert decisive influence on capital construction, which is the chief means of effecting structural changes in the national economy, ensuring technological progress, and improving living and working conditions. Investments and the use of fixed assets will have a direct bearing on the deductions from the incomes of enterprises for the state budget. The investor will be fully responsible for the turnover, and hence the effectiveness, of investments. Credits will be used for the purpose. Enterprises will repay these credits and pay interest on them out of their incomes.

The central bodies will ensure the utilization of achievements in science and technology to advance our society still further. Science should influence production and the whole of social practice in increasing measure.

The central bodies will continue to promote international economic cooperation. The development of the Czechoslovak economy and the gradual increase of its productivity call for methodically implementing the principle of international division of labor and carrying forward the positive results of the activities of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid. It is particularly important properly to organize international division of labor in the sphere of research and development. Czechoslovakia has a vital interest in promoting international division of labor.

MATERIAL INCENTIVES AND THE ECONOMIC LEVERS OF MANAGEMENT

The Central Committee considers it necessary radically to reshape the system of material incentive and material responsibility. The interests of enterprises will be linked with actual economic results and not merely with the fulfilment of plan indices. The funds available to the enterprises for bonuses and for their own development will directly depend on their net returns after deductions for the labor expended and fulfilment of their obligations toward society.

The overall remuneration of each employee should depend not only on the results of his own labor but — to a certain differentiated extent — on the economic results of the operation of the enterprise in general and its every section in particular.

The new approach to material incentives will make it possible gradually to overcome the present tendency on the part of the enterprises to keep down their commitments under the plan. In

the economic climate in which the enterprises will be placed they will be interested in drawing up optimum plans.

THE ROLE OF PRICES

In keeping with the evolution of economic conditions in production and consumption, prices should be applied in such a way as to make the economy as productive as possible. The right criterion here is the socially-necessary cost of production, world prices and, consequently, the effect of world labor productivity on the ratio of prices in our country. This is why prices which over a long period were unchanged will be revised by flexibly and methodically directing prices movements while maintaining a stable general level. The general level of retail prices should be preserved. This stability should be achieved chiefly by flexibly adapting production to the requirements of society.

More profitable prices will be fixed for new products that will be more perfect in terms of quality and other consumption indices.

In organizing the planning of prices and a system for fixing them, it is necessary to elaborate in detail a proper distribution of functions between the central and lower management bodies. The central organs are to decide on fixed prices and control the observance of the rules of price formation. Fixed prices will be set on basic raw and other materials and on basic necessities. Within these rules and limits, specific prices will be set by agreement between the buyer and the supplier. In certain cases enterprises will be agreement with the buyer independently fix free prices on the basis of supply and demand and in keeping with the regulations in force throughout the country.

FOREIGN TRADE

The price level on the foreign market should stimulate the more profitable operation of production enterprises and foreign trade organizations. This will not only encourage the enterprises and organizations in question to make exports and imports as profitable as possible but will make for greater initiative and for the introduction of desirable changes into the pattern of our foreign trade. Thus foreign trade will make it possible to compare the national and world technical and economic standards of production. This will lead to specialization in production and research and to the economy being equipped with the best in world technology.

To induce production enterprises to improve their contribution to foreign trade, it is necessary gradually to introduce sharing in foreign exchange incomes, the free purchase of foreign currency

at the established rates, exchange credits, redistribution of foreign exchange incomes accruing to enterprises as well as bonuses to their suppliers, etc.

HOME TRADE

In the sphere of home trade, greater inducements are required to promote the continuous satisfaction of the population's demand and better services, with the simultaneous optimum increase of the stocks of consumer goods.

We must achieve maximum flexibility in the relationships between buyers and suppliers, between home trade, production and foreign trade, and remove all obstacles to the choice of suppliers by trading establishments.

Competition to meet the requirements of the population will be stimulated by the gradual increase of consumer goods imports, which will be effected within established limits at the request of home trade bodies, and not by arrangement with home producers, as has been done so far.

In organizing home trade, we must expand opportunities for competition between different enterprises in the trading system: between state trading establishments, the trading network of state production establishments and trading cooperatives. However, cooperatives should not reduce supplies to the countryside.

ENTERPRISES UNDER THE NATIONAL COMMITTEES

The new principles of economic management will also be applied at the enterprises under the charge of National Committees.

The main economic function of the National Committee is to ensure the development of the public utilities and small-scale local production to meet the needs of the population. In order steadily to improve the municipal services, it is necessary to launch competition between enterprises under the National Committee, on the one hand, and cooperatives, on the other, and use simpler forms of management (sharing in proceeds, remuneration according to proceeds, and so on).

PLANNING AND COST ACCOUNTING AT THE ENTERPRISES

The considerable extension of the powers and responsibilities of enterprises will call for a qualitatively new kind of management.

The specific methods and forms of organizing the management of enterprises should be differentiated according to local conditions.

It is necessary;

—further to improve and properly use internal technical, economic and current planning in the system of management:

—to promote the purposeful employment of value ratios in internal management and accounting;

—to encourage personal material interest in the economic results achieved by each section of the enterprise and personal material responsibility for these results, making active use of suitable forms of remuneration;

—to organize all planning and accounting in such a way as to make possible constant control over the various sections of the enterprise;

—to use mathematical methods and promote mechanization of managerial activity;

—to overcome subjectivism in management and draw on the achievements of the social sciences, including sociology and psychology.

THE ROLE OF CONTROL AND INFORMATION

The new system of management will require, first of all, making control based on a complete, efficient and dependable system of information the daily concern of every management body and managerial worker. It should help them to discern and generalize development trends in good time, spread positive experience, prevent errors and shortcomings or efficiently and resolutely rectify them.

The control system will be aimed at protecting the public interest and stimulating initiative and socialist enterprise more effectively with a view to better management. Control will be exercised above all in fields where the danger of anti-social trends is greatest (questions of quality, movement of prices and wages, the abuse of their monopoly position by producers).

To make control more effective, we must steadily render it more democratic, so that it will not be the concern of management bodies alone but of all working people and their elected representatives.

We must improve the standard of information at all managerial levels, end the fragmentation of economic information, and improve methods of collecting, conveying and processing data. The system of economic information, which should be competently processed in line with progress in statistics, should gradually enable the central management bodies to supervise and direct the general development of the entire economy, allowing the lower bodies or their public agencies the greatest leeway and maximum initiative in current management.

IMPORTANT MEASURES FOR THE TRANSITION TO THE NEW SYSTEM

Changes in the organization of the technical base of production, and the methodical solution of the problems of economic development according to the new principles are a necessary condition for the effective operation of the new system of management.

1. THE ORGANIZATION OF COST-ACCOUNTING AND CENTRAL MANAGEMENT BODIES

The Central Committee has approved the following principles of organization of the technical production base:

Concerns taking in entire branches of industry, which it is advisable, as a rule, to set up for vertically organized major economic units having a complex internal structure, and trusts uniting enterprises of one and the same branch are the basic type of organization of production and economic units corresponding to the approved system of management and creating favorable conditions for the application of higher forms of production organization — concentration, specialization and combination.

In cases when the conditions in terms of production and consumption warrant it, diverse types of enterprises may be grouped under a single management.

We must consistently carry out measures to strengthen the buyers' economic position and hence to eliminate, or at least alleviate, the adverse effects of the concentration of production in single hands.

The organization of the production and economic base should make for healthy competition between state and cooperative enterprises, on the one hand, and locally-run enterprises producing primarily consumer goods and providing services to the population, on the other.

The boards of the concerns and trusts will be the highest links of management with jurisdiction over the finances and operation of all the subordinate enterprises and organizations. They will operate autonomously, using the economic levers provided by the new system, and will be responsible for the economic decisions they make. These boards will specify the powers which subordinate enterprises are to exercise in taking decisions on their own initiative in keeping with the principles of socialist enterprise.

The Central Committee holds that the branch boards should be responsible:

—for the development of the branches concerned, especially

from the point of view of world technical standards and outlay, quality, and use value of commodities;

—in common with trading organizations, for the steady supply of the economy as a whole with their products;

—for the most economical and expedient utilization of the funds entrusted to them.

The previous system of management limited independent decision-making and thereby undermined the authority of executives, leading to an oversimplified attitude toward economic matters. The new system of planning and management calls for the consistent distribution of powers and responsibilities between executives at various levels, for the necessary independence of executives in making decisions. An end must be put to the arbitrary transfer of the authority of one managerial level to another, and to the excessive restriction of the powers of executives by pedantic coordination with higher bodies. Every executive should be responsible for the decisions he takes.

Since every executive must bear full responsibility for the job entrusted to him, he must have greater authority to decide on the selection, transfer or dismissal of personnel. Labor power transfers desirable from the economic point of view will be authorized by appropriate regulations.

The Central Committee instructs the Government of the Republic to devise an expedient structure and distributing of the funcions of its agencies, to normalize and properly orientate the work of Ministries as complex bodies of the central management of the new branch associations.

The State Bank is to play an important part in the solution of economic problems under the new system. In addition to better control through finances, it will promote the effective operation of enterprises by making credits dependent on returns and turnover. The activity of banks will also be extended in the sphere of foreign trade.

2. ACTIVE SOLUTION OF PRESSING ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

The introduction of the new system of management is a condition for the solution of pressing economic problems. It calls for drawing up the five-year plan in a new way, on the basis of a realistic appraisal of the opportunities for economic growth, and for carrying it out according to the new principles of management. The long-range plan should, in addition to introducing the new system of management, ensure — in the spirit of the decisions of the 12th Congress of the CPC — the gradual technical reconstruction and consolidation of the economy, conformity of raw material

resources to demand and labor power, as well as of the population's money incomes to goods stocks and the available public service facilities, greater returns from foreign trade, and the creation of material, foreign exchange and financial reserves.

The five-year plan for 1966-70 should be based on the actual potentialities of the Czechoslovak economy and should initiate the intensive rather than extensive development of the economy. It should introduce such an approach to investment as will result in a more effective use of raw and other materials and power. Priority is to be given to the overall modernization of enterprises, which should guarantee technological progress over a long period.

It is necessary consistently to ensure, in conformity with the resources created, all-round improvement of the standard of living by promoting housing construction, the service industries and passenger transport and striving toward shorter working hours, a better pattern of personal consumption, and higher quality of goods.

The development of agriculture and the gradual evening up of the level of agricultural and industrial production are a prime factor for the advancement of our material and technical base. This will in the next few years require continuing the all-round mechanization and chemicalization of agriculture, providing greater materal inducements, and in this way creating further conditions for drawing the youth into agricultural production.

To end harmful levelling in remuneration, it is necessary to redistribute the remuneration fund by increasing the amount set apart for bonuses and other premiums to be paid as inducements for results achieved by the whole enterprise, with due regard to the contribution of each worker.

GRADUAL INTRODUCTION OF THE NEW SYSTEM

The introduction of the new system of management is a gradual and purposive process during which it should be continuously developed and improved. The system must not be expected to operate automatically.

The initial period of operation of the new system will be particularly important, because that is when the fundamental principles of the system will have to be put into effect with due regard to the available opportunities for economic development.

In this connection, account should be taken:

—of existing economic imbalances, which it will take time to remove;

—of the limited opportunities for the use of current wholesale prices;

—of the actual state of preparations at all levels of management.

The Central Committee deems it necessary for the Government to begin by accomplishing the following tasks:

1. Completing the solution of pressing problems, and paving the way for the introduction of the fundamental principles of the new system, in 1965. This means:

(a) elaborating the basic concept of economic development from 1966 to 1970 in order to strengthen the economy and reconstruct it technically;

(b) seeing to it that the principles of the new system are worked out in a creative spirit not later than June 30, 1965, on the basis of available data, in keeping with the nature and conditions of individual branches of industry, construction, home and foreign trade, and of the enterprises under the National Committees;

(c) proposing, before the end of 1965, ways and means of applying the principles of the new system in transport and agriculture;

(d) reorganizing the technical production base in the first half of 1965, taking care to distribute personnel as effectively as possible;

(e) completing, before the end of 1965, the solution of methodological problems posed by the new system, working out appropriate legal standards, specifying the sphere of action of economic levers between 1966 and 1970, and devising a system of economic levers and measures that the central bodies could use if the introduction of the new system were to produce adverse effects;

(f) mounting in the same period preparations for a radical revision of wholesale prices, and elaborating the fundamental principles of price formation, as well as a system of state subsidies pending final revision of wholesale prices;

(g) defining the principles of deciding questions of wages, specifying the content and function of collective agreements, subsequent control of the wage fund, and so on, and deciding on the manner in which undesirable wage increases can be prevented, on the understanding, however, that funds should be used expediently to eliminate levelling and increase bonuses for the successful fulfilment of annual plans by enterprises;

(h) ensuring that in 1965 work on the plan is already carried on according to the new principles of management;

(i) testing the new system of planning and management in experimental enterprises assigned for purpose; carefully following the experiments and thoroughly appraising their results with an eye to introducing the new system everywhere.

2. Introducing the fundamental principles of the new system in the main branches of the economy in 1966. Decisions on the ways and means of introducing the new system and on the limit within

which this should be done should be taken upon verification of preparedness, especially as regards the plan for the period till 1970. The following principles should be adhered to:

(a) introduce a comprehensive system of incentives for and responsibility of the workers of enterprises, using gross income or profit as a lever; decide on incentives for enterprises pending complete settlement of wholesale prices;

(b) substantially reduce the number of directive indices in the case of the national plan; abolish the practice of obligatory specification of the economic activity of enterprises through an extensive system of overall indices of output, labor productivity, reduction of production outlays, and so on. Staff restrictions and the organized recruitment of labor power will have to be maintained to a certain extent until we succeed in reducing the discrepancy between the available reserves of labor power and the demand for it;

(c) introduce from the outset the principle of material responsibility for the use of fixed assets and for the effectiveness of investments; the amount of deductions from the incomes of enterprises is to be determined according to the amount of fixed assets;

(d) in the sphere of foreign trade, use from the outset economic means to promote the effectiveness of exports and imports, increase the amount of foreign trade in planned proportions, and improve the balance of payments;

(e) in home trade, pass at the very beginning from the system of detailed directive indices to more efficient management of trading organizations by using economic levers. It is above all necessary to ensure that from 1966 onward trading establishments receive most of the goods direct from the producer. Trading organizations should have the opportunity to choose suppliers and purchase goods in optimum quantities and variety. This means lending greater flexibility to the import of consumer goods and placing the means required for their import at the disposal of trading bodies without previous agreement with home producers;

(f) the central bodies should constantly watch over and control the formation and movement of prices, combat any tendency toward unwarranted price and wage increases, and provide an optimum wage structure to avoid risk and the unfavorable trends engendered by previous imbalances.

The Central Committee emphasizes once again that the fundamental principles of the new system of economic management should be regarded as a long-range decision to be carried out gradually, according to the political and economic conditions and the experience gained.

II. ENHANCING THE LEADING ROLE OF THE PARTY AND INCREASING THE ACTIVITY OF MASS ORGANIZATIONS

To solve the complex problems of providing the material and technical basis for a developed socialist society, higher social relations and carry on communist education, the Party must systematically study and cognize the objective processes of social development and create—by elaborating a long-range scientific concept—the socio-political basis for the functioning of all its leading bodies, all its organizations and members. The Party must, furthermore, know and take account of the objective interests of society, social groups, collective bodies and individuals, enlist the broadest possible sections of the working people in preparations for and the realization of all measures, and provide conditions for the independent solution of problems by government and economic bodies, as well as by mass organizations. All this will enable the Party bodies to give more attention to the decision of long-range questions with due regard to public opinion.

Responsibility for the decision of questions pertaining to the concept of development between Party congresses rests with the Central Committee, which is in a position to take in social developments in their totality and to unite the interests and requirements of classes, social strata, economic branches and territorial units. The knowledge of the entire Party and the whole of society is concentrated in the Central Committee, which is the chief exponent of creative political thinking. In the light of the latest achievements in science, the CC studies the possibilities of society's development according to plan. To cope with socio-political tasks, the CC carries on experimental work, taking account of the experience of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, and of the world Communist movement. It improves the system of comprehensive information and guides the activities of Party bodies and organizations to enable them in their respective spheres purposively to generalize the course of social events and raise the standard of Party work.

A useful role is also played in this respect by the CC commissions, whose subsequent activities should be geared more consistently to the elaboration of concepts and fundamental proposals. The commissions should consult researchers and other specialists, as well as the working people generally, on these matters. The commissions of regional and district Party committees should concentrate on working out concepts of the all-round development of regions and districts.

ORGANIZE EFFECTIVE POLITICAL WORK AMONG THE MASSES

The leading role of the Party consists, as well as working out the concept of the development of society, in leading the working people, in educating them ideologically and organizing them, in order to win their support for Party policy and secure their active cooperation in carrying it out. The Central Committee instructs all Party bodies and organizations to pay special heed to this fundamental aspect of Party work, overcome their inclination for purely inner-Party activity and carry on political work among the masses, outside the Party, on a far greater scale. The CC notes that political explanatory work among the masses has been unsatisfactory, and has borne little fruit, for a fairly long time now. This work is adversely affected, among other things, by a certain vacillation in evidence in certain sectors of the ideological front.

The CC instructs Party bodies and organizations to shape the membership's political work among the masses in such a way as to ensure that it acquaints the working people more actively and promptly with concepts embracing the whole state, with the aims, intentions and activities of the Party.

An important task of the Party bodies is constantly to inform the Communists of Party policies, of the questions decided by the Party. This information enables members and candidate members to work more actively among the masses. In view of the introduction of an improved system of economic management, it is necessary, first and foremost, to explain the importance of democratic centralism in the life and development of society, of the unity of the interests of the individual and society, of local and group interests, of long-range planning, the use of commodity-money relations, the development and proper application of the principle of material inducement, the extension of the powers and responsibilities of economic executives, more rigid discipline, and greater initiative and activity on the part of the working people.

Party bodies and organizations discussing economic issues should adhere to a political approach. With the aim of increasing the activity of Communists and intensifying their political work among the masses, greater emphasis should be placed on making the work of the Party committees of primary organizations more effective and on increasing assistance to the primary organizations on the part of the district committees and higher Party bodies.

The entire ideological and educational work of the Party should heighten each citizen's sense of responsibility for the further successful development of our socialist country. All evidence of a sectarian attitude toward the working people by Communists has

a negative effect on the relations between the Party and the masses. The Party considers a comradely, thoughtful attitude to all working people a condition for ensuring the success of its policy and winning greater confidence with the masses.

PARTY GUIDANCE OF THE ECONOMY

To give Party guidance means influencing the production and economic activities of the working people, and the work of government, economic and other public institutions and organizations in such a way as to expend social labor in a planned and efficient manner and encourags the abilities and initiative of people. It also means coordinating the activities of all the sections of society, cognizing and using the objective processes going on in society and in material production. Party work has always been, and will continue to be, aimed at solving production and economic problems and at achieving closer links with the production sphere. In practice, however, there is still a need to do away with certain elements of one-sidedness.

The cause of shortcomings, uncalled-for takeovers of managerial functions, and a certain relaxation of links with the working people lie in the nature of the difficulties our country is passing through. While administrative methods of leadership predominated and the central government and economic bodies were unable to combat economic stagnation actively enough, the Party grappled with important economic problems and difficulties. The result was that Party bodies relieved the top workers of government and economic bodies of responsibility for the direct management of the economy.

Party guidance must not be seen as the assumption of economic and government functions, any more than it can be confined to political and ideological influence isolated from the economic sphere. It does not contradict the authority and personal responsibility of economic bodies or executives. Their powers and responsibilities are reaffirmed by the new system of management, and Party organizations should not infringe but support them; they should control the fulfilment of assignments, verify the practical results of work done and draw attention to incorrect decisions. Whenever they fail to reach agreement with the economic management on disputed issues, and hence to introduce necessary corrections, they should inform higher Party bodies accordingly.

To assume the functions of economic and government bodies and their personnel means in effect depriving Party bodies of the possibility to exercise control, appraise, to give political guidance. This inevitably leads to irresponsible attitudes, overcautious-

ness and duplication, with the result that it is often impossible to trace the real causes of shortcomings.

The Central Committee stresses that the right to exercise control over the activities of executives in enterprises or institutions—a right granted by the Party Rules to the primary organizations of the production, transport and trade enterprises, machine-and-tractor stations, state farms, various agricultural cooperatives, design offices and research institutions, which are controlled by different departments and by production or economic bodies—must not be taken to mean the right to determine what and how the executives concerned must and can decide.

Party organizations should concentrate primarily on implementing the economic policy of the Party in the conditions of enterprises and various work places, exercising control over economic activities and appraising the results of these activities. The Communists, being the main exponents of social progress, should consider it their duty to acquire scientific knowledge, introduce new techniques, and see to it that these are used to the full.

We maintain that economics are inseparable from politics and Party work is inseparable from economic problems. Politics are the concentrated expression of economics, and no economic questions can be properly decided unless properly approached from the political standpoint.

A correct policy on personnel is indispensable for putting the Party line into effect. In the light of the decisions regarding the policy on personnel, adopted by the Presidium of the CC CPC in December 1964, all Party bodies and organizations must pay special attention to the provision of personnel to all fields of work under the new system of economic management.

In every walk of life, particularly in key posts, we need people firmly upholding socialist principles, politically mature and professionally competent, people who know how to approach their fellow-workers, people who are exacting, devoted to their job and aware of their responsibility, and who assess their own activity and that of others by the extent that it benefits the whole of society, the people as a whole. The Party will see to it that every citizen who thinks and acts in the socialist way holds, according to his ability and the degree of his political maturity, the position in which he can be of the greatest service to society.

PROMOTE THE IDEOLOGICAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL UNITY OF THE PARTY

To solve the new difficult economic, political and ideological problems, we must systematically foster the unity and working

capacity of the Party and provide an atmosphere more conducive to creative endeavor in inner-Party life. By its activity and its internal relations the Party should serve as an example of serious and critical approach to results achieved. It should reject all manifestations of negativism and self-complacency. By holding exchanges of views on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles, and by using criticism and self-criticism, the Party rids its activity and the life of society of obsolete working methods, indolence in thought, manifestations of dogmatism, Right-wing opportunism and liberalism.

In view of the introduction of the new system of economic management, the Central Committee re-emphasizes the need of an uncompromising and active ideological struggle against liberal trends, as well as against conservatism and subjectivism.

We must dismiss all speculative talk to the effect that the new system means modifying the socialist character of our economy and a triumph for liberalism in economic management. In fact, the measures being taken by the Party are aimed at releasing the forces which will enable our society to eliminate the survivals of philistine morality and practice.

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The new forms of work and the further organizational structure of the Party should correspond to the new system of economic management. The Central Committee holds that the territorial and production principle should remain the basis of Party structure.

The primary organizations, which unite Communists by work place, that is, according to the production principle, will continue to form territorial, regional and district Party organizations headed by common Party committees, that is, will be organized according to the territorial principle. This will enable the territorial Party bodies to discern and decide general questions of the long-range development of the region or district concerned, take part in the working out of long-range plans of economic development, guide the Communists in solving economic problems in the enterprises, and bring Party influence to bear in the spirit of democratic centralism.

We must also encourage methods and forms of work that will help integrate the activity of the Communists in the branch enterprises or trusts in question. In line with democratic centralism in Party structure and activity, the Party committees of branch organizations (the committees at the chief enterprise) should be in a position to call twice or three times a year, by arrangement with the relevant departments of the CC CPC (CC CPS) and the regional Party committees in whose territory the branch boards concerned are operating, meetings of the first secretaries or other Party

functionaries in the enterprises, research institutions and design offices associated in a branch enterprise or a trust. These meetings will, as a rule, discuss important economic and political matters, the education and placing of personnel, and so on. One of their functions will be fully to inform the rank and file of the tasks of the branch (trust) organizations, generalize opinions, coordinate activities, spread knowledge and experience, and examine proposals for better leadership.

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The Central Committee expects the regional Party committees to contribute, by drawing on their experience, to the elaboration and realization of perspectives, especially in the field of economic planning. The regional committees will lead the district committees in implementing Party policy in the spirit of unity, combating departmental narrow-mindedness and parochialism, and ensuring a consistent and a responsible attitude to the public interest.

Inasmuch as the district committees give direct leadership to the primary organizations and are closest of all to the masses, it is important even more resolutely to direct their political, ideological and organizational activity toward concrete work among the masses. The growing tasks imperatively demand that the district committees should stop concerning themselves with particular questions of secondary importance and should concentrate on fulfilling the major political tasks set by the Central Committee, improving ideological work and work among people, and exercising control in the districts concerned.

The role of the district committees as the decisive link which through its political, organizational and educational work directly carries Party policy into practice in common with the members of the primary organizations and other working people is becoming increasingly prominent. This means that they must provide better leadership to the primary organizations, go deeper into their activity and direct it more effectively toward steadily increasing Communist influence in factories, agricultural cooperatives and other work places. We must keep the Party organizations, every Communist and all working people much better informed.

We must differentiate the role and functions of the regional and district committees more precisely. They must not decide identical questions in one and the same way. This would scatter the forces of the Party and breed unnecessary decisions and bureaucratic methods. For instance, the tendency to spell out every CC decision, no matter how specific, leads to waste of energy, delays the forwarding of decisions from the center to the primary organizations,

fetters their initiative in adjusting Party directives to local conditions, and thereby holds up the execution of Party decisions.

With a view to preparing regional and district committee meetings more thoroughly and ensuring that their decisions are carried out more fruitfully, the Central Committee deems it possible for the plenary meetings of the regional and district committees of the CPC to be called less frequently than once in two months, as the Party Rules require. On the basis of the experience gained, the CC will submit a fundamental draft resolution on this matter to the Thirteenth Party Congress.

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The main task of the primary organizations, which are the decisive factor in our Party, is consistently to orientate their membership on work among the masses. They should follow up a thorough study of the situation in production and at every work place by providing conditions for an intelligent use of economic levers, which will help to harmonize personal with social interests and to observe the principles of a correct policy on wages and material incentives. Greater attention should be paid to educating the working people in the spirit of an exemplary attitude to labor, to popularizing useful experience and working methods which have proved their worth in production, management and other walks of life.

We must put more effort into removing all manifestations of formalism, which in some Party bodies and primary organizations has increased considerably, and into preventing evasion of the solution of burning problems of production and human relations, the suppression of criticism, indifference to shortcomings, and a scornful attitude to suggestions made by the working people. We must call a halt to perfunctory meetings. All Party meetings should be business-like; they should help the membership work better among the masses and provide them with a clear outlook for their further activity. To facilitate the convening of meetings and ensure greater efficiency in promptly informing the working people, it is advisable to decide what political and economic questions should be put on the agenda of the general meetings of Party, trade union and youth organizations.

Sustained and exacting control over the actual fulfilment of tasks should make for more efficient and fruitful Party work. However, Party control should be conceived as active assistance to ensure that the problems of society are solved without serious errors if possible, and that the best experience is generalized. We cannot put up with the fact that while there are numerous control check-ups, real help is often scant.

INCREASE THE ROLE OF MASS ORGANIZATIONS

The Central Committee considers it necessary to re-emphasize the importance and role of the National Front and the mass organizations, which under the leadership of the Party have contributed to the education of the working people in a socialist spirit and thereby helped to strengthen the moral and political unity of the people. The further expansion of the activities of the mass organizations will benefit, first of all, from the use of new forms of promoting the people's political activity and labor and their participation in government, and from the removal of all formalism. The political and organizing work of mass organizations should express more forcefully the unity of the requirements of society as a whole and the personal interests of the citizens united by those organizations. All mass organizations are duty bound to do more for the education of the masses. They must choose the forms and content of their activities more purposively to end the present practice of over-regulation.

It will, therefore, be expedient to transfer the organizing activities of those mass organizations whose educational work is not directly linked with production operations from the factory to the residence. The working people spend most of their leisure hours at their residence and are often left outside the range of the educational influence of mass organizations.

The mass organizations should eliminate administrative methods in their work, establish closer links between higher and lower levels, draw primarily on the help of volunteers, and reduce paid staffs.

The Central Committee stresses the important role of the RTUM in socialist construction and is therefore adopting a special resolution on the tasks of the RTUM.

One of the prime tasks of the Party and society is to educate the younger generation, to exert greater influence on its life and work. The youth should be educated in the spirit of communist moral principles and drawn into active social work.

The Czechoslovak Youth League should take a more responsible attitude to the education of our youth and seek for ways of actively influencing their life and growth. While the youth will continue to have a single organization, it is wrong to cling to habitual organizational forms. The organizations at work places and in educational establishments should be supplemented with interest groups, clubs, minor units, tourist leagues and groups at the places of residence, in which young people should be provided with facilities for cultural and technological pursuits and for sports. This is also a function of the sports organnizations of the Czechoslovak League of Physical

Culture, the RTUM clubs, and the houses of culture and education. The CYL should effectively influence these activities from the ideological point of view through its more competent members in order to foster proper moral and political qualities in young men and women.

The Central Committee instructs the Party organizations to study the young people's thinking and way of life more thoroughly, and to bring home to them the need of conscious responsibility and devoted work for the good of society, for the realization of our ideas. This means that Party members, particularly young Communists, should influence the youth by their personal example and by active work among them. Other mass organizations should join efforts with the CYL to promote this work.

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In order consistently to carry out the decisions of this CC CPC meeting on the work and structure of the Party and on the activities of the mass organizations under the new system of economic management and to ensure the advance of our society, we must:

1. Work out—in view of the establishment of branch enterprises, in close collaboration with the CC CP of Slovakia and the regional and district Party committees—measures for the formation of Party organizations and the introduction of new forms of coordinating the activity of Communists in branch enterprises.

2. Work out problems of the unity of Party and government leadership of the further development of socialist society, problems of the unification of the Communists in central institutions by the Central Committee of the Party in terms of ideology and unity of action, the problems of proper relations between Party, government and economic leadership; adapt the structure and activity of the Party apparatus to the new conditions, focus it even more on political organizing work in the Party organizations and among the masses, simplify its structure and emphasize the formation of a numerous body of voluntary activists around the leading Party bodies.

3. Appraise the work of the commissions of the CC CPC and of the regional and district Party committees, strengthen links between them, on the one hand, and Party departments and functionaries and the body of volunteers, on the other, and direct their work toward solving the decisive problems.

4. Work out the content and forms of the Party's political work among the masses, and the participation of Party bodies, organizations and members in every field in explaining Party policy; work out more thoroughly the forms of the uniform influence of every

medium of political work among the masses, of the press, radio, television, and Party information.

5. Generalize the experience of the Party organizations at the factories, where the new system of planning and management is being tested experimentally, and draw proper conclusions in order to decide on the direction main direction of the political activity of the primary organizations, to give Party leadership to and orientate economic executives and the leaders of mass organizations.

6. Work out problems of the activity of the district Party organizations from the standpoint of enhancing the leading role of the Party with due regard to the new conditions of improving the organization and management of the national economy; prepare conclusions for the promotion of Party leadership in the economy, ideological work and work among people in order further to consolidate the districts politically.

7. Work out ways of increasing the effectiveness and accentuating the single content of the activity of the system of Party and people's control; increase the role of Party bodies at all levels and of the control and auditing commissions in specifying the guidelines of control and coordinating control; achieve closer contact between functionaries of the control bodies of the Party and those of the people. The control bodies should base their activity on the working people's opinions and suggestions and on the broadest possible control from below.

8. Draft, in collaboration with the Central Committee of the National Front and with the Communists in mass organizations, proposals to step up the activity of the mass organizations of the working people.

DELEGATIONS OF SOVIET AND FINNISH COMMUNIST PARTIES MEET*

Delegations from the Communist parties of the Soviet Union and Finland met in the CPSU Central Committee on February 16 and 19. The CPSU was represented by L. I. Brezhnev, First Secretary and member of the Presidium, M. A. Suslov, Secretary and Presidium member, and B. N. Ponomaryov, Secretary; the CPF, by General Secretary Ville Pessi, Chairman Aimo Aaltonen, and Political Bureau members Hertta Kuusinen, Aarne Saarinen and Erkki Tuominen.

Many questions of interest to both parties were discussed in the atmosphere of friendship, sincerity and complete confidence typical of the relations between the two fraternal parties.

The delegations exchanged views on the international situation. Noting that the recent acts of aggression committed by the U.S. imperialists against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and the armed intervention of the USA and Belgium in the Congo had strained international rélations and endangered world peace, they stressed the need for more vigorous actions by all the peace-loving, democratic, anti-imperialist forces, above all the working-class movement, for higher vigilance on their part, and for a joint rebuff to the enemies of peace and freedom of the peoples.

The representatives of the CPSU reaffirmed that it was the invariable aim of Soviet foreign policy to prevent a new world war, consistently to apply the principles of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, and support the liberation movements of the peoples. The representatives of the CPF voiced their full approval of this policy and declared, for their part, that the Finnish Communists, together with the working class and all progressive forces of Finland, came out resolutely for the preservation of world peace and the security of the peoples.

The two delegations agreed that the situation called for rallying all the peoples against the growing menace presented by the revenge-seeking militarist forces in West Germany, which are out to get nuclear weapons by hook or by crook and to restore the former political and economic positions of German imperialism in different regions of the world, thus creating a direct danger to the independence and sovereignty of a number of countries.

The two parties noted with satisfaction that the good-neighborly, friendly relations between the USSR and Finland, developing success-

*Pravda, February 20, 1965.

fully on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence, greatly furthered peace. The representatives of the CPSU stated that the Soviet Communists thought highly of the active and fruitful contribution of the CPF to the development of these relations, which fully meet the vital interests of the peoples of the two countries. The CPF delegation stated that the policy of friendship and good-neighborly relations between the USSR and Finland accorded with the vital national interests of the Finnish people and was vigorously supported by them. The two delegations pointed out, however, that forces trying to divert Finland from the road of peace and friendship with the Soviet Union chosen by her were still active both in and outside Finland.

Questions of economic cooperation and cultural, scientific and tourist contacts were also touched upon. The CPF delegates stressed the importance of the mutually advantageous Finnish-Soviet economic cooperation and trade for the economic development of their country and for the employment of Finnish working people.

Both delegations hold that there are good opportunities for the further growth of Soviet-Finnish economic and cultural cooperation. The CPF delegation expressed the wish that the Soviet side study the possibility of, say, extending contacts between industrial establishments, exchanging specialists and scientific and technological information, building industrial projects on Soviet territory by Finnish workers, extending the area used by Finnish fishermen in Soviet territorial waters, opening a direct steamship line between Helsinki and Tallinn to promote tourism, and, in perspective, building a gas pipe-line to Finland with Soviet help.

The CPSU delegation declared that the Soviet organizations concerned were ready to consider suggestions by the CPF delegation.

The two delegations put on record the complete identity of the views of their parties on topical problems of the world Communist movement. They reaffirmed that in all their activities their parties firmly abided by the propositions of the 1957 Declaration and 1960 Statement as policy documents of the world Communist movement. They agreed that it was above all necessary to make every effort to overcome the present difficulties in the world Communist movement and strengthen its unity and solidarity on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles and proletarian internationalism. They expressed the firm conviction that it was quite possible despite the disagreements to achieve unity of action of all the fraternal parties on the topical problems of the struggle against imperialism, for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

The two delegations noted with great satisfaction that the traditional fraternal contacts between the CPSU and the CPF, which, like relations between all Marxist-Leninist parties, were developing

on the basis of respect for the independence and equality of every party, had lately been strengthened and expanded. They reaffirmed their readiness to continue promoting contacts and cooperation between the CPSU and the CPF through meetings of representatives, through exchanges of delegations, information and publications, and in other forms in keeping with the principles and standards of proletarian internationalism.

INTERVIEW* WITH ALVARO CUNHAL, GENERAL SECRETARY, CP OF PORTUGAL

By *NEUES DEUTSCHLAND*

Q. What do you think of the situation in your country now, at the beginning of 1965?

A. Portugal is ruled by a fascist dictatorship lacking a mass base. The Salazar regime is propped up by a well-organized coercive machinery and by its NATO partners. The people are against fascism and the movement against Salazar has expanded considerably, particularly in recent years. The movement involves all segments of the population — industrial and agricultural workers, students, servicemen, and the middle classes in town and country. Every day sees fresh action by the people.

The authorities are well aware of the danger threatening the dictatorship, and Salazar has lately stepped up measures to suppress resistance. The number of arrests has been growing and some regions are virtually under martial law. Terrorism is spearheaded against our Party cadre.

Q. How would you estimate, in the circumstances, the outlook for the popular struggle against the regime?

A. The outlook is favorable. This year will witness new major battles by the people. But, of course, that will mean more suffering and further sacrifices. The reign of terror will become even more cruel and the NATO countries will do still more to help Lisbon. There is West Germany, for one. That country has been accused of supplying arms for Portugal's colonial war. By granting Salazar substantial loans, West Germany has become one of his important economic props. Bonn has an air base at Becha.

All that notwithstanding, we are ready for more sacrifices. We see this readiness of ours as an earnest of victory.

Q. What is the position of the Communist Party in the Patriotic Front of National Liberation?

A. Our Party did much to initiate the Front. It has been fighting for democratic unity for many years now. The Front comprises representatives of every political trend. Its Second Conference early last year passed a resolution to intensify activities. Among the measures listed was the formation of the Revolutionary Junta, which has its seat in Algiers and from there supports the struggle of our people by means of propaganda and through actions in the diplomatic sphere.

Incidentally, the Third Conference of the Front, held in the latter half of 1964, did not re-elect General Delgado, ex-President of the Junta. Like the other organizations which have joined the movement, we think that right. An organization which is out to restore democracy in Portugal should respect democratic methods of leadership. It would be unfortunate if anyone were to abuse the possibilities and forces the Front for his own ends. This has been rendered impossible since the Third Conference.

I would like on this occasion to thank the Government of the Algerian People's Democratic Republic, in particular President Ben Bella, once again for the support they have been giving to our struggle.

Q. What is the attitude of the Patriotic Front to the emancipation struggle going on in the Portuguese colonies?

A. Our Party has invariably reaffirmed the right of the colonial peoples to self-determination and independence. It is doing all it can to help them. It organizes resistance to the colonial war in the armed forces. Many privates and young officers have already broken with the colonial army.

A mere decade ago the Communist Party was the only organization demanding freedom for the colonies. Today the entire Patriotic Front takes a correct stand on the colonial issue. This issue has become the touchstone of the attitude to the freedom of Portugal, for our country cannot be free and independent unless the peoples of its colonies win freedom and independence.

Q. You escaped from prison early in 1960. Could you tell me how you did it?

A. It was nothing of an exception. Our Party has organized many flights from jail. I think success depends on three circumstances: first, the prisoner's resolve to escape in order to resume the struggle, second, a constant effort by the Party to free its members, and third, popular backing.

In 1960 I succeeded in escaping with another nine comrades six of whom were Central Committee members. We were held in an ultra-modern special prison in the inner part of a fortress, which meant solitary confinement, automatic locks, guards at all hours, and strict isolation from the outside world. Nevertheless, the escape came off with the Party's help. First we had to remove one of the guard. We used chloroform because we wanted to avoid bloodshed. Another guard, who had been initiated into the matter, took us to the fifteen-metre high wall of the fortress which we cleared with a rope made of shredded bedsheets. People in the nearby fishing village saw us but didn't give us away.

Q. Would you like to say something about your impressions of the German Democratic Republic?

A. I am here to acquaint myself with the GDR and inform my Party about it. The way in which the GDR solves its political problems will be important to us tomorrow. We hope that "Tomorrow" is not very far off.

There are important changes in the GDR. I've seen the fruits of creative labor everywhere. I'm certain your republic will make even greater progress. I wish its citizens all the best.

JOINT STATEMENT* BY THE COMMUNIST PARTIES OF SOUTH AFRICA AND FRANCE

Representatives of the Communist parties of France and the Republic of South Africa met at the beginning of February and had a fruitful exchange of views and information.

The delegation of the Communist Party of South Africa spoke highly of the efforts of the French Communist Party to defend the interests of the working class, renovate democracy and uphold peace, and of its support for the national-liberation struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism.

The South African delegation made a detailed analysis of the disgraceful racialist regime in South Africa. It described it as a special type of colonialism based on the oppression of the black African majority and other non-whites. Verwoerd, Vorster and other leaders, admirers and followers of Hitler, resort to the worst methods of fascist terror.

The French delegation paid tribute to the South African resistance movement, which unites Communists and non-Communists in a courageous struggle for freedom and equal rights and opportunities for all. Both delegations hailed the solidarity movement growing all over the world. They came to the conclusion that Verwoerd's racialist regime would be unable to hold power without the political support, weapons and capital it receives from the imperialist countries, France included. Despite UN decisions, the French government continues to supply South Africa with weapons for use against the freedom-loving forces. French investment in and trade with South Africa are growing steadily.

The FCP delegation considers that this policy injures friendship between France and the African countries and runs counter to the French national interests.

Both delegations declare that the struggle against apartheid is of international significance not only for the defense of basic human rights but also for peace. The government of South Africa is a threat to world peace and to the independence and security of all the African countries. South Africa, the most industrialized African country, is mustering its forces for war. Aided by British, French (Panhard, for instance) and other enterprises, it is building a war industry of its own. In addition, the Bonn and Pretoria governments have concluded a secret agreement on the joint manufacture of nuclear weapons, rockets and modern war gases in South Africa.

*L'Humanité, February 16, 1965.

The Pretoria regime maintains close military relations with Salazar's Portugal and the racialist government of Southern Rhodesia.

The representatives of the FCP pledged to do everything to develop a broad and powerful anti-apartheid movement in France. Together with all the democratic forces of the country, the French Communist Party will work to intensify the struggle against the French government's support of the racist and militarist regime in South Africa. Specifically, it will fight:

—for the release of all political prisoners in South Africa;

—for French observance of the embargo on arms supplies to South Africa recommended by the Security Council;

—for the severance by the French government of all diplomatic, commercial, cultural, sporting and other relations with the apartheid regime, and for French insistence in the UN on measures against South Africa's unlawful annexation of South-West Africa.

At the conclusion of the talks, which proceeded in a spirit of great cordiality and fraternity, the two delegations decided to extend contacts and fraternal cooperation between their parties.

JOINT STATEMENT* BY THE COMMUNIST PARTIES OF CHILE AND ARGENTINA

Meeting in Buenos Aires on January 22 and 23, 1965, representatives of the Communist parties of Chile and Argentina exchanged information and discussed some questions of the struggle against imperialism, for democracy and peace.

The Communist Party of Chile was represented by Luis Corvalan, General Secretary, and Rafael Cortes, member of the CC Secretariat, and the Communist Party of Argentina by Victorio Codovilla, Chairman, and Orestes Ghioldi, member of the Political Secretatiat. The meeting was also attended by Arnaldo Pinero, alternate member of the CC, CPA.

Afte· the talks, which revealed complete unanimity on the questions under discussion, the following statement was issued:

The Communist Party of Chile and the Communist Party of Argentina are in full agreement that the defense of the freedom and national independence of their countries, and of peace on the American continent calls for stepping up the flunkeys to set up a counter-revolutionary Cuban government in exile. In line with the recent conference of the Communist and Workers' parties of Latin America, they call for a struggle to bring about the restoration of diplomatic, commercial and cultural relations with heroic Cuba.

Everything should be done to ensure the success of the forthcoming continental conference of solidarity with Cuba and for the peoples' right to self-determination. The two parties reaffirm their resolve to work for this.

In keeping with the decisions of the conference of the Communist and Workers' parties of Latin America, the two parties also pledge to step up the movement for the release of the imprisoned public leaders of Venezuela, Brazil, Paraguay, Ecuador, Haiti and other Latin American countries, and in particular to extend the campaign of solidarity with the fraternal Communist Party of Venezuela and the Venezuelan National Liberation Front's heroic fighters for freedom and democracy.

The forthcoming U.S.-sponsored conference of the Foreign Ministers of the OAS countries, which is to adopt measures against the anti-imperialist movements on the continent, makes it even more urgent to step up the fight against the onslaught of reaction and fascism, in defense of democracy and for the extension of demo-

*Nuestra Palabra, February 3, 1965.

cratic freedoms. This struggle is part and parcel of the struggle for national independence, peace and socialism.

The comrades from the Communist Party of Chile voiced solidarity with the courageous fight of the Communist Party of Argentina for the complete restoration of its political and electoral rights. The comrades from the Communist Party of struggle against the militarist agreements, open and secret, under which the governments of their two countries undertake to render military and other assistance to the armed ventures of U.S. imperialism in any part of the world with the aim of suppressing the national-liberation movements in South Vietnam, the Congo and elsewhere, and which can be used for preparing open armed aggression against the Cuban revolution.

The aggressive nature of these agreements was demonstrated once again during the visit of U.S. General O'Meara to Argentina and Chile.

Alleging humanitarian intent, the Argentine government has already decided to take part in these ventures by promising the U.S. government to send medical supplies to South Vietnam in order to help the U.S. aggression there. The Pentagon is pressing for similar support from the Chilean government.

The Communist parties of Chile and Argentina call upon all the democratic and patriotic forces of their countries to repudiate the military agreements with the United States and fight against the Pentagon's nefarious plan to convert national armies into praetorian forces suppressing their own peoples against all participation in U.S. military ventures, even if symbolic or justified by "humane" reasons.

In view of the growing danger of U.S. armed aggression—direct or through puppet governments—against heroic Cuba, the Communist parties of Chile and Argentina, like the other Communist parties of Latin America, express their firm determination to intensify their peoples' movement of solidarity with the first free territory in America, in defense of the peoples' sacred right to self-determination. Both parties vigorously denounce the criminal intention of the U.S. government and its Argentina, for their part, expressed solidarity with the activities of the Communist Party of Chile aimed at safeguarding and extending democratic rights and consolidating the Popular Action Front in the struggle for deep-going economic, social and political changes.

The Communist parties of Chile and Argentina reaffirm their unqualified and vigorous support for the statement of the conference of the Marxist-Leninist parties of Latin America against factional activities and for the unity of each Communist Party and of the entire world Communist and working-class movement on the basis

of Marxism-Leninism and of the 1957 Declaration and 1960 Statement.

The Communist parties of Chile and Argentina reaffirm that they favor an early international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties, and express confidence that the preparatory meeting, due to open in Moscow on March 1, will do everything to ensure the success of the new conference. This conference is a pressing need, for it is to discuss the changes that have taken place in the world and to uphold and strengthen the unity of the world Communist movement on the solid foundation of Marxist-Leninist principle.

STATEMENT BY THE GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE PEOPLE'S PARTY OF PANAMA

V. Tello

Panama's conflict with the United States over the "status" of the canal zone is complicated by internal difficulties. Our country is nearing the culmination of the process of national formation. Our people have realized that it is time to put an end to our dependence on North American imperialism. The national interests, which have crystallized in the course of a long and difficult period of development, are coming into sharp conflict with the presence of a foreign power which usurps and exploits part of our resources. This contradiction found expression in the violence of January 9, 1964.

While our people are becoming conscious of themselves as a nation and of their destiny, we see that in these crucial days negotiations on behalf of our people are conducted by the same ruling circles which have for 60 years pursued a foreign policy of capitulation and servility. Subordination and capitulation to the United States is incompatible with the historical necessity of freedom. Our historical development itself demands a political change conducive to the complete liberation of the country.

Thus, the actions of our people against U.S. imperialism are accompanied by an aggravation of the internal political situation in the country, expressed in the opposition of the masses to the ruling circles which are experiencing a growing political crisis. The political prestige of these circles among the masses is diminishing as their defeatism and inability to negotiate from patriotic positions are becoming ever clearer. This is bound to lead to revolutionary changes in Panama. North Americans realize this full well and they are greatly disturbed by the trend of developments in our country.

As the first anniversary of the January events draws closer, it is natural to expect our people to express their attitude to the murderers of our students and the best representatives of our youth by exposing before the whole world this much-vaunted American democracy with its professed respect for the right to self-determination as nothing but demagogic talk. By showing the real nature of imperialism, our small nation will deepen the internal crisis, undermine still more the political and moral prestige of the oligar-

chy, and weaken the positions of both imperialism and reaction at home.

It is this prospect, this new awakening of our country that determines the imperialists' present policy towards us. It is a policy of smiles that conceal the fangs of the imperialist beast of prey; it is a policy of sham concessions designed to convince our people of the good will of the North American negotiators.

The real aim of President Johnson's statement made several days before the anniversary of the January 9 events and several days after the Panamanian people had reaffirmed their determination not to allow any more concessions by our representatives at the negotiations, is to compel the Panamanians to give up the patriotic struggle for the unconditional recognition of Panama's sovereign rights to her territory and, consequently, to all her natural resources.

An analysis of Johnson's statement would clearly show these two intentions: to disorient our people and to paint a rosy picture of the imperialists' promises to our country.

The first intention is camouflaged by a form which confronts us with the choice between rejecting or accepting Johnson's statement. If we reject it, our position will not be understood by the patriotic sections of our people, who justly hold that we should not renounce the waterway, the benefits afforded us by nature. They would think that we are interested neither in the national development, in the solution of our economic problems, nor in the future of our country.

On the other hand, by accepting Johnson's statement so as to avoid creating the impression that we reject everything offered by imperialism, we would be, in effect, supporting a statement permeated exactly with the same imperialist spirit as the negotiations of 1903.

This is real blackmail designed to compel us either to antagonize the broad patriotic sectors which regard Panama's sovereignty as indispensable for the solution of the country's economic problems, or to capitulate and approve of statements behind which, as we shall see, are concealed the selfish interests of U.S. imperialism.

Exposure of the predatory imperialist essence of the second intention certainly calls for a more penetrating analysis of Johnson's statement. That statement holds out the prospect of the canal being returned in due course and the possibility of a new canal being built which will bring hundreds of millions of dollars to our country. We cannot fail to reckon with the effect such a promise may have on our people, who have been repeatedly robbed and who have been driven to desperation by economic hardships. And although the Panamanians are already beginning to suspect the motives of their imperialist enemies, they cannot help cherishing illusions, and this blinds them to the real essence of Johnson's statement.

The imperialists, aware of this, are trying to weaken the fighting spirit of our people, contain and isolate the patriotic movement, and sow confusion and doubt in the popular movement striving for the restoration of sovereignty and the restitution of the canal, our chief wealth.

We must thoroughly analyze all the propositions of Johnson's statement in order to expose the real essence of the seeming concessions made by the United States, and to show that this is merely a new ruse designed to guarantee the United States' continued monopoly use of the benefits accruing from the canal. That is why we say that Johnson's statement was made from the same old stand, which is to preserve the monopoly on the advantages of our geographical position. We maintain that the United States pursues political aims: to prevent a new national outburst on the scale of January 1964, to prevent a political crisis of the oligarchy which would bring about changes in Panama that would compel the United States to negotiate with a free, and not an enslaved country.

Situated at a junction of major sea lanes, Panama occupies a position of great economic importance which for several centuries has determined its development and the formation of our nationhood.

International agreements of an imperialist nature have given the U.S. government monopoly control of this vital economic lever. Under the present conditions should Panama decide to build a new canal by its own forces or with the help of a suitable partner, she would be unable to do so by virtue of the rights the United States enjoys under the 1903 treaty.

We do not find a renunciation of this privilege in Johnson's statement. In raising the question of building a new canal, Johnson proceeds exclusively from the interests of the United States, completely disregarding the interests of the country on whose territory the canal would be built.

The imperialist arrogance displayed by the U.S. President is nothing but a modern version of the equally arrogant attitude of another U.S. President, Theodore Roosevelt, who boasted that he had taken Panama.

The decisive issue for us is the monopoly utilization by the United States of the advantages of our geographical position, which is essentially an expression of the imperialist principle of the conquest and colonization of our country. All other realities affecting our people and restricting our freedom are a consequence of this principle. And there can be no talk of ridding our country of imperialist oppression so long as this principle remains in force.

An analysis of Johnson's statement shows that the U.S. President is seeking to conceal the real meaning of the article of the 1903

treaty granting the United States the use in perpetuity of the canal and the ten-mile wide canal zone when he says that this perpetual use will end, with the return of the canal zone as the first step and the subsequent return of the canal itself.

If we examine Article 5 of the treaty we will see that the provision on perpetual use is absolutely unconditional. It gives the United States monopoly use not only of the existing canal but also of the geographical position of our country which, being situated on a very narrow isthmus, offers several sites for canals or land routes between the two oceans.

By proposing to replace the existing right of perpetual possession of the canal and its zone with rights to another zone and to build an ocean-level canal, the U.S. President merely modifies the concept of perpetual use: in exchange for the renunciation of the perpetual right to the present zone he demands the guaranteed right to the continued monopoly use of our geographical position.

As we see, the United States has no intention of relinquishing the possibility of continuing to deprive us of our principal wealth, of keeping us as its colony, trampling upon our national pride and maintaining its hegemony over us. This is the main point of the current negotiations. In such conditions it is impossible to reach a solution that would accord with the aspirations of our people, and the firm determination of our workers, peasants and young patriots to win freedom for our country.

It becomes clear from a comparison of Johnson's statement with the inordinately optimistic statement of Panamanian President Marcos Robles which followed it that there is nothing accidental about both statements appearing on the eve of the anniversary of the January 9 events, that they were, in fact, so timed in the interests of certain political forces in Panama. Indeed, the haste with which the Panamanian government launched the series of meetings that preceded the negotiations and proceeded to iron out some difficulties that had arisen in the course of the talks was indicative of its desire to prepare the ground for the publication of a statement that would proclaim victory and thus restore the prestige the government had lost after a few months in office.

Even those who do not know these details can see the discrepancy between the two statements. The Panamanian President's statement is a deliberately one-sided interpretation of the statement by Johnson. It does not examine everything the U.S. President really said.

Significantly, it says nothing about the proposal to build a new canal and does not even mention the broad hints the United States made concerning the establishment of new military bases on our territory. Yet these are the conditions the U.S. President lays down for negotiating a new treaty.

It is this that constitutes the essence of Johnson's statement, but the President of Panama passes over it in silence in order to claim a victory over the United States and the alleged renunciation by the U.S. President of imperialist aspirations.

Such are the positions from which negotiations with the North Americans are conducted. These positions can in no way guarantee respect for the interests of our country. More than that: what is being done today for propaganda and political purposes can tomorrow become the real spirit of the negotiations, and there will appear a new draft treaty under which Panama will again cede her right to the advantages of her geographical position.

Needless to say, today, when we are no longer a province of Colombia, when we have outgrown the 1903 concept of independence and when our national consciousness has matured, our people cannot accept a new treaty renouncing our sovereign rights to our territory and our principal natural wealth.

The actions of our people show clearly what their attitude will be when they are confronted with a new imperialist weapon, a new treaty concluded from the positions of capitulations and submission to U.S. imperialism.

At present one cannot yet say definitely what turn developments will take. The negotiations have revealed a clash of interests. We need not dwell on the interests of U.S. imperialism. But it should be remembered that the different classes of Panama also have different interests.

There are some groups in Panama which, by virtue of their contact with U.S. imperialism, will do their utmost to keep us under U.S. patronage, which is the source of their wealth and high profits. These groups can betray our people.

But there are classes, such as the emergent national bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeoisie, the working class and the peasantry, which derive no benefits from this patronage, but which, on the contrary, are experiencing difficulties just because of the presence of the imperialists in our country. These classes are at one in their striving for the independence of their country. But the interests of these classes, which we call patriotic, and the motives uniting them in the struggle, are not the same.

The national bourgeoisie wants the return of all our national wealth in order to have a stable domestic market and the possibility of developing bourgeois exploitation in our country. The working class is interested in the restitution of all our resources as a means of improving the conditions of all the exploited classes by making it possible to expand production, create the necessary social wealth and thereby promote social progress towards the supreme goal, the abolition of exploitation of man by man.

Likewise, despite the class differences, the interests of the peasantry and other exploited classes cannot be realized without the national liberation of our country.

Since the Panamanian negotiators represent a definite class they cannot properly defend the interests of the other classes, interests which unite our people in their struggle for national emancipation.

They represent essentially the interests of the oligarchy. They have not taken counsel with the people, with the true patriots who have made the negotiations possible. Worse still, the Panama government agreed to secret talks, conducted behind the backs of the people.

The negotiations are unpopular and do not express the genuine interests of Panama not only because of the narrow class interests of the Panama negotiators, but also because of the form in which they are conducted. Under these circumstances, inasmuch as the political views of the masses are changing and those in power are finding themselves in ever greater isolation, can the negotiations be considered final if they are conducted by representatives of the oligarchy behind the back of the people?

In our opinion, the negotiations have reached a stage when attempts are being made to consolidate the political power of the oligarchy in our country in order to safeguard the interests of U.S. imperialism.

This means that public pressure, mobilization of the masses to struggle against the position of the oligarchy, and the definition and clarification of the position of the people can have a decisive influence on the negotiations and lend them a truly historical significance.

As we have said, in this struggle we must take a principled stand reflecting the genuine national interest, the true will of our people, their yearning to be free, to take their destiny into their own hands. This stand accords with the Panamanians' right to their own territory and all its economic resources. Such is the real meaning of the concept of sovereignty.

And when we speak of restoring our sovereignty we mean that there should be only one government, one language, one culture and one flag on our territory, and that the Panamanians alone should be the masters of their territory and all its natural resources.

Only if we adopt this principled stand will we be able to recover everything that has been taken away from us.

Only if we proceed from this principle can we demand the return of the canal zone.

We do not object to the canal passing through our territory. The entire history of our country's development is associated with the canal. Indeed, we owe our existence as a nation to the canal. It is

natural, therefore, that we should want the waterway to remain on our territory.

But if tomorrow our people, in the exercise of their sovereignty, decide to close the canal, it will be their inalienable right to do so, and it is not for the United States to decide unilaterally whether Panama should build a new canal, continue to operate the old one, or be left without any canal at all by closing the old canal. The decision rests with the people of Panama alone, by virtue of their sovereign right.

It follows from this that it is necessary to put an end to the old policy, to the spirit of the 1903 treaty which granted the United States monopoly use of our geographical position. Only after regaining our sovereignty will we be able to decide what to do, to demand the return of the canal zone, to decide whether a new canal should be built and whether we should build it alone or with outside assistance, to ensure that our national wealth—precisely because it is *national*—should serve first of all our own people and, then, if possible, other peoples as well.

The historical mission of the present generation is to make us a sovereign nation possessing a sense of dignity—such is the behest of our forebears. The patriots of today should concentrate on this historic task bequeathed us by the patriots of the past. Let us not lower the banner. It is the duty of our people to raise it higher than ever before.

Therefore, the negotiating position which this patriotic principle obliges our genuine representatives to adopt should be as follows: the treaty of 1903 should be abrogated, and with it, all clauses providing for use in perpetuity, so that the Panamanians should be able to decide their own destiny.

This means that there can be no talks on any new treaty on another canal until we secure the abolition of this ignominious clause, including the United States' perpetual monopoly on our geographical position, i.e., on all ocean-to-ocean routes passing through the isthmus.

There can be no talks, no discussion on any new canal until Panama regains her sovereignty.

We cannot agree to have any negotiations as long as the article on perpetual use remains in force, for it is precisely our people's determination to get rid of any imperialist control, to reject any enslaving terms, especially for negotiations, that has inspired them to heroic struggle against the North American colossus.

We realize that it will be a long struggle, that much suffering still lies ahead, that our people should be prepared to repel any aggression and acts of violence which may be organized by imperialism and eagerly executed by its local agents. But we have already

given sufficient proof of our national consciousness, and of our firm resolve to fight. We are a small country, and our strongest weapon is the militancy we shall demonstrate before the whole world, our heroism which is winning the sympathies of people the world over.

The socialist countries, where class exploitation has been abolished and where the working class is in power; the countries whose peoples are casting off the yoke of imperialism; the millions of people throughout the world fighting for peace; the millions of people rising against any oppression—they all are on our side, they all are our reliable allies.

In the patriotic struggle attracting the attention of all the peoples, the working class, the peasantry, the professionals from among the middle strata, the shop-keepers, the patriotically-minded national bourgeoisie, the students, who are playing the leading role, and honest intellectuals comprise the core of our forces, of our people who are called upon to carry on the fight to a victorious finish, to realize the great ideals of freedom and justice.

The future belongs to us. Those who vacillate, who do not dare to demand that the imperialists restore our rights, who believe in the policy of hypocrisy an dsubservience, will be swept aside by the irresistivle stream of our people's struggle for liberation. There is no force in the world which could shake our resolve to become a free country.

We are a nation. We have become a nation as a result of historical development, and since nobody can check historical development, any one who comes out against our people, however powerful the force he may represent, will be defeated when confronted with our people's will to free their country from the yoke of North American imperialism.

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THE FIGHT FOR CO-MANAGEMENT*

In the countries of developed capitalism, the task of the labor movement is to set by stages socialist objectives whose attainment will reduce and limit monopoly power, strengthen the positions of authority held by the working class and extend the scope of democracy. Among these objectives are nationalization of the key branches of the economy, which will force big capital out of them, the fight for the working people's participation in the management of all public affairs, and abolition of the exclusive right to decide exercised by Austrian big capital and the foreign monopolies, an objective to be achieved through industrial and economic co-management by the workers.

The capitalists have become superfluous in large-scale social production. Production management has long since been taken over by managers. It is the workers and other employees who are the true producers.

But the capitalists, who own the means of production, have the exclusive right to decide in industry. They pocket the profits, which are growing enormously as a result of the far-reaching technological revolution and the rapid concentration of large enterprises. As for the working people, who create social wealth, they have no say in deciding what should be produced, how the product should be sold, or what should become of returns. While they constitute the majority of the population they are not the managing class. By fighting for the abolition of an economic system based on gain, they can win the right to become a class co-managing industry and economy.

At a time when the industrial, professional and office workers make up the overwhelming majority of the population — (over 70 per cent of the gainfully employed in the case of Austria) — the right to co-management should be seen as elementary.

However, the demand for co-management is bound up with the struggle for the most favorable growth of the economy with a view to ensuring full employment, giving the working people a greater share in economic benefits, precluding price increases, protecting and expanding the nationalized sector, countering the penetration of foreign capital, preventing subservience of the Austrian economy to any supra-national institutions, such as the EEC, and promptly remedying its structural weaknesses. It follows that co-management

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*Document adopted by the CC, CP of Austria on February 11, 1965, preparatory to the 19th Party Congress. Published in **Volksstimme,** Feb. 20, 1965.

by the workers and other employees is in their class interests and in the national interests of Austria.

1. WHAT DO WE MEAN BY CO-MANAGEMENT?

The fight for co-management is part of the fight to renovate democracy, to introduce new, democratic forms and methods of economic management and political government.

Co-management, which we want to achieve, should be based on the actual right to control, protest, and participate in making decisions in respect of all economic, financial and investment policy matters pursued at industrial level or higher up. At the present stage, it is aimed at pushing back monopoly power and winning positions of authority for the working people.

Gains in this struggle will not by themselves bring the state under the social control of the working class, but they will change the alignment of class forces within the capitalist state. They will limit monopoly power and resources, enhance the prestige and increase the political weight of the working class in the life of society, hasten the isolation of the reactionary social groups, and make the cooperation of the progressive forces easier.

Hence the fight for co-management is an important condition for the working class to effect a peaceful transition to socialism.

The struggle of the working class involves every sphere of social life. It no longer confines itself, even in the case of trade union actions, to laying greater emphasis on the traditional demand for better living and working conditions and for a fairer social policy. Without detracting from the great importance of these actions, the fight for co-management should aim at extending the influence of the working class to spheres which so far have been under the exclusive control of the employer or his representatives. Consequently, it is a question of limiting the real power in the economic field necessarily imply lesser rights for the employers. One is impossible without the other.

That is why the fight for co-management is also a part and a form of class struggle. Co-management and social partnership are diametrically opposite concepts.

Gains in the fight for co-management will depend on the development of united mass actions in support of this demand and on the trade unions exercising autonomy and independence also in the sphere of their traditional objectives. To renounce trade union action (in favor of, say, "top-level" talks) or the demand for higher wages (in favor of, say, "economic co-responsibility") means undermining the struggle and discrediting the idea of co-management.

2. THE NEED AND POSSIBILITY OF CO-MANAGEMENT

The impetuous progress of science and technology is leading to an unprecedented growth of means of production. The use of new means of production is increasing the role of the working people in production and economy.

Capitalist relations of production are coming — even in the conditions of a sustainedly favorable economic situation — into an increasingly deep-going conflict with the modern productive forces. In deciding on the introduction of new techniques, it is considerations of profit and cartel agreements that prevail. Furthermore, the full use of the modern productive forces for rapid and planned economic progress is often handicapped. The urge for a rapid increase in profits blocks the pursuit of a long-range research policy, and technological progress is often slowed down. Competition and failure to plan investments in terms of the economy as a whole lead to abortive investment, imbalances in economic pattern, excessive capacities, and economic reverses. Even when major slumps are avoided, as they have been so far, uncertainty persists — the workers and other employees are constantly threatened with the loss of work places, and a deterioration of social conditions. A consumer demand that is questionable from the humanist and social points of view is brought into being and the durability of the commodities produced deliberately reduced in an effort to increase sales and keep the economy in full swing. Corruption and squandering reach unprecedented proportions while vast areas of the world starve and whole regions in industrially developed countries remain in a distressed state. The vital needs of individuals, but above all of the community (schools, hospitals, public transport) remain unsatisfied.

True, this contradiction between relations of production and productive forces has not taken the dramatic economic and political forms typical of the First Republic. But it finds a clear expression in diverse forms of squandering in the production sphere, on the one hand, and in the fact that the state is playing an increasing role as a regulator and a buyer, on the other. Economic and political considerations, changes in the national and international alignment of class forces, the existence of the socialist community, and the achievements of the liberation struggle in the colonies compel the employers and the state to pursue a policy of intervention and regulation aimed at ensuring steady economic growth, which are contrary to traditional capitalist economic thinking. Nevertheless, profit and competition interests impose themselves again and again.

That is why, in seeking steady economic growth with full employment and an improving standard of living, long-range planning of the entire economy is indispensable.

To prevent Austria from lagging behind in science and technology, the state must spend more and more on scientific and technological investigations. The state would thus visibly assume responsibility for the spiritual and material shaping of the future and strip "free enterprise" of its aura of vehicle of the creative forces of society.

This expresses itself, first of all, in nationalization, which in Austria was effected in 1946-47, on a scale hardly paralleled in any other capitalist country. The nationalization of the whole of heavy industry and of major electrical and mechanical engineering plants restricted the Austrian bourgeoisie's direct control of these industries and weakened the bourgeoisie.

In these conflicting circumstances, the working people have new opportunities and new tasks. They can and must wage a resolute mass struggle to influence every sphere of economic management in order to extend democracy and bring economic planning into line with democratic and national objectives. These objectives are "intermediate alternatives" within the framework of the controversy over the great historical alternatives: the anarchic economy of gain or a socialist, planned economy.

The Austrian working class has a powerful and united class organization, the Association of Austrian Trade Unions (AATU), through which it can exert considerable influence on all of the nation's major economic and political decisions. This is conditional on complete autonomy and independence of the AATU, which should bring its strength to bear in full measure.

3. CO-MANAGEMENT AND CO-RESPONSIBILITY

The demand for co-management is something new in the labor movement. There are those who fear that as a result of penetration into the employer's sphere of decision, we may slip into positions of the class enemy, into the ideology of social partnership we are combating. This fear is understandable and justified.

Managerial workers and trade union functionaries often voice the opinion that they do not need to worry about industrial management so long as the social system remains capitalistic. To adopt this attitude would mean for us to shut our eyes to the new situation with its opportunities and requirements.

We must therefore begin and carry on the fight for co-management, safeguarding its content and aim against misunderstanding and misinterpretation.

To influence the decision of socio-political matters and matters concerning labor law does not in itself mean co-management. The aim is participation in the decision of all economic, financial and investment policy matters.

To hold certain positions in the government, in parliament or in

the economic chambers does not amount to co-management. We must use these positions to uphold the interests of the working class in the above agencies against the ideology and practice of social partnership, by extending democracy and by enlisting the workers and other employees, or their production councils, in decision-making at industrial level or higher up.

Co-management does not mean having interests in common with the employers. The aim is to restrict the rights of the employers by extending the rights of the workers and other employees, to reduce the power of the employers by winning for the workers positions of authority in the control of plants and the economy as a whole. Today the working people bear the full burden of the abortive investments of their employers. Our aim is to participate in deciding on the planning and use of investments, to be based on a long-range investment plan drawn up by the trade unions and workers' chambers. The workers should share responsibility for economic decisions they will actually have taken part in making.

Co-management does not mean co-responsibility for the profits and well-being of the employer. It means exerting direct influence on our country's economic, technological and political development, for which we have always felt responsible.

Co-management does not mean conciliation with capitalism. The goal is still to overcome capitalism and establish a socialist socio-economic system under which the working class will not merely participate in management but will, in common with all the other working people. decisively influence the economy and social life — an influence which it has long been entitled to by virtue of its numerical strength and social standing.

4. THE TASKS IN THE FIGHT FOR CO-MANAGEMENT

In the special conditions following World War I the Austrian working class succeeded in securing the enactment of a series of social laws and decrees on labor. In the special conditions following World War II, it secured the extension of many of these gains. Today Austria has a useful law on production councils, and social security in our country is exemplary in many respects, although a number of capitalist countries have in late years outstripped us in several fields.

All these achievements have restricted the employers' right to make decisions. But this applies only to social questions and legal questions concerning labor (dismissal, transfer, piece-work, observance of collective agreements, and so on). As regards economic matters, co-management by the employees is virtually non-existent.

True, the production council has opportunities of influencing decisions, which it often makes little use of. But this should not

make us overlook the fact that the employers' point of view wins the upper hand in all matters of importance because he is the "master of the house." This is why the fight for participation in the decision of all economic, financial and investment policy matters is not a fight for the extension of existing rights but for *new* rights for the working class.

The task is to win and actually exercise the right to participate in the decision of everyday social questions in the most diverse forms, which are continuously developing and changing. Needless to say we also want our struggle to result in a definite legislative and legal confirmation of our right to co-management.

We can and must establish broad unity of action in the fight for co-management. The Vienna program of the Socialist Party of Austria, adopted in 1958, calls for the realization of democracy through "self-government within the small area," and hence for "the working people's right to co-management in industry." The Fifth Federal Congress of the AATU demanded "the right of the workers to participate in making all economic and technological decisions at industrial level and higher up." The special significance of this formulation is that it attaches equal importance to co-management at industrial level and higher up, and rejects all those concepts which would confine co-management to top executives.

At the industrial level, it is primarily the production councils that will participate in management. Their contacts with and commitments to the staffs would have to be considerably extended.

At the same time, however, there is a need for co-management bodies at higher level, provided they do not restrict the freedom of action and the autonomy of the working class and its organizations. In this respect we favor realization of the demand unanimously approved by the Third Federal Congress of the AATU for "the establishment by the chambers and the AATU, at provincial and Federal level, of joint institutions that will work out proposals and advise public associations on economic matters."

The task of the trade unions and workers' chambers will be autonomously and in collaboration with the production councils of the various branches to work out a comprehensive economic concept, coordinate co-management through the production councils within the bounds of the concept, and if necessary, give appropriate support to the production councils seeking the realization of their proposals, for it is impossible to achieve the main goal of co-management — pushing back big capital and the cartels — by co-management at industrial level only.

Conversely, a trade union economic concept which is in the interest of the workers and other employees and of the country as a whole cannot be put through against the employers' profit interests unless the trade union and the workers' chamber maintain

the closest contact with the production councils and the workers and other employees at the various plants and are fully supported by them.

The unlimited right to participate in the discussion and decision of various questions in the trade unions, and the development of the broadest possible trade union democracy are an important precondition for the militancy of the workers and other employees and of their production councils to come into full play.

The industrial, professional and office workers are the only force which can counter the thinking of the employers or the employer class, aimed solely at making profit, with concepts meeting the national interests of Austria and the economic interests of the vast majority of its population. They are also the only force which can put these concepts into effect against the resistance of the empioyers.

The trade unions will have to provide the production councils with the necessary knowledge through appropriate instruction, information, technical advice, and forums, which is not to say that all production councillors must become economic experts. Wherever the class view is the point of departure and the economic concept of the trade union the guide, every production councillor drawing on the collective knowledge of his fellow-workers versed in trade and technology will be able, by agreement with the trade union concerned, to take more correct decisions on the economic problems of his enterprise than the employer, whose sole concern is profit.

The present fight for co-management is directed primarily against the positions of big capital, particularly in the key industries and insurance companies. This fight would benefit in decisive measure from the workers and other employees at nationalized plants, where big capital also has its representatives, acquiring the right to co-management, for the objective and subjective conditions there are more favorable than anywhere else. The nationalized sector of our economy embraces a large number of key industries. The power of big capital there is fairly limited, and the workers and other employees regard them as "their own" in greater measure than elsewhere. In the nationalized sector, the lack of comprehensive planning and coordination of production, investment and research is considered utterly absurd and unaccountable. We therefore insist on the exclusion of all representatives of private capital from the management of the nationalized plants and banks, and on increased representation of the working people in the supervisory councils and directorates of the plant.

It follows that it is first and foremost in the nationalized sector that we must demand full co-management by the production councils. It is there that we must make it an object of our present

struggle. Gains in this sector would greatly benefit the fight for co-management in the private sector. But the fight for co-management is most intimately linked with the fight for the protection and extension of the nationalized industries. Consequently, to fight for co-management connotes defending national interests, independence and neutrality.

Among other things, we want greater powers for the production councils. We want them to be fully informed of the economic condition of the enterprise, and to be able to object when it is a question of putting up prices, admitting foreign capital, or accepting foreign credits and licences.

We call for the production councils' participation in making decisions on the use of the returns of the enterprises, and above all on investments, which should be made with due regard to national economic expediency and with a view to guaranteeing full employment. We want the production councils to have a say in the drawing up of output plans.

We insist on enabling the workers and other employees to exert decisive influence on the credit policy of the banks, particularly the big nationalized banks, and hence to have a decisive say in the management of the state-owned enterprises of these banks.

To prevent the loss of work places as a result of the introduction of new machinery (automation), the employers should be bound to come to terms with the production councils before introducing methods and plant increasing labor productivity.

Labor power can be taken on or discharged only with the consent of the production council, which should have the right to make proposals and raise objections when appointments to executive jobs are under discussion.

To prevent price increases, the production councils should be entitled to exercise control over profits (they must have the opportunity to look into price and rate calculations in collaboration with experts from the trade unions and workers' chambers).

We demand the prohibition of all cartels and all agreements on prices. We insist on using the consumers' associations as a factor keeping prices down, on rendering the children of workers and other employees ample assistance in receiving occupational training, as well as a secondary or higher education, on extending the powers of the elected bodies in terms of the communes, districts, provinces and the republic.

The industrial, professional and office workers are the greatest force of society. Our task is to defend and extend democracy and to ensure that the working people participate in economic management. To accomplish it, we must carry out resolute class battles and mass actions in cooperation with Socialist, Christian and non-party workers and other employees.

FOR A NEW INITIATIVE OF THE PEACE FORCES

RESOLUTION* OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

The Central Committee of the Italian Communist Party has approved Comrade Berlinguer's report on the problems of the struggle for peace and the unity of the world Communist movement.

The continued U.S. acts of aggression in Vietnam, which seriously threaten an escalation of the conflict, have dangerously aggravated the internaional situation, generally characterized by a halt in the process of relaxation. To check this negative trend and give fresh impetus to a deep-going change in the international situation in the spirit of peaceful coexistence, it is necessary resolutely to revive the initiative of the peace forces aimed at rallying the working classes and the peoples, who invariably strive for national independence, social emancipation and peace, on the basis of widespread and manifold actions. In these circumstances, it is more important for the Communist movement than ever before to restore unity of action in the struggle against imperialism, to encourage discussions and the search for solutions, and thus provide conditions for a new and more profound unity.

In this international situation, complicated by the aggravation of the conflict in Vietnam, the passive and inert foreign policy of the Center-Left government, and its lack of initiative, have proved incapable of contributing to negotiation, international detente, and the establishment of new relations of cooperation with the peoples fighting for independence. Moreover, it has given further proof that it is subservient to the general interests of U.S. imperialism. Nor has the participation of the Italian Socialist Party in the government moderated this subservience. Thus, as regards the raising of international problems, an independent role and peaceful initiative on the part of Italy in this field, the policy of the Center Left and the present government coalition demonstrates its failure and its crisis.

Three basic changes should take place in Italy's foreign policy: (1) renunciation of the commitment to participate in the atomic armament of NATO in any form, opposition to the atomic rearmament of Germany, and promotion of a European security system; (2) going beyond the bounds of the Common Market and "Little

*L'Unità, February 20, 1965

Europe" to establish a democratic system of economic and political relations between all European countries; (3) development of relations with the third world, such as would renounce all forms of colonialism and neo-colonialism and would be based on strict recognition of and respect for the economic and political independence of every country, beginning with the recognition of People's China as an act of restoration of the universal character of the United Nations provided for by its Character adopted in San Francisco.

The CC, ICP calls on Party organizations to do all in their power to encourage united popular actions which would reflect the present demand for a peaceful settlement of the conflict in Vietnam in keeping with the Geneva agreement of 1954 and ultimately develop into a permanent movement, with the widespread participation of the working-class, for an overall revision of Italian foreign policy. Such changes are also a condition for the effective development of the entire struggle for our country's shift to the left. This is necessary in order to replace the present Center Left government by a government capable of lending Italy's policy a new character in both domestic and international affairs, whose close interconnection today has a direct effect on our economy and is manifested in the obstacles which agreements between Italian and foreign monopolies raise to the solution of the country's economic difficulties.

In the interests of the unity of the international Communist movement, the CC, ICP instructs the leadership to act, in its future contacts and meetings with other Communist and Worker's parties, on the basis of the line reaffirmed by Comrade Berlinguer's report and by the debate at this meeting.

APPEAL* OF THE CC ICP

Workers, working people,

Our country is passing through a serious crisis of its labor system and of its economy. A dangerous offensive is going on against employment, against living and working conditions, against the trade union and democratic rights of the working people. Dismissals and curtailment of working hours, denial of employment to young people, the reduction of the wages total, and a steadily growing cost of living — this is the way the monopolies have chosen to make the working people shoulder the burden of the crisis again. Such is the plan of the big industrialists, who want to preserve and increase their profits, and to expand production while reducing employment and wages.

The present Center-Left government has shown its inability

*l'Unita, February 21, 1965.

to cope with the economic difficulties experienced by Italy, to work out and implement necessary measures for a rise in production. It insisted on containing and blocking budget expenditures, investments and public consumption: it assisted in freezing wages, and refused even a niggardly increase in pensions. Thereby it helped bring about stagnation and crisis in production and lowered employment and the demand for labor power, restoring a dangerous phenomenon—unemployment.

This situation can and must be remedied. The prospect the monopolies are out to impose on the Italian people can be rejected. This calls for a rapid change in the economic policy. The state should mobilize all the forces of the country. All resources and reserves should be used, but used correctly. A bold policy of expenditure is needed — bold chiefly because it should take into consideration the main requirements of democratic programmaking. Large allocations should be made without delay for basic productive investments. It is necessary to combat the squandering of public funds and discontinue all support for parasitic elements. Consequently, more funds should be allocated directly for public works, provided Law No. 167* is applied more extensively and new legislation is sought on urban development ruling out land profiteering. Greater allocations should be made for agriculture, transport, social security, education, but all this should be done on the basis of an agrarian reform, a reform of the railways and public transport, the reorganization of pensioning and medical assistance, and the democratic development of education. It is necessary that production of the means of production should be developed at state-owned enterprises. This work should be conducted with the help of the democratic forces active in the regional and local self-government bodies, and not through the old or new, unwieldy bureaucratic machinery.

This new policy may succeed. The working people and their vanguard should form a broad united front, launched an extensive struggle combining the immediate and long-range objectives with the general mobilization of public opinion in order to foil the plans of the monopolies and ensure the pursuit of a new policy. The decisive role should be played by the working class. To resist the onslaught of the employers, it should uphold demands directed against the consequences of the current transformations and reorganizations, going over from the necessary particular demands on narrow points to broader, more general ones. It should strengthen the trade unions, promoting, from factory level upwards, the democratic life of the trade union and Party organizations.

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*This law enables municipal councils to combat land profiteering and control urban development.—Ed.

The situation brooks no temporizing or delay. One should not cherish the illusion that no government crisis is needed to bring about a policy change and Italy's pledge to act in the interests of peace, which are closely connected with the possibilities for the democratic development of the Italian economy.

This is the time for everyone to assume a share of the responsibility. Both the gains bought at the price of many years of strenuous struggle by the working people and the very future of our country are at stake.

Workers, working people,

The Communist Party calls upon you to unite and fight in defense of your work and your future. The Communist Party has already raised in Parliament the question of the economic situation and of the measures to be adopted at once. It has taken steps to have a new debate held in the Chamber of Deputies next week.

The whole country, all enterprises, and all the working people should give a massive and energetic response by joining in this great, decisive struggle.

Central Committee,
Italian Communist Party

LAST WEEK'S EVENTS

STATEMENT BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF SPAIN

An opposition movement unprecedented in scale is developing in our country. Started by the Workers' Committees, who called powerful strikes and demonstrations in various parts of the country, it is being continued by the Free Assemblies of students, who have drawn all the Spanish universities into a protest action by boldly demonstrating in the streets. A considerable section of the academic staffs has joined the students while the rest waver. The number of faculty members who remain firm in their allegiance to the regime is small. The opposition movement has the active sympathy of a substantial number of churchmen. It brings a favorable response from the broadest sections of national opinion. This is why, under a dictatorship such as is oppressing Spain, we have in recent weeks seen the opposition movement spread so wide despite threats from the police and the courts.

The attempt to represent the political actions taking place in our country as a product of the activity of "certain groups of agitators" can comfort only the conservative and feeble-minded partisans of the present cryingly anachronistic social order. Every sensible person realizes that when tens of thousands of workers and students accompanied by faculty members and priests go into the streets to express their discontent, it is because they have no choice, because they are at the end of their tether, because the opposition to the regime has already become a national attitude. The real extremists who shut themselves off from the general sentiment, clinging to positions contrary to the wishes of the country, are those who persist in backing with might and main a dictatorship from which the whole of Spain is dissociating itself.

The people's fight has already yielded some important results. But let there be no illusions; it is only by developing and extending this fight, and by carrying it to still more widespread and militant actions, that the demands of the various groups taking part in it can be really met.

There can be no real parley with spokesmen of the dictatorship. Compromises with the regime are out of the question. There is only one way, that of struggle for the complete satisfaction of popular and national demands.

In these circumstances, the way to end the dictatorship by peaceful means, sparing Spain the hazard of a new civil war, is to pursue this fight until it grows into a powerful nation-wide

strike, with every segment of the population unequivocally rejecting and condemning the regime, and demanding the establishment of a democratic system.

That strike would be truly *nation-wide;* it would be launched by the working people, whose example would show the way to other classes and social strata opposed to Franco. It would be joined in by peasants, students and faculty members, clerks and officials, professional people, merchants and industrialists, or, in other words, by the population at large.

The actions of the workers, students, academic personnel, and priests show clearly that a nation-wide strike is not only possible but is a logical prospect of the whole opposition movement, which is spreading in the country. Such actions are in themselves a most important part of preparations for a nation-wide strike. The coordination which has developed spontaneously between various sections should be consciously and resolutely encouraged and continued by representatives of these circles.

While dialogue with the dictatorship is impossible, there is an imperative need to develop the dialogue between all national forces which want to find a satisfactory solution to the present crisis. We Communists consider that no group should be excluded from this dialogue, whatever its past policy, provided it realizes that it is impossible to put up with the present state of affairs and is agreeable to the free exercise of democracy. We take this open position because we believe that no one should be denied the opportunity to contribute to and participate in shaping the future. Besides, it is a necessary condition for this future not to be marred by violence and bloodshed. This position is as sincere as our resolve to fight to the finish by these peaceful means if experience shows that they are possible, or by other means if our open position is not responded to—to fight for the elimination of the dictatorship, the establishment of democracy, and the solution of the manifold and serious problems facing Spain.

We Communist consider that the dialogue should be open to spokesmen of the Army. The fight against the dictatorship and preparations for a nation-wide strike are not directed against the Army or the forces of Public Order as such. The action of the latter against the demonstrations, and above all the extremely brutal character it assumed in some cases, may give rise to dangerous situations characterized by violence. Members of the forces of Public Order should fraternize with the people because they owe the improvements which have come about in their economic condition (still unsatisfactory) since 1962 to actions by the workers and the people generally, which the Government orders them to suppress. They should realize that their future is linked with Spain, not with the regime.

The Communist Party considers that this is the time to establish contact between different political forces, social strata and representatives of organizations in order to clear the ground for a meeting or a series of meetings that would search for points of agreement likely to promote the solution of the present national crisis. The dialogue should be straightforward and should concern problems which cannot be disregarded any longer. We will do well to begin examining these problems in time so as not to find ourselves overnight in a situation in which they will have become even more pressing and harder to solve.

At present Spain is faced with problems — including problems of a general political character—that call for prompt solution. First among them is that of agreement on an action or actions that could lead to the elimination of the dictatorship as early as possible.

As regards steps that can lead the country to normalcy, a complete amnesty is needed, such as would put an end to all charges linked to the war and subsequent political and public activities. The whole country thinks this measure a necessary beginning of a stage of democracy and civic activity. Spain has had more than enough of repression and persecution.

It is necesary to restore the right to strike and trade union freedom, and to put the trade unions and their operation in the hands of the Workers' Committees, which should be recognized as the true spokesmen of the working people until the latter freely decide otherwise. It is also necessary to recognize the free and democratic organization of the students.

It is necessary to authorize the activity of political parties and establish freedom of association, assembly, the press and demonstration.

At the same time it is necessary to prepare, within a reasonably short time, elections to a Constituent Assembly on the principle of proportional representation.

Catalonia and the Basque country must regain their autonomous freedoms, and Galicia must acquire autonomy.

What government could tackle these tasks with popular and national support? This is the time for a thorough examination of the problem. We Communists are ready to deal with it in cooperation with other forces, and to find a proper and timely solution to it.

Along with these political problems there are acute problems of an economic or social character:

—effective restoration of the eight-hour day, and a minimum wage in keeping with the cost of living, such as the Workers' Committee demand;

—the establishment of a sliding wage scale and a one-month

paid holiday; equal rights and opportunities for women, not merely on paper but in practice;

—readjustment of salaries according to the increase in the cost of living and to the importance of the post held;

—a deep-going agrarian reform putting an end to latifundia, giving the land to those who till it, and solving the problem of small holdings through the development and protection of a genuine system of agricultural cooperatives;

—an agrarian policy that will give the countryside the attention it needs to stop being the stepchild of the Spanish economy;

—restriction of monopoly power by nationalizing banking and credits, the basic raw material sources and the monopoly industries, accompanied by a policy of respect and protection for and assistance to commerce and non-monopoly industry;

—a cultural and social reform of the university and of education in general;

On the international scene, Spain must return to its traditional neutrality; it must dissociate itself from the policy of military blocs, maintain commercial and other relations with all countries irrespective of their social system, and uphold its national interests and world peace.

Measures of this nature are, in fact, prerequisites for Spain to enter a period of all-round economic development on modern lines, without insurmountable contradictions and excessive imbalances.

The Communist Party believes that a sequence should be established in the solution of these problems, which should be solved one by one. However, it is already necessary that the forces which propose to assume responsibility for the future should consciously tackle them even now.

We Communists are willing to examine these and other questions raised by other groups, in the most open-minded manner and with the greatest respect for other opinions.

Regarding problems which it may prove impossible to solve through the dialogue, we hold that the decisive say should be allowed to the spokesmen of the freely expressed will of the nation. We Communists will respect that decision, whatever its nature.

The Communist Party declares that the new stage in the nation's life which has to be ushered in should under *no* circumstances be *either a continuation of the present regime or a restoration of the previous lawful regime.* While negating the present, it must not be a revenge, a return to the past. It is necessary to build a new democratic system in harmony with the spirit and the problems of the present epoch, with due regard to the sentiments of the

present-day generations, a system from which no one should be excluded a priori.

In urging a meeting of those who today may to a greater or lesser degree be regarded as representatives of the national forces responsible for shaping the future of Spain, we Communists must point out that the actions and struggles of the masses, of all sections of the population that are hard hit by the Franco regime, are the irreplaceable motive power of the changes which are occuring, or must occur, in the country.

The essential task is to continue developing and intensifying mass actions, to ensure that the masses express their democratic will in the streets with increasing force, that the number of protests, demonstrations, strikes and other actions grows, that the various forms of unity and organization—Workers' Committees, the Free Assemblies or delegations of students, peasant committees, women's and neighbors' committees — multiply and that there is more coordination in actions and struggles by the working people, students, intellectuals and other social groups. This is the way to hasten the provision of conditions for great national strikes, such as will announce the country's rejection of the dictatorship.

Communist Party of Spain
Executive Committee,

March 9, 1965

APPEAL OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE, SYRIAN COMMUNIST PARTY TO THE PEOPLE

MATERIALS OF THE SYRIAN COMMUNIST PARTY ON THE SITUATION IN THE COUNTRY

Workers, peasants, progressive intellectuals, small employers, our valiant people!

At the beginning of this year new decrees were promulgated nationalizing 115 companies, including most of the country's big industries, as well as a number of industries producing articles of prime necessity.

These decrees, issued for the good of the people, are of a profound progressive character since they enable the state sector to control industry and expand the base for Syria's development along the non-capitalist road. By abolishing the economic domination of the reactionary forces the decrees have thereby deprived them of the possibility of plundering the people and ruling the country in the interests of their own class.

The promulgation of these decrees is closely linked with the struggle taking place today between the two main trends in Syria and other Arab countries: the trend favoring nationalization, i.e., Syria's development along the non-capitalist path, and the reactionary trend favoring the country's development along the capitalist path which would mean profits for the imperialists, big capitalists and feudal lords at the expense of the people.

The decrees were endorsed and supported by such popular forces as the Communists and democrats. They were hailed by workers, peasants, progressive intellectuals and by all small employers. These sections of the people have expressed their readiness to do everything in their power to mak these decrees effective for they have seen that these decrees meet the demands and slogans for which they have made so many sacrifices.

Reactionary circles (the big capitalists, monopolists and feudal lords), however, and also the imperialists of the United States, Great Britain and the FRG are working hard to undermine the people's confidence in nationalization. They are carrying on agitation against socialism and social reforms, and are trying to cause chaos on the economic and political life of the country.

It is the duty of every honest citizen to work for nationalization and to expose any plot directed against it.

The Central Committee of the Syrian Communist Party declares,

in the name of all Communists and their friends, that it welcomes and supports the nationalization decrees. The Central Committee believes that to make the decrees effective the following measures are essential:

1. Proper management of the nationalized enterprises, relying on people dedicated to nationalization.
2. Respect for the demands of the workers and to give them a bigger say in management and control.
3. Democratization of the trade unions and institutions of local government so that they express the will of the masses more broadly.
4. Freedom of speech and trade union rights for the workers.
5. Study of the conditions of the small producers and promotion of their interest.
6. Use of the funds received from the nationalized companies to expand the latter and also the state sector as a whole.

All these measures are important for the success of nationalization and its steady extension. It is likewise important to carry out other measures such as granting the people and all forces fighting for progress and socialism democratic liberties — freedom of speech, press and assembly; introducing an agrarian reform to benefit the peasants; strengthening the state sector (building fertilizer factories, a dam on the Euphrates, extracting oil, etc.); promoting solidarity with the progressive forces of the other Arab countries and friendship with the socialist camp, headed by the USSR. Such a policy would conform to the national interest and the hopes that nationalization will be successfully accomplished. It would enable Syria to make a big step forward along the path to socialism, would enhance the prestige of our country among the Arab countries and progressive mankind.

The Central Committee of the Syrian Communist Party calls on all progressive forces who uphold socialism (both in the government and outside) to unite to defend nationalization and other social and economic reforms. The cooperation of all these forces is a broad progressive national front is essential to frustrate the plans of the reactionaries and imperialism and pave the way for our country's progress and advance towards a happy future for its people.

Long live the solidarity of the progressive national forces fiighting against imperialism and reaction!

Long live the Syrian Arab people!

Forward to a socialist future!

CC Syrian Communist Party
January 1965

TELEGRAM*

OF KHALED BAGDASH, GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE SYRIAN COMMUNIST PARTY, TO AMIN KHAFEZ, PRIME MINISTER OF THE SYRIAN ARAB REPUBLIC

"We welcome the progressive measures taken by you in the interests of the nation — nationalization decrees and decisions aimed at protecting our oil wealth against foreign monopolies.

"Spearheaded against imperialism and capitalism, these measures express the will of the people and correspond to the new spirit emerging in the Arab national-liberation movement, as well as to the dictates of our time — the time of transition from capitalism to socialism.

"The consistent implementation of these measures, while relying on the masses of workers and peasants and their creative initiatives and heeding the interests of small producers and shopkeepers, will consolidate our national independence and our sovereignty, open up broad vistas for further social progress, enhance the prestige of the Syrian Arab Republic and win it the sympathy of progressives everywhere.

"The realization of these major socio-economic changes and their further development will strengthen the role of the Syrian Arab people in the great struggle of the Arabs against imperialism and Zionism, for complete liberation and peace, and for Arab unity founded on the principles of fraternity and equality. These changes accord with the interests of the Arab people and their striving for democracy and socialism. The duty of all progressive national forces, then, is to combine their efforts in a united national front in order to defend these gains and safeguard them against the conspiracies of imperialism and reaction.

"In keeping with our ideals and our long struggle for socialism, and fulfilling our duty of sincere fighters for the complete national and social emancipation of our country, my comrades and I will exert every effort, together with all progressive forces striving for socialism, to consolidate these gains, carry them into effect and develop them further.

"With greetings and best wishes,

Khaled Bagdash

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*Al-Akhbar, January 24, 1965.

NATIONALIZATION DECREES IN SYRIA*

Y. Feisal

On January 2, 1965, the Syrian government promulgated laws on the nationalization of 115 industrial companies. The following should be said in this connection:

1. Twenty-one companies (with an aggregate capital of 111,700,-000 Syrian pounds and employing 5,580 workers) are nationalized *completely*. These companies produce sugar, glass, cement, etc., and have a capital ranging from £Syr. 2,000,000 to £Syr. 16,000,000 each.

2. Twenty-eight companies (with an aggregate capital of £Syr. 52,500,000 and employing 3,350 workers) are 90 per cent nationalized. They produce carpets, textiles, linen, canned goods, ceramics, etc. The capital of each ranges from 500,000 to 1,500,000 Syrian pounds.

3. Sixty-four companies are nationalized by only 75 per cent. Their capital is 42,600,000 Syrian pounds and they employ 2,850 workers. These companies manufacture dairy products, matches, rubber goods, etc.

Nationalization affected all large firms which have a monopoly on the production of food, clothing and other household necessities, as well as some middle-sized and even small companies. With regard to nationalizing small companies, it was subsequently announced that this was a mistake which would be corrected.

THE CAUSES OF NATIONALIZATION

Some people believe that the sole cause of nationalization is the poor financial position of the country, that nationalization is a reply to the conspiracy and has been conditioned by the desire to limit the outflow of capital from the country. Of course, their arguments should not be left out of account, but these are superficial, not basic causes.

The root cause of nationalization is the struggle between two trends of development — capitalist and non-capitalist — which is a sharp class struggle affecting also the governmental circles. It constitutes the main content of the political situation in Syria, explains the phenomena taking place in the Baath party and in the government, the changed relations between the forces of progress and reaction, and determines the alignment of social

*Al-Akhbar, January 17, 1965.

forces. The progressive forces (Communists and other supporters of socialism, the working class, the peasantry, small employers and the progressive intelligentsia, both civil and military) have realized that Syria's development along the capitalist way will bring it nowhere. They understand that the bourgeoisie is incapable of ensuring progress, that the capitalist road is associated with suffering, exploitation and misery, that it retards any development aimed at achieving complete economic independence. The present situation in Syria and the need for development call for a different, non-capitalist road. The latter will enable us to develop the economy by way of setting up a large-scale public sector, carrying out nationalization and implementing the agrarian reform; it will make it possible to extend the rights of workers and peasants and the democratic liberties of the people, to achieve closer cooperation with the socialist camp in the struggle against imperialism.

The struggle between these two trends commenced long ago in Syria. Recall the events associated with building an oil refinery, concluding economic agreements with the USSR or erecting a dam on the Euphrates — these were battles fought to build up a public sector and strengthen economic independence. Ever since September 28, 1961, monopoly capital has been trying to seize power, curtail the liberties and abolish some of the gains, such as the nationalization of the banks and the agrarian reforms, in an attempt to siderack Syria onto the capitalist road of development.

This struggle has given rise to two trends in the government: the Right trend headed by Aflyak and Bitar who sought a deal with reaction and imperialism, and the national progressive trend rooted in the people and represented by military and civil leaders. Of late the struggle between the two trends has gained in intensity, thanks to which Omran had to resign and Aflyak's influence dwindled. As a result power was concentrated in the hands of the military who enjoy the support of some of the Baathist civil leaders. It was these forces in the government which adopted a series of laws forbidding to give oil-extraction licences to foreign companies, and enacted the decrees on nationalization.

The attitudes to the nationalization decrees mirrored the struggle between the two trends now going on both in Syria and throughout the Arab world. The forces of progress and socialism have favored nationalization, while the reactionary forces have come out against it. This struggle is growing in scope, and the chances are that the forces of progress and socialism will win.

ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS OF NATIONALIZATION

A. Money will no longer be pumped out by the capitalists from

the nationalized sector.

B. Credits will be channelled to the nationalized and not the private sector as before.

C. It will be possible to make nationalized enterprises operate at full capacity and expand production, as has already been the case at glass- and cement-manufacturing plants.

These, in short, are positive aspects of nationalization. But there are also some negative consequences, although of a temporary nature. It was no surprise that nationalization caused the fluctuation of prices and of the value of the Syrian pound. The flucuations will grow unless sabotage is ended. But the wave of fear is beginning to wane, and the situation will stabilize depending on the policy which the government will pursue with regard to the small bourgeoisie (share-holders, shopkeepers), and on the extent to which it will broaden the rights of the workers.

Nationalization will also affect political opinion in the country. It has deprived big capital of a powerful weapon which it used to further its class interests. One can even say that Syrian capitalism, which can no longer promote the development of the country's producive forces has played havoc to the economy in order to worsen the position of Syria and thus accomplish its conspiracy against the people. It thereby serves the sinister aims of reaction and imperialism. Nationalization adds to Syria's chances to secure complete independence for her trade and thus strengthen economic sovereignty. It was a reflection and a concretization of the struggle between reaction and progress in Syria and in the Arab world as a whole.

OUR ATTITUDE TO NATIONALIZATION

In defining our attitude to nationalization we should proceed from considerations of principle. Economically, nationalization means:

1. Extending the public sector, which at present controls 85 per cent of all industry and is the leading sector in the country.
2. Transferring a substantial part of the means of production to state ownership.
3. Creating the possibility to enhance the role of the working class and its influence on the future development of the country.
4. All this creates better conditions for the country's advance along the non-capitalist road, along the road towards socialism.

Politically, nationalization implies:

1. Restricting the economic and political influence of the big bourgeoisie.
2. Creating a favorable soil for the cooperation of all forces believing in socialism, both in and outside the government.

3. An opportunity to improve relations between Arab states and strengthen Arab solidarity, especially between progressive Arab countries.

4. An opportunity to lay the foundation for closer cooperation with the socialist countries.

DEMANDS

The acute struggle going on around the issue of nationalization, in particular between the advocates of the non-capitalist road and their opponents, is developing at a rapid pace. Victory in this struggle depends on a numbers of factors, the most important of which are the following:

1. Correct management of the nationalized enterprises, which calls for selecting and placing at key posts able and reliable executives devoted to the cause of nationalization and socialism, and not to any one of the parties.

2. Abolishing bureaucracy in the administrative apparatus. The existing red tape and profit-seeking do a lot of harm to the economy. Management is, undoubtedly, a factor which can create a favorable attitude to nationalization.

3. Carrying into effect the measures and laws which the workers have won through their long struggle.

4. Enabling the workers to elect trade union bodies in a democratic way; holding free general elections; abandoning the practice of appointing or imposing candidates, the practice of intimidating workers, who are not Baath members, to prevent them from nominating their own candidates, as is still the case in some of the state-owned enterprises.

5. Cutting short capitalist and imperialist sabotage.

6. Using the profits obtained at the nationalized enterprises to expand the state sector and raise the living standard of the people.

7. Compensating promptly the value of shares to small holders and solving the problem of small producers who suffered from rationalization. This is an urgent matter.

8. Cutting the prices of such goods as sugar, fats, and vegetable oil.

9. Building sound relations between the nationalized enterprises and small traders.

With regard to domestic policy, it is essential for nationalization to be successful to grant democratic freedoms to the progressive forces and all groups having faith in socialism, and to ensure freedom of speech, press and assembly.

All the progressive forces should, for their part, uphold and defend nationalization measures against imperialism and reaction,

which calls for the cooperation of all national progressive forces in a broad front. The Central Committee of the Communist Party has called for building such a front, just as the press of Syria has called for unity of the progressive Left forces.

TRENDS OF DEVELOPMENT

Although nationalization has had a positive effect on the trend of economic development, we cannot rest content with this. What is needed is to work actively for the realization, in cooperation with the socialist states, of the plan for erecting a dam on he Euphrates, building a fertilizer plant and laying the railway lines Kamyshly-Haleb-Latakia.

The state sector should not be allowed to remain within the present limits. It should be expanded steadily and along planned lines. It is perfectly obvious that close cooperation with the states of the socialist camp headed by the USSR will be of great importance for the realization of these plans and for training new cadres of specialists.

The first successes of nationalization are due to the broad support accorded it by the people in Syria, in the Arab world and in the international arena. The future of nationalization depends on further steps: it will either grow in scope or it will fail. It is all the national forces which are responsible for nationalization, but the main responsibility devolves primarily on the government.

Progressive nationalists, Communists and democrats should exert every effort to ensure that nationalization develops on a sound basis and is crowned with victory.

SYRIAN BIG CAPITAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT*

M. Salib

The role of the national sector in Syria's economic development was studied by theoreticians and leaders of political parties as far back as ten years ago.

Political and economic factors change constantly, and our attitude to this sector today is not what it was in 1957. At that time the Communists said that ". . . the task at the present stage is to defend national capital, not to nationalize it," while in 1965 they support the latest decrees on nationalization.

We maintain that both in 1957 and 1965 the Communist position has been correct. What has changed is the role of the big bourgeoisie, which was progressive in 1954-57 but has become reactionary now.

Before independence the struggle was waged between the people, led by the bourgeoisie, and the invaders. The bourgeoisie was economically interested in taking power in order to set up its own industry. The invaders sought to preserve Syria as an agrarian country importing goods from abroad.

The struggle between the national forces (the national and petty bourgeoisie and the working people), which wanted to nationalize foreign enterprises and establish a national industry, and the imperialists and their agents (feudals), who wanted Syria to remain backward and dependent, continued after independence as well.

The victory of the national forces over imperialism was the chief outcome of this struggle.

CONTRADICTIONS WITHIN THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST FRONT

Those were class contradictions, somewhat smoothed over by the common struggle against imperialism.

First, there was the contradiction between the capitalists and the workers. The capitalists strove to intensify the exploitation of the workers and deprive them of their legitimate rights. The struggle of the working people for these rights was headed by the Communists and other progressives. The capitalists sided with the feudals in order to safeguard the "inviolability" of private property, while the workers supported the peasants' struggle. Ever

*Al-Akhbar, January 24, 1965

since 1945 the Communists urged distributing the feudals' land among the peasants, while the Socialists drafted a law defending the peasantry.

Second, it was necessary to extend the state sector. Agents of imperialism, supported in some instances by representatives of the big bourgeoisie anxious to preserve the private sector, came out against this. A typical example was their attitude to the construction of the oil refinery in Homs, to some development plans, etc. Already then the big bourgeoisie acted as a reactionary force.

PROGRESSIVE ROLE OF THE BOURGEOISIE PRIOR TO 1957

On the other hand, the big bourgeoisie played a progressive role, for it wanted the industrialization of the country. Although it was interested primarily in profit-making, its activities had an anti-imperialist character. While in power (together with the feudals), it passed laws promoting industrialization (for instance, abrogation of the customs treaty with Lebanon), increasing duties on imports competing with domestic goods, and reducing or fully abolishing duties on machines and materials needed by industry. These laws contributed to the development of the national economy. More than 100 big enterprises were built within 13 to 15 years.

The Syrian Communists advocated a more vigorous development of the national industry. While fighting for the rights of the workers, for the emancipation of the peasants and for the extension of the state sector, they bore in mind the following factors:

A. The private sector was developing, with the capitalists using profits for the construction of new enterprises. This increased the national income, which was used for extending the state sector. Believing, as Marxists, that ours is the time of socialism's triumph over capitalism, the Communists felt that industrial enterprises would become centers of development of socialism in the country, that the working class, the vanguard which would lead the country to socialism, was being forged there.

B. Along with the private sector, despite the resistance of imperialism, the reactionaries and part of the big bourgeoisie, the state sector was growing rapidly as a result of the nationalization of foreign enterprises and the construction of new ones. It was perfectly obvious that the economic agreements with the USSR, signed by representatives of the national bourgeoisie in 1957, could contribute to the expansion of the state sector, with the private sector changing radically as a result.

C. The correlation of forces in the country at that time was such that contradictions in the anti-imperialist front could not be allowed to grow. The national forces strove to frustrate the imperial-

ists' plans and conspiracy, for which unity was needed. This tactic influenced part of the national bourgeoisie, which sensed that its positions were threatened by the imperialists, and not by the forces of progress.

D. Many workers, peasants and artisans (although not interested in the capitalist road of development) were not as yet convinced of the advantages of nationalized property and were therefore at times influenced by bourgeois ideology with its basic concept of the inviolability of private property.

These four factors have changed since then. So far as the private sector is concerned, the big bourgeoisie stopped expanding production already three or four years ago. No new enterprises were built, while the profits were transferred abroad (to Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Switzerland and Italy) and invested in industry there. Since capital taken out of the country consisted not only of net profits but also of that part needed to compensate for wear and tear of machines and buildings, the private industry not only ceased to make progress, but was threatened with decline.

Moreover, the big bourgeoisie launched a struggle against the state sector. The export of capital affected state revenues, hitting the part of the budget designed for economic development. In the period following the seizure of power in September 1961 the bourgeoisie continued the export of capital, restricted the state sector and inflated the bureaucratic apparatus, thus depleting the budget. Together with the FRG it played a double game in order to prevent the construction of the dam on the Euphrates.

Big capital was gradually retreating from the national positions in the struggle against imperialism, reluctant to sacrifice anything for the sake of the state, a course of its income. This was vividly exemplified by the activities of the big bourgeoisie under the el Kudsi govrnment, when it tried to turn over Syrian oil to foreign monopolies and cooperated with the reactionaries in order to influence the December elections, destroy the Left forces, abolish the agrarian reform and the decrees on nationalization, and save foreign banks.

All this goes to show that in recent years the big bourgeoisie withdrew from the struggle against imperialism.

This, however, could not change the correlation of forces in favor of imperialism. In that period new forces joined the struggle (the workers, peasants and the petty bourgeoisie), who were not influenced by the ideology of the reactionaries and the big bourgeoisie any longer, and socialist ideas began to win the following of the mass of the working people. This consolidated the anti-imperialist forces and brought about a qualitative change in their structure. Now these forces were able to unite the struggle against imperialism and Zionism with the struggle for social progress and

cardinal social changes. Therefore nationalization promotes, and not weakens, the anti-imperialist struggle.

The advocates of the bourgeoisie contend that the export of capital and the slowing down of industrialization began only after the 1961 decrees on nationalization. This is not true. The big bourgeoisie began to change its position back in 1957, when it went over to the reactionaries' side. Moreover, a halt in industrialization and the export of capital are facts whose essence and consequences cannot be explained away merely by changes in their causes.

All these factors, by no means decisive, were added argument for nationalization, whose main purpose is to turn away from the capitalist path, free the working class from exploitation, and prepare the ground for socialist changes. Nationalization was aimed not only at saving the national income; it is essential for Syria's entry upon a new stage of development.

What has been said about the big capitalists does not apply to the petty bourgeoisie and to the part of the middle bourgeoisie which did not change its positions even after 1957. Nor does it signify that the private sector has lost all importance for economic development. Small enterprises not linked with foreign capital and not subject to liquidation should be reserved to their owners; moreover, every possible assistance should be given them.

The shareholders of the nationalized enterprises should receive a prompt and fair compensation so that the big bourgeoisie has no chance of winning.

THE ROAD AHEAD FOR CANADA'S COMMUNISTS*

Q. You said following your election that the Communist Party is setting its sights on becoming a national force in Canada. How do you expect to achieve this?

A. In my opinion the Communist Party can become an effective national force in English and French Canada by reacting in a timely way to all national, social and economic problems and advancing polices which help unite the people against the monopolies.

A sect cannot become a national force. Nor can a party which restricts itself to propaganda work; or which sits and waits for a "better day." It is what a party does today and every day to champion the interests of the working people that will hasten the "better day."

How can a small party like the Communist Party become an effective national force? Well, size isn't everything, although size is important. More important is the correctness of policies being advanced and the will to bring them to the Canadian people. If these two factors exist we can literally move mountains. The key to becoming an effective national force is embodied in the Communist Party's three-point program; as we learn how to bring these points in a living and concrete way to the Canadian people we will grow in size and influence.

Q. Do you visualize an upsurge of the Left in Canada?

A. Yes. Such an upsurge is beginning to find expression in Western Europe—note the election gains of Communist parties in Italy, Sweden, Finland, Belgium. It can be seen in the agreement between the Communist and Socialist parties of France for cooperation in the coming elections. It finds expression on a somewhat different plane in electoral successes of the Social Democratic Party in West Germany, in the election of a Labour government in Britain and in the electoral defeat of Goldwater and the ultra-Right in the U.S.

In our country an upsurge is also in the making, although not yet on a level with what is transpiring in Western Europe. Municipal elections reflected it in a small way, as did the results of the Riverdale and Waterloo by-elections, and the growing militancy of workers across the country. This desire for social change will expand and be stimulated by the struggle for peace, for a democratic solution of the constitutional crisis and around the struggle

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*Canadian Tribune, February 1 and February 8, 1965. An interview with William Kashtan, General Secretary, Communist Party of Canada.

for far-reaching reforms to curb the power of monopoly in this period of technological advance. It is around all such movements of the people versus monopoly that the ground-work for a movement toward the left will evolve. It could well find expression in the coming federal elections.

Q. Do you believe present social developments will lead to a return to the militancy of the 1930s?

A. History rarely repeats itself. The conditions of the thirties and the conditions of today are not the same. The revolutionary processes at work throughout the world are wider and deeper than they could be three decades ago. Those who look back longingly to the thirties fail to see the forest for the trees.

Capitalism has learned from the thirties. It is still capitalism, but it has evolved new tactics to try to meet the problems of modern society. It strives to modify the cycle to prevent deep-going economic crisis. It makes concessions to the working class based on the super-profits of monopoly exploitation. It strives to regulate the economy. Laissez-faire capitalism has given way to monopoly and state monopoly capitalism with the state playing an ever-increasing economic role. All efforts are directed to saving the system, to iron out contradictions inherent in the system.

The basic contradictions of capitalism, in the first place between capital and labor, remain and become sharper. The very growth of monopoly creates objective conditions for this.

Efforts to regulate the economy, with the state playing an ever-increasing economic role, strengthens the movement among workers for genuine planning based on social ownership.

It is not accidental that a growing body of workers are striving to determine the rate of production in their plants; that the movement to curb management rights in rising. Technological progress and automation will stimulate that movement and place before workers the need to fight for reforms in the very structure of capitalism. In essence their struggles take on a political character. As they battle on this front workers will inevitably move to the next stage of the struggle, directed toward a basic social transformation of society.

Q. It has been admitted by Communist Party spokesmen that the age level of your membership is too high. What do you intend to do about this problem?

A. Basically the problem is one of ensuring that the young generation, or a goodly part of it, will be on the side of progress and against reaction and war.

It has often been said that the young generation has swung to the right. We deny this. Their heroic participation in the civil rights struggle in the U.S., the rising movement for social change in Canada, growing questioning of the capitalist system, all indi-

cate that young people are aware of the great challenges of our time and are, in fact, in the leadership in many of these struggles.

The Communist Party is recruiting young workers, university students and others into its ranks. We intend to step up this work, not only because we wish to revitalize our party, but because it is in the interests of the entire labor movement and of progress generally.

We are giving particular attention to the big issues which confront the young generation in this period of technological change and automation. Today, more than ever, the problems of education, of training, of useful creative work, leisure and sports have a bearing on the future of the young generation. We shall do what needs to be done to ensure that the labor movement and democratic forces face up to their responsibility in this regard.

Bringing young people into our ranks is part of the necessary process of revitalizing our party, as is the constant promotion of young people to positions of responsibility and leadership.

Q. What will be the outcome of the next federal election?

A. It is too early to say. What is increasingly evident is the growing dissatisfaction of Canadians with both the Conservative and Liberal parties.

Who can say how Canadians will react to the charges of graft and corruption affecting some sections of the Liberal Party? Are the Liberals about to re-enter the "valley of humiliation" brought on by the Beauharnois scandal many years ago?

And who can say what will result from the movement for a special Conservative Party convention? One thing seems clear. The demand not only by French-Canadian but also by some English-Canadian Conservative MP's for Diefenbaker's resignation reflects a crisis in Tory ranks. It is the result of a refusal to face up to the real nature of the constitutional crisis.

When George Hogan, secretary of the Ontario Progressive Conservative Association and former executive assistant to Diefenbaker says the party "might not survive the next 30 days" he may be guilty of exaggeration; but in that remark too is reflected the crisis in Tory ranks.

The question is where will the dissatisfaction with Liberal and Tory parties go? Will it veer to the right, or in a progressive direction?

Alberta Premier E. C. Manning is now calling for the restoration of the "two-party system," hoping it will go toward Social Credit or some new political alignment. Monopoly will now move heaven and earth to prevent a massive break-away from the parties of monopoly.

In the circumstances all those who stand for progress and advance face a real challenge to work for the election of a sub-

stantial progressive group, composed mainly of the New Democratic Party, to Parliament. This would correspond with the present stage of the struggle and our party will do everything it can to help realize this objective.

To help set the tone of the campaign, to advance issues which need to be at the center, we shall run Communist candidates in a selected number of constituencies. Our participation will not be formal, but an integral part of our effort to become an effective national force.

Q. What about the ultra-Right? Is there a danger of Goldwaterism in Canada?

A. While there is no concentration of the ultra-Right in Canada it would be a grave mistake to ignore the possibility.

Manning's reactionary call for a political alignment to "defend free enterprise," the hate-literature campaign in various parts of the country, growing attacks on labor and the trade unions, the campaigns sparked by monopoly interests against the Canadian Pension Plan, the proposed national labor code and medicare, the chauvinist attacks on the national rights of the French-Canadian people, are all part of one pattern directed toward halting the democratic upsurge in Canada and forcing it to retreat.

The emergence of an ultra-Right is therefore in the cards, although its form may vary from that in the USA. Goldwaterism is an American phenomenon, but the ultra-Right is international in the sense that it expresses the desperate efforts of reactionary imperialism to halt the inexorable advance of the peoples everywhere to peace, independence, democracy and socialism.

This does not mean that reaction and fascism are inevitable. Far from it, provided correct policies are pursued by our party and all democratic forces in this country, directed toward exposing, isolating and defeating the ultra-Right wherever it raises its head.

Today, there is widespread understanding that the time to prevent war is before it breaks out. So, too, the time to defend democratic rights is now, not when they have been undermined. The democratic upsurge throughout the country indicates this is increasingly understood.

Q. Did your national committee meeting make any decisions regarding the Confederation crisis and developments in French Canada?

A. We did not make any new decisions. Our national convention had already outlined our views on the constitutional crisis and the need for a new Canadian constitution. We took note at the national committee meeting of the various maneuvers of the capitalist parties directed toward bypassing the need for a new Canadian constitution.

We noted that in English-speaking Canada the labor movement

continues to stand on the sidelines instead of advancing a program based on the existence of a bi-national state. We felt this to be a missing link which needs correction if the constitutional crisis is to be settled in a way that ensures democratic advance for labor and the Canadian people.

The national committee took note of the emergence of socialist movements in French Canada and the growing and varied struggles of the French Canadian people.

It was not possible to examine all these questions in depth. Therefore it was agreed that French Canada be placed on the agenda of our next meeting, and to discuss also the question of party structure and work in French Canada.

Q. You were elected to your post by the national committee. Is the procedure democratic? How does it compare with the selection of a leader in other Canadian political parties?

A. Our constitution provides for the election of general secretary and party leader by the national committee. This has been our practice. In the past few years the national committee met during the national convention and reported its decisions to the convention.

There were some opinions that perhaps we should hold an earlier convention. In the end, it was unanimously agreed to proceed with the election at our recent meeting.

The national committee can elect its officers and change them for cause. This is not the case with the capitalist parties where decisions are made behind the scenes, where the membership has no control over leadership and where leadership stands above the party.

Q. Some newspapers, radio and TV spoke of a "crisis of leadership" in your party. Was there any truth in it?

A. No. The untimely death of Leslie Morris was a great loss which can never be fully made up. But our party does not depend on one individual, but on collective leadership embodied in the national committee and national executive.

While individuals play a role in history, we do not hold with the "theory" of one-man leadership.

The capitalist press chose to misrepresent the situation in our party because it does not see history as made by people but by some great man.

We had no "crisis of leadership," first of all because there were and are no differences on fundamentals in our leadership, and secondly because in the national committee there are many talented persons who could fill the post of secretary and leader with honor to the party.

If the press, radio and TV want to discuss a "crisis of leadership" let them look at the capitalist parties. Who can deny the growing crisis there?

MANIFESTO OF THE PARAGUAYAN COMMUNIST PARTY

Workers and peasants,

Since August 15 last, the Paraguayan people have gained *new experience* and become more aware than ever that there is only one road to salvation: the struggle for their demands and rights, united action, the people's democratic revolution.

PARAGUAY'S CHIEF ENEMY

Our people now see better than ever before that the U.S. government, a tool of the imperialist monopolies, is the main hostile force supporting the criminal tyranny of Stroessner and Insfran* contrary to the will of the vast majority of the nation. Within the short period of a few months it granted Stroessner and Insfran $40 million (6,000 million guaranis) to enable them to continue selling and ruining our country, persecuting, torturing and killing Paraguayan patriots.

Such is "Western democracy," defended by the U.S. rulers and multimillionaires and their local flunkeys of all hues.

Such is the vaunted "Alliance for Progress" which the conciliators from the Liberal** and Febrerist† leadership, as well as reactionary putschists like Carlos Pastore and Mendez Fleitas, clutch at in common with Stroessner and Insfran.

Life has borne out what we have been telling our people: the government of Stroessner and Insfran is not a national government but a henchman of the U.S. blood-suckers. It is impossible to end the anti-national military dictatorship without fighting simultaneously for the national liberation of Paraguay, against U.S. domination. This is the meaning of the political experience our people are gaining today. Every new fact makes it clearer to them that there is only one way out: the people's national-liberation revolution.

"AID" TO THE PRIVILEGED, STARVATION FOR THE PEOPLE

The Paraguayans are also satisfying themselves that U.S. loans go into the pockets of the insignificant minority of multi-millionaire landowners, favorites of Stroessner and Insfran. The handful of profiteers and privileged military also gets a cut-in. As for the small landowners and small manufacturers, they get nothing.

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*E. Insfran is Minister of the Interior in Stroessner's government.—Ed.
**The Liberal Party represents the interests of the big landowners and ranchers.—Ed.
†The Febrerist Party unites servicemen and intellectuals.—Ed.

The U.S. colonialists have decided that Paraguay should remain a backward country and export chiefly meat and hides, as it did half a century ago.

The vast majority of the peasants receive no credits and never will. The few who will get them will be up to their necks in debt, for their produce does not sell on the capitalist world market and the U.S. government forbids Paraguay to trade with the socialist countries, which are ruled by the working class in alliance with the peasantry. No one believes in the spurious "agrarian reform" of Stroessner and Insfran any longer.

There can be no appreciable increase in production without an agrarian reform. Therefore U.S. loans will merely aggravate the inflation. The cost of living is growing and will continue to grow. But the North Americans prohibit wage increases. In two years there has been only one 5 per cent wage increase in the capital, whereas the working class needs, and has long been demanding, at least a 40 per cent raise to satisfy its barest needs.

There are many dollars in Stroessner's and Insfran's hands. These dollars have been bought with Paraquayan blood. They are the fee for the murder of scores of guerrilla patriots — Alvarez, Ojeda, Rivas, Riveiros, Villalba and many other heroes of national liberation. In the meantime, starvation is growing, The railwaymen's pay is delayed for months, and the teachers and the majority of the other working people are no better off.

There shall be no such "development"! Everything promised by the U.S. interventionists and their lackeys in the government is a lie. The handful of the privileged will go on waxing rich while the poor will become more and more impoverished. The interventionists and the government are stretching the string so tight that it is bound to snap.

The people see more clearly than ever before that there is no way out within the framework of the old regime. They say: "There has to be a change, it is certain to come about."

Only the revolution, only a *genuine* agrarian reform, only *genuine* industrialization, only free trade with the socialist camp can end the crisis, backwardness, poverty and disease.

COLLUSION FAILS AND THE DICTATORSHIP IS NO STRONGER THAN BEFORE

The third thing our people have come to realize is that all attempts of the U.S. government to fortify Stroessner's dictatorship through collusion have failed completely.

The "cheap liberals"* have got bogged down in intrigue and de-

*A derisive allusion to the group of Liberal leaders who betrayed their party and agreed to come to terms with the dictators.—Ed.

ception. For many years the attempts of the Liberal leadership to strike a much-desired bargain were frustrated by popular demonstrations and guerrilla actions. This was the case in 1959, 1960, 1961 and 1963. It is precisely the failure of the policy of collusion prescribed to Paraguay by Kennedy and Stevenson that has compelled the U.S. government to give the decaying dictatorship a shot-in-the-arm of millions of dollars. The U.S. government had no other means of saving and fortifying the dictatorship.

The new tactics of U.S. imperialism, which is to pay for terroristic fascist repressions in dollars, is reckless and dangerous. It is the kind of policy that led to the Cuban revolution.

In our country, it will intensify opposition to and hatred of the dictatorship and foreign domination, evoke increasing resistance and ultimately lead to a great nation-wide uprising.

The U.S. government uses its loans to Stroessner and Insfran to exert pressure on Colonel Rafael Franco's group*, the directorate of the Liberal Party, the Christian Democrats and the conciliating group of the Left Febrerists. It demands that they come to terms with Stroessner and Insfran and join with them in the municipal elections farce to be staged next October. Colonel Franco has already concluded a pact with the anti-national tyranny. He is a traitor to democracy and to his country. He has disgraced his sword by putting it at the service of the U.S. interventionists.

Following the traitors — Insfran's henchmen — Rafael Franco, Roque Gaona, Caballero Gatti and Elpidio Yegros, the collusion was joined in by the supporters of Acosta Mena.** At a meeting held in Asuncion in the middle of October a deal was made between the Franco party and Acosta Mena's associates headed by Pancho Villate, son-in-law of Acosta Mena and brother and associate of Nelson Villate, Insfran's secretary. The anti-Communist statements made by Acosta Mena's people were designed to prepare the Left Febrerists for this betrayal. But the revolutionary-minded rank-and-file Febrerists indignantly reject the deal being engineered by the United States. Nor do they sympathize with the putschist legionnaire policy of Acosta Mena. That is why the latter subjected revolutionary Febrerists to police persecutions on the border, acting as a direct agent of Campos Alum and of a foreign intelligence service.

The directorate of the Liberal Party, for its part, is begging Insfran to put it on the lists for the municipal "elections." In its September 2 manifesto it hailed U.S. "aid" to the Stroessner govern-

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*Rafael Franco, ex-President of Paraguay, is a Febrerist leader. For a long time he was in opposition to Stroessner and lived in exile. Recently he was able to return to Paraguay after agreeing to a deal with the dictator.—Ed.

**A leader of the group of traitors who call themselves the "Party of Marxist-Leninists" but are police agents.—Ed.

ment and expressed the wish that this "aid" should "grow in step with the progressing constitutional normalization of the country". This act of treason confirms that the Liberal Party directorate is merely a tool of the U.S. Embassy. But the Liberal rank and file repudiate the policy of collusion and inactivity more and more imphatically. The revolutionary position of the majority of the Liberals was stated in a challenging manifesto issued by the Liberal club Alon on September 5: "You are either with the oligarchy and imperialism, or with the people . . . You either accept the 'normalization process' proclaimed by the dictatorship, or work for the popular revolution."

The dictatorship is compelled to put on the mask of "democratization" in order to contain the struggle of the people and induce the U.S. to give it dollar handouts. But its maneuvers will fall through for it *cannot and does not want* to give freedom to the people. The Liberal and Febrerist rank and file, as well as the majority of the Colorado Party*, do not believe in "freedom" under Stroessner and Insfran. The people will not hear of collusion. Colonel Franco and his associates and the traitorous group of "cheap liberals" will choke in the fetid bog of their own making.

The people realize that so long as Stroessner and Insfran are in power no problems will be solved and there will be neither freedom nor peace. The masses are dissociating themselves from the leaders who block their actions and accept collusion, who have betrayed democracy and their own party. At the same time the prestige of the leaders who are in favor of armed struggle and united action is growing. Revolutionary trends are appearing in the Colorado, Liberal and Febrerist parties. This shows that the people are going over to the camp of the revolution.

There are very good conditions for the people to frustrate the new collusion being organized by the U.S. Embassy. Joint efforts are needed to defeat this collusion.

COUPS FAIL. THE PEOPLE ALONE CAN ACCOMPLISH THE REVOLUTION

Experience also shows the people the untenability of the policy of coups. Many representatives of the opposition who hoped for quick and easy changes through a coup no longer cherish such illusions. From the point of view of democracy, putschism is an erroneous road. An action by the military cannot succeed unless the masses join in the struggle. Conspiracies and adventurist coups behind the back of the people, without active and purposeful pre-

*The party of the latifundists and the oligarchy, closely connected with U.S. capital. It helped Stroessner to power. At present a strong opposition to the dictatorship has become apparent in the party, especially among its young members.—**Ed.**

parations for the revolution have always failed and will fail in the future. Stroessner and Insfran can be removed only by the *coordinated* actions of all the forces of the people and the army opposed to the dictatorship. The legal peaceful struggle of the legal organizations of workers, peasants and students should be combined with the popular armed (guerrilla) struggle. Powerful and determined action by the masses can prompt some army leaders and officers to come out for democracy. This is the only way to achieve victory. There is a need for a wave of the most diverse actions surging higher and higher.

The workers, peasants, revolutionary-minded young people, and democrats from every party are becoming increasingly aware of the need for joint struggle, for coordinated actions, for a combination of various forms of struggle to overthrow Stroessner and Insfran. The young members of the Colorado Popular Movement urged, in their manifesto, an end to inter-party squabbles and called upon all the opposition parties to unite for struggle. This is an expression of the genuine desire for unity characteristic of the majority of the people.

It is because of the growing popularity of the movement for unity that the traitor Acosta Mena and his gang of opportunists and police agents fraudulently calling themselves the "Party of Communists-Leninists" are fighting against unity with unprecedented fury. They post as champions of unity only in order to destroy it. They are putting out provocative anti-communist sheets to prevent the establishment of a single leadership. They are trying to blackmail the Febrerists favoring unity of action by calling them "Communist agents."

But the people, and the vast majority of the Febrerists, do not support this policy of betraying the country and the democratic revolution. Young Febrerists, Liberals and members of the Colorado Party are growing increasingly aware of the need to prepare the masses for the revolution through work among the peasants and other sections of the people. This is the only correct road also when a military coup gets off to a good start, for it is only action by the masses that can ensure complete victory and turn the coup into the beginning of a truly democratic movement. The people should be ready to act promptly and resolutely in any government crisis. Coup or no coup, only an organized struggle by the workers, peasants and students, both peaceful and armed, can guarantee victory and the formation of a provisional government which will embark on a democratic policy.

That is what experience shows. That is the great idea that is beginning to win the masses.

FROM THE STRUGGLE FOR IMMEDIATE DEMANDS TO REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE

The reactionary putschists and defeatists involved in the collusion urge the people to wait, i.e., to remain inactive. But this is what Stroessner and Insfran, and all those who make people starve, would like best! Something has to be done to put an end to the crisis! It is necessary to fight in some form or other.

The printers' heroic and victorious strike forced the dictatorship into retreat. The struggle of the men and women workers of the Grau enterprises against layoffs did as much. The various actions at meat-packing plants, in textile mills, or the Central Railway, in the tram workers' section, tanning factories and the Nemby stone quarries, as well as the struggle of the banking workers' and other trade unions show that the working class continues along the road of the struggle of the masses, of independent struggles. The workers are correct when they use legal means as long as they can. This is what they should begin with. The demand for a 40 per cent wage rise and the resistance to dismissals unite the working class against the dictatorship and the exploiters.

The Paraguayan Confederation of Labor is a police organization which has lost all prestige. The movement for the independence of the trade unions is on the rise. The Christian Workers' Center, a splitting organization in the service of the employers, enjoys scant support. The workers want unity in struggle.

The sugar cane plantation workers have fought for and won higher prices for cane. The seizure of land in Caaguazu, General Artigas, Estero Camba, Ciervo Cua, San Jose, Pirayu and elsewhere indicates one more form of struggle. Resentment and anger against Stroessner's and Insfran's thugs are growing throughout the countryside.

Secondary and higher school students are also in ferment. The punishment meted out to informers from the National College on April 18 was an indicative mass action against the dictatorship. The threat of a strike by the students of several colleges compelled the government to grant them winter holidays.

Retailers on No. 4 Market resisted and defeated the police who tried to disperse them.

The bourgeoisie and the people are becoming more and more discontented with the excessive taxation imposed under pressure from the U.S. interventionists.

General discontent with the United States is mounting. It expressed itself in the support the people gave to the demonstration of the office workers dismissed by the U.S. Operations Mission.

There is talk of a general strike of workers, students and shopkeepers for the abolition of the exorbitant taxes, for higher wages

and greater budget allocations for public education, for the complete and effective repeal of the state of siege.

The democratic movement is rallying for a new offensive.

OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF THE PARAGUAYANS WANT A CHANGE, A COMPLETE CHANGE

This is a fact which characterizes the situation in the country.

The opportunists and the defeatists do not see it. They look at everything through dark glasses. They see only the dictatorship and think that it has grown stronger. The opportunists self-seekers and cowards must be swept out of the way. It is possible to fight and to win improvement. The important thing is to fight together with the masses, by joint effort, with the firm determination to win.

Working people and democrats from all the parties:

Our Party has received heavy blows, and has suffered great losses, since last year. The police, aided by bandits from the false "Party of Communists-Leninists" — the informers Oscar Conzales, Sebastian Queirei, Gilberto Rivarola and their accomplices — is spreading defeatist rumors about the Communist Party having been "destroyed." It is a lie! The blows have weakened our Party, but it lives on, working and fighting in the van, on the most dangerous positions. Its wounds are bleeding, but fresh blood is being infused into it. The Paraguayan Communist Party is indestructible because it is nourished by the Paraguayan people, and history shows that the Paraguayan people cannot be destroyed!

We were hit not because the police knows much and works efficiently, but because we worked poorly, without proper caution and vigilance. To strengthen the dictatorship, the North Americans have to destroy the Communist Party, because this Party firmly holds the banner of the revolution, of national liberation. They are trying to destroy it by new methods, such as liquidation of Party leaders and fighters and the provocative police activities of the gang bearing the false name of the "Leninist Communist Party." The task of this gang is to destroy our Party from within, to convince the workers that "the Communist Party is split". This is a police lie. By expelling the group of defeatists, traitors and informers (Silvio Grande, Queirei, Tatier, Clerici and their like), we have removed an ulcer and thus ameliorated and consolidated our Party.

Let us draw lessons from the blows we have received. Let us work better. The workers and peasants can rely on our help today as they did yesterday. We will side with those who fight, be they members of the Colorado Party, Liberals, Febrerists, Catholics or non-party people.

Greater and more revolutionary battles by the people lie ahead. No one can stem this movement. The dictatorship will not hold out.

The revolution in Paraguay is a necessity, a historical law. It is part of the giant world revolution growing from day to day. The balance is being more and more tilted in favor of the peoples, of the socialist countries, of the Soviet Union, which is the right hand of the working class of the world, of all the peoples fighting for their freedom, of all the progressive and peace-loving forces.

Forward, workers, peasants, students, democrats from every party! Rise to an organized struggle for a 40 per cent wage increase, against dismissals, for fair prices on agricultural products, for the transfer of the land to the peasants, against the monstrous taxes, for the complete abolition of the state of siege, for an end to persecution, torture and murder, for the life and freedom of the national hero Antonio Maidana and all political prisoners!

Forward to the general strike of the workers, students and shopkeepers!

Down with collusions and with all conciliating leaders!

Long live the glorious guerrillas, champions of freedom!

Long live the democratic revolution of national liberation!

Central (enlarged) Committee,
Paraguayan Communist Party

October 1964

RESOLUTION*

OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU, PEOPLE'S UNITY PARTY OF HAITI

Last year the dictator Duvalier decided to keep power for life. The government took repressive measures of unprecedented cruelty against the leaders of the trade union, Communist and democratic movements. In addition to trade union leaders, it jailed workers who had upheld their interests against the employers, those exploiters collaborating with officials of the Ministry of Labor and other government departments.

Communists and other patriots are persecuted on the basis of any informer's report or because of the political stand they took during the 1957 election campaign. Patriots are put in prison, where the henchmen of the regime torture and even murder them. There is a veritable reign of terror in the country.

The government has considerably undermined its position by its policy. Those patriots who at one time were passive or fell for the government's deceitful propaganda are beginning to experience the effects of the alarming situation created by the regime in all walks of life. Besides, indiscriminate persecution of the relatives, friends and supporters of patriots who are in prison or fell victims to denunciations is daily swelling the ranks of the discontented, of those who seek changes, and the overthrow of the Duvalier regime.

On the other hand, despite the aggravation of the crisis of the regime and the growing hatred of the masses for the dictatorship, many patriots, and even some of those who would like to be considered revolutionaries, do not see how the desired changes can be brought about. Patriots disillusioned by the reverses of the opposition lose heart, lapse into a pessimistic mood, or play a waiting game. They go as far as to renounce fighting the dictatorship in any form, and pin their hopes on rescue operations by the U.S. Government, exiles, or certain persons in or outside the government.

The traditional opposition, particularly its foreign section, organized a series of armed actions against the regime. They failed despite the weakness and growing unpopularity of the regime. The reason was that the foreign group of the opposition had done its

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*Abridged from **l'Avant-Garde**, theoretical and political organ of the CC PUPH, Jan. 22, 1965.

utmost to debar from the struggle all other organized democratic movements, most of which have for many years been fighting against Duvalier, an imperialist flunkey. The fact is that that group is in collusion with the imperialists and wants to preserve the status quo. All that the group wants is to overthrow Duvalier himself, and it is willing to serve the same masters through other persons. Despite past setbacks, the group, which is supported by the imperialists secretly and sometimes openly, has no intention of laying down its arms. It is getting ready for fresh action.

On the other hand, the democratic movement may be said to have made some progress lately. Despite protracted disputes and the difficulties that cropped up in the course of talks, the foremost organizations succeeded in forming the United Democratic Front (UDF), which is to play a very important role in the struggle against the semi-colonial, semi-feudal dictatorship, against imperialism and its lackeys in the country, for a democratic government of a broad national front defending the interests of the working class and other patriotic segments of the nation.

Whereas the democratic movement has been growing, especially since the important unity conference which was held abroad under the UDF leadership, there are individuals or groups both in and outside political parties who obstruct the advance of the UDF and of the organizations which have set it up. They are openly fighting for the triumph of an opportunist line aimed at abolishing the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal program of the Haitian revolution, the only program which can ensure the steady progress of the Haitian nation and put an end, once and for all, to conditions in which dictatorships similar to Duvalier's spring up.

As for our Party, we must say that while it has achieved some degree of success, its activity still falls short of the requirements of the revolutionary struggle. We will have to do a great deal of organizing work on a national scale to make the Party a truly mass party. We will have to make a special effort toward creating a firm and united leadership equal to its tasks and responsibilities, or, in other words, a genuinely Marxist-Leninist leadership. We must promptly take well-considered steps to enable the Party to cope successfully with its tasks and really to lead the people's democratic struggle.

With due regard to the political situation in the country and the situation inside the Party, we must carefully and scientifically examine the problems facing the Party, firmly adhering to the position of the working class and of creative Marxism-Leninism, and adopt measures prompted by reality.

To solve these various problems as speedily and effectively as possible, the Political Bureau considers it necessary to convene an enlarged meeting of the Central Committee, to be attended by

representatives of the regional committees and central bodies of the Party. Active participation by these comrades, who have gained ample experience in the fight for national liberation, democracy and socialism, is particularly essential in view of the absence of many members of the leadership. It will help to adopt the right decisions.

December 1964

START A DISCUSSION OF IDEOLOGICAL QUESTIONS

The theoretical and ideological work of the Party is not limited to working out the right strategic and tactical line of the Haitian revolution, although much has yet to be done in this field. The Party must wage a sustained and active struggle to ensure that the working class and the people generally, who are fighting for their liberation, accept the position of the Party as their own position. It must work for the genuinely communist education of its membership and for the preservation of unity, and maintain its theses against distortion and falsification. It must give proper attention to new issues arising in the course of the struggle of the exploited and oppressed if it wants to find a correct and specific solution to every problem. This tense battle calls for an effective practical contribution by all Party organizations and members. Absolute fidelity to the principles of the Party and of Marxism-Leninism is a necessary condition for achieving practical results.

As we think it necessary to draw the attention of the Party as a whole and of its cells and individual members, as well as of its leading bodies, to the theoretical and ideological problems which daily confront the Party, we take the initiative of starting a discussion of a number of topical questions raised by some comrades in the course of their practical work. The first question concerns the interconnection between the Party theses and new developments in life in general and in revolutionary practice in particular.

The second question bears on the right to criticism inside the Marxist-Leninist labor movement.

The third question refers to the position of the Party on the differences which have sprung up in the international working-class movement.

LOYALTY TO MARXISM-LENINISM AND TO PARTY PRINCIPLES IS A REQUIREMENT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE

Must one depart from the Patry's fundamental tasks in order to be able to analyze a new problem of development? Must one depart from the position of the working class and from the principles of the Party and of Marxism-Leninism in order critically to examine the results of Party work over a certain period? Must one renounce Party principles, the position of the working class and of Marxist-Leninist theory, in order to decide on the line of action toward an enemy of the working class and the nation, such as the present dictatorship?

We think not. The Party bases its activities on principles that have stood the test of time and struggle. These principles underly the activity of all the Communist and Workers' parties of the world that are loyal to Leninism. National and international experience suggests that whenever a workers' party deviates from these principles in solving a problem or examining a question, in developing its tactics and strategy, or in formulating its political line, it lands in adventurism or the most ordinary opportunism. There are sufficient instances of this.

Let us touch on a very recent case, that of the authors of a document called "Problems of the Communist Movement in Haiti." Despite their "revolutionary credo" and quotations from Mao Tse-tung and even from Lenin, they were unable to understand and explain what is going on in Haiti. This was because they failed to abide by the position of the working class and by Marxist-Leninist theory even though they belong to a party which calls itself a workers' Marxist party (the People's National Liberation Party). As a result, they took a Right opportunist stand on the struggle against imperialism, the chief enemy of the peoples of the world who are fighting for democracy, genuine independence and national liberation. After a few superficial remarks about "the level of social consciousness of the masses," "the blessings" of imperialism, "help" from imperialism, and so on, the authors state with shocking cynicism: "Is it right, in the circumstances, artificially to foment anti-American animosity among the masses? In advancing anti-imperialist slogans everywhere, aren't we, in fact, running the risk of being taken for unscrupulous people." This from people who pose as revolutionaries. What about the class approach? What about patriotism? What is the reason for this fall? Why this degeneration? Because the authors of the document must have forgotten, first of all, that Marxism is not a dogma but a guide to action. And also because they have abandoned the position of the working class and the principles of Marxism.

In deciding various questions, we must steer clear of the twofold danger of Left and Right opportunism, because either variety might defeat the Party, help the enemies of the people and hold up the victory of the revolution.

That is why, now that "unprincipled and impatient theoreticians, dogmatists and adventurers, far removed from the masses and their concrete struggles" are mushrooming here and there, seeking support, the task of every organization and every member of the Party is to defend the correct line of the Party and the world Communist movement against all appeals to revise it, a steadfast and uncompromising fight against pseudo-revolutionaries, against those who pay lip-service to the revolution while carrying on activities detrimental to the interests of the masses. The task of all organizations and members of the Party is to strengthen their links with the masses and contribute more actively to the education, mobilization and organization of the masses in the course of the actual struggle against the dictatorial regime, against imperialism and the reactionary classes of Haiti. Their task is to carry forward the theses of the Party and to study new problems from the standpoint of creative Marxism-Leninism.

THE RIGHT TO CRITICISM

The right to criticism is a legitimate right of every Party member or organization. But it is subject to certain laws and is regulated by the Leninist standards of Party life. Freedom of and the right to criticism must under no circumstances be used to undermine the organizational and ideological unity of the Party, justify refusal on the part of Party members or organizations to carry out their obligations, or legalize the existence of groupings, factions, or "persons standing above the Party and the provisions of its Rules."

Article 34 of the Rules reads: "As regards Party policy, lower organizations may freely and earnestly discuss a decision, individually or collectively, and submit their considerations to the leading Party bodies as long as these have not adopted it." It should be clear from this that all Party members and organizations may within the framework of the organizations concerned examine any questions concerning Party policy and convey their views to higher bodies. Since the Party is an actively operating organism, it is quite possible and natural that "different points of view, divergences on particular issues, may arise in the course of everyday work." Nevertheless, points of view contradicting the majority of the Party and its leading bodies, and differences of opinion should not endanger the Party's unity of action.

All Party members have a right, and are obliged, to search for

decisions likely to advance and strengthen the Party, to choose and propose any decision likely to promote the cause of the working class and the masses generally. However, all Party members and organizations are obliged to observe the Leninist principles of democratic centralism, which calls for submission of the minority to the majority, of the lower to the higher organizations, and binds every Party member regularly to account for his activity to the bodies he is subordinated to. Art. 34 of the Rules says: "As soon as the leading body has adopted a decision, all [organizations] shall submit to it. Should a lower organization consider a decision or directive to be out of keeping with the actual local conditions, it must ask the higher organization to revise that decision or directive. If, however, the higher organization insists on its decision and demands its execution, *unquestioning execution* is necessary." A point of view that is at variance with the opinion of the Party does not entitle a Party member or organization to refuse carrying out decisions that have been adopted or instructions they have received. No Party member or organization may spread his or its opinion and seek its realization other than in accordance with the procedure established by the Rules. A Party member has no right to engage in factional activity, that is, has no right "to meetings outside the organizations provided for by the Rules to work out a political line and a program for action running counter to those approved by the statutory and central bodies of the Party."

Those Party members who, far from following the course indicated by the Rules, discredit the Party, disclose Party secrets and engage in anti-Party activity must be expelled from the Party. Lenin said that "every voluntary association (including a party) is also free to expel members who use the name of the party to advocate anti-party views . . . The party is a voluntary association, which would inevitably break up, ideologically and then physically, if it did not cleanse itself of people advocating anti-party views" (*Coll. Works,* Vol. 10, p. 47).

THE PARTY AND THE DIFFERENCES IN THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

The differences in the world Communist and working-class movement concern all the Communist and Workers' parties of the world.

Our Party, which is a Marxist-Leninist party and as such signed the 1960 Statement, must insist that "a resolute defense of the unity of the world Communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism is its duty." "It is the supreme internationalist duty of every Marxist-Leninist party to work continuously for greater unity in the world Communist movement," the Statement points out.

In these circumstances, our Party — like the Communist Party of the Soviet Union or any other fraternal party — could not keep silent when it came up against tendencies and actions aimed at substituting a line inspired by dogmatism and nationalism for the general line of the world Communist movement.

Our Party did its duty as a Marxist-Leninist party by taking a firm and unequivocal stand against disruptive activities which, if successful, would impair the strength of communism.

It is not customary in the world Communist movement to discriminate against Communist parties. There are no big and small, or senior and junior, parties. The 1960 Statement, which our Party signed along with the other fraternal parties, says: "All the Marxist-Leninist parties are independent and have equal rights; they shape their policies according to the specific conditions in their respective countries and in keeping with Marxist-Leninist principles, and support each other. The success of the working-class cause in any country is unthinkable without the internationalist solidarity of all Marxist-Leninist parties. Every party is responsible to the working class, to the working people of its country, to the international working-class and Communist movement as a whole."

Is the leadership of our Party right when it defends the unity of the Communist movement against disruptive activity and dogmatism? We answer this question in the affirmative. First of all, because our Party is a Marxist-Leninist party and must uphold the purity of Marxism-Leninism and the line of the world Communist movement formulated on the basis of the experience of all the Communist and Workers' parties of the world, in the light of Marxist-Leninist teachings. Secondly, because our Party has signed the 1960 Statement and cannot repudiate the principles of the latter.

Our Party did not confine itself to criticism of actions endangering the unity of the Communist movement. It did much to explain to its members the nature of the conflict which has counterposed the Communist Party of China to the majority of the Communist and Workers' parties of the world, and to provide them with arguments enabling them to stand firm on the line of the world Communist movement. It acquainted them with large excerpts from the 1960 Statement. It has steadily published materials revealing the nature of the differences and showing the disastrous effects of disruptive activity. It constantly familiarizes its members with materials showing the positions of fraternal parties in the face of the disruptive activities of the Chinese comrades, who do not stick at backing renegades expelled from Communist parties for their factionalism and actions incompatible with the Leninist standards of Party life. The Party did all in its power to inform its members of the positions of all parties, and even of the views of the CPC leaders on the fundamental issues of our epoch: peace, thermonuclear war,

the fight for democracy, national liberation and socialism, the unity of the socialist commonwealth, the role and significance of the revolutionary labor movement and the national liberation movement, peaceful coexistence, the various forms of struggle etc.

But some Party members allow themselves to ignore published documents. They persist in alleging absurdities and in defending not only in their own organizations but, worse still, outside the Party, erroneous views conflicting with the line of the Party and the world Communist movement.

This is an impermissible situation. All Party organizations must see to it that their members study the documents which have been published, and maintain the views of the Party and the world Communist movement.

Those who do not read published documents stand apart from the theoretical and ideological work of the Party and should be punished. It is sad to hear a Party member say, "The Party has said nothing about that," for the Party *has* declared itself on the matter, and more than once. What is the reason for this attitude? How can anyone calling himself a member of the Communist Party behave like that?

THE UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT MUST PLAY ITS ROLE EFFECTIVELY*

The Front parties must step up their work if they want the Front really to play its role, if they want to unite all who suffer, morally and physically, from the crimes of the government.

Many representatives of the Front parties keep on calling for organization. From what they say, the people will effect organization by themselves — as if the people could take the initiative of organization into their own hands. Yet it is for us advanced patriots, for us fighters who are already organized on democratic principles, to get this job under way, to pave the way for and hasten the creation of democratic forms of popular organization that will lead to the overthrow of the Duvalier dictatorship. Since the mass of the people lacks, with the exception of a few labor associations, habits of democratic organization and struggle, we will delay the downfall of the reactionary regime oppressing the masses unless we skilfully direct organization.

We must get down to work. To begin with, we must learn to

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*Le Rassemblement, journal of the UDF, Jan. 30, 1965.

combine legal and illegal forms of organization on the basis of the UDF program. We must mould the political consciousness of the masses and teach them every form of struggle. This is indispensable if the masses are not to regard the armed struggle as a conspiracy aimed solely at overthrowing the Duvalier regime, and if they are to realize that the fight for democracy will continue even when the machinery of oppression has been abolished.

To arouse and foster the political consciousness of the masses, we must combine legal and illegal forms of struggle. Put in specific terms, this means that the legal struggle for economic objectives, for a higher standard of living, is the way to hasten and further the formation of the political consciousness of the masses. Indeed, as they fight for economic gains the masses are learning by their own experience who is their enemy or friend or potential ally. They are coming to see who is barring their path to a better life, to realize all the sooner the need to take up arms in order to destroy their enemies and eliminate the present government, which is an accomplice of their enemies. Thus it would be wrong not to rouse the people for the struggle for economic objectives.

This struggle may well be said to contribute in substantial measure to the maturing of subjective factors for the development and successful pursuit of the armed struggle. Had these subjective factors been there, Duvalier would perhaps no longer be in power.

Of course, we must remember that it is no easy task to organize the masses, particularly in a country where there is no tradition of organized struggle. This is why many patriots are at a loss where to begin. Instead of promoting the organized movement of the masses, many of them show impatience, and mistake their desires for realities. They talk much but do nothing, finding themselves in the position of disunited and helpless people. They often resort to ordinary conspiratorial methods and politics for politics' sake.

We all know that 80 per cent of the Haitians are peasants. This means that no truly popular movement can exist without the support of the majority of the peasant population, which has to be organized. But it is precisely this that complicates the problem of organization for many reasons — the very way of life of the peasants makes them exceedingly individualistic and selfish, with little inclination for any form of organization. Besides, traditional politicians have always deceived the peasants, and government officials and those who enforce laws have always humiliated, insulted and plundered them. Lastly, the infamous treatment they receive at the hands of the Macoute agents, who are in the service of the Duvalier government, have greatly increased the peasants' ingrained distrust of all who try to organize them. The peasants live according to the proverb "the burnt child dreads the fire."

All these circumstances, which are related to the problem of

organization, prompt some patriots to complain of the difficulty of the task in hand. The task *is* difficult. But any mature revolutionary must convince himself that the revolution cannot be accomplished unless the peasants are organized, and that practical experience will help him steadily to improve political work among the peasants.

The right approach to the problem will be suggested not by books but by work on the spot, among the peasants. The peasant class is the one that confronts us with the greatest number of problems. One cannot do proper organizing work in the countryside without a specific knowledge of these problems, of the needs and aspirations of the peasantry. When the peasant has achieved economic gains under our devoted and enlightened leadership, he will fully trust us. And when we have won his trust, a beneficial wind will fan the flames of revolution in the countryside.

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IMPORTANT STEP TOWARDS UNITY OF WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

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democratic approach in discussing issues facing the Communi movement, on the basis of genuine equality and respect for th opinions of the fraternal parties. Every delegation made its contri bution to the discussion which was imbued with the spirit of co lectivism, friendship, frankness and fraternity.

The documents of the meeting — the Communique and th Statement on the Events in Vietnam — express the profound inter nationalism of the parties participating in the consultation, thei concern for the unity of all fraternal parties, of all present-day revolutionary forces essential for the struggle against imperialism and colonialism, against the domination of monopoly capital, for active support of the liberation movement, for world peace and the security of the people.

Guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism, the participants in the meeting placed the interests of the entire revolutionary movement above everything. They strove to halt further complications in the Communist movement, to facilitate, without detriment to any party, the provision of favorable conditions for overcoming the difficulties in its ranks, for the cohesion of all fraternal parties. They thought and acted in the common interests of world Communism. This is borne out by the spirit and content of the adopted documents. All fraternal parties, irrespective of the positions they at present hold on particular questions, will find in these documents ideas and propositions which accord with the interests of not any one part of our movement but with those of the entire world Communist movement, of all fighters against imperialism, for the cause of communism.

The Consultative Meeting of representatives of fraternal parties was held at a crucial moment for the international Communist movement.

During the past years world events have on the whole developed in a direction favorable for the cause of peace and socialism. The might of the socialist system has grown. Socialism is being built in the People's Democracies. The Soviet Union is sucessfully building communism. National liberation has attained new major successes; an ever greater number of young national states take the non-capitalist road of development, socialism as their bearing. The struggle against imperialist reaction is gaining momentum in the capitalist countries and due to this the realization that there must be unity of action of all political detachments of the labor movement asserts itself to an ever greater degree. The world balance of forces continues to change in favor of socialism and peace.

But this general trend of development asserts itself through overcoming serious difficulties and obstacles. Imperialism, primarily U.S. imperialism, is out to aggravate the situation in various parts of the world, to create new nidi of international crises. U.S. im-

perialism, the major international exploiter, acts as the bulwark of world reaction and the international gendarme. In recent months U.S. rulers have escalated military intervention in South Vietnam. They have taken the road of open aggression against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, have subjected peaceful cities and villages of this socialist country to brutal bombings. There is no end to the provocations against revolutionary Cuba, against the peoples of Laos and the Congo. The imperialists are persistently striving to carry out plans for nuclear rearmament of the revenge-seeking forces in Europe. All this increases international tension and imperils world peace.

The Marxist-Leninists clearly see that the present situation demands of all Communist parties, all democratic and peace forces determined joint actions in the struggle against new aggressive sallies by imperialism. Effective measures should be taken to strengthen the peace and security of the peoples. All participants in the consultative meeting favored rendering active support to the national-liberation struggle of peoples, first of all those who have fallen victim to imperialist aggression.

The participants' common views on these questions found expression in the statement on the events in Vietnam. In this document the representatives of the fraternal parties voiced their warm solidarity with the Vietnamese people, the Working People's Party of Vietnam, and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam which is waging a courageous struggle against foreign intervention. They urged all Communist parties and socialist countries, all forces of the national-liberation and working-class movements, all who uphold the cause of peace and progress to consolidate unity and solidarity in the struggle against imperialist aggression, for national independence, the peace and security of the peoples. On behalf of their parties the participants in the meeting demanded an immediate withdrawal of the troops of the United States and its satellites from South Vietnam and an end to armed attacks on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

The statement on the events in Vietnam is an important contribution to the anti-imperialist and revolutionary struggle. Developing active mass actions in all countries is to play a great part in the struggle against the aggressive actions of the U.S. brasshats in Vietnam.

The aggressive actions of U.S. imperialism in Southeast Asia are indignantly condemned by the Soviet people. No one should have the slightest doubt that the Soviet Union, the Soviet people will fulfill their international duty toward the fraternal socialist country — the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

All parties attending the consultative meeting have agreed that cohesion of all revolutionary forces represented by the socialist

nations, the national-liberation movement and the international working class acquires a decisive significance in the present-day conditions. An essential prerequisite and basis for this is the strengthening of the unity of the world Communist movement.

The unity of the world Communist movement and the socialist camp multiplies their forces in the face of the common enemy. The differences among the Communists weaken their solidarity and cause harm to the world liberation movement, the cause of communism. The imperialists are attempting to use for their own ends the differences in the socialist community and the world Communist movement. The Marxist-Leninists cannot but draw important lessons from this situation.

It must also be taken into account that differences in the Communist movement adversely affect the activities of the fraternal parties, especially those in the capitalist countries. They do not at all contribute to the accomplishment of the main task of the Communists' struggle for the vital interests of the working people, for peace, democracy, national liberation and socialism.

Bearing all this in mind, the participants in the Meeting, as the Communique states, have expressed the firm determination of their parties to do everything in their power to cement the international Communist movement and strengthen its unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, on the basis of the line set forth in the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement.

Aware that the present controversies concern the political line and many important problems of theory and the tactics of the Communist parties, the participants in the Consultative Meeting have expressed their conviction that "what unites the Communist parties greatly outweighs that which at the present time disunites them." All fraternal parties have one enemy — imperialism. They have one aim — to ensure the victory of socialism and communism. All fraternal parties recognize Marxism-Leninism as their ideology. All of them declare their adherence to the common program formulated at the Moscow meetings of 1957 and 1960. Thus there are the necessary prerequisites for agreed actions of all fraternal parties in the struggle against their common enemy — imperialism, in the matter of all-round support for the peoples' liberation movement in the struggle for universal peace and peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems, for the vital interests and historical goals of the working class.

Such joint, agreed actions of all fraternal parties in the struggle against their common enemy are the real, vital basis for the cohesion of the Communist movement. At the same time this is the best way of overcoming the existing differences in its ranks. As Lenin repeatedly stressed, overcoming differences requires going by practical experience, the march of events itself, the lessons of

the struggle. Social and political progress in the world and in separate countries will ultimately show which position is wrong and which is correct.

The participants in the Meeting were aware that it would take time to completely overcome the differences. They showed concern for the cohesion of the Communist movement in matters of principle. Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism teach that unity cannot be achieved either by some parties imposing their will on others, or by demanding that one or another party should abandon its political line. A principled approach in resolving the existing difficulties demands finding and concentrating on what unites all Communist parties, in spite of the existing differences. It is important already now to take steps, persistent and gradual, towards overcoming difficulties, towards unity.

Our Party favors this kind of principled approach to the struggle for unity. After the October CPSU Central Committee Plenary Meeting important steps were taken aimed at strengthening the cohesion of the socialist countries and of the entire world Communist movement on the basis of the common struggle against imperialism, for peace and socialism. In the past few months meetings and negotiations were held between the delegations of many fraternal parties. These were devoted, among other things, to seeking new ways and methods for settling the differences in the Communist movement.

Of major importance was the session of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member-countries which took place in January 1965 and was attended by a Soviet delegation headed by Comrades Brezhnev and Kosygin. This meeting of Party and government leaders of the socialist states showed that the socialist countries were united and in solidarity with each other in the face of the aggressive designs of the imperialists, and that the attempts to undermine this solidarity were doomed to failure.

The fraternal parties and the world public highly appraised the results of the trip of the Soviet government delegation headed by Comrade Kosygin to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and to the Korean People's Democratic Republic. One can see from the joint statements adopted in Hanoi and Pyongyang that the positions of our countries in a broad range of general political issues either coincide or are completely identical. New steps were made to normalize Soviet-Chinese relations. For more than five months now the Soviet press has abstained from taking part in the public polemics so as to provide a favorable atmosphere for settling differences.

The Marxist-Leninist parties of the socialist and the capitalist countries are taking active measures aimed at strengthening the cohesion of the Communist movement. A big contribution to the

cause of cohesion of the anti-imperialist forces and to the struggle for the unity of the world army of Communists was made by the recent conference of the representatives of the Communist parties of Latin American countries.

The Moscow Consultative Meeting is an important event in the extensive international work carried on by the Communists. As a result of an all-round and free exchange of opinions the participants expressed their unanimous conviction that all Communist parties should make collective efforts for strengthening the cohesion of the Communist movement.

The world Communist movement is a living organism, constantly developing together with the development of the life of society, with the changes in the conditions of the struggle waged by the working class of all countries. Accordingly, the forms of political and organizational ties between the parties also change and new ones arise in accordance with the requirements of the international revolutionary working-class movement. In the present-day conditions the Communist movement has found a good form of international solidarity — international meetings granting complete equality and independence to each fraternal party participating in them.

The question of preparing for and holding another international meeting has also been dealt with in the documents of the Consultative Meeting. On this issue the participants showed a new approach which takes into account the specific features of the present-day stage of development of the Communist movement. In the course of mutual consultations and taking into account the situation which has taken shape in the Communist movement, the parties represented at the Consultative Meeting expressed themselves in favor of seeking new ways of struggle for unity, and in this connection, new forms and methods of preparing for the Meeting. Though not assuming any organizational fnuctions, the participants nevertheless stated their views on the question of how to advance towards strengthening the cohesion of the Communist ranks.

The participants were unanimous in that it is necessary to make ample use of various methods and means available to Communists and tested in practice. Bilateral and multilateral meetings, the exchange of delegations, better information on the parties' activities, joint discussions of urgent issues, as well as other forms of Party contacts and exchange of opinions yield, as experience has shown, useful results and help close the ranks of the Communists. Joint actions against the common enemy — imperialism — are the most important of the ways leading to unity. At the same time the participants in the Meeting pointed out that active and all-round preparations for another international meeting to be held at a

suitable date fully conforms to the interests of the world Communist movement.

Many events have taken place since the time of the previous international Communist meeting in 1960. New trends have developed in the world situation, new and rich experience has been accumulated in the working-class and liberation movement. It is necessary creatively to generalize that experience. But clearly this task can only be accomplished by the world Communist movement as a whole, and its very nature calls for the active participation of each Communist Party. "The participants, the Communique says, "are unanimous in the opinion that in present-day conditions, as it declared in the 1960 Statement, international meetings of Communist and workers' parties are an effective means of exchanging views and experience, enriching Marxist-Leninist theory by collective effort and working out a common attitude in the struggle for common aims."

Naturally, the democratic principles of independence and equality of all the fraternal parties should be observed in full in the process. Each Communist Party is fully independent and self-sufficient. It alone can adopt decisions binding on it. However, the participants emphasized that combining a party's efforts with those of the other parties in the struggle for the common international goals would promote the interests of every party.

They also emphasized that the international meetings were also important too as a major weapon in the struggle for overcoming differences and for solidly uniting the Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Such a meeting, as a supreme international forum of Communists, would make it possible collectively to assess the situation in the Communist movement and determine the general features which indeed unite all the national detachments of the army of Communists. Naturally, nobody regards the Meeting as a panacea which will help overcome at once all the difficulties existing in our movement. The struggle for closer unity will call for sustained and great efforts and a positive contribution on the part of each fraternal party.

The present situation in the Communist movement, when there are differences between its separate detachments, necessitates thorough preparations for a new international meeting.

The new approach to the preparations for the meeting, contained in the Communique, is fully conducive to the provision of the favorable conditions for holding the Meeting. The essence of this new approach consists in having the entire preparatory work done on a collective basis, with the participation of all the fraternal parties. With this aim in view, it would be desirable to hold a preliminary consultative conference of the representatives of the

parties that took part in the Moscow Meeting of 1960. This supremely democratic method would make it possible to take into account the opinions of all the parties.

The Consultative Meeting participants unanimously opposed the wait-and-see attitude in the matter of closing the ranks of the international army of Communists. They emphasized that it is necessary to work actively already now for creating a favorable atmosphere in the Communist movement. In this connection, the joint Communique emphasized, discontinuing the open polemics which are in character unfriendly and degrading to the fraternal parties and do damage to the common cause of the Communists, is of great importance.

Needless to say, this does not imply refusal to discuss important questions of our time, problems of theory and tactics. The Marxist-Leninists have always regarded a creative discussion of basic, and especially new problems as an essential condition for working out a correct political line. However, such a discussion should be conducted in a comradely way. It should be business-like and lead to unity, not to dissociation. It is important, as Lenin pointed out, that criticism among the Communists should concern the crux of the matter, and not assume forms capable of helping the class enemies of the proletariat.

The participants in the Meeting unanimously declared themselves in favor of the strict observance of the standards governing relations between parties as defined by the 1957 and 1960 meetings. As we know, the 1960 Statement points out that the interests of the Communist movement demand the solid observance by every Communist Party of assessments and conclusions jointly worked out by the fraternal parties at their meetings and related to the common tasks of struggle against imperialism, for peace, democracy and socialism, and the prevention of any action which might undermine the unity of the Communists of all countries.

Expressing their views on the ways of surmounting the difficulties in the world Communist movement and of its further development, the participants in the Meeting were guided by the sole aim of helping to the utmost to strengthen the Marxist-Leninist unity of the Communist ranks in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism, for national liberation, peace, democracy, socialism and communism. Therefore, they had every ground to express confidence that all the fraternal parties would respond favorably to the Meeting. Comradely exchange of opinions on the propositions set forth in the Communique, the collective effort for their implementation, and joint action in the common struggle are a reliable way of consolidating the Communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism. The Consultative Meeting, which has taken

place, opens new prospects and creates conditions for the accomplishment of this historic task.

For its part, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will continue to spare no effort in cementing the unity of the world Communist movement. The Soviet Communists will never tire of doing all they can to achieve this aim, for it accords with the vital interests of the international working class, of all revolutionary and progressive forces.

COMMUNIQUE*

OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU, FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY

Having heard Comrade Raymond Guyot's report on the Consultative Meeting of representatives of nineteen Communist and Workers' Parties, which was held in Moscow from March 1-5, 1965, the Political Bureau of the French Communist Party approves the activity of its delegation and the Communique unanimously adopted by the parties assembled in Moscow.

The Meeting, inspired by fraternal cooperation and unity, made it possible to search, through a fruitful exchange of views, for ways of overcoming the divergences in the world Communist movement and of promoting its unity against imperialism, for peace and democracy, for the independence of the peoples, for socialism.

The Political Bureau stresses that the convening of a new international conference of the parties would fully meet the interests of the world Communist movement, as it says in the Moscow Communique. It approves of the projected measures for active and careful preparations for the conference. In particular, it considers that a preliminary consultative meeting of representatives of the 81 Parties which attended the world conference of 1960 would be desirable.

The new international conference of the parties would make it possible to determine the general direction of the movement as a whole which have occurred in the international situation since the 1960 Conference. It would also help promote the unity of the world Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism, and the general line defined in the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement—an essential condition for further gains for the anti-imperialist forces of the world.

Prompted by the principles defined by the world conferences of 1957 and 1960 and by its own congresses, the French Communist Party will maintain its active solidarity toward those peoples who are victims of imperialism and colonialism. The Moscow Meeting expressed its solidarity with the heroic Vietnamese people and the Party of Working People of Vietnam, and called for international solidarity in the struggle against the acts of aggression committed by imperialism, primarily U.S. imperialism, in various parts of the world.

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*L'Humanité, March 12, 1965.

The French Communist Party will work for stronger fraternal and militant bonds with all the Communists and Workers' parties. It will contribute to the attainment of the objectives set by the Moscow Meeting of March 1-5, 1965, to ensure the convening and success of a new world conference of the Communist and Workers' parties, with a view to promoting the Marxist-Leninist unity of the Communists in the struggle against imperialism, for the national liberation of the peoples, for peace and peaceful co-existence of countries with different social systems, for the vital interests and historical goals of the working class.

Paris, March 11, 1965

THE ICP LEADERSHIP ON THE MOSCOW MEETING*

On March 8 the Central Committee delegation which took part in the Consultative Meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties of various countries in Moscow informed the ICP leadership of the work of the Meeting and the conclusion drawn by it. The leadership approved the activity of the delegation, which upon consulting the leading bodies of the Party and in keeping with the powers it had received signed in the spirit of unity the Communique formulated at the close of the debate, statements, and comparison of opinions of the parties which attended the Meeting.

The ICP leadership notes with satisfaction that the Meeting assumed, and fundamentally maintained, not a deliberative but a consultative character, the character of a friendly and fruitful exchange of views on the tasks in the struggle of the world Communist movement and on the problems of its unity.

The ICP leadership considers it a positive fact that the closing document emphasizes the need to promote joint actions in the fight against imperialism, for peace and, accordingly, for more bilateral and multilateral contacts between all the parties, which is the chief way really to further the unity of the whole movement and of all the forces of liberation and progress, to localize the existing divergences and overcome the erroneous positions which are at their root.

Now that the international situation has been aggravated by the increased aggressiveness of the more reactionary leading groups of the West, this is the best way to meet the will of the masses for unity, to help shape a strategy corresponding to the new world problems which have arisen in these years, and to the complexity which the democratic and revolutionary movement has assumed. This is the best way to foster the maturing in the course of time of political conditions that are also necessary for arriving at an eventual international conference that would be unitary, constructive and fruitful.

However, experience has confirmed that this line calls for a more careful and deep-going appraisal of the international situation also in the light of the analysis made and the conclusion drawn by the conferences of 1957 and 1960. It implies that the eventual international conference should be seen not as prere-

*L'Unità, March 10, 1965.

quisite for but as the culmination of a gradual process of restoring unity.

The delegation of our Party emphatically drew the attention of the other parties at the Meeting to these points. It upheld our Party's opinion that any future initiative having a different trend by virtue of its untimeliness or its character would be inopportune.

The ICP leadership considers it more necessary than ever that the unity of the working-class and Communist movement—with each party retaining its autonomy—the unity of all the liberation forces, and the broadest unity of all the democratic and peace-loving forces be promoted with the greatest sense of responsibility, and that in so doing the struggle for peaceful coexistence and the anti-colonial and anti-imperialist struggle be connected indissolubly.

The Italian Communist Party will continue to make its contribution in order to forestall crystallization or exacerbation of the present divergences in the Communist and working-class movement, shatter the enemy's hope of a permanent division of the movement, and foster—through joint militant initiative, multilateral contacts in every direction, and open and constructive discussion—all that is likely to encourage and ensure the restoration of unity.

ICP Leadership
Rome, March 10, 1965

JOINT STATEMENT*

BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF DENMARK AND THE SOCIALIST UNITY PARTY OF GERMANY

On February 18 and 19, 1965, delegations from the CC, CP of Denmark and the CC, SUPG held discussions in Berlin, capital of the German Democratic Republic.

The Communist Party of Denmark was represented by K. Jespersen, Chairman of the Party, and P. Emanuel, I. Nirlund and I. Wagner, members of the Executive.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany was represented by H. Matern, member of the CC, Political Bureau, H. Axen, alternate member of the CC, Political Bureau, P. Florin, member of the CC, and W. Lambertz, alternate member of the CC.

The delegations discussed problems of mutual interest. The two parties agree that a decisive step has to be taken in order to safeguard European security. The division of Europe into hostile military alliances as a result of the cold war can be ended by establishing a European security system on the principles of the peaceful coexistence of independent countries irrespective of distinctions in their social systems, and on the principle of the inviolability of frontiers. This calls for joint efforts to ease and normalize the relations between European states.

The policy pursued by the ruling classes of West Germany and supported by the United States is the greatest obstacle to a durable peace in Europe. This is evident, among other things, from the West German government's effort to gain control of atomic weapons through a multilateral nuclear force, Atlantic nuclear force, or other organizations of a similar type, as well as that government's plans for an atomic belt as a link of the aggressive "forward strategy."

The West German government's intention to apply the statute of limitations to the war criminals of the Hitler period is a further indication that giving the Bonn militarists access to the nuclear weapon would constitute the greatest threat to European peace. It would increase tensions in Europe and invite counter-measures on the part of those threatened.

The spokesmen of the CP of Denmark told about the proposals of their Party for a peace policy, which should consist in Denmark declaring itself an atom-free and neutral area. This would help

*Land og Folk, Feb. 21-22, 1965.

establish atom-free zones in Northern and Central Europe and promote detente and disarmament in this part of the world. The Danish government's assurances to the effect that it will oppose the stationing of atomic arms on Danish soil, Denmark's refusal to participate in a multilateral nuclear force, and the statement about the principles of peaceful coexistence, particularly about the application of these principles in the Baltic area—show that these ideas are gaining ground. The CPD therefore re-emphasizes the importance of the initiative taken by it in 1963 and supported by Denmark's socialist neighbors, which readily agree to participate in guaranteeing a neutral and denuclearized zone in Northern Europe. This would be an appreciable contribution to European peace. The delegation of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany declared that it fully shares this point of view.

The spokesmen of the SUPG supplied information on the initiative which the GDR had taken to ease tension in Europe. It includes proposals for the two German states to disclaim the right to possess nuclear weapons, for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Germany, and the neutralization of the two German states from the military point of view. An agreement could also be reached on control measures precluding a surprise attack from the territory of either German state. The proposals of the GDR envisage normalization of the relations between the two German states and West Berlin. These and other constructive proposals of the GDR have repeatedly been conveyed to West Germany and West Berlin but West Germany has not accepted them, with the result that tension has grown.

The two parties stressed the positive significance of the normalization of relations between Denmark and the GDR and the need to take steps with this aim in view. Expanded economic relations should benefit both countries. It was shown once again that there are real opportunities of fostering cultural exchanges through cooperation.

The two delegations also discussed the situation in the world Communist movement. They established that they are unanimous on the fundamental problems of the Communist movement as regards the steps which are being taken to further the unity and solidarity of the world Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

The two Parties stressed their fraternal solidarity with the people of South Vietnam, who are fighting for their freedom, and with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

The discussions proceeded in an atmosphere of cordiality and friendship.

BRITAIN'S CRISIS

THE COMMUNIST SOLUTION*

Britain is again in the grip of a severe balance of payments crisis. The government has had to borrow heavily abroad to meet a huge deficit.

This crisis was growing during the summer of 1964 under the Tories, but for election purposes they tried to cover it up. It exploded almost immediately after the election.

A crisis of this kind is likely to lead to rising prices, wage restraint and unemployment. We are all involved.

So it is urgent for *everyone* to find out the cause and how to deal with it.

The official explanation is the same every time such a crisis occurs—Britain isn't exporting enough to pay her way.

And the remedy put forward is always the same—bring down the cost of exports, especially wage costs. So it is always the workers who pay.

The employers insist that it is the higher wages and salaries of British workers in comparison with other European workers that are responsible for the difficulties of British industry. They have been harping on this theme for years.

But European wages and prices have been rising faster than those in Britain. According to the International Monetary Fund, the annual average increase in wage rates in the United Kingdom between 1958 and 1964 was 4 per cent, not much more than half the average rise in the Common Market countries. Moreover in all the advanced countries on the continent, wages are rising faster than production.

It isn't British wage and salary increases that cause the crisis.

It is the policy of the government. That is what determines what happens to the balance of payments.

Every government since 1945 has tried to:

1. maintain British economic power and influence, at tremendous costs, in former colonial countries all over the world;
2. carry on colonial wars;
3. keep up the cold war against the socialist countries;
4. carry out its obligations to NATO;
5. maintain the City as an international financial center;
6. develop as a nuclear power;

*Abridged from a pamphlet published by the Communist Party of Britain.

7. improve British industry.

Trying to do all this has meant acute economic strain, an enormous military expenditure, lagging industry and social services.

This policy causes recurring crises.

The troops and bases overseas, now maintained directly from British taxation are costing £350 million a year—£100 million in West Germany and £250 million in the rest of the world—mostly east of Suez, where the Labor Government seems to be as passionately interested in maintaining British monopoly interests in oil, tin and rubber as the Tories were.

No other European country is paying out such a sum.

In addition, Britain is committed to the military alliances of NATO and CENTO, under the effective control of the U.S. This means an ever more costly army, navy and air force, now scattered all over the world; its purpose is to secure allies for maintaining British monopoly interests overseas.

During the last 80 years, British capitalism has poured vast sums into its empire or Commonwealth, to get super-profits on its investments. It did so in preference to bringing its own industries up to date and developing the new industries of the 20th century. There are of course powerful new industries and firms in Britain. But the bulk of our industry remains relatively backward; and the export of capital continues at the rate of £350 million a year.

To these have to be added the trading figures—the goods sold by Britain from other countries—and the final balance of payments is arrived at.

The present crisis centers round the huge deficit in this payment account—£800 million.

But if the bill for military expenditure overseas was drastically cut and export of capital checked, we would save nearly the whole of the deficit.

This is the key to solving the balance of payments crisis.

In 1964 there was a deficit of around £500 million. We sold abroad approximately £4,564 million and bought from other countries £5,063 million in goods.

How can the adverse balance be cleared?

Some imports could be replaced by British goods. Huge oil imports are brought in because big business gets large profits from it. As a result coal pits are closed down here and coal wasted.

If all the bans on trade with the socialist countries were ended this would boost exports.

We could get a big development of trade with the newly independent countries in Africa and Asia. These countries need machinery and equipment to build up their own industry; but they can only buy on long-term credits. British business men don't want

these countries to develop their own industry so credits are hard to come by.

A different policy by the Labor Government could mean a reduction in imports and an increase in exports.

Britain spends a greater proportion of her national income on the armed forces than any other country in the world with the exception of the U.S.

U.S.	**11%**	**United Kingdom**	**8%**
West Germany	**7%**	**France**	**7%**

The British arms bill is steadily growing.

1959	**—**	**£1,514 million**
1961	**—**	**£1,683 "**
1963	**—**	**£1,871 "**
1964	**—**	**£2,200 "**

In 1963 military expenditure was 26% of all government expenditure (excluding National Insurance Funds); in 1964 it was between 28% and 29%.

This means a terrible waste of resources that could be used for important social purposes, for education, the health service, pensions and housing.

It means a very great waste of labor. About 360,000 workers, most of them highly skilled, are employed on defense contracts.

On defense research about 10,000 very highly qualified scientific workers are involved and a further 30,000 with lower qualifications.

Yet at this moment British industries engaged in export work are in need of both scientifically trained and skilled manpower.

If the government cut arms production by half and turned the factories now producing arms into producing civilian goods for export, it would help the whole export trade.

Faced with the crisis in the balance of payments the Labor Government has taken the same sort of measures as the Tories did.

It decided to cut imports and imposed a surcharge of 15% on top of the existing tariffs. This was a blow against the British people for it meant an increase in the cost of living. It was also a blow against foreign trade.

It borrowed large sums from foreign banks and from the International Monetary Fund. The conditions attached to the loans have not been revealed but they will undoubtedly tie Britain more closely to U.S. policy; and almost certainly mean great pressure to economize on social services.

Then the Government decided to raise the Bank Rate to the crisis rate of 7%. This means higher interest rates all round, and is a dose of the old stop-go medicine which will slow down the economy and create unemployment.

Finally the Bank of England appealed to the Americans and

others and overnight the emergency loan of 3,000 million dollars was made available by the central banks of 11 countries.

The international loans have not really solved anything. The basic problem remains. And the international institutions, especially those of the U.S., have established a financial stranglehold on Britain which they will use to influence and restrict British Government policy.

From the day of its election the Labor Government has gone out of its way to assure big business and the City of its goodwill and understanding. We now know that there will be no serious effort to tax profits heavily, and the proposed wealth tax has been abandoned.

Mr. George Brown, Minister for Economic Affairs, has persuaded the employers' organizations and the Trades Union Congress to cooperate with the government for an incomes policy. They have signed a "declaration of intent." The idea is that they will try to get a faster rate of economic development without bringing about any rise in prices.

This will be the marvel of the century, for such a thing has never happened in the whole history of the capitalist system.

The Labor leaders claim that their incomes policy will:

Help to modernize British industry, sell more goods abroad, greatly improve foreign trade and put an end to the dreary succession of crises.

End the continuous rise in retail prices, rents and mortgages and give a better deal to women workers and low paid workers.

Be fair to workers and employers because it would control the rise of prices and profits as well as wages and salaries.

Would an incomes policy help to modernize British industry?

On the contrary, it is likely to have just the opposite effect. Already a large section of British firms manage to evade modernization. They get by and keep their costs down by paying low wages.

An incomes policy, by lessening trade union pressure, will only confirm them in their ways. Only half-hearted, make-believe modernization will be attempted.

The coal, steel and motor industries, sections of engineering and docks know that if they want to survive they must improve their productive capacity. Because they also know that their workers are fully determined to get wage increases at every possible opportunity.

The only final solution is to take over industry in the interests of the people.

Those who want to lessen the pressure for higher wages are not only delaying modernization; they are also standing in the way of extended nationalization.

The essence of an incomes policy is that the workers must refrain from pushing up wages and salaries as far as they can go when conditions are favorable.

They must keep to a limit, the "guiding light," based upon the estimated increase in production over the whole of industry.

At present this guiding light sets the limit of 3½ per cent for wage and salary increases in any given year.

This does not mean that all wages and salaries must come up to that limit. But it does mean that no group of workers, however much they produce, should try to push their wage beyond that limit.

In a lot of industries, both state and private, production per worker (productivity) is rising much faster than 3½ per cent.

Such industries are mining and electricity supply, chemicals, motors, docks, food processing, oil refining, some sections of engineering.

If wages in these sections of industry are held down then profits in them will rise very fast indeed. The idle shareholders will get richer at the expense of the workers.

When the supporters of an incomes policy talk about wages they mean all that makes up a worker's pay packet—wage rates, together with incentive payments. The whole pay packet must not rise more than 3½ per cent per year.

There are other experts who want to abolish all kinds of incentive payments altogether. Those workers who think that an incomes policy would merely restrict the rise in centrally negotiated wage rates and leave them free to push up wages in the factory, are in for a very rude awakening.

Under the guise of "modernization," incentive payments for extra effort and skill have to be stopped.

Some union leaders argue that if the workers in the higher paid industries accept wages that are lower than those they could force their employers to grant, this will in some way help the lower paid workers in other industries.

This is nonsense. If the workers in motors, or steel or some sections of engineering, refrain from pushing up their wages, this will not help the lower paid workers in local government service or public transport or the post office, or in badly paid, inefficient industries.

The extra profits that would go to the employers in motors or steel would not be available to increase the wages of workers in the cleansing departments of our city councils. Indeed if all workers have to accept wage increases of 3½ per cent per year, this will widen the gap between the highly paid and the poorly paid jobs.

Of course within a single industry, the unions could agree to advance the women and lower paid workers faster than the others. But if an incomes policy was operating this would mean that the total wage bill would only advance 3½ per cent. The higher paid workers would accept slightly less than 3½ per cent so that the lower paid would get slightly more.

Would an incomes policy help women workers?

No. It would continue the tremendous difference between men's and women's wages.

In April 1964, average earnings for men in industry were £17.12s.5d. a week. Average women's earnings were £8.16s.4d. The average working week for men was 47.8 hours and for women 40 hours.) If we had an incomes policy which laid it down that wages or salaries might only rise by 3½ per cent per year, this gap would never be closed.

So women should reject the incomes policy and demand that the Labor Government carries out its policy of equal pay for equal work. Would it control prices?

Not very likely—every week prices go up.

Take a large firm whose profits are increased because of wage and salary restraint. According to the supporters of an incomes policy, such firms would reduce their prices and all consumers would benefit.

But would they? Large monopolist firms seldom compete these days by reducing prices. A price war is a risky operation which could get out of control and sharply reduce profits. They prefer to compete by lavish and lying advertising. What puts prices up?

It is a common belief that prices always rise because wages and salaries have risen beforehand.

This is not true. The large firms are always looking for opportunities to push up prices.

In 1963 when the country was beginning to recover from the depression of 1961-2, firms at once started pushing up their prices, whether there had been a wage increase or not.

Sometimes when there was a slight wage increase, firms increased the prices of their goods enormously. The increase in engineering wages at the end of 1963 raised costs by at most 2½ per cent. Yet the price of some engineering goods increased by 8 per cent, 10 per cent and 12 per cent.

It often happens that when the prices of any raw material go up, the big firms at once pass this on to the price of the finished goods. Would it control profits?

Not in the same way that wage and salary increases are to be controlled. But firms are to be allowed to earn as much profit as they can. It is only later that there may be an enquiry as to whether these profits are "excessive."

Only when the total profits of the whole industry rise much faster than the total wages and salaries bill does the government promise to correct the position by taxation.

How it reconciles this with its promise to the employers to impose no fresh taxation on profits in its April budget is not explained.

One thing is certain—a lot of the extra profits earned by the large firms as a result of wage restraint will stick to their fingers.

So an incomes policy means that the great firms and their shareholders are to be given preferential treatment over the workers.

An incomes policy would take from the trade unions one of their most important functions—demanding and bargaining for higher wages and better conditions for their members.

Workers would see no advantage in joining unions which are compelled to keep within the bounds of a government guiding light.

HOW TO SOLVE THE CRISIS

In the general election, the Communist Party said that Britain's crisis could not be solved without radical action on two vital issues.

First, the power of big business must be challenged. Secondly, military expenditure must be drastically cut.

We warned that, unless it took these steps a Labor Government would face disaster, lose support and open the way for a Tory comeback.

Every day's events underline the truth of that warning.

British and foreign capitalist interests are now bringing the utmost pressure to bear on the Labor Government. They want measures that will help big business over the crisis, at the expense of the people.

The Labor Government must resist this pressure and break with the old, Tory policies of the past.

The crisis can be solved in the interests of the people, if the government will now undertake the kind of program we set out here.

Cut the arms bill by half; close down overseas bases and the U.S. Polaris base here.

Make special plans to help workers (scientific, manual and administrative) to transfer from the arms industry to the production of essential exports.

Abandon the NATO nuclear force or any similar project which would give the West Germans a finger on the nuclear trigger.

End the colonial wars in the Middle East and S.E. Asia. They are a running sore, undermining the economic health of Britain.

With £1,000 million, half the arms bill, we could:

Raise pensions, unemployment and sickness pay to £5 a week with £4 for a dependent wife and £1 for each child.

Build 60 new hospitals, each with 500 beds.

Build 120 new secondary schools, each with 500 places.

Build 400 miles of three-lane, by-pass roads.

Abolish all health service charges for treatment, appliances and welfare foods.

To make it effective—nationalize steel and other essential industries such as chemicals (including petro-chemicals); oil refining;

key sections of engineering including motors, electronics and machine tools; building materials and building (including firms on industrial building).

Take over the land of the big landowners.

Make a start on a great government building program for homes, schools, hospitals and roads.

Bring the Bank of England under government control.

Tighter controls over all financial institutions and strengthen exchange controls.

The workers need to be protected against the dangers of unemployment through the rapid development of automation.

Working hours must be reduced to 35 per week. Firms must retain redundant workers until other jobs are found.

There must be an all round improvement in technical training and retraining for workers, with full wages during retraining.

Trade associations must not be permitted to raise prices to make the consumers pay for increases in wages or taxation.

Building societies and hire purchase companies must not be allowed to increase interest rates.

Interest rates for housing, public building and mortgages for owner-occupiers, must be reduced.

The government should prevent the large firms which are the price leaders or dominate the retail trade from increasing prices.

Appoint trade union and cooperative representatives to strengthen the monopolies commission, and give it powers to deal with price-fixing.

The monopolies commission must examine all suggested mergers.

The government should adopt a positive wages policy.

It should declare its intention to promote equal pay for women in private as well as publicly-owned industry and encourage early negotiations on this question.

Increased wages for the lower paid workers, who need help in organizing from the unions, and more protection from the state.

Wages in the government service must quickly catch up with those in outside industry.

Retirement pensions, unemployment and sickness benefits should be increased at once to £5 a week.

The enquiry into the trade unions should be abandoned. It was a Tory scheme to discredit the unions. The Labor Government should drop it.

What this country needs is a bigger Communist Party.

The policy put forward in these pages is the only way to solve Britain's immediate crisis. This is Communist policy.

If these measures were taken they could be the first steps on the road to socialism which is, in the long run, the only final answer to Britain's problems.

INTERVIEW* WITH MAX REIMANN

IN *LE DRAPEAU ROUGE*

Q. In a few weeks, on May 8, it will be 20 years since the end of the war. What does the Communist Party of Germany think of the views and policies the different Bonn governments have upheld so far?

A. We regard the 20th anniversary of the termination of World War II as a call to us and to all the peace-loving and democratic forces in the Federal Republic. It is a reminder of our duty to see to it that never again is a war unleashed from German territory, to safeguard peace in Germany and in Europe. This has been, and remains, the keynote of our policy.

Scorning the lessons of history and the principles of the Potsdam agreement, West Germany has restored the economic and political might of the German imperialists and militarists with the help of the imperialist occupation forces. The Federal Republic is ruled by 94 multi-millionaries represented, first by the Adenauer government and now by the Erhard government.

Aided by the imperialist occupation forces, the monopolists dominating the Federal Republic have divided Germany. What for? In order to retain their domination and spearhead the Federal Republic against the socialist countries. The governments of Adenauer and Erhard have, for their part, resumed the old policy of armament and violence.

To realize their admittedly revanchist aims in a changed situation, they have aligned themselves with U.S. imperialism and joined NATO.

German imperialism is acquiring an increasing weight in NATO. The Federal Republic has become the strongest economic power in Western Europe; it has almost the biggest army and holds more command posts in NATO than any other member. It is West Germany that today presents the gravest danger to European peace.

Disregard for the Potsdam agreements led to a policy characterized, under both the Adenauer and the Erhard governments, by aggressive aspirations abroad and reactionary actions at home. These aspirations have invariably been aimed at revising the results of World War II through a war of conquest and revenge, at developing the capitalist system in the Federal Republic, and at going over from the postwar period to a new prewar period. This

*Le Drapeau Rouge, March 9, 1965.

is the only explanation for the frantic desire to obtain atomic weapons and for the monstrous intention of installing an atomic mine belt along the border with the German Democratic Republic. This explains the fact that to date the Federal Republic has spent on rearmament almost 40,000 million marks more than Hitler spent prior to 1939. It explains the recent encouragement of chauvinism and advocacy of an atomic forward strategy and "camouflaged war" for the purpose of conquering the German Democratic Republic. It explains the eagerness to have emergency legislation making it possible to introduce military jurisdiction even in peacetime, and the ardent desire to exempt the Nazi war criminals from all prosecution as from May 8.

It is therefore fair to say that the views and policies of the different Bonn governments have always been anti-national and hostile to peace. Things have come to a point where there is the danger of an atomic war emanating from West Germany, a war which could not but end in the self-destruction of our population and bring indescribable suffering to the peoples of Europe. This must not be allowed to happen. It must be prevented. This is what our policy and our struggle are aimed at, all the more since the unrealistic nature and the untenability of Bonn's entire foreign policy is becoming increasingly evident. If added proof is needed, it is furnished by the visit which Walter Ulbricht, Premier of the German Democratic Republic, paid to the United Arab Republic. The results of that visit spotlighted the urgency of a new orientation of the entire West German policy.

Q. What solution does the Communist Party of Germany counterpose to the policy of Bonn?

A. Our Party counterposes a national policy, a peaceful and democratic alternative, to the peace-endangering and anti-national policy of the Erhard government and the parties favoring nuclear armament and emergency legislation, as well as of the Wehner-Erler group in the Social Democratic Party pursuing a policy of collaboration with the Christian Democratic Party.

This national policy we propose implies renunciation of atomic armament in any form, and the Federal Republic's contribution towards disarmament; support for the suggested non-nuclear zone in Central Europe; peaceful relations with all states and peoples; no emergency legislation; respect for the Constitution; social security and a change in taxation; a detente, an agreement between the two German states on disarmament and on a preparations for German reunification.

Enforcing this policy through united actions by the working class and all the popular forces fighting against the aggressive forces of monopoly capital and militarism is what the Federal Republic needs if it is to become a peace-loving and democratic

state and to translate into reality the call of May 8: never again shall Germany start a new war, which this time would be an atomic war!

Q. On what basis could German reunification be achieved? What are, from this point of view, the mistakes made by Bonn? How does the CPG envision reunification?

A. I have just said how Bonn's policy may be appraised. It is an anti-national policy aimed at forcibly incorporating the German Democratic Republic, the first German state of workers and peasants, in the Federal Republic of Germany.

Those in power in Bonn have never pursued a policy of German reunification; they have always steered the opposite course. They spilt Germany and withdrew West Germany from the German national community by integrating it in NATO. Their every action deepened the gulf between the two German states. Their policy of revenge and atomic war, and the atomic mine belt they want to lay across Germany are aggravating the division and endangering the very existence of the German nation. They have given nuclear armament and militarization priority over every proposal of the German Democratic Republic for reunification.

In our opinion, the essence of the German national question in the present conditions is to prevent a new war from originating on the soil of the Federal Republic.

Two independent states exist on German territory today: the monopolist Federal Republic, and the socialist German Democratic Republic, a state based on peace, freedom and social progress. Only the prevention of atomic armament, only a detente and agreement between the two Germanys can pave the way for a peaceful solution of the national problem, for closer links between the two states. We also think that the road will be cleared to the extent that the domination of the imperialists and militarists in the Federal Republic is curbed and defeated and that the working class and all the other democratic forces of the people unite to acquire, through the free exercise of the right to self-determination, decisive influence on the state, the economy, and society.

We Communists say to the population of the Federal Republic: reunification is the affair of the German people. We demand the right to self-determination for the West German population.

We consider that a detente and agreement between the two German states should begin by either side renouncing — without preliminary mutual recognition — the use of force and nuclear weapons in any form, and pledging to freeze armaments and cut military spending. With a view to ending the division, both states should agree on the establishment of common working organs on a parity basis. In other words, we favor the setting up of all-

German commissions to discuss all questions of common interest relating to economy, trade and transport, joint scientific and technological work, experience in culture, education, social policy and public health. Conditions for the peaceful coexistence of the two German states can only be created by defeating the cold war policy and curbing the influence of monopoly capital and militarism on life in the Federal Republic.

That is how one could proceed in the future to establish a confederation of the two German states as a first step towards the democratic reunification of our people in a single peace-loving state.

The important thing, however, is to realize that unity of the working class of the two German states, cooperation of the workers' parties of the two parts of Germany, and the development of a united fighting front are necessary conditions for German reunification.

Such are our proposals regarding the initial steps towards reunification. They are part and parcel of our national policy, and when the matter concerns the nation, peace, freedom, and social and cultural progress, everyone can rely on the Communist Party of Germany.

Q. It is more than eight years since the Communist Party was banned in West Germany. Of late many people, in particular, in West Germany, have declared in favor of the restoration of the rights of the CPG. What are the prospects of your Party in this respect today? What can the democratic forces in other countries do to have the ban lifted?

A. Indeed, in recent weeks and months more and more people in the Federal Republic have been demanding legalization of the Communist Party. Prompted by democratic sentiments, our compatriots in various parts of the Federal Republic have independently of one another taken the initiative of sending petitions to the Bundestag in which they advocate freedom of action for the CPG. Thousands of people have supported this demand by signing the petitions.

A public discussion on this subject has started in the press, radio and television in which even Federal ministers are constrained to take part. The increasingly explicit demand that the ban on the CPG be ended arises from the discontent of many citizens of the Federal Republic with Bonn's policies and practices. More and more people link the demand for the reinstatement of the CPG with the hope that this will make it possible effectively to oppose the policy of nuclear war and revenge pursued by the West German capitalist munitions manufacturers and their Erhard government, to replace this policy with a policy of peace, detente and unity. There is a growing desire to hear the opinion of the Communists themselves, and not of the anti-Communists, on the fundamental problems of our time. This desire is particularly strong among the

young people, who rightly want to know the truth but get no satisfactory answer from the rulers of the Federal Republic.

I know also that the ban on the CPG is being discussed among a number of members and functionaries of the Social-Democratic Party of West Germany. Most of them reject the ban as undemocratic and unconstitutional. Many Social-Democrats want the legalization of the CPG in the interest of the SDP itself, for with a legalized CPG the Wehner-Erler leadership of the SDP would be unable to pursue its policy of collaboration with the CDU-CSU and the Erhard government as freely as now. Besides, a legalized CPG would inspire those forces in the Social-Democratic Party which want an independent SDP policy.

The decree banning the CPG on August 17, 1956, was a political decision of the Adenauer government. The ruling circles wanted thereby to remove from the life of the Federal Republic the only force which could offer the people of West Germany a genuine alternative. But the Communists cannot be removed. They are part of the working class and the people.

Our Party survived Hitler's dictatorship, and it will also survive the government of Erhard and those who back it.

We demand that the Federal government take steps to lift the ban on the CPG. As a first step we propose a political amnesty and discontinuance of all the current court trials connected with the ban. I have written to Chancellor Erhard about this twice.

However, not a single German Communist entertains the illusion that the legalization of the Party will come one fine day as a gift from on high. We know that the legality of our Party will be restored only when all the Communists in the Federal Republic will do everything to uphold the peaceful, democratic and social interests of the population and thus show, in particular to the working class, that a legal Communist Party can support the workers' struggle for legitimate demands more effectively.

The movement for a legal Communist Party will grow as we succeed in convincing people that ours is the right policy, and will ultimately compel the ruling circles to authorize the free operation of the CPG.

I would like to express my heartfelt thanks to the democratic forces of your country, in particular the Belgian Communists, for the important support they have been giving to our struggle for the restoration of the rights of our Party.

Your actions against German imperialism and militarism and against their demand for atomic weapons, and your petitions to the Erhard government in support of the Communist Party of Germany have helped us considerably in the struggle to curb German imperialism and militarism and made an effective contribution towards the early restoration of the rights of our Party.

REPLY FROM KIM IL SUNG

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, KOREAN PARTY OF LABOR AND THE CABINET OF MINISTERS OF THE KOREAN PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC, REPLIES* TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE KOREAN INSTITUTE, WASHINGTON

I have received your letter.

I am very glad that you devote so much attention to the issue of reunifying the country.

As you know, our country has been suffering from territorial and national division for twenty years now.

A new generation has grown up. Yet contacts and relations between North and South Korea are still lacking, to say nothing of the reunification of the country, a long-time dream of the people. The artificial division of the nation persists.

The gulf between the North and the South continues to increase in every sphere of political, economic and cultural life, and even the national traits of our people — a single nation with a long history — are gradually becoming different.

The split of the nation precludes the rallying of the forces of the people and the use of the riches of our country for its development. It causes unbearable suffering to the whole Korean people.

The division of Korea into a northern and a southern part is a source of incalculable misfortune and hardship, particularly for the South Korean population.

One cannot expect the whole people to prosper, nor can the people of South Korea be helped out of its plight, unless the split of the country is overcome and Korea reunites.

It is perfectly natural that the South Korean masses should complain, saying that it is impossible to live in a divided country any longer. Many people with a high degree of national consciousness are courageously fighting for the reunification of their country.

The reunification of the country is an urgent task of the whole nation. In our view, it is high time for every Korean who loves his country and is concerned with its future to do all in his power for reunification.

The whole world knows that our government has been working hard, in compliance with the desire and will of the whole Korean people, for the restoration of Korean unity.

*Nodon Shinmun, Jan. 8, 1965.

We hold that the solution of the problem of reunification should not be delayed for the benefit of certain groups or privileged quarters and to the detriment of the national interest. We hold that reunification should be effected on democratic lines, in keeping with the will of the whole Korean people, with neither side trying to impose its will under any circumstances. We allow no one to impose his will on us and do not for our part intend to impose our will on others. We have always insisted on the North and South Korean authorities, political parties, mass organizations and leaders meeting at the round table for an earnest and impartial discussion of the issue of reunification, with the aim of settling it.

I want to explain once again that our government will continue to do all it can for reunification in accordance with the desire of the people and with the national interest, and that it is willing to consider anyone's opinion if it is likely to make reunification easier.

Your letter sets forth views which largely coincide with a number of reunification proposals repeatedly put forward by us.

We have always held that the reunification of the country can and should be achieved solely by peaceful means, on the principles of independence and democracy, without any outside interference.

We think every outside attempt at forcible reunification is illusory and is aimed at delivering the whole of Korea into the hands of imperialist aggressors.

The issue of Korean reunification is an internal concern of the Korean people in which no outside force should be allowed to interfere. It is for the Koreans themselves to settle the Korean question. No foreigners may decide the domestic affairs of our country. Our people are intelligent and civilized, and have sufficient means to solve their national problem by themselves.

The U.S. imperialists, who have occupied South Korea and interfere in the internal affairs of our country by following a disruptive and aggressive policy against the whole of Korea, are the main obstacle to reunification.

The U.S. imperialists have fully brought South Korea under their colonial rule in every sphere—political, economic, military and cultural.

Withdrawal of all the foreign troops from South Korea is a highly important condition for the solution of the problem of reunification. There are no foreign troops in North Korea. The Chinese people's volunteers left North Korea to a man on their own initiative as far back as 1958. But in South Korea there still are U.S. troops, The United States has no reason and no justification for keeping its troops in South Korea.

Independence and sovereignty are out of the question so long as a foreign army of aggression is stationed on any country's territory.

Anyone with the least national conscience, should insist on withdrawal of the U.S. troops and fight to drive them out of our country.

We must kindle the flames of hatred for the U.S. imperialist aggressor all over the country and rally all the patriotic forces to fight for the expulsion of the U.S. army from South Korea.

Your proposal that all foreign troops be withdrawn so that the question of Korean reunification can be settled is perfectly right.

We have always held that the question of Korean reunification should be settled by forming a united central government of representatives of every section of the people, on the basis of a free general election in North and South Korea, to be held along democratic lines, without foreign interference and provided all foreign troops were withdrawn from South Korea.

Such a general election should be held in an atmosphere of absolute freedom and democracy in which nothing could in the least prevent the people from expressing their will or suppress it. Free democratic elections are unthinkable so long as the democratic rights of the people are violated and the patriotic movement held down.

A free general election in North and South Korea implies, first and foremost, fully guaranteed freedom of political action for the parties, mass organizations and individuals, as well as freedom of speech, the press, assembly, association and demonstration, throughout either part of the country. All political prisoners who are in jail because they demanded democratic freedom and reunification of the country on the principle of sovereignty must be unconditionally released.

Every citizen should be enabled to exercise throughout Korea an equal right to elect or be elected irrespective of his party allegiance, political views, property qualifications, education, religion or sex.

It is only through a truly democratic election, held on the principles of universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot, that an independent democratic united government can be formed representing the interests of the workers, peasants, youth and students, intellectuals, servicemen, businessmen, and every other section of the people.

This proposal of ours is absolutely fair, reasonable, and acceptable to all. Nevertheless, the rulers of South Korea clamor one by one for "elections under UN supervision," obstinately opposing this fair proposal.

The Korean people know well what is meant by "elections under UN supervision." It is no secret that the election of Syngman Rhee, a traitor to the Korean people, for several terms on end was secured by shuffling the election returns, that Chan Men's advent to power was engineered in the same way, and that the seizure of

power by Pak Chung Hee, for its part, was legalized through "elections," under UN supervision, which have been imposed on South Korea ever since 1948.

"UN-supervised elections" are nothing but a smokescreen for the aggressive conspiracies of the U.S. imperialists aimed at incorporating North Korea in the colonial system which has been forced on the people of South Korea.

In Korea, the United States uses the UN as an instrument of aggression. The UN has no authority to interfere in the internal affairs of the Korean people.

The Korean people need no one's interference to settle the question of the reunification of their country. We must achieve reunification only by our own efforts.

Inasmuch as the South Korean authorities, incited by the U.S. imperialists, continue to object to the formation of a united Korean government on the basis of free, democratic elections, we cannot stand idle, waiting for the country to be reunified. We cannot but search for ways and means of gradually bringing complete reunification nearer, taking every measure that may benefit the cause of reunification.

You probably know that we have long ago proposed, as a transitional step, establishing a confederation of North and South Korea to settle pressing problems of the country even before its complete reunification and to promote reunification.

The confederation we propose implies the establishment of a Supreme National Committee of equal numbers of representatives, to be appointed by the two governments, chiefly for the coordination of economic and cultural development in North and South Korea, and for the promotion of cooperation and exchange in the common interests of the people, the political systems existing in North and South Korea being preserved and both governments continuing their independent activities.

The reunification commission you recommend could be regarded as an institution analogous to the Supreme National Committee proposed by us. An attempt could also be made to restore national links between the North and the South and to effect an independent reunification of the country not by establishing a confederation but through some other joint body of representatives of North and South Korea.

We have repeatedly said that if the South Korean authorities do not see their way to agreeing to a confederation, it is necessary at least to alleviate somewhat the hardships which the division of the country causes to the people, by organizing economic and cultural exchanges between North and South and dismissing political problems for the time being.

Economic exchanges between North and South would combine

North Korea's industry and South Korea's agriculture and make for the independent development of the entire national economy. They would revive the dislocated South Korean economy and so pave the way for stabilizing the life of the South Korean people, who find themselves in dire poverty.

We have already built an up-to-date industry and an advanced agriculture in North Korea. We have laid the solid groundwork for an independent state — an economic foundation enabling our country to live by its own labor in the future, upon reunification.

We have always concerned ourselves with the interests and the future of the whole people by steadfastly rehabilitating and developing the economy, completely ruined by the U.S. imperialist aggressor. We have not for one moment forgotten our South Korean compatriots. We consider it our sacred national duty to help the suffering people of South Korea.

Along with organizing economic exchanges, it is necessary to reestablish relations between North and South Korea in the fields of science, art, sports, etc., and to organize trips between them.

The South Korean authorities, which submit to U.S. imperialism, are opposed to free elections all over Korea, to the establishment of a confederation of North and South Korea, and even to economic and cultural exchanges and to trips between North and South.

In the circumstances, we insist on permitting correspondence as the least of what would help to establish contacts between North and South. This is in keeping with the people's insistence on doing away with the abnormal situation in which parents, wives and children, relatives and friends living on either side of the demarcation line cannot even correspond.

A prime condition for reunification is to eliminate the tension existing between North and South. It is appropriate to mention at this point that we have repeatedly proposed to the South Korean authorities that the U.S. troops be withdrawn from South Korea and a peace treaty be concluded committing the authorities of either part of Korea to refrain from armed attack on each other and providing for the reduction of the armed forces of North and South Korea to 100,000 or less by either side.

The huge, 600,000-strong army of South Korea is a heavy burden for the South Korean people due to the colossal amount of military spending, and gravely imperils peace in Korea.

The withdrawal of all foreign troops from South Korea, the conclusion of a peace treaty between North and South, and the reduction of the armed forces of either part of the country would constitute a tremendous stride toward reunification.

We think you are right in suggesting that the armies of North and South Korea be cut to the proportions of protective units intended to maintain internal security and order.

Besides, we are ready to adopt any measures likely to facilitate reunification. We are ready to abrogate the military pacts we have concluded with other countries, provided the U.S. army is withdrawn from South Korea and the South Korean authorities annul whatever military pacts they have concluded with other countries. We made this clear when concluding agreements with other countries.

Our government is an independent people's government formed in the conditions of freedom and in keeping with the will of the whole people. We have never relied on any outside forces. We are completely independent in politics, economy, culture, military affairs, and in every other sphere.

Our home and foreign policy is absolutely independent, and permits of no foreign interference. Our government can at any time adopt on its own initiative whatever measures it thinks necessary to further the interests of the country and the people.

We have proved the absolute sincerity of our desire for the reunification of the country.

Even after the present rulers of South Korea had carried out a coup d'etat and seized power, we repeatedly put forward proposals designed to save the nation, end the national crisis, and hasten reunification, sincerely hoping that those rulers would take a stand in harmony with the interests of the people. But they are blindly following the U.S. imperialists' disruptive policies, ignoring the vital interests of the people. They refuse to lend ear to our sincere advice. Indeed, they are doing their utmost to perpetuate the division of the country.

We blame the fact that our country has not yet been reunified on the U.S. imperialists, who have occupied South Korea with their troops and pursue a policy of national division, as well as on traitors, reactionary bureaucrats, political gamblers and swindlers like Pak Chung Hee, who are betraying the interests of the people in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists.

It is they who serve the forces of foreign aggression, oppose the independent and peaceful reunification of the country, and flatly reject unity of the national forces. It is they who uphold only their own interests and the interests of certain privileged groups which are in collusion with foreign circles, and who can never represent the people of South Korea.

They justify the presence of the U.S. army of aggression occupying South Korea and blocking reunification of our country, an army which robs, oppresses, insults and murders South Koreans. They insist on the U.S. army staying in Korea forever.

Those traitors have turned down our proposal for settling the millions of unemployed South Koreans in North Korea and giving

them jobs there. They sell our countrymen like merchandise into European and American countries.

They also invite Japanese militarists to South Korea to turn it into a double colony, ruled by the U.S. and Japanese imperialists.

On instructions from the United States, the South Korean traitors, who are anxious to strike a bargain with the Japanese militarists, fiercely resist contacts and cooperation within the bounds of one and the same country. They are in a hurry to carry their criminal "negotiations between the Korean Republic and Japan" through to the end.

The key role in this deal with the Japanese imperialists is played by the very same hangers-on who served them loyally in the past. They refuse to admit their previous crimes, and have again become henchmen of the U.S. imperialists and of their former masters, the Japanese militarists.

To achieve Korean unification, we must fight, rallying the forces of the whole people of North and South Korea against the foreign imperialist aggressors and against the traitors, reactionary bureaucrats, political gamblers and swindlers who in common with them obstruct the reunification of our people.

How can we contribute to national unity and bring about reunification and, what is more, flatly reject all contacts and exchanges between North and South?

Needless to say, were they even now to ponder their mistakes and join in the struggle for the withdrawal of the U.S. army and for the independent reunification of the country, the situation would change entirely.

We are ready at any moment to hold out our hand to anyone, to go along with anyone — whatever his political views, world outlook and past activity — who defends the interests of the people and seeks the reunification of the country.

If all the patriotic forces of North and South Korea unite we can bring about contacts and negotiations between North and South, establish cooperation and exchanges between them, make the U.S. army go, and reunify the country.

In the absence of unity and struggle we can neither expel the aggressor's army nor effect reunification.

The important thing is for all sections of the South Korean people — workers, peasants, young people and students, intellectuals, servicemen and businessmen — to rally close together and launch a more resolute fight for national salvation, for the independent, peaceful reunification of the country, against U.S. imperialism and its flunkeys.

All interference in the internal affairs of our people must be ruled out. We must vigorously counteract "protection" or "supervision" by anyone, and must shape our destiny by ourselves.

When we have reunified our country on the principle of national self-determination and when the whole people have risen in a spirit of solidarity to fight, we will be able to increase the might of the country and build a wealthy, strong and independent state that will need no "guarantees" from anyone.

Our country will unquestionably become united as a result of the common national struggle of the whole Korean people.

In conclusion I would like to express the hope that you will work for the speedy independent reunification of the country.

Pyongyang, January 8, 1965.

FOR A POPULAR, DEMOCRATIC AND PATRIOTIC GOVERNMENT! DOWN WITH THE MILITARY DICTATORSHIP!

DOCUMENT* OF THE CC EXECUTIVE,
COMMUNIST PARTY OF ECUADOR

The events of September and October 1964, which took place in the conditions of a growing crisis in Ecuadoran society, revealed the aggravation of contradictions between Ecuador as a nation and imperialism, between certain sections of the Guayaquil oligarchy and the ruling military junta, between some provinces and the central authority, and within the government itself.

Resulting from the presentation of definite demands by the masses and their struggle, this aggravation shows that the crisis of the system of social and political organizations is growing in depth and scope, that there is a pressing need to solve it, and that the only solution is to establish a national, democratic government of popular unity capable of effecting radical social reforms.

The U.S. imperialists, who pursue a policy of fomenting war and aggression against the socialist revolution in Cuba and against the mounting popular struggle for national liberation and democracy, imposed upon Ecuador through various intrigues the dictatorship of the military junta. In an effort to contain the vigorous growth of the struggle of the masses and prevent it from developing into a general revolutionary struggle, the North-American imperialists intensified their neocolonialist aggression by enforcing the policy of Alliance for Progress.

This policy led to a police state. Brutal repression ensued. To begin with, a ban was imposed on the Communist Party, Revolutionary Socialist Party, Confederation of Labor, Federation of University Students, Revolutionary Youth League and many other popular democratic and progressive organizations. The autonomy of the provincial and municipal councils, the universities and certain other institutions was encroached upon. The prisons were overcrowded. Hundreds of leaders and members of political, labor students' and women's organizations were exiled. Newton Moreno was killed; others, like Luis Vladivieso, were barbarously tortured. The newspapers of the revolutionary parties, trade unions and

*Abridged from **El Pueblo**, December 9, 1964.

students' organizations were suppressed. Censorship of the press, radio and correspondence was established.

Foreign policy is dictated by the U.S. State Department, as can be seen from the stand of the Ecuadoran Foreign Minister as the Washington conference of Foreign Ministers and during the drafting of the agenda of the 11th inter-American conference. The conference ignored the pressing problems of national sovereignty and territorial integrity in favor of measures for an attack on socialist Cuba, against democratic movements for national liberation and against peace champions in Latin America. An effort is being made to satisfy the interests of U.S. creditors and monopolies. U.S. loans are becoming the mainstay of the "national development" plan. The agreement on the defense of the 200-mile coastal zone, concluded with Peru and Chile, has been abandoned. Decrees are being issued in favor of quasi-national industrial enterprises that are profitable to the Americans and injurious to Ecuador. The gold reserves are being piped into U.S. banks, with the result that the national treasury is being depleted. U.S. monopolies receive protection, while the entire national income is mortgaged to meet the extortionist terms imposed by U.S. creditors.

In the meantime, the people's standard of living is going from bad to worse. The prices of prime necessities are growing, and so are electricity rates and rent. There is a housing shortage in the country; the notorious housing plan, bank and cooperatives benefit businessmen but are useless to the people.

The ruling junta has effected none of the badly needed social reforms. The so-called agrarian reform has left the latifundia intact and has in no way improved the plight of the peasant poor and agricultural laborers. The tax reform, far from exempting the working people and other indigent groups from taxes, has made the tax burden even heavier. The road-building plan has merely revealed the onerous terms offered by the U.S. creditors. The vaunted plans for building schools and combating illiteracy have in no way modified, even outwardly, the appalling picture of the ignorance of the masses. The so-called university reforms are a continuation of the attack on university autonomy and the students' rights. Paradoxically the law on lower prices for medicines has put the prices up.

As regards defense of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Ecuador, the question of annulling the Rio de Janeiro Protocol has been raised neither before the projected 11th inter-American conference nor before any other international body. The Peruvian government has been allowed unilaterally to set up frontier posts precisely in those disputed areas which make the Rio de Janeiro Protocol unacceptable. The construction of the Carretera Marginal

de la Selva road, a project detrimental to Ecuador's territorial rights, has been authorized and is under way.

The country swarms with U.S. missions, experts specializing in provocations, and CIA agents who harm our national interests and live off the taxes the people are made to pay.

Corruption is in evidence at every step. There are international scandals like the one in the Foreign Ministry, embezzlement and swindling in customs-houses, shops, etc., and constant foreign trips by Ministers, so that at times the cabinet is made up of deputy ministers only. The ruling junta systematically takes part in highly expensive cantonal fiestas and other wasteful celebrations.

As a result, there is growing discontent and the struggle is gaining in intensity. The more advanced and politically conscious sections of the people have opposed the military dictatorship ever since it was established. Prior to July 11, 1963, the masses frustrated several attempts to set up a dictatorical regime. On July 11, when the dictatorship became a reality, numerous protest demonstrations were held in Quito and Guayaquil. The people have never reconciled themselves to the regime, as was stressed in the leaflets the Communist Party and other democratic and progressive organizations issued after the coup. The students expressed their distaste for the dictatorial government in different ways and came out in defence of their optonomy and rights, as the January 1964 demonstration in Quito and the meetings in Guayaquil University showed. The working people of town and country are fighting unrelentingly for the restoration of trade union rights and against unemployment, hunger and poverty, into which the regime wants to plunge them even deeper. The number of labor conflicts is growing daily. The provinces uphold their boundaries and insist on the construction of roads and schools and on improvements in the health service. The artisans, teachers and intellectuals are demanding that their rights be restored and their needs met.

There is a widespread demand for the re-establishment of constitutional order.

All this confirms the statement made at the Seventh Congress of the Communist Party and synthesized in its Program, to the effect that Ecuador is being rapidly colonized by U.S. imperialism. The ruling junta has shown itself to be a tool of this policy. All this aggravates the crisis which Ecuadoran society is passing through.

The ruling junta is in the grip of increasing contradictions.

The imposition of U.S. capital is one of the decisive characteristics. Everything is being done to force us into accepting loans on outrageously onerous terms. The main features of the crisis stem from the general crisis of capitalism. The socialist camp has gained strength and is growing. More and more peoples are casting off

colonial tyranny. The struggle of vast numbers of people, of whole nations, for peace, national liberation, democracy and socialism is irresistibly gathering momentum. Imperialism is retreating in Asia and Africa, and has been mortally wounded in Latin America. The U.S. imperialists want to profit from the expulsion of their "kinsmen" and rivals by seizing some areas which are not yet free, but they are getting nowhere. Vietnam, the Congo and Korea are cases in point. Socialism is developing victoriously in Cuba, under the very nose of the United States.

Driven out of their one-time colonies, the imperialists are rushing into Latin America, where the national-liberation struggle has not won as yet in most countries and where U.S. neocolonialism still holds sway. The European and Japanese imperialists fiercely compete with the North Americans, offering easier terms for the export of their capital and goods and seeking reduced tariffs and concessions on mines, land and fishing grounds and on the construction of industrial establishments. Of a sudden, visits to Latin American by leaders of extra-continental imperialist countries have become a frequent occurrence. Japanese, Dutch and other missions arrive one after another. More and more diplomatic, cultural and commercial agreements are being signed.

Imperialism wants to squeeze into the narrow space of Latin America its enormous decrepit body, which once sprawled across the globe. The imperialists of different countries, struggling in a common agony, are disputing spheres of influence for the recolonization of Latin America by the ruthless methods of the past. It would not be surprising if the various contradictions arising between oligarchic groups turned out to be rooted in agreements and alliances between definite groups of the Latin America oligarchies and various imperialist groups. We in Latin America know from bitter experience how the imperialists set one oligarchy upon another and one nation upon another. The wars between Bolivia and Paraguay and between Peru and Ecuador are just two examples.

These contradictions between imperialists and the fierce disputes over Latin America are reflected in Ecuador's policy and having a bearing on recent events. They are a manifestation of the general crisis of the capitalist system, of the violent agony of world imperialism, which is being forced out of one position after another as socialism and the liberation struggle of the peoples make headway. The masses all over the world hail these victories. The peoples of the world are stepping up their struggle, following the example of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the example of Cuba and the peoples of the countries that have freed themselves from imperialism.

The ruling military junta is incapable of action because it is a puppet of imperialism and a flunkey of the oligarchy. The result is

a policy which aggravates the problems of Ecuador instead of solving them. Whereas contradictions over the loans for road building, the centralized collection of the revenues of some autonomous enterprises in Guayaquil and the border conflicts between the maritime provinces and Pichincha Province are acute, the contradiction between the junta and the people is much more acute and keeps on growing. The fact is that as soon as a new problem arises the junta unhesitatingly sides with the big landowners, certain groups of the oligarchy, and the U.S. imperialists. It exercises dictatorship to prevent the working class and other sections of the people from exercising their rights and upholding their demands. It has trampled underfoot all the rights of the workers, peasants and intellectuals, of the rural and urban population, and is now boasting of having established "peace." It is already clear to the masses that the junta can solve none of the nation's cardinal problems.

Distrust of the junta has grown. It is getting less and less support at home. Its internal antagonisms are mounting. Clashes between leaders take the form of violent quarrels and the removal of Ministers. In the case of the Army, contradictions express themselves in the forced or voluntary resignation or transfer of officers. Conspiratorial groups come into being that often take no care to conceal their activity.

The junta is not the only one to be distrusted. The imperialist Alliance for Progress is also losing ground among the masses. In the Army, the eternal antagonism between the ranks and the supreme command is on the rise and there are signs of corruption.

To contain the struggle of the people, the imperialists, landowners and the oligarchy on July 11, 1963, played one of their biggest political trumps. Today the fact that the junta did not live up to expectations makes their demagogy less effective.

The people realize now that the economic crisis affecting them has been aggravated during the more than one year rule of the junta. Poverty and unemployment have grown, the wages of some categories have decreased, the prices of staple foodstuffs, fees for water and electricity, and rentals have gone up. New heavy taxes have been introduced and new costly bureaucratic institutions set up. Bank credits have decreased noticeably.

The ruling classes are busy searching for ways of retaining power. This was the purpose of the July military coup and of other coups carried out in Latin America. These classes want to preserve anachronistic social institutions, above all exploitation in agriculture based on feudal ownership and production relations, to keep intact the feeble industry and the mediation of big U.S. and other imperialist monopolies in trade. The reverses of the junta have aggravated contradictions and caused confusion among the ruling classes as to the choice of policy. Some quarters favor preservation

of the dictatorship provided those in power are replaced by others — military or civilians. Others, who play lip-service to constitutional order, would like to make a deal. They hope that when the junta is gone they will be able to consolidate their privileges.

But more and more people are coming to realize that what is needed is a radical change, not the replacement of one oligarchic group in power by another or of one party of the ruling classes by another, let alone the replacement of individuals. The Ecuadoran people know from painful experience that the replacement of the military junta by a seemingly constitutional, formally democratic go ernment will not help them solve the problems facing their country. The more enlightened sections of the people want far-reaching changes. And this means not only deposing the junta but also removing from power the classes which have for many years been ruling the country exclusively in their own interests. To establish democracy in Ecuador means transferring power to the masses: the workers, peasants, artisans, small tradesmen and industrialists, intellectuals, students, and so on — all the progressive and patriotic sections of the population.

That is why, in present-day conditions, something more is needed than putting forward the vague, non-committal slogan of the return to constitutional order, which camouflages the hope of returning to power cherished by the oligarchic groups that ruled under Velasco Ibarra, Galo Plaza, Ponce Enriquez and Carlos Julio Arosemena.

The problems of Ecuador cannot be fully solved until the working people, guided by the working class, come to power.

Meanwhile the masses insist on an immediate end to the dictatorship of the military junta. So do, in fact, other sections of Ecuadoran society.

As regards the return to constitutional order, it is a highly controversial problem that must be solved without delay.

The reactionary diehards want to impose on the country a Constitution legalizing all the restrictions of democracy, all of the junta's inroads on the rights of the people. These elements want a Constitution that would prevent the extension of democratic rights, that is, create a situation similar that created in other Latin American countries at the bidding of the U.S. imperialists. They centre discussion on problems of secondary importance, such as whether the President may or may not be elected to other posts. They want to divert attention from the main problem.

It is perfectly obvious that the demand for the so-called return to constitutional order expresses the opinion of large sections of the people. But then it is on this basis that the old oligarchy, prompted by the U.S. imperialists, wants to strengthen its power in order to prop up its discredited social and political institutions.

What is indisputable is that the people want to replace the mili-

tary junta by a genuinely national, democratic government which would fully restore the people's rights. They want to elect a National Constituent Assembly independently, in exercise of their sovereign right. This Assembly should be able to draft a democratic Constitution confirming the rights won or demanded by the people and to enact certain basic laws — on a genuine agrarian reform really giving the land to those who till it and making possible the complete abolition of the feudal-type ownership and production relations, and on a tax reform relieving the masses of the excessive taxes dictated by the U.S. creditors and imposed by the oligarchic governments. The Assembly should strengthen national sovereignty, maintain Ecuador's territorial rights and recover the nation's wealth. It should pursue a foreign policy of peace and friendship among nations and of respect for the peoples' right to self-determination and for the principle of non-interference. It would launch an effective struggle against poverty, disease, ignorance and so on.

A broad democratic front, to be established in the process of the struggle of the masses, is indispensable if the demands of the people are to be met. It is for the masses themselves to create this front, on a basis that will prevent differences in political outlook and party affiliation being an insurmountable obstacle to joint actions for the common good.

This front should emerge in the course of joint struggle. The events of October 1963 in Guayaquil proved that the independence of the masses can be preserved in a joint struggle as well, that subordinating the interests of the people to those of the oligarchy is not an unavoidable necessity. On the contrary, correct slogans put forward by the more class-conscious sections of the people enlist the masses in the struggle for their immediate demands. As the struggle goes on, slogans and programs become popular among the masses and acquire a new ideological content suggested by actual needs.

The national-liberation front will not be democratic nor its program realistic and effective so long as splitters, dogmatists, sectarians and their like keep aloof from the mass movement on the plea that the struggle is being waged between different groups of the oligarchy. The splitters did not take part in the October events of 1963, in the struggle of the masses. They refused to support the demands of the masses, above all the demand for an end to the military dictatorship. The little they did by contending that the struggle should be waged exclusively against the oligarchy misled the masses, for it supported the assertion that the military junta was opposed to the oligarchy. But we have already seen that the junta's policy favors the oligarchy and the imperialists, that what is actually going on is an aggravation of the contradictions inherent

in a capitalist society with survivals of feudalism, a society under colonialist pressure from the North Americans.

The transition to new and higher forms of struggle is impossible unless the masses fight for their concrete demands, because this struggle enhances the militancy and strengthens the organizations of the masses, freeing their class consciousness from the influence of the reactionaries. It is this struggle that sparks off revolution.

This struggle cannot be properly orientated and waged without a flexible, active, determined and united Communist Party. The CP upholds the principles of Marxism-Leninism in the course of the struggle of the masses, in their ranks, together with the masses, together with the workers' and peasants' trade unions, with the agricultural laborers', youth, students', women's and neighbors' organizations. Every demand for rights for the people, however insignificant it may appear to be, necessarily concerns the Communist Party, for the interests of the people and the Party are identical. We Communists are part of the Ecuadoran people, we have risen from their midst and we are linked with them and with their problems by thousands of ties.

To accomplish its historical tasks fully, in a responsible way and honorably, the Communist Party must act according to the Political Resolutions and the Program adopted by its Seventh Congress. All actions of our Party should be inspired by a profound sense of responsibility and be based on the experience of internationalist proletarian unity. The Communist Party should take guidance from the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism and interpret the needs of Ecuadoran society and events in its life in the light of these principles. It should be a party deeply rooted in the proletarian masses and the whole people. It should combat dogmatism at home and abroad, and the adventurism of those who under the direction of Rivadeneira, Echevarria and Arellano staged the counter-revolutionary show in Toachi and the battle of Pinol, those who are fanning differences in the international Communist movement, such as Roura and his ilk, all the traitors and opportunists like Alfredo Vera, who lose all shame in their servility to the ruling junta. Our Party should combat all deviations with unflinching determination.

The lessons of every passing day increase our strength, which is growing as we gain experience and steadfastly pursue our line, whose revolutionary correctness is confirmed daily. This strength lends vitality to our organizations. Our strength is the strength of the invincible Ecuadoran revolution.

The Communist Party of Ecuador, loyal to the principles of proletarian internationalism and Marxism-Leninism, is being steeled in the struggle against the junta, for the liberation of the country, against the survivals of feudalism, against the oligarchy, for national

democracy, for the well-being and the culture of the Ecuadoran people. It exercises internal democracy and applies criticism and self-criticism, acting as the focus of disciplined organizat . It is capable of measuring up to the events which history entrusts it with guiding, and of actively fulfilling its obligations toward the people, with a clear vision of its goal.

Therefore we call upon the people to fight jointly for a genuine solution of the problems facing them.

We urge all the forces of the people, their organizations, all the democratic, progressive patriotic political parties, the working class, the peasantry, the students, the intellectuals, the women, to fight jointly, to act in concert, for the overthrow of the dictatorship of the military junta, for the establishment of a provisional democratic government of popular unity that will restore all the flouted rights of the people and convene a Constituent Assembly elected by the masses through free and sovereign suffrage.

CC Executive, Communist Party of Ecuador
Guayaquil, November 1964

DOCUMENTS OF THE AFRICAN INDEPENDENCE PARTY OF SENEGAL

In November 1964 the Central Committee of the African Independence Party of Senegal held a meeting in preparation for the Second Party Congress. The two important items on the agenda were: how to overthrow the Senghor anti-national government, and the problem of rallying the democratic forces to take power and establish a government of national unity.

After a critical analysis of the activities of the Party, the CC members noted that despite the successes achieved in rallying the patriotic forces, the AIP still had to surmount considerable obstacles. The CC unanimously adopted the Declaration on Patriotic Unity and resolutions on Islam in Senegal and on democratic freedoms.

DECLARATION ON PATRIOTIC UNITY

Senegal has entered the last stage of a general economic, social, political and cultural crisis.

In the economic sphere, it should be pointed out that although our country lives on handouts from France, other Common Market countries and the United States, its budget is dwindling. It has an adverse balance of trade and experiences serious difficulties in agriculture and industry. Even if all the reserves are used, the 1965 budget will have a deficit running to many thousands of millions of Arican francs.

In the social sphere, the situation is characterized by the fact that all the classes and sections of the population suffering from the dictatorship and the economic stagnation are rising with determination to fight. The regime is condemned everywhere. There are signs of an awakening of the people all over the country, which creates a perilous situation for the authorities. The peasants are opposing eviction; the workers are threatening the regime with a general strike over its attempts at further wage cuts; the students are beginning to act in order to call a halt to the regime's scornful attitude to the nation's educational and cultural requirements. The office employees, who suffer from extortions and debts and are constantly threatened with dismissal, are resisting oppression in various ways. The business circles are insisting on changes in trade, industry and handicrafts to secure an appropriate position for

*Information AIP, January 1965.

Africans in these fields; they take the offensive wherever they can. Lastly, the police, gendarmes, servicemen and other personnel charged with maintaining public order are on the verge of rebellion, being exasperated by arbitrary practices, favoritism, confusion, venality and negligence.

The religious circles have gone over to the offensive.

In the political sphere, the regime has reached a high degree of decomposition. The leaders of the ruling Senegalese Progressive Union are possessed by mutual suspicion. Scandal and denunciation are rife. The various factions and groups either exchange stabs in the back or settle accounts openly. The last of the patriots who have accidentally found themselves in the SPU are beginning to see light and to search anxiously for a pretext to withdraw from it. In its present state the SPU is unable to govern the country. Senghor, who is challenged more and more often and rebuked more than anyone else, cannot lead our people any longer.

All this adds urgency to the question of overthrowing and replacing the Senghor government, which is subservient to neo-colonialism.

A government controlled by a part of the SPU led by Senghor should give way to a government of a genuine and broad national alliance.

This calls for a quick regroupment of all the patriotic forces of Senegal. This regroupment presupposes such forms of unity as rule out temporary agreements. precarious alliances and endless negotiations enabling the authorities to deal treacherous blows at our people.

The Senegal people retain a bitter memory of the abortive merger of the Union of Senegalese Democrats and the Block of Senegalese Democrats, of the call for unity in the trying days of August 1960* and December 1962** that brought no response. Hence the need to abandon old methods without delay and to find new forms of unity.

The African Independence Party, which has never stinted effort and has been very active in the field, thoroughly analyzed the situation in the country at the CC meeting. While hailing the birth of the National Democratic Front (NDF), the Central Committee critically and self-critically discussed its actions and positions relating to the struggle for unity. It pointed out mistakes and shortcomings and resolved to remedy them.

Considering the gravity of the situation in the country and the tasks confronting the patriots. it expressed its determination to do

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*In August 1960 the imperialists provoked the break-up of the Mali Federation consisting of the former French colonies of Senegal and Western Sudan.—**Ed.**

In December 1962 Senghor and his entourage usurped all power in the country and imprisoned ex-Premier Mamadou Dia and his followers, who wanted progressive reforms. —Ed.**

everything to eliminate the remaining obstacles to the unity of our people in the struggle for renovation and national greatness.

The AIP once again appeals, solemnly and ardently, to the Senegalese section of the African Regroupment Party (ARP), the Senegalese National Front (SNF), religious leaders, the patriots still in the Senegalese Progressive Union, the mass organizations, and all individuals and leaders fighting for the interests of our people.

More than ever before, the situation demands the unity of all the sons of the country. Patriotic unity is becoming the main issue on which the success of our advance depends.

Every effort should be made to unite the masses in powerful national and patriotic organizations.

The political organizations — ARP, SNF, AIP, NDF — should proffer a friendly hand to one another and unite. The youth, women's trade union and other organizations should carefully examine and solve the pressing problems of unity.

All the sound forces of Senegal should rally and in a powerful drive sweep away the Senghor government of national betrayal.

Senegal needs genuine renovation to be able to play the part it is entitled to in the concrete solution of the problem of African unity and glorify its sons in the battle against imperialism and neo-colonialism.

At this crucial stage of the struggle of our people, the CC calls upon all the Party members and sympathizers, all of them together and each individually, to make a maximum contribution to patriotic unity. It has decided to convene the Second Party Congress at the end of 1965 somewhere in Senegal in order to search, with due regard to the present situation at home and abroad, for ways and means of building an independent and democratic Senegal.

Down with the Senghor regime! Long live the unity of the patriotic forces of Senegal!

Dakar, November 1964.

RESOLUTION ON ISLAM IN SENEGAL

Islam in Senegal has been, and remains, a national question of prime importance due to its political role and the deep roots it has struck among the masses.

That is why, in November 1964, the CC profoundly analyzed the issue of Islam in Senegal bearing in mind the present-day requirements of the national, democratic and patriotic struggle.

The CC considers that the negative attitude of the Senghor regime to Islam in Senegal, its impermissible interference in religious affairs, and its attempts to subdue the Moslem leaders and force them to their knees are added proof that, on the whole, Islam plays a progressive, national and patriotic role in Senegal.

This is a force which the anti-national, anti-social and anti-democratic government of Senegal cannot but oppose.

The CC of the AIP, the vanguard of the people, respectfully requests the top Moslem leaders to do everything to strengthen unity in the national, popular and patriotic struggle, in the best traditions of El Hadj Omar, El Hadj Malick Sy, Serigne Bamba, Maba Diakhour and others.

Our Party regards itself as the continuator of the political struggle and national resistance which were headed by these outstanding Senegalese.

After a critical and self-critical analysis of the mistakes made by both activists and the Party leadership, the CC took note of these mistakes and decided to correct them with the utmost energy, irrespective of rank or prestige.

Aware of the fact that many of the best sons of our people are members of the AIP and that Islam is a national problem, the CC calls upon the Party, its activists and leaders always to adhere to the fairest and most correct attitude towards Islam and all the Moslems, to display respect for religious beliefs and tolerance of religious rites.

The CC expects the Party members always to be with the people, strengthen their natural links with the people, abandon whatever breeds disunity, and pay special attention to whatever helps to rally the masses in the struggle against the neo-colonialist regime of Senghor.

Dakar, November 1964

RESOLUTION ON DEMOCRATIC FREEDOMS, FOR THE RELEASE OF MAMADOU DIA, ABDOULAYE LY AND OTHER POLITICAL PRISONERS

Ever since the outbreak of the profound crisis shaking our country, the ruling clique from the Senegalese Progressive Union has been using every pretext to step up repression and abolish the last vestiges of democracy. The African Independence Party, the Bloc of the Senegalese Masses, and the Senegalese National Front have been dissolved; so have the Senegalese Democratic Youth Union, the General Confederation of the Working People of Black Africa and the Senegalese Youth Council. The General Confederation of Senegalese Students is also in danger of disbandment.

In recent months the authorities have been more and more often taking resort to unlawful arrests and searches and to political murder. Every single political opposition organization has a leader in prison or exile.

For instance, Mamadou Dia and four ex-members of his government, Ibrahima Sarr among them, are in Kedougou Prison.

Abdoulaye Ly and Abdoulaye Gueye, leaders of the Senegalese section of the African Regroupment Party, and many activists are detained in the Hann concentration camp and in the civil prison of Dakar.

Many members of the Senegalese National Front and the AIP and other patriots are sharing their lot. Majhemout Diop, General Secretary of our Party, is still in exile.

This infamous policy shows that the regime is agonizing. It cannot prevent the popular forces from uniting even now that it has deprived them of their leaders.

The struggle for democracy, for the release of political prisoners and for the return of exiles is an integral part of the struggle for unity, the main task of today.

The CC calls upon all the members of the Party to step up the struggle for the release of Mamadou Dia, Abdoulaye Ly and Abdoulaye Gueye, and for the repeal of the prison term of ten years unlawfully imposed on our General Secretary, Comrade Majhemout Diop.

The CC has also decided to give more effective expression to its solidarity with all the victims of the regime and with their relatives and friends, and has worked out appropriate practical measures at this meeting.

Dakar, November 1964

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THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT IS STRENGTHENING ITS RANKS*

Anyone who wants to understand the signs of our time should carefully study the Communique unanimously adopted by the Consultative Meeting of 19 Communist and Workers' parties. The focal point of this important document, resulting from five days of discussion by Communist parties from every part of the world, is the statement that the world Communist movement, the greatest and most significant political force of our time, is strengthening its ranks and marching on.

The very fact that the meeting was held, and its course and results are a further indication of the power and vitality of Marxism-Leninism. The Meeting was a concrete confirmation of the Communique proposition that "what unites the Communist parties greatly outweighs that which at the present time disunites them."

Unquestionably, there are serious differences in the world Communist movement due to definite historical, economic, social and ideological causes. But that is not the decisive thing. What is new and decisive, and what makes the Moscow Meeting and its Communique important, is that the world Communist movement has the strength through collective meetings of all the fraternal parties to promote its unity of action, restore and further its solidarity, and proceed with confidence to overcome differences. The new and important thing about the discussion at the Meeting is that the discussion made it possible to find, on the basis of fraternal collective agreement, a practical and constructive way of cementing the unity of the world Communist movement and hence to strengthen the will for doing everything to ensure the solid unity of our movement.

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The Communique of the Moscow Meeting outlines the international situation in clear terms, saying that "consolidation of the positions of socialism, upsurge of the national-liberation and the international working-class movements, and growth of the forces advocating the maintenance and strengthening of peace, constitute the basic trend in world development under the present conditions."

*Neues Deutschland editorial, March 12, 1965.

This important proposition of the Communique generalizes the progress made by the world Communist movement since November 1960, when it last met. The commonwealth of socialist countries is developing and expanding. Certain anti-imperialist national states have grown stronger, the more progressive of them taking the road to non-capitalist development. A substantial number of peoples have gained national independence during the last four to five years. The number of Communist and Workers' parties has increased, and so has the influence of socialism, of Marxism-Leninism.

As a result, the balance of world forces is shaping more and more in favor of socialism. World peace has been preserved. Tension in some areas of the world has been lessened. Plans of aggression against Cuba and the German Democratic Republic have been foiled.

Although some bourgeois circles take a more or less sober and realistic view of the new balance of forces, we must not shut our eyes to the fact that the more reactionary and aggressive forces of world imperialism, particularly in the United States and West Germany, are making more frantic efforts, resorting to military gambles and provocation, to thwart the peoples in their search for a detente and for peaceful coexistence. The Moscow Meeting was unanimous in the opinion that divergences in the community of socialist countries and in the Communist movement hamper an early realignment of the world forces in favor of peace and socialism and encourage the extreme Right-wing of world imperialism. The aggressive forces of imperailism, said by their ideologies to pursue "both a policy of agreement and a policy of conflict," have now shifted the emphasis to the policy of conflict. This is evident from the acts of aggression in Vietnam and the Congo, plans of aggression against Cuba, and the "forward strategy" being used against the GDR.

Obviously, those reactionary forces, specifically in West Germany, misinterpret the situation. Last January the conference of the parties and governments of the Warsaw Treaty countries pulled up the West German militarists short. It drew up a constructive program of popular struggle for European peace and security. The actual balance of forces also expressed itself in such facts as Alexei Kosygin's trip to the Far East, Walter Ulbricht's visit to the UAR, the success of the Leipzig World Fair, powerful mass actions by the working people in developed capitalist countries, and the increased unity of action of the working class in many capitalist countries.

The rallying and growth of our forces are factors in curbing imperialist aggression. However, the Moscow Meeting declared that it is in the interest of the peoples to achieve a superiority of the peace forces throughout the world that will from the first raise an insurmountable barrier to imperialist military ventures

and will in time—and ultimately forever—deprive them of the possibility to carry out their plans of aggression. The Meeting felt that the greatest unity of the world Communist movement—the basis for a front of all the peace supporters of the world, a front that will lead to further changes in the alignment of the political forces on the world scene—is the decisive condition. The Meeting was also important in showing ways and means of bringing about this unity.

★ ★ ★

The Communique stresses that it is necessary and perfectly possible, even when there are differences between parties, to seek unity of action of the Communist and Workers' parties against imperialism, for peace and national liberation, democracy, socialism and communism. The Meeting called on all peace supporters the world over to fight against the American imperialists' aggression against Vietnam. It declared for using every opportunity and every means to encourage and expand the activity of the Communist and working-class movement. This purpose could be served by bilateral and multilateral meetings and consultations between fraternal parties, international theoretical seminars to clarify definite problems, exchanges of delegations to promote contacts between parties, and other forms of contact and exchange of opinions. Needless to say, bilateral and multilateral meetings can never replace an international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties. But they can and should help prepare such a conference, which alone can formulate a well-argumented and accurate appraisal of the international situation and agree to the common tasks of the movement.

"Therefore, in the opinion of the participants, active and all-sided preparations for a new International Meeting, to be held at a suitable date, fully conform to the interest of the world Communist movement," the Communique stresses. All the participants in the Meeting unanimously declared that the main point of a new international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties should not consist in aggravating divergences but in a collective and comradely formulation of Marxist-Leninist answers to the new pressing problems of our time and in united actions aimed at promoting peace and socialism. The theoretical and political investigation of new problems—this is one of the main tasks of the future conference.

The Meeting, which proceeded in an atmosphere of fraternity and friendship, and was inspired by the desire for Communist unity, reached an agreement on the ways of engaging in all-round and careful preparations for an international Communist meeting. The Moscow Meeting considers it necessary to create favorable conditions for all the fraternal parties to participate in the prepara-

tion of the conference. With this aim in view, the Meeting recommended calling a preliminary consultative meeting of the 81 parties which attended the 1960 Meeting, to discuss questions posed by the new international situation. This approach to the preparation of a new conference is constructive and truly democratic. It envisages active participation by all the parties, mutual consultations, and collective agreements. The preparation and holding of a consultative meeting of the 81 parties would undoubtedly help create the favorable atmosphere of mutual understanding and cooperation between the fraternal parties which is necessary for the success of a new world conference. The fact that the 19 parties attending the Moscow Meeting declared in favor of discontinuing open polemics which are unfriendly in character and degrading to the fraternal parties fully accords with that lofty goal—mutual understanding and solidarity of the world Communist movement.

★ ★ ★

In keeping with the Program of our Party and the principles of proletarian internationalism, the Central Committee of the SUPG made an active contribution to the preparation and successful holding of the Moscow Meeting. In the complex conditions of our struggle, situated as we are at the frontier between the two world systems, we SUPG members are particularly aware of every uptrend or downtrend in cooperation and solidarity in our movement. This is why our Party welcomes the positive outcome of the Moscow Meeting. Our enemies see that their hope that our movement would split has been dashed. In line with the Moscow Communique, the SUPG will continue to do all that meets the interests of the unity of the Communist movement and promotes cooperation between fraternal parties and countries. We are certain that the positive results of the Moscow Meeting will ease the tension in the Communist movement and help in stepping up the activity of the world Communist movement, and hence in further changing the balance of world forces in favor of socialism and peace.

INTERNATIONALIST RESPONSIBILITY*

The participants in the Moscow Consultative Meeting expressed their firm determination to do all in their power in order to rally the world Communist movement and strengthen its unity on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and in line with the documents of the 1957 and 1960 conferences. This is the most important result of the Meeting, which was inspired, as its Communique points out, by the desire to work vigorously

*Trybuna Ludu editorial, March 14, 1965.

for the unity of the Communist movement and for its historical tasks.

The Communique stresses that in the present situation unity in the common fight against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism is more necessary than ever before, and that cohesion of all the revolutionary forces of our time—the socialist community, the national-liberation movement and the international working class—is indispensable for the success of this fight. This cohesion depends on the unity of the world Communist movement. Differences in the Communist movement weaken its unity and harm the world liberation movement.

The Moscow Meeting expressed the conviction that what unites the Communist parties outweighs that which at present disunites them. It reaffirmed that even when there are differences over the political line and important issues of theory and tactics, it is necessary to work for united action. This unity is essential in the struggle against imperialism, for rendering all-round support to the liberation movement of the peoples, for the struggle for world peace and the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems, for the vital interests and historical goals of the working class. "Concerted action in the fight for these common goals is the most effective way of surmounting the existing differences," the Communique points out.

The participants concentrated on ways and means of overcoming the differences and strengthening the unity of the world Communist movement. They stressed the need for the Communist parties to seek closer relations between themselves and to cement the unity of the world Communist movement on the democratic principles of independence and equality of all the fraternal parties. They urged the use of every possibility and every method, including bilateral and multilateral meetings and other forms of inter-party contacts and exchanges of views.

The participants were unanimous in the opinion that international conferences of the Communist and Workers' parties are an effective form of exchanging views and experience, discussing new problems and new world events, enriching Marxist-Leninist theory by collective effort, and working out common positions in the struggle for common aims. Such conferences, held on the principles of complete equality and independence of each party, may prove very useful in surmounting the differences. It is in the interest of the world Communist movement to carry out active and exhaustive preparations for a new international conference, to be held at a suitable date. The Communique discusses this question in great detail, pointing out the need for joint efforts to enable all the parties to take part in preparing the conference. This calls for efforts to improve the atmosphere in the world Communist

movement. The conference should serve the common cause of all Communists. Emphasis and concentration on the urgent tasks of the movement will, more than anything else, bring the positions on the fundamental issues of our time closer together.

The Communique declares for a preliminary consultative meeting of the 81 parties which attended the 1960 Conference, to discuss the question of convening a new international conference.

The Meeting also came out in favor of discontinuing open polemics, which are unfriendly in character and degrading to the fraternal parties. The exchange of opinions should continue along party lines, without mutual attacks. It is necessary strictly to observe the standards of relations between parties as defined by the 1957 and 1960 Conferences, which opposed interference by the parties in each other's internal affairs.

The participants in the Moscow Meeting agreed that all the Communist parties should realize their internationalist responsibility for the destiny and unity of the world Communist movement. The Polish United Workers' Party unreservedly supports the position adopted by the Moscow Meeting and will, for its part, do everything to promote the aims outlined at the Meeting. Along with the other parties represented at the Consultative Meeting, our Party expresses confidence that the results of the Meeting will be favorably received by the fraternal parties.

ON THE MOSCOW CONSULTATIVE MEETING

REPORT* BY ZENON KLISZKO, MEMBER OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU AND SECRETARY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, POLISH UNITED WORKERS PARTY, TO THE THIRD PLENARY MEETING OF THE CC, PUWP (March 16-17, 1965)

I would like to report briefly on the Consultative Meeting that was held in Moscow from March 1-5, 1965. The parties that took part in the meeting adopted two documents: the Statement, expressing solidarity with the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people against U.S. aggression, and the Communique.

The chief objective of the Consultaive Meeting was to exchange opinions on the convening of a new conference of the Communist and Workers' parties. All the delegations agreed that the Meeting

*Trybuna Ludu, March 18, 1965.

was consultative in character and should exchange opinions on the issues of restoring the unity of the world Communist movement, on the desirability of a new international conference of the Communist parties, and on the methods and procedure of preparing for it. We were also unanimous in stating that no binding decisions should be adopted at the Meeting and that the participants should merely express their common opinion on questions on which their positions coincided.

These principles determined the character of the Meeting, which proceeded in the spirit of complete democracy, sincere and free discussion, friendship and solidarity.

No polemical statements were made about parties not attending. All delegations were prompted by the desire to overcome the present difficulties in the world Communist movement and ensure its unity.

In keeping with the line determined by the Fourth Congress of the PUWP and the directives of the Party leadership, our delegation expressed the following point of view:

The general trend of world events, and above all the situation developing in the world Communist movement, make it necessary to prepare and convene a new conference of all the Communist parties, with the aim of working out a common position of the Communist parties and the socialist states on important socio-political developments of our day. It is especially necessary to determine the principles of a common strategy against imperialism at the present stage, with due regard to the changes that have taken place in the alignment of forces and in the political situation during the last four years.

Many new problems have been brought to the fore by the development of the national-liberation movement and the socio-political evolution of the countries of the "third world." There is a need to specify the nature of the non-capitalist path of development in the light of the experience of the last four years, which speaks of the indisputable turn of many Arab, African and Asian countries towards social radicalism.

However, the most important tasks to be dealt with by a new Communist conference arise from the situation in the Communist movement. In the supreme interests of peace, socialism, and the freedom of the peoples, it is imperative to overcome the split and ensure unity on the main aspects of the foreign policy of the socialist countries and the activities of the Communist parties.

Our delegation declared that we were aware of the difficulty of promptly eliminating the ideological differences in our movement; this would take time, and practice would have the decisive say. The task which, in our opinion, confronts the Communist movement today is to devise such methods of cooperation as will enable

us to preserve the unity of our policy vis-a-vis imperialism despite the ideological differences.

We believe that the common social system of the socialist countries, the Communist parties' common ideology of Marxism-Leninism, and the community of the vital interests of the working people of all countries are adequate prerequisites.

Our delegation voiced the opinion that the political unity of the world Communist movement hinges on the relations between the parties in power in the socialist countries and, more particularly, on a coordinated foreign policy of these parties and countries.

We called attention to the fact that the new leadership of the CPSU had in several months of activity produced ample proof of its goodwill and done much to strengthen the unity of the socialist camp and the Communist movement.

We expressed the conviction that in preparing for a new conference the Communist parties of the socialist countries should take special care to ensure the observance of the principle of mutual consultation on all important problems of foreign policy, and avoid steps likely to aggravate differences. This would create the right atmosphere for rallying the Communist movement, and for preparing and holding the conference successfully.

We declared in favor of a new procedure for preparing the conference, such as would correspond to the present conditions and enable the parties to take part in the preparation of the conference in keeping with the principles of full respect for the equality and independence of each party. Under this procedure, decisions about the new conference, the methods of preparing it, and its date should be taken at a preliminary consultative meeting of representatives of the 81 parties which attended the previous international conference. This meeting should be agreed upon and prepared through bilateral and multilateral consultations between parties.

Our delegation spoke out resolutely for the discontinuance of the rude and abusive polemics in the world Communist movement.

The position of our delegation coincided with that of the other parties and found expression in the joint Communique which was published on March 10 last. The Communique contains proposals for methods of preparing the new international conference, for the preliminary consultative meeting of the 81 parties, bilateral, multilateral and regional meetings, and the principles of exchanging opinions in the world Communist movement.

No proposals were made for the date of the new conference or the consultative meeting of the 81 parties. This question is to be agreed upon later.

The Communique focuses the attention of all the parties on the need to preserve and strengthen the unity and solidarity of the

socialist countries and of all the parties of our movement as the decisive factor in the struggle against the imperialist policy of aggression, for socialism, the independence of the peoples, and peace.

Comrades, we are convinced that the Consultative Meeting in Moscow was useful. It proposed a number of steps which, if supported by the rest of the parties, would help in gradually surmonting the differences in the international working-class movement and in restoring its unity.

We do not regard the conference as a panacea which will remove all the difficulties in our movement overnight. But we think that the procedure of preparing the conference proposed by the Moscow Meeting can play an important part in lessening the divergencies and rallying our movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

Nowadays, when there is no single world Communist organization with a world center, nor can there be any, only conferences of all the parties, convened from time to time, can provide an adequate and competent forum for deciding common questions of the movement and coordinating its anti-imperialist strategy.

As Comrade Gomulka noted in his speech yesterday, our Party fully supports the position stated in the Communique of the Moscow Meeting and is ready to take an active part in realizing the proposals contained in it. No task is more important and urgent today than to work for the unity of the socialist camp and the solidarity of the world Communist movement. The fulfilment of the historical tasks of the working class, the trend of world events and the destiny of mankind depend in large measure on this.

The socialist system, which embraces more than one-third of mankind and attracts the numerous newly-free peoples, owes its strength equally to its socio-economic advantages and to the unity of the socialist countries.

That is why we think it so important to remove the differences which have appeared in the socialist camp and the world Communist movement in recent years.

Our desire for unity is prompted by internationalism, and is based on a concrete political assessment of the interests of our state and our people.

We therefore support every initiative aimed at cementing the unity of the socialist world and hence the idea of a new international conference.

THE MOSCOW CONSULTATIVE MEETING

STATEMENT* BY THE PRESIDIUM OF THE CC, CP OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

On March 16 the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia discussed the report of the CPC delegation to the Consultative Meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties held in Moscow from March 1-5, 1965.

The Presidium of the CPC Central Committee welcomes the Communique approved by the representatives of the 19 fraternal parties and declares that our Party is resolved to do everything for carrying out the agreed decisions. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia will continue to work for the unity of the world Communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Therefore it fully shares the opinion that all the Communist parties should vigorously promote unity of action in the struggle for common aims and search, through negotiation, for effective ways of ensuring the high militancy of our movement, of creating favorable conditions for a new world conference of all the Communist and Workers' Parties.

THE ROAD TO UNITY**

K. Dudera

At a meeting in Moscow from March 1-5, the reppresentavies of Communist and Workers' Parties exchanged views on ways of overcoming the differences and strengthening the unity of the world Communist movement. The Communique published after that consultative meeting may be described as a call to all the Communist parties, to the Communists of the world, to do all in their power in order to restore the unity of the movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, on the basis of the line laid down in the documents unanimously approved by the Communist and Workers' parties of the world in 1957 and 1960.

The fact that some of the parties which had been invited did not send their representatives to the Consultative Meeting shows that

*Rudé Právo, March 17, 1965.

**Rudé Právo, March 11, 1965.

overcoming the differences and strengthening the unity of the world Communist movement is no easy matter and will take time. But the present international situation and the interests of the struggle against imperialism imperatively demand renouncing everything that might aggravate the existing differences and doing what can be done even now for better relations between fraternal parties.

The international situation has clearly worsened of late. And while the main trends of world development as they have manifested themselves during the last decade are the same—consolidation of the positions of socialism, progress of the national-liberation and working-class movements, and the growth of the peace forces—the forces of world reaction have stepped up their activity, especially in the recent period. The differences in the world Communist movement hinder the pursuit of the policy of peaceful coexistence and joint actions against the U.S. imperialists, who are trying to aggravate the situation and launch acts of aggression against both the socialist countries and the liberation movement of the peoples, especially in Southeast Asia.

Just when the Consultative Meeting was in session in Moscow, U.S. bombers raided the Democratic Republic of Vietnam again. The U.S. imperialists, who are suffering one setback after another in the undeclared war against the liberation forces of the people of South Vietnam, are trying to camouflage their defeat by direct attacks on a socialist state, the DRV, thinking that the differences in the world Communist movement allow them to take the risk of extending the conflict to the whole of Southeast Asia. This fact alone shows who benefits by the differences between Communist parties, particularly between the Communist parties of the socialist countries.

That is why the Communique of the Consultative Meeting stresses that "in this situation it is more than ever necessary for all Communist parties to show their sense of internationalist responsibility and to unite for the common struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and against the rule of monopoly capital, for active support of the liberation movement and in defense of the people who are victims of imperialist aggression, and for the struggle for world peace based on respect for the sovereignty and integrity of all states."

The participants in the Meeting were of the opinion that although there are differences between Communist parties on a number of important problems of theory and practice, it is possible and, indeed, necessary to work for unity of action in the struggle against imperialism, in the matter of all-round support for the liberation movement of the peoples, in the struggle for world peace and the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social

systems and for the vital interests and historical goals of the working class. In this struggle, emphasis should be laid on what unites the Communist parties, and this far outweighs the differences. A persevering fight against imperialism, for peace, is also the most reliable basis for reuniting and rallying the world Communist movement.

However, certain steps are needed if this unity is to be achieved and strengthened. The Moscow meeting therefore considered all proposals and stressed that the important thing now is for the Communist parties to work in common for better relations between them, to use every opportunity for bilateral and multilateral meetings and other forms of contact and exchange of opinion between parties. With this aim in view, the parties represented at the Meeting declared in favor of discontinuing open polemics, which are unfriendly in character and insulting to fraternal parties. This is not to say, however, that there should be no more exchanges of opinions on important problems of today. These exchanges are necessary and useful provided they are conducted in a comradely form, without mutual invective. International conferences of Communist and Workers' Parties are the most suitable, and also the most effective, form of comradely exchanges of opinions. This is fully borne out by experience. Hence the Moscow Meeting rightly maintained that such conferences, held in keeping with the principles of the complete equality and independence of each party, can go a long way towards surmounting the differences and cementing the Communist movement, and recommended that a preliminary consultative meeting of representatives of the 81 parties which took part in the 1960 Meeting be called to discuss the holding of a new international meeting.

The Czechoslovak Communists have always regarded it as their internationalist duty to promote the unity of the world Communist movement. The CPC, whose representatives took part in the Moscow Meeting, will do everything to improve relations between Communist parties, and create favorable conditions for the participation of all the fraternal parties in preparations for a new international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties, and will take an active part in these preparations.

We are confident that this manifestation of goodwill in the interest of overcoming the differences and strengthening the unity of the world Communist movement will bring as favorable a response from Communists the world over as it does from the membership of our own Party. Today all the Communists and Workers' parties have an opportunity of contributing by deeds to the restoration of unity, which is an earnest of success in the struggle against imperialism, for peace, for the victory of socialism all over the world.

"TIME NOT RIPE FOR 81-PARTY CONFERENCE"*

The Executive Committee of the Communist Party has received the report of its delegates to the consultative meeting of 19 Communist and Workers' parties on March 1-5, together with the information communique adopted at the meeting, which has been published.

We participated in this meeting on the basis of the understanding that it was solely a consultative meeting.

Our Party endorses the appeal for the greatest unity of action for all Communist parties, irrespective of their viewpoint in the present controversies, against imperialism, and especially against U.S. aggression in Vietnam, in support of the colonial liberation struggle, for world peace and a policy of peaceful coexistence.

INCLUSIVE

Our Party reaffirms its aim, expressed in all our executive committee resolutions, of striving for the unity of the international Communist movement on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the 1957 and 1960 Statements.

For the fulfilment of this aim we have always maintained that any international conference aimed at resolving the differences in the movement must be fully representative and inclusive of all Communist and Workers' parties.

The possibility of such an inclusive International Communist Conference will depend on the further efforts of all parties to create favorable conditions; the promotion of joint actions, irrespective of ideological differences, against imperialism and in the common struggle for the aims of national liberation, peace, democracy and socialism; and bilateral and multilateral exchanges and consultations between parties.

It will depend also on the conducting of the necessary discussions of theoretical and tactical issues in a comradely fashion without attacks against other parties or intervention in the internal affairs of other parties.

BILATERAL

With regard to the suggestion of a preliminary consultative conference of 81 Communist and Workers' parties, on which the opinions of parties are invited, we do not regard this proposal as

*Daily Worker, March 15, 1965.

practicable so long as the present problems, which have so far prevented the meeting of an inclusive international conference, remain unsolved.

Therefore we will oppose any attempt to convene such a conference at this time.

We affirm our view that an inclusive international Communist conference will only become possible when the main parties, particularly the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China, reach agreement on the composition and convocation of such a conference or preparatory committee for such a conference.

Therefore, we urge renewal of the bilateral talks between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China with this aim in view.

TOWARDS UNITY OF COMMUNIST MOVEMENT*

The consultative meeting of the representatives of a large number of Communist and Workers' parties, which began in Moscow on March 1, is an important step towards strengthening the unity of the international Communist movement.

The deliberations are therefore being watched with profound interest and sympathy by millions in all parts of the world, by all who sincerely desire peace, the liquidation of imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism and the progress and prosperity of the peoples.

With every day that passes, the urgency grows for making evermore resolute efforts to heal the breach in the international Communist movement.

The U.S. aggression in Vietnam underlines the fact that the imperialists grow more bestial as the day of their final doom comes nearer.

The most dangerous and bellicose provocations, aimed at carrying mankind again and again to the brink of a world war, are being carried out by U.S. imperialism.

An effective answer to these actions of the imperialists cannot be given by a divided socialist world, a split Communist family.

All Communists, who sincerely desire to combat and defeat the new imperialist threats to peace and to the national independence of peoples, understand fully the vital necessity to redouble their

*New Age, March 7, 1965.

efforts to bridge the differences in the international Communist movement.

There is only one way to arrive at a common understanding and a common approach. This is the same way which has been used ever since the international Communist movement came of age.

That way is the way of mutual discussions and consultations. Given the will for unity, for arriving at agreements, participants in such discussions and consultations can thrash out a commonly agreed approach and line.

The international meetings of Communist and Workers' parties in 1957 and 1960 were able to arrive at agreement, precisely because all present recognized the necessity for unity.

At the same time, all participants accepted the international discipline of the revolutionary proletariat, while simultaneously emphasizing the each national Party has complete freedom and independence to work out its own policies in relation to its country's problems within the framework of the agreed international line.

The consultative meetings of representatives of Communist and Workers' parties now being held in Moscow will, it is hoped, lead to valuable results.

It is to be regretted that some of the parties invited to the meeting refused to attend despite efforts made by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to clear all possible genuine doubts which may have prevented any of the invited parties from attending the meeting.

What is, however, most alarming is the new round of abusive polemics, launched by the leadership of the Communist Party of China against other fraternal Communist parties, particularly the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

This round of violent and venomous verbiage is obviously meant to coincide with the consultative meeting in Moscow.

The truth, however, is that this round of polemics coincides also with the U.S. aggression in Vietnam, and, therefore, can only delight the hearts of the imperialists.

All Communists as well as all other anti-imperialists are shocked at the attitude taken by the Chinese leadership, at this critical moment for peace in Asia and the world.

The Communist parties of the world cannot, however, abandon their duties to the peoples and to the great cause to which they are dedicated, merely because of the unfortunate stand taken by the Chinese leadership. On the contrary, they must intensify their efforts for unity of the world Communist movement.

The representatives of the 19 parties now meeting in Moscow are consulting among themselves, exchanging ideas and experience in the light of the main changes that have taken place in the world situation and in the international Communist movement since the

1960 conference of Communist and Workers' parties.

They are exchanging ideas on the ways to overcome the differences in the international Communist movement. They are discussing the question of the proposed next world conference of Communist and Workers' parties.

Of course, as the name implies, this is a purely consultative meeting: it will not adopt any finalized political decisions. But that in no way lessens its significance or importance.

The presence of the representatives of so many parties, despite the opposition and disruption caused by dogmatists and sectarians, indicates that the vast majority of the Communist parties of the world are determined to do all in their power for the unity of the world Communist movement.

The democratic movement in India wishes them full success in their noble efforts.

FOR NATIONAL VIGILANCE AND COOPERATION*

On February 13 King Hussein changed his cabinet. The cabinet government, headed by Wasfi al Tall, is made up chiefly of high-ranking officials. The change is interpreted in different ways. Some link it to the situation in the country and it is seen as an attempt to reduce growing public resentment at the corruption and venality, which have attained unprecedented proportions since the Talhuni cabinet resigned. Other say that it is aimed at effecting certain reforms in the state machine, lifting certain police bans, relaxing the tension occasioned by the political and economic crisis in the country bolstering the prestige of the existing political system.

It is widely held among the national forces and the population at large that in addition to the causes listed above, the change of cabinet is due to the increased activity and pressure of the imperialists and reactionaries, the growing threat from Israel, the suspicious visit paid by Talbot, U.S. Under Secretary of State, and the attempts of Sultan Abdul Aziz, the Saudi Arabian Defense Minister, to re-establish the tottering alliance between Saudi Arabia and Jordan. The same quarters link the change to the desire to work up tension between Arab countries, undermine Arab solidarity, and form a Saudi Arabia-Jordan axis with the backing of the British and U.S. imperialists, to be joined by other Arab countries, such as the Lebanon and Kuwait, with the aim of resisting the revolutionary liberation movement in the Arab countries, and the revolutionary policies and progressive social reforms being carried out in the UAR, Syria, Algeria and other Arab countries. These reforms jeopardize the interests of the imperialists, their flunkey—Israel—and the reactionary rulers of the Arab and Middle East.

One of the main tasks of the contemplated "axis" is to reject the resolutions adopted at the meeting of the heads of Arab countries or at least to do everything possible to prevent their implementation, particularly as regards the diversion of the waters of the Jordan River and the activity of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

Talk about the causes of the change began even while negotiations were under way on the formation of a new cabinet. As a result, certain patriots who had been offered cabinet posts declined the offer, chiefly because Wasfi al Tall is known for his links

*Al Taqaddum (organ of the CC, CP of Jordan), February 1965.

with the imperialists and for his opposition to Arab solidarity and to close links with the UAR.

King Hussein was compelled to attempt to reassure public opinion in Jordan and the rest of the Arab world. His letter to Wasfi al Tall stressed that the policy of Arab solidarity and of support for PLO would be carried forward. The King and Wasfi al Tall hurried to Cairo to assure UAR officials of their allegiance to that policy.

However sincere the King's protestations may be and however serious the efforts of the new cabinet with regard to internal affairs and the Arab front—efforts toward removing the legitimate mistrust which is widespread among the people and the national and progressive forces in Jordan and elsewhere in the Arab world —the U.S., British and West German imperialists, their hanger-on, Israel, and all their agents, the feudal lords, big capitalists, monopolists and extreme reactionaries in the Arab East, will undoubtedly go on making frantic efforts, bringing pressure to bear, threatening intervention and hatching conspiracies. Their purpose is to strike a blow at the Arab national and progressive movement and Arab solidarity and to bring into being a reactionary axis of Arab governments that will support imperialism and reaction in the Arab East.

It is just as unquestionable that any attempt by the rulers of Jordan to undermine Arab solidarity will be staunchly resisted by our people, by our national and progressive forces, and by the Arab liberation movement as a whole.

The experience of our country and other Arab countries shows that a regime which relies on imperialist support, on terrorism and subservience, and takes a stand hostile to the interests of the people cannot be stable. It shows that the stability of a regime depends on the extent to which it is supported by the people, by their national and progressive forces, and is willing to meet the demands of the people half-way, to uphold their rights, freedoms and standard of living.

The decisive events taking place in our country and in other fraternal Arab countries, and work for the effective liquidation of the conspiracies of imperialism and Israeli reaction demand that all of Jordan's national and progressive forces should immediately rally together, put an end to their own disunity—which benefits none but the imperialists and reactionaries and can only prolong the domination of interference by the imperialists and their agents—and set about solving the more important problems of our country and our people.

The Communist Party of Jordan calls on the masses—workers, peasants, refugees, young people, intellectuals, students, women, soldiers, patriotic-minded officers and other enemies of imperialism,

Zionism and reaction—on all sections of society irrespective of their ideological and political views, to heighten their vigilance, close their ranks in combating imperialist, reactionary and Zionist conspiracies. The task is to embark Jordan on a policy of promoting Arab unity and carrying out the country's obligations concerning the diversion of the tributaries of the Jordan, and all the resolutions passed by the two conferences of heads of Arab countries. Jordan must not be allowed to become a center of reaction and Rightist activity, a base for conspiracies against the UAR, Syria and Iraq.

The Communist Party of Jordan sincerely and disinterestedly calls on all the national and progressive forces of the country to engage in collective action and to cooperate in formulating a progressive national charter binding on every participant in the national movement, a charter that will help to rally the people, the revolutionary forces of society, and all men of goodwill, closer together in the struggle for a state of national democracy in Jordan. Such a state should win the support of the people;

—sincerely serve the interests of the people and protect their freedom;

—be loyal to the policy of Arab solidarity, promote it and safeguard it against the intrigues of imperialism and its flunkey, Israel;

—make serious efforts toward rejecting conditional aid from the imperialists and the domination of neo-colonialist monopolies;

—promote the national economy and strengthen the nation's defenses by equipping the armed forces with arms from fraternal and friendly countries;

—foster the unity of and cooperation with the Arab countries that have won freedom, with the Soviet Union and other socialist and friendly countries;

—bring about radical and progressive measures and reforms in every sphere—industry, agriculture, public health, education, and social security—in order that our country, Jordan, may live in complete political, economic and social harmony with the fraternal free and progressive countries of the Arab East;

—cooperate with the governments of those countries for Arab unity, which serves peace, liberation, progress and socialism in the Arab countries and all over the world.

THE BATTLE FOR THE CONGO AND THE NOVEMBER AGGRESSION*

A. Lerumo

On November 22nd, 1964, Belgian and United States troops boarded military aircraft on the British-occupied island of Ascension, off the coast of Angola. They flew to Stanleyville in the Congo and there joined in the savage war of destruction spearheaded by the fascist scum of white South Africans and others on Tshombe's payroll, against the people of the Congo and the Revolutionary Government headed by Christopher Gbenye.

It was the most blatant act of agression by regular foreign troops in Africa since July 1960, when the United Nations Security Council ordered the Belgian government to "withdraw its troops from the territory of the Congo." It was also a continuance of the all-out struggle which the combined forces of international imperialism have been waging for control over the Congo ever since Patrice Lumumba, in the presence of King Baudouin, launched the new Republic with an announcement to the world that he and his people would insist not only on the appearance but also on the reality of independence. From that day onward the Congo has been a crucial battlefield in Africa's struggle for liberation.

The people's struggles in the Congo, and the rising tide of national resistance all over Africa, had forced the Belgian colonialists to recognize that direct colonial rule was no longer viable. Following the example of Britain and France, the Belgians hoped confidently that under the cover of a purely nominal independence they would be able to continue dominating the country as before, controlling its economy, its civil service and police, and extracting vast profits from its resources and cheap labor for the benefit of the Union Miniere and other powerful monopolies.

These hopes were rudely shattered. Lumumba was no puppet, and under his courageous leadership the Congo people stood upright, after generations of colonialist oppression, to assert their will to freedom. The uncompromising Independence Day speech at Leopoldville was followed by purposeful measures to establish the sovereignty and integrity of the Republic. The Belgian officials who monopolized the top places in the police and other state services were replaced by Africans. Lumumba acted swiftly to strengthen ties of friendship between the Congo and other inde-

*Abridged. **The African Communist,** Jan./Mar., 1965.

pendent African states, and with the Asian and socialist countries. The authority of the Congo was secured at the United Nations.

These determined measures produced a state of shock, almost amounting to panic, not only in Belgium but in all the imperialist countries. The powerful anti-African financial interests, with their close ties with the state machinery, in Wall Street, London, Paris, Johannesburg and Salisbury, with their vast stake in African wealth and exploitation, awoke to the threat posed to the enormous profits they were harvesting not only in the wealthy Congo itself but in all African territories, not least the strongholds of colonialism in the south. In normal conditions of the capitalist jungle, these interests are forever at one another's throats. But, faced with this crisis, they joined forces in a joint "rescue operation" of collective imperialism, an alliance of beasts of prey to crush the reality and the spirit of Congo independence and drown it in blood. A tremendous barrage of lying propaganda was launched against the Republic, and against Lumumba in particular. Vast sums of money, and every resource of intrigue and corruption, were set in motion to disrupt and undermine the newly-established government and its inexperienced cadres whom the Belgians had systematically deprived of opportunities for education and administrative positions.

The key move of the colonialists was to fragmentize the Congo; in particular to use their creature Tshombe to break away mineral-rich Katanga as an "independent state"—in reality as a neo-colony. In 1960 as in 1964, Tshombe did not hesitate to enlist the worst enemies of African freedom and dignity to slaughter his fellow-countrymen. Mercenaries were recruited from amongst Belgians, white South Africans and Rhodesians, Nazi adventurers left over from the second world war, French Foreign Legionnaires and OAS thugs, their hands dripping with the blood of Algerian patriots.

With indecent haste, the Belgian imperialists dropped the pose of conferrers of independence on the grateful Africans. The Belgian Government poured its troops, equipped with the latest NATO arms, into the Congo. The sinister, utterly unscrupulous American Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) spread its tentacles everywhere. Millions were poured out to corrupt politicians, to spread economic disorder and social unrest, in an all-out effort to smash the Republic and to destroy Patrice Lumumba and the spirit of revolutionary African liberation which he personified.

THE APPEAL TO THE UNITED NATIONS

Lumumba, faced by this direct military aggression and imperialist intervention, was in a painfully difficult position. The only regular armed troops at his disposal were the *Force Publique*—recruited and trained by the Belgian colonialists for the purpose

of suppressing the Congolese people and their national liberation movement. Although the Belgian officers had been replaced, the loyalty and discipline of this force, and its reliability in a war of patriotic defense against Belgian troops, were extremely questionable. As soon became abundantly clear, Colonel Mobutu, its head, was already taking his orders from the CIA. To whom then was Lumumba to turn? The independent African states were, at that time, far fewer in number (of 35 African states today, only nine achieved independence before 1960) and few were in a position, either politically or militarily, to help stem the imperialist aggression. (It is worth recalling that even the Ghana army was then still officered by British army men.) The socialist countries would, no doubt, have been prepared to stand by the Republic—had they been asked to do so. Lumumba himself, in one of his last public statements, declared: "The Soviet Union proved to be the only one of the great powers which, from the very beginning, supported the people of the Congo in their struggle."

But the Lumumba government issued no such appeal—and when one considers the extent to which President Kasavubu and other colleagues of the late Prime Minister were already involved in United States intrigues, it is not difficult to understand the reason why.

On the advice of the other African governments Lumumba then took the only other alternative which then seemed open to him—he appealed to the Security Council of the United Nations for assistance to repel Belgian aggression. If the United Nations' deeds had matched its words and professions, if it had even been an organization whose executive machinery was prepared to carry out the clear-cut and unambiguous decisions of its leading bodies, this appeal would have saved the situation. But the United States and other colonialist powers dominated the administrative apparatus of the United Nations headed by the secretary-general, the late Mr. Dag Hammarskjold, and these powers were determined by hook or by crook to get rid of Prime Minister Lumumba and to re-establish foreign domination over the Congo.

The decision of the Security Council, backed by the Afro-Asian and the socialist countries, was precise in its wording and clear in its intentions—to assist the Republic of the Congo to repel the Belgian aggressors. The Belgians were told to get their troops out of the Congo. The secretary-general was authorized *in consultation with the Lumumba government* to provide that government with such military assistance as it needed, and until "with the technical assistance" of the United Nations it could build adequate defenses of its own. And that was all. But the colonialists distorted and far exceded this mandate; and the United Nations force was used not to implement the resolution but to sabotage its purpose. Instead of

being placed at the disposal of the Lumumba government, United Nations troops acted as an independent force to intervene in Congo affairs against their host, Lumumba, whose request was their only authority for being there. The results were tragic. When, at the last moment (it is impossible not to feel that things would have turned out very differently had he done so sooner) and as a last resort, Lumumba tried to mobilize his real strength—the mass support he overwhelmingly enjoyed—he found his entry to the radio station barred by United Nations roops.

The end of the tragic story is well known: the illegal dissolution of Parliament by Kasavubu and Mobuto at the behest of the CIA, the illegal deposition of Lumumba, his kidnapping and assassination. (How ironic that the criminals responsible for this foul deed are today among those championed by Washington, Bonn, Paris, Brussels, London and Pretoria as members of the "legal government!"

These outrageous crimes of the Belgian, United States, British and other colonialists aroused a continual and mounting storm of criticism and opposition at the United Nations. Time and again the African, Asian and Socialist delegates exposed and angrily denounced the use of United Nations authority to cover blatant neo-colonialism. The Soviet Union refused—and still does—to pay a penny towards the infamous "United Nations" adventure in the Congo. It was such pressure which led to the abandonment of the "Katanga secession" plan, the recall in July 1961 of the Congo Parliament, and the eventual departure, in 1964, of the "United Nations" military force.

But, by then, neo-colonialist, especially United States, economic penetration, corruption and indirect domination had established their ascendancy. The colonialists no longer needed the fiction of Katanga "Independence," and the man who had identified himself with that sorry cause, Moishe Tshombe was retired from the limelight and from the Congo. He left, with plenty of money (his choice of a place of exile is illuminating!) for fascist Spain, and it seemed justifiable to hope that we had seen the last of him in public affairs. It was a mark of the desperation of the neo-colonialists and the bankruptcy of their agents in Leopoldville, that they should, in the latter part of 1964, have brought back this discredited politician in the role of "Prime Minister" of the Congo.

Neither the various puppet administrations at Leopoldville nor their United States and other imperialist backers had come an inch closer to the solution of the many problems of this key African country. The pace of exploitation, of the shipping abroad of the wealth of the nation, was accelerated, but the conditions of the masses deteriorated. The progressive measures initiated under Lumumba, such as Africanization, were reversed; Belgian and other

colonialist personnel flocked back into what was once again developing as a haven of white domination; dollars for "aid" streamed into the pockets of politicians and civil servants. While corruption and extravagance flourished in high places the conditions of the starving masses went from bad to worse. On the borders of the Congo the tide of the African Revolution rose higher and higher; the neo-colonialist regime in Brazzaville was overthrown and the shaky military dictatorship in the Sudan was on its last legs. The Congo itself was seething with revolt; the masses of the people remained loyal to Lumumba's colleagues Gizenga and Gbenye; Kasavubu and other imperialist agents clung to office only by virtue of foreign support and the so-called "United Nations" forces were about to depart. Only extreme measures could stem the tide of popular revolt around the revolutionary Gbenye government—and the CIA men calculated that only a Tshombe could be ruthless and unscrupulous enough to carry them out.

His return, in the role of "Prime Minister" was paraded as a move for "national unity," and Mr. Gizenga was released from his long detention on a remote island and allowed back to the capital under closer surveillance, to give some color to this maneuver. But few were deceived. The Organization of African Unity, in session at Cairo, refused to allow Tshombe to attend; the democratic revolutionary government forces headed by Gbenye were making a triumphant advance, routing the demoralized and undisciplined remnant of the *Force Publique*, occupying many important areas including the city of Stanleyville.

Quickly shedding the pretense at patriotic national unity, Tshombe resorted to the methods which had made him so universally hated in 1960 and 1961 of employing fanatically anti-African white terrorists as mercenaries, and even appealing for open United States and Belgian government military intervention against the people of the Congo.

Within three months of Tshombe's return from Spain all the key posts in the administration were once again being handed back to the Belgians. Even the special correspondent of the London *Times* in Elizabethville revealed that, in the civil service:

> Nominally the Africans remain in charge, but planning and execution are being handed over more and more to Europeans, mainly Belgians. Mr. Tshombe has, for example, authorized the employment of Belgian police officers to reorganize the Elisabethville police force and, it is reported, the police forces of other provinces as well.

Not unsurprisingly, *The Times* correspondent does not blame the Belgians for "this sort of close relationship" with Tshombe. They have "a legitimate interest," he comments cynically, "in seeing that their goose goes on laying its profitable copper eggs."

It is no accident that Tshombe should look for, and find, willing volunteers among the whites of Southern Africa, inculcated from childhood with fanatical anti-African race prejudice, and only too eager to join in the jolly sport of shooting down blackskins. Mr. Christopher Gbenye, head of the Revolutionary Government of the Congo, charged in a statement from Paulis, Northern Congo, that more than 10,000 men, women and children had been slaughtered by this "army of savage white mercenaries." It can hardly be supposed that the Belgian, American and British personnel, official and unofficial, who are more than adequately represented in the Congo, could have remained in ignorance of these appalling atrocities. None of them uttered a word or protest.

Yet all of a sudden, in the middle of November, a tremendous barrage of propaganda was launched in the imperialist press, television and other media, about the threat to the lives of the few hundred Europeans and white Americans said to be held as "hostages" in the territory under the control of the Revolutionary Government centered at that time at Stanleyville. This propaganda furnished the excuse for the direct aggression of November 22nd, in which United States and Belgian troops were flown from the British-controlled island of Ascension to reinforce Tshombe's white mercenaries attacking revolutionary Stanleyville.

THE AGGRESSION OF NOVEMBER 22nd

It is revolting beyond words that under cover of this allegedly "humanitarian" mission, three big imperialist powers should join in an act of blatant aggression and intervention in an African state. Where were all these fine humanitarian sentiments, one may ask, when Verwoerd's fascist mercenaries were massacring helpless men, women and children in Congo villages? Or are we to take it that Labour Britain, the United States, self-proclaimed leader of the "free world," and Belgium, care nothing for the lives of dark-skinned people, but are prepared to rush in with troops the moment a far smaller number of fair-skinned people are said to be in danger?

As Dr. O'Brien (*The Observer*, December 6th, 1962) pointed out:

> Many Africans regard the 'Congo-Belgian-American mercy mission' as the use of a humanitarian pretext for the extension of the rule of the Belgians and their associates, through the complaisant Government of Leopoldville, over the whole of the resources and the strategic space of the former Belgian Congo. The condemnations of this intervention by African Governments and by the Commission of the Organization of African Unity in no way exaggerates the bitterness of African opinion on this; if anything, they understate.

Dr. O'Brien concludes his article by suggesting that the "Euro-

peans and Americans," "having rescued some hundreds of whites from the blacks," should now "set about rescuing several millions of blacks from whites." But it is very questionable indeed whether any whites at all were "rescued," whether they were ever in any danger, and whether in fact the deaths of whites that took place must not be squarely laid at the door of the so-called "rescue operation" itself.

In his statement released in Nairobi by the Kenya Press Agency on December 8th, Mr. Gbenye placed the blame for the death of foreign nationals and prisoners of war fairly and squarely on the shoulders of the mercenaries and interventionists. He denied that any people at all had been "held as hostages" and declared that the Revolutionary Government had "always safeguarded and will safeguard the security of persons" of all races and nationalities.

Mr. Gbenye related what had actually happened in the "negotiations" with Belgian and U.S. representatives — which stands in direct contrast with the versions of the same events put out by the colonialists. As long ago as August, he himself had held diplomatic discussions with Mr. Spaak and Mr. Devlin, Washington's special envoy.

Further discussions were held in Nairobi between his envoy, Mr. Thomas Kanza and Mr. William Attwood, the U.S. Ambassador, under the chairmanship of President Jomo Kenyatta.

> At 11 p.m. on November 21st I received a message from Paul-Henri Spaak that it was my duty to ensure the security of Belgian nationals living in the regions of the Congo already liberated. At 3 a.m. on November 22nd I replied to Spaak that it was my duty to ensure the security of all inhabitants of the Republic under my control without any difference of race or religion.
> At 6 a.m. on November 22nd, hardly three hours after my reply, the Belgian and American aggression started. The U.S. and Belgium bear the entire responsibility for the consequences.
> Hundreds of foreign nationals, prisoners of war and Congolese nationals would not have met their deaths if the unjustified aggression of the U.S. and Belgium had not taken place.

Thus not only was the "mercy mission" claim put forward as the pretext for the imperialist aggression, completely unjustified in itself. But in fact the aggression itself brought about precisely what it was supposed to prevent — namely, the death of a number of Belgians and other foreigners.

Moreover, the picture of the actual military operation presented to the public in imperialist countries was completely false as well. They put forward a version from which one would imagine that there was no actual fighting, but that they successfully accomplished their allegedly humanitarian mission of removing whites to Elizabethville without difficulty. In fact heavy fighting took place in

Stanleyville during the joint attack by Tshombe's mercenaries and the regular Belgian and U.S. troops against the liberation forces. More than ten American planes were shot down and over 500 mercenaries were killed.

Mr. Gbenye said that over 300 prisoners of war fell in fact under the bullets of the mercenaries themselves. This figure is not surprising when he points out that, in their indiscriminate fury of slaughter "more than ten thousand Congolese men, women and children have been massacred by the army of savage white mercenaries."

But the International Red Cross, so perturbed about the supposed danger to a relatively small number of whites has said nothing at all about this mass slaughter by Tshombe's hired killers.

LEGAL SUBTERFUGE

The imperialist powers tried to justify their direct intervention and aggression in Stanleyville by the subterfuge that they were in the Congo on the invitation of the "legal government." The dubious "legality" of the Leopoldville junta has been thoroughly and ably exposed earlier. As is known, Kasavubu had no authority to dismiss Lumumba and suspend Parliament, and every step subsequently taken by him has been illegal in terms of the Constitution.

But even more telling in African eyes is the fact that the Tshombe gang is openly acting not as an African government, but as an open and unashamed agency of foreign imperialist interests. Hardly had the motley gang of United States and Belgian government troops together with hired white assassins from South Africa and Rhodesia entered Stanleyville, when Tshombe was off by plane to France, Germany and Belgium to report on his satisfactory carrying out of orders and to seek fresh funds.

The *fact* of the matter, legal quibbling aside, is that the Tshombe outfit and its hired gangsters are, and behave like, a savage horde of foreign vandals, massacring entire villages of men, women and children, raping and looting at will. And this is true whether their skins are pink or brown, whether they consist of the so-called Congolese Army (formerly the *Force Publique*) or the loot-crazy mercenaries. The accusation of "racialism" flung by the colonialists at the African leaders who object to foreign intervention in the Congo is far more applicable to themselves; their press and propaganda assumes with supreme chauvinistic arrogance, that the whites in the Congo are above criticism and must be "rescued" regardless of the cost in African lives. A far different—and profoundly revealing—aspect is presented by Peter Stenager, a white reporter writing from Leopoldville to the Johannesburg *Sunday Express* on December 13th, in an article the main purpose of which is to praise the

"courage" of the South African mercenaries (several of whose names and addresses are given). After boasting of the superior aggressiveness of the South Africans, and complaining over their treatment and poor pay, he continues:

> But for the mercenaries' discontent over wakes there have been compensations in Stanleyville. *Richly stocked and unlooted by the rebels during their occupation of the town* (my emphasis, A.L.) it has been ransacked by mercenaries and Congolese regular troops—unpalatable as this fact may be. The rich cellar of the Stanley Hotel, where most of the Rhodesian and South African men are billeted, has been plundered. Drinks are on the house every night. Meals are free, so is lodging. Every room occupied by mercenaries is stacked with transistor radios, electric shavers, portable record players, records, jewellery, clothing, cigarette lighters, cigarette cases, cigarettes, cigars. The shops of the town are ransacked. The spoils of war have been enjoyed to the full. . . . Several safes — including the strongroom of the bank in Kindu, have been blown. . . . About R60,000 (£30,000) was taken. . . .
> *Many of the mercenaries are besotted and obsessed with loot. Many are now stealing from each other, and tempers are flaring. Even guns are being drawn on each other.*

This graphic picture of the "forces of law and order" painted by a reporter who is by no means biased in favor of the Revolutionary Government, tells its own story. Could here be any greater contrast between the so-called "rebels" — who were really concerned with life and property and left the "richly-stocked" town "unlooted," and the savage gangsters "besotted and obsessed with loot," now fighting among themselves like dogs over the spoils?

Just to round off the ugly picture, Mr. Stenager concludes his report with news of fresh "mopping-up operations" when the mercenaries and Tshombe troops went into an African village near Stanleyville "suspected of harboring rebels."

> As I flew out of Stanleyville to file this report, hundreds of prisoners were being brought in for "interrogation." Tomorrow the executions, followed by the bodies being dumped in the river, will begin again.

No wonder he reflects that a "feeling of insecurity" prevails in Stanleyville, a feeling that "a counter-attack by rebels in mass force could take place again." The "feeling of insecurity" will persist in Stanleyville, and every other city of the Congo, until the colonialist rabble of drunken, thieving, murdering, raping savages, white and back, are indeed defeated by a massive counter-attack by those whom this otherwise vivid and truthful reporter miscalls "rebels," but who are obviously the only sane and patriotic force in the country which can end the nightmare agony of the Congo and

bring tranquility, national reconstruction and civilized, law-governed, progressive government to this suffering heartland of Africa.

As I write these lines, on the eve of the new year, 1965, there is heartening news of fresh advances by the patriots; and all Africa will hope, and do all we can to ensure, that the new year indeed sees our brothers and sisters in this strife-torn land enter into the legacy of Lumumba, of peace and independence. And also that the criminals in Leopoldville will at last face the justice and retribution they so richly deserve.

But justice and retribution cannot stop short at the Tshombe gang. Justice demands that their principals—the sinister plotters in the United States, and in Brussels, London, Bonn, Paris and Pretoria—must also answer for the crimes of their tools and agents. These pious humbugs must be taught that crime does not pay; and that the life of a simple peasant in Stanleyville—or for that matter in Vietnam—is just as precious and valuable as that of a fairskinned gentleman who abuses African hospitality, even if he wears a missionary's dog-collar.

THE KATANGA OF AFRICA

The battle for the Congo is not the concern of the Congolese people only; it has become the vital and immediate concern of the people of all Africa. As President Ben Bella pointed out in such striking words:

> The whole Congo today has become a Katanga, the Katanga of Africa which menaces Tanzania, menaces Brazzaville Congo, menaces Zambia, menaces Uganda, menaces Angola. . . . If we do nothing about it today the Congo will fall, tomorrow Brazzaville Congo, the day after tomorrow Burundi and Tanzania and after that Zambia, and after that, why not Conakry, Bamako, Cairo, and why not Algiers. . . . The fight for freedom is a common one.

The open imperialist aggression of November 22nd may well prove to have been one of the costliest operations since Suez, in terms of the complete exposure and unmasking of colonialism and neo-colonialism in Africa. The mass demonstrations of the public in many African countries and of African students abroad, like the unequivocal denunciation by the Organization of African Unity, and the fierce condemnations by African, Asian and socialist countries at the United Nations, serve warning on the imperialist powers that Africa will no longer tolerate this alien regime, resting entirely on foreign financial and military support, in the midst of the Continent. In fact to tolerate it means suicide for national independence everywhere; for if the colonialists are allowed to get away with this aggression with impunity there is no African territory

which can count itself safe from similar intervention in the future. And we are not prepared to stand by while the former masters of the continent, who have never resigned themselves to their departure, plot and prepare for the recolonization of Africa.

It is not only, therefore, for principled reasons of African solidarity but also because of the imminent threat of imperialist aggression and intrigue in each African state, that every possible aid must be given to the brave revolutionary patriots of the Congo to rid themselves of the regime of traitors and puppets at Elizabethville. The threads run from the Congo to Angola and Mozambique, to Salisbury and Johannesburg, and to the capitals of the NATO countries, to which Tshombe went running immediately after the November aggression to beg for still more money. They are threads which form part of the web being spun to entrap us all.

There is a further and deeper lesson in these grim events at the close of 1964. It is a humiliating pill to swallow for all Africans that such an act of aggression can still take place without response from our leaders and our countries save that of protest and denunciation. It was altogether proper that we should have protested—and neither history nor the Nigerian people will easily forgive those like the representative of that country at the United Nations who undermined the African protest. But protests alone will not avail us against foreign aircraft and mechanized invaders. The African countries must unite and pool their resources. They must embark on speedy and effective measures to modernize, industrialize, and develop their countries on socialist lines. They must be ready to defend Africa, rid its soil of racialism and colonialism, and deal a devastating counter-blow against any aggressor.

INTERVIEW WITH GASTON SOUMIALOT*

In *L'HUMANITE*

"It will be a turning point in the history of our liberation movement," said Gaston Soumialot, Defense Minister of the Congolese People's Government, speaking of the coming Cairo conference that is to bring together representatives of all the Congolese trends fighting against Tshombe. "All the patriotic forces will be rallied together for the first time."

The decision to hold the conference was announced in Cairo, in the presence of representatives of several different trends. "We will work out a charter and unify the military command," Soumialot specified. "The purpose of the conference is to dispel the misunderstandings there may be among us. The division of the patriotic forces has been playing into the hands of Tshombe and the imperialists.

"We all have one goal—the independence of our country. The conference will greatly further our cause."

Q. What is the military situation in the Congo today?

A. In February and March we won nineteen districts back from the Tshombe mercenaries. Tshombe is on the defensive now. Hundreds of mercenaries were killed. Tshombe's troops only hold big cities like Stanleyville and Paulis . . . But they can no longer move from town to town along the roads. There is fighting going on five kilometers from Stanleyville.

The whole people are on our side. Young people are joining our ranks en masse. Yet we pay nothing to our soldiers. They only get food and arms.

Our guerrillas use American arms captured in battle. We set traps and ambushes for the mercenaries to replenish our stores. Besides, we always have arrows, spears and rocks. I assure you that some of the rocks hurled by our young men are most effective. Those weapons enable us to camouflage ourselves in the jungle all the better.

Q. Do the mercenaries still bomb liberated villages?

A. Yes, they go on bombing the population. There are killed, as injured, whom we cannot for lack of medicines and doctors. Epidemics have broken out. The sanitary situation is aggravated by a famine involving several districts. To be sure, we receive medical supplies from Algeria, the United Arab Republic and the Sudan

*L'Humanité, March 15, 1965.

but that isn't enough. That is why I'm going to visit several capitals shortly so as to explain our situation and repeat the appeal I addressed to the peoples of the world at a press conference.

We urgently need medical supplies and doctors.

I think that appeal will be heard in Africa, for we are fighting for the whole Africa. And I hope that it will also be heard elsewhere.

The seizure of the Congo by the imperialists would imperil the whole of Africa. The Congo is the heart of Africa. How can the body live and develop when the heart is stricken?

Q. How have you organized the liberated areas?

A. A civilian administration takes over as soon as we free an area—say, a village. We rebuild the roads and bridges. We've opened schools in some areas.

Lastly, we organize the cultivation of abandoned plantations and of the fields of the various villages to feed the population.

This year we've harvested a fine coffee crop. The mines are also being worked.

As regards the abandoned plantations, our government has set up the Abandoned Estates Office, a management body which will some day account to the owners for the use of the returns.

It goes without saying that farming is chiefly in the hands of women, for the men are fighting.

Q. Are there any Europeans left in the liberated areas?

A. There are some near Coquillatville, for one. But they are very few. The reason is simple—mercenary bombings don't spare the Europeans, and so all the Europeans go in the end, even though we exert no pressure on them.

FOR DEMOCRACY AND PROGRESS

STATEMENT* BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF BRAZIL

The Communists address to all the patriots and democrats who are ready to fight against the present reactionary military dictatorship the proposal for a broad united front for democracy and progress.

While upholding the following program as a whole, the Communists advance it as the basis for united action and will support anyone who will fight at least for one of the points of the program, namely:

1. Restoration of democratic freedoms and all civil rights laid down in the Constitution. Trade union autonomy and protection of trade union freedoms. Election of trade union officials without interference on the part of the government. Freedom of organization for the peasants, and strict observance of the Statutes of Agricultural Laborers. Normalization of the activities of the students' organizations, including the National Union of Students, and freedom of instruction. Abrogation of the "constitutional act." General amnesty and immediate release of all the political prisoners.

2. Defense of the autonomy of the states and municipalities with regard to the Federal government. Elections in the states and municipalities within the time limits established by law. No extension of the powers of elected officials. The right of all political parties to take part in elections, without any discrimination for political or ideological reasons.

3. Immediate revision of wage rates, beginning with the minimum wage, with due regard to the growing cost of living. Practical measures against the high cost of living, such as price control and active struggle against speculators. An end to evictions.

4. A finance and economic policy free from the diktat of the International Monetary Fund and capable of ensuring the steady development of the national economy. Protection of the national oil enterprise Petrobraz and other state-owned enterprises. No concessions to the imperialist monopolies, for concessions injure national interests. Protection for home-produced goods against foreign competition.

5. An independent foreign policy of peace, and establishment of relations with all peoples. Restoration of relations with the government of Cuba. Support for the liberation struggle of all the peoples

*Rudé Právo, March 11, 1965.

still under colonial oppression. Promotion of trade with all countries.

6. Replacement of the present dictatorial government by a government free from the influence of the putschists and reactionaries who have usurped power, a government which could with the support of the people ensure democratic freedoms and hold a free presidential election and elections to a Constituent Assembly.

SPEECH* BY FIDEL CASTRO

This is the eighth anniversary of March 13, an occasion which brings us together for the sixth time on the stairway of this University. It has become a tradition, a sacred duty of all revolutionaries and all university students.

These past years have seen certain changes in the university that are reflected in the composition of our students. The first year, almost all who came together here were comrades of José Antonio Echevarria, of all those who fought that day. Many of them took an active part in the university students' struggle against the Batista regime.

Many of those students have graduated during the past six years and many of them work on various fronts of the revolution. And it is only natural that many of the university students, and those who today fill this stairway, are younger comrades enrolled in recent years. I see many young people among the students present here.

Comrade Armando Hart Davalos, Minister of Education, seized the opportunity to comment with some irony that we do not realize that the young people studying at the university today are not of the same age as we, and I replied, "I'm afraid that's true."

However, the important thing is for us not to lose the spirit proper to youth, and for the young people not to lose their revolutionary spirit. I think we should always agree on this, irrespective of age. Let recollections of the struggle of our people not assume a somewhat academic character. Let them not become something like cold history. Besides, our struggle is by no means over. We can by no means say that the revolutionary struggle of our people is over. We are far from affirming that no great tasks have been left for our young people.

That is why the deep-going, intimate link between the first waves of the revolution and all subsequent waves is never lost. Each day which is like March 13 is a great, a radiant day in the life of our country. We recall this date to redouble our impetus, to redouble our efforts in the struggle.

The history of a country, of its victories and achievements, is being made every day, through everyday effort and labor. It is not made by the heroism of one day but by daily heroism, not by what is accomplished on a particular day but by what is accomplished every day.

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*Abridged. The speech was delivered by Fidel Castro, First Secretary, National Leadership of the United Party of the Socialist Revolution of Cuba, and Prime Minister, Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Cuba, on March 31, at a mass meeting at Havana University dedicated to the eighth anniversary of the storming of the Presidential Palace in Havana by a group of young patriots, at the time of the Batista dictatorship.

Today the history of our country is being made in the cane fields, in the factories and educational establishments. It is being made by hard work of thousands, tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands of the often nameless sons and daughters of our people. It is being made by the teachers working in the mountains, by the doctors who save human lives in the remotest corners of the country, by the peasants working in regions that are hard to reach and scarcely enjoy the elementary blessings of civilization. It is being made by soldiers standing on guard for the revolution in exposed areas or face to face with the enemy, by the workers who produce millions of tons of sugar, by the hundreds of thousands of people in town and country who cut sugar cane in sweltering heat to make possible the production of the tons of sugar which all of us Cubans describe as gains of our economy.

History is being made by the students in the lecture-halls. We make history in the long hours we spend analyzing and investigating, trying to understand, learn or unravel something. The history of our country is being made through diligent and persevering labor, through a constant and invariable readiness to defend this labor, to defend its fruits.

The history of our country is being made now and will be in the making for a long time to come. No young man or woman will have to regret the fact that they were too young when the struggle began. No young man or woman will have to feel regret, thinking that they will be late for the struggle.

I recall the early days after the victory of the Revolution. Many men and women hailed the insurgents. Among those welcoming the victorious columns of the insurgent army there doubtless were many of the workers who a few months later lost their lives while unloading a cargo of arms, in the explosion resulting from an enemy act of sabotage.

Among the crowd there were many who afterwards fell fighting the mercenaries at the Bay of Pigs. There undoubtedly were young men like Manuel Ascunse, Delfin Sen or Conrado Benitez, who afterwards lost their lives at the hands of infamous counter-revolutionary assassins, while carrying out the noble and humane task of teaching our peasants.

Among the crowd there were people who had performed heroic deeds and made great sacrifices defending the Revolution on the most diverse fronts, and who afterwards gave their lives for it. There were many heroes among them, many martyrs who made possible the triumphs and achievements of the Revolution, who enabled the Revolution to survive and to resist its enemies.

The Revolution has still much to do. It still has to fight for many goals. It has powerful enemies, with U.S. imperialism as the chief enemy. This enemy threatens us and will threaten us for a long

time to come. He will not reconcile himself easily to the revolutionary gains of our people, even though he has no choice. Thousands of kilometers from here, he is attacking other peoples, is mounting a criminal attack on the people of North Vietnam, and also on the revolutionary people of South Vietnam.

That enemy is intervening in the Congo. He sends his ships and marines and aircraft to every part of the globe. He takes advantage of division among the revolutionaries, of the deplorable division existing in the socialist community. He calculates, and analyzes, and uses all that is likely to weaken the revolutionary front.

In other words, there are circumstances fraught with danger for the peoples, for our people and for other peoples fighting for their independence and freedom in various parts of the globe. Those circumstancs are fraught with danger for all of us.

Today I will not enlarge on the problems arising from the differences and divergences in the socialist camp. We do not even know when we will have to discuss these problems thoroughly, for the point is not to discuss for discussion's sake but to achieve something positive and useful for ourselves, not for imperialism, not for the enemies of the peoples.

Our small countries, which have no armies millions strong nor an atomic force, countries like Vietnam and Cuba, are intelligent enough to look calmly into things and to realize that it is they, the countries finding themselves in a peculiar position—one lying 90 miles from the American empire and the other being raided by U.S. aircraft—that are hardest hit by these differences and divergences which are weakening the socialist camp.

The point is not to analyze here the disputed theoretical or philosophical questions but to bear in mind the great truth that division is utterly unreasonable and absurd in the face of an enemy who is attacking, an enemy who is becoming more and more aggressive. Division in the face of the enemy has never been the right strategy, a revolutionary strategy, a wise strategy—at any period of human history, from the day the first revolutionary emerged, from the time when revolutions were a social phenomenon in which the masses took part spontaneously, to the time when revolutions became a conscious act, a phenomenon and a task fully understood by the peoples, which occured with the rise of Marxism.

In this revolutionary process, we have all been taught from the outset that all that divides weakens, and that disunity harms our people and benefits the imperialists. From the first, the mass of our people realized the need of unity, and unity became a cardinal issue of the Revolution, a demand of the masses, a watchword of the whole people. Now we ask ourselves: have the imperialists disappeared? Are they not attacking North Vietnam? Are

not ordinary men and women losing their lives there?

Who is expected to believe it when he is told that division is convenient and useful? Surely the strategy which the imperialists are following in South Vietnam to put down the revolutionary movement is clear. First they attacked North Vietnam on the pretext of retaliating, and then they usurped the right to attack whenever they please, and continued to use large air force units against the South Vietnamese fighters.

What is the situation now? The imperialists are talking of a naval blockade. They are sending their marines and aircraft carriers to South Vietnam. They are massing aircraft to crush the revolutionary movement in South Vietnam. They want to use every weapon at their command to attack the guerrillas in South Vietnam, reserving the right to attack North Vietnam when they see fit and to wage an air warfare that entails no casualties on their part, to drop bombs from hundreds of planes and then allow themselves the luxury of sending helicopters to pick up the flyers of downed planes. The imperialists certainly want a very convenient form of struggle. They certainly want a war that will entail only losses in materiel, that is, in so-and-so many planes.

The people of both South and North Vietnam are undoubtedly suffering as a result. Men and women are losing their lives in the South as well as in the North, killed by machine guns and by American bombs.

The imperialists declare without the slightest hesitation that they propose to continue all those operations, since even the raids on North Vietnam failed to help overcome the split in the socialist family. Can anyone doubt that the split is encouraging the imperialists? Can anyone doubt that a united front would have made the imperialists think twice before launching their reckless attacks and their increasingly brazen intervention in that area of the world? Who can be convinced of the contrary? By means of what arguments and what sort of logic Who benefits from it all? The imperialists only. And who are the victims? The Vietnamese. Who suffers? The prestige of socialism, of the world Communist movement, of the world revolutionary movement. This should really pain us, for the emancipation movement is not a demagogic phrase but a slogan which we have always cherished.

Ours is a small country that does not aspire to become the hub of the universe or the center of the world revolutionary movement. And when we speak of these problems we do so in absolute sincerity, and without any selfish intent. We who speak of them have won revolutionary power by fighting and not through bourgeois elections. We speak of them on behalf of a people who for six years staunchly resisted all imperialist plots and threats. We speak of them on behalf of a people who never wavered in

strengthening the revolutionary movement and the socialist community, and who are firm in their resolve to defend the Revolution against the imperialists and therefore unhesitatingly took the risk of a thermonuclear war, the risk of being attacked with nuclear weapons when, exercising our absolute right, which we have not renounced, we agreed very legitimately—an act we will never regret—to the instalment of strategic nuclear missiles on our soil.

We agreed to the instalment of these missiles and, furthermore, disagreed to their removal. I think this is an open secret.

Our country and our people, in whose name we speak, receive no American credits or foodstuffs under the "Food for Peace" program, nor do they have any dealings whatsoever with the imperialists. No one has ever taught us revolutionary conviction and sincerity, any more than our liberators were taught, in 1868 and 1895, to take the road to independence, the road of dignity. Our people have proclaimed the First and Second Havana Declarations, which we have copied from no document and which are a pure expression of the profoundly revolutionary and internationalist spirit of our people.

Since this is the spirit and the ideas of our Revolution, demonstrated whenever necessary and without the least vacillation, compromise or contradiction, we are entitled to ask—as are many other peoples: "Who benefits from this discord but our enemies?" And we have a perfect right, an absolute right which I believe no one will dare question, to abolish, to banish that discord and those Byzantine battles from our country and from the midst of our people.

Let it be known that it is our Party that carries on propaganda and sets the course in this country, and that in this country the issue comes under *our* jurisdiction. And if we do not want the apple of discord to come to our country because we do not like it, no one can smuggle it in. The U.S. imperialists are our only enemy. And the only insurmountable contradiction we have is that between us and U.S. imperialism. Imperialism is the only enemy against whom we are ready to break any lance.

We do not understand the language of division. In the specific case of a country like Vietnam being attacked by imperialism, there is only one position we can adopt. Nor do we do this because we go—as the imperialists may think—by the proverb "When you see your neighbor's house burning, wet yours." For when we see our neighbor's house burning, we want to share this difficulty.

We are not scared by those developments. Indeed, they fortify our spirit, and our position is that Vietnam should receive all the necessary aid. We are for helping it with arms and manpower. We

are for the socialist camp taking the risk that may be necessary for Vietnam.

We are well aware that in the event of any major international complication we will be among the first targets of imperialism. But this has never worried us. We are not going to keep our mouths shut and play the fool, hoping that our lives may be spared. This is, in all frankness and sincerity, our well-considered and dispassionate position. We adopt it because we have the right to think and to reason, the legitimate and inviolable right to do as we think is just and fitting for revolutionaries. And let no one imagine he can lecture us on revolutionary behavior.

I hope no one will make the mistake of underestimating or ignoring the character of our people. I say this because the U.S. imperialists, one of whose features is contempt for everyone else, contempt for the small nations and underestimation of their character, have made lots of mistakes. The imperialists made a bad mistake by underrating our revolutionary people. It would be sad if others were to make similar mistakes. Our sincere policy has been, and is, to unify. We are not, and will never be, anyone's satellites. We take a very dispassionate, honest and sincere stand on the whole problem.

This is no time to burrow in papers and archives. I think that when the imperialists are attacking us it is ridiculous to do as in the fable—to start an argument as to whether they are greyhounds or spaniels, and whether they are made of paper or of iron. Let us leave all papers and archives and documents to history. Let history decide who did the right thing and who didn't, who was right and who was wrong. Let history reveal what everyone thought and said and did. But let *history* do it. After all, it's disgraceful to wash dirty linen in front of enemies, who, moreover, are attacking the smallest and weakest, not the strongest.

We have many things to do. We are faced with numerous extremely difficult tasks. We must cut millions of tons of cane to foil the imperialist blockade. We cannot do it by burrowing in papers but must work hard, using a machete.

There are great dangers in store for us. But we cannot combat them through Byzantine discord or academic garrulity. We must combat them by revolutionary firmness and integrity, by the readiness to fight.

The revolutionaries cannot effectively fight the imperialist enemy in any part of the globe when they are disunited and when they insult and attack one another. They have to be solidly united in order to fight. To those, however, who do not think this the right tactic for the world Communist movement we say that to us here on this small island, on our soil, in the front line, *ninety* miles from the imperialists, it *is* the right tactic.

It is to this way of thinking that we will adjust our line and our conduct.

I believe we pay proper homage to the memory of our dead comrades, of those who fell in battle. For this revolution grew out of a rising of the whole people, it was born of the people's sense of dignity, of the progressive and revolutionary spirit of the whole people. For the struggle which today intertwines and fuses with that of the other peoples of the globe against imperialism began practically a hundred years ago when arms were taken up for the first time to fight colonialism and exploitation in our country. The struggle has continued steadily along this line, and our people have never abandoned or betrayed it but have always firmly followed this clear-cut line. Such is the spirit of the people, such is their tradition.

The struggle was joined in, as it proceeded, by all the finest people of our country, and many of them lost their lives in it. The first men were not Marxist-Leninists. Carlos Manuel de Céspedes was not a Marxist. Nor was Marti, for he could not be a Marxist at that time, in the historical conditions in which his remarkable struggle developed. In those days, we would have been like them, just as today they would have been like us, for the revolutionary spirit of our people and their immediate task were the decisive factors at every stage. And we may say that the path travelled since then has been long and so has the development of our revolutionary thought, for at the beginning of the second half of the last century our country was not faced with the tasks of the proletarian revolution. The task at that time was to fight for independence, against Spanish colonial power.

We advanced to independence and national rebirth when a far more formidable force, U.S. imperialism, was on the rise. The struggle against this force became the great historic task of our people, who had to gain independence from that force and to resist its aggression, bearing the banner of the revolution aloft. This task coincides with the tasks facing other peoples of this continent and in Africa, Asia and Oceania, of all the peoples fighting with growing determination against colonialism and imperialism.

There has always been one path, one revolutionary line. Many heroes, many patriots and martyrs took this path. And those who have been carrying this banner on, those who have been following this line, represent the will of all. They are responsible not only to the present and future generations, but also to those generations which fought in the past.

On a day like this, when we are recalling those who have fallen, we are thinking that there is only one thing that comforts us and

makes up for everything. It is the realization that those who fell did not fall in vain.

On past occasions, and on this very stairway, we paid homage to the memory of the fallen, but we did it sorrowfully, with a sense of hopelessness, thinking painfully that those sacrifices had borne no fruit. But when we recall those comrades, symbolized by the name of José Antonio Echevarria, on a day like this, in circumstances such as these, we are comforted, reassured and gratified by the thought that their sacrifice was not useless. We feel that today also, those who fought before, and who fell fighting, are with our people as the revolution progresses, as our people ascend the paths of history and of revolutionary thought, toward an unprecedented development of our ideas.

You, the youth of today, must feel that you are the successors of those people, their standard-bearers, those who have taken up their banner and are carrying it forward, marching on along the ascending path of our people, for the glorious historic cause of our country.

You are the new waves of the revolution and we are confident that you will live up to your position and prove worthy bearers of the banner of José Antonio Echevarria and his comrades.

Patria o muerte!

Venceremos!

THE NEGRO-LABOR COMMUNITY*

Gus Hall

The events of this past year have set in clear perspective the nature and place of the Negro-labor community in the U.S. political scene. This community was the center of the mass base for the crushing electoral defeat of the ultra-Right Goldwater challenge. It was this roadblock to reaction that swung the decisive large industrial states into the anti-ultra-Right column and was also responsible for the qualitative improvement in the composition of their Congressional delegations and state legislatures.

In the southern states reaction still has two weapons that prevent this force for progress from exercising its full potential: continued disfranchisement, and white chauvinism and prejudice reinforced by terror. To the extent that these weapons were nullified, however, the Negro-labor community in the South also began to play this role. This, of course, was especially true of the contribution of the Negro citizens in the southern states.

In the 1964 elections the political influence of the Negro-labor community hit a new high. But this was only a harbinger of the positive hard fact of U.S. political life, and of what is to come—of the fact that from now on, the Negro-labor community is more and more going to be a determining factor in the direction that U.S. political affairs will take. It will increasingly become the central political stimulus and point of reference for all forces of progress, and the main deterrent to all forces of reaction and retrogression.

The openly cynical, anti-democratic maneuvering over the question of reapportionment of electoral districts is a reflection of this development. The reactionary politicians are trying to gerrymander the Negro-labor community from its position of growing political influence. Reaction is alarmed because the democratic principle of "one man, one vote" shifts the political mass base of our electoral process toward the Negro-labor community just when this community is beginning to exert its new united power. The gerrymanderers are trying to segregate the Negro-labor community into separate districts in order to water down its influence.

When it was possible to create artificial divisions in the Negro-labor community, its influence could be dissipated by such gerrymandering schemes. But as the political consciousness and the unity of this community grow, the gerrymanderers are having an ever more difficult time.

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*Political Affairs, February 1965.

THE NEGRO-LABOR ALLIANCE

The Negro-labor alliance has been the foundation on which the forward direction of American life has rested for a long time, although this has not always been obvious because its influence has been indirect and without organizational forms.

This is an alliance of the oppressed and the exploited. It is an alliance based on mutual self-interest and the oneness of the enemy. It has deep roots in our history. At each critical turning point it has tended to close ranks and its influence has grown. Within the overall framework of this long-term and short-range mutual self-interest, there have been and continue to be areas of conradictions. These contradictions create problems but they have not in any way changed the basic essence of this alliance or its role in our history.

The 20 million Negro-American citizens are an oppressed people, subjected to a system of segregation and discrimination which has its historic roots in the plantation system of slavery. U.S. capitalism has adopted this special system to divide the working class and the people to cut down the resistance to its oppression and exploitation. Jim Crow is an instrument for extracting maximum profits from the Negro and white workers.

As is the case with colonialism on the world scene, the ending of the system of Jim Crow has emerged as the most crucial domestic question for the United States. Its time has arrived and it cannot be long postponed. On it, all class groups are forced to take a stand, for it is not only the future of the 20 million Negro-Americans that is involved. The future of the entire country rides on how this question is solved. This includes our democratic institutions, our educational system, the pattern of our economy, the future of organized labor, and so on.

The force that will largely determine the nature of the solution is the Negro-working class community. While the Negro people are all victims of special oppression, there is a growing class differentation among them. In this, the Negro workers, who are part of both the U.S. working class and the oppressed Negro people, are of cardinal importance.

The destruction of the evil system of discrimination and segregation, directed against the Negro citizens but used to divide all the victims of monopoly capital, has emerged as an absolute condition for progress. The mass movement that now fights for its elimination has therefore emerged as the generative force that sparks the struggle for progress on all fronts.

All societies with class divisions inevitably produce one class whose self-interest propels it to become the leader and the center of gravity for all forces of progress. In our times life has assigned this responsibility to the working class. On its broad shoulders rests the

advance of civilization. The opposite side of this historic coin is that simultaneously there also arises a class that embodies all that is reactionary and backward. In modern times, the sewer that carries all this refuse and dirt and sickness is the class of capital. One class leads in the struggle for progress; the other creates obstacles to it. One is constructive; the other is destructive of all human values. One propels social advance; the other attempts to turn the wheels of history back. One class covers its resistance to progress with an ideology of cynicism, demagogy and an appeal to prejudice and backwardness. The other inscribes on its ideological banners all concepts that guide and support man in his rise to a higher form of civilization.

In each country, the rise of these class forces is a distinct historical process. With time each of the classes increasingly takes on its specific role and nature, and this process continues until it leads to a qualitative shift which completely discards the reactionary class and the system that gave rise to it.

This class framework is as valid and real in determining the course of affairs in the United States as it is everywhere else in the world. With all its weaknesses our working class in the United States has fulfilled its historic responsibilities and is continuing to do so. The fact that it has not fully taken on what history demands of it, or that it has not carried the struggle to its final conclusion, does not in any way disqualify it as the most advanced element of our society.

It is only on the basis of this objective class relationship that one can give leadership in the struggles to end all evils of capitalism. Any attempt to deal with social or economic problems by ignoring or rejecting it will lead to blind alleys. The very heart of capitalist propaganda is the denial of the class nature of capitalism and the role of the working class. The influence of such ideas penetrates even into the ranks of the progressive movement.

Only an understanding of the class forces and their role in society makes it possible for one to understand the phenomena of alliances, coalitions and united front formations in struggle. These are relationships built around parallel and mutual self-interests, which can and do cut across class formations. Because of its objectively designated role in history the working class attracts all sectors of the population whose self-interests are served by a progressive direction in life. In some cases, these self-interests run along parallel lines only for brief periods. Coalitions in such cases are of brief duration and are usually around very specific issues. But this does not in any way minimize their importance. The history of human progress is in fact a history of the rise and fall of coalitions and alliances based on parallel mutual self-interests.

There are also coalitions that are based on long-range mutual

self-interest. Such coalitions run the course of whole historic epochs.

With these things in mind, I want to deal with the historic role and nature of the Negro-labor alliance in the United States. This is a very distinctive kind of alliance, one that runs the course of epochs. Without an understanding of this central phenomenon of our society, one cannot fully understand the American scene.

In a sense, the Negro-labor coalescence is more than an alliance or a united front formation. It is a political and an economic community, an overlapping, interlinked unit. As the consciousness of this grows in its ranks, this community will become the power that will determine the direction of events in our country.

On a world scale, the working class is emerging as the class on whose shoulders the future of civilization rests. Because it is the leading element in the world socialist, anti-imperialist, peace community, it is now the decisive force determining the course of world events. Hence the elements in the community are more than allies of one another; they are parts of one historical revolutionary process, part of one progressive community—of an interlinked unit. And one can understand the nature and role of this community only if one understands the nature and role of the working class.

AN INTEGRATED WORKING CLASS

A distinctive feature of the historic formation of the U.S. working class has been the moulding of a class composed of Negro and white workers, a class of many national backgrounds. This fact has always provided U.S. capitalism with a special ideological weapon of prejudice. Nevertheless within capitalist society there is nothing so inevitable, so absolute as the emergence, growth and political maturing of the working class. The development of class consciousness, class unity, class struggle is rooted in the very process of exploitation. To deny the rise and the historic role of the working class is to deny the very class nature of capitalism.

And so, in spite of the obstacle created by the system of discrimination by the practice of keeping Negro workers out of some industries altogether and confining them to the hardest, lowest-paying jobs in others, and by the constant infusion of the poison of white chauvinism as an inseparable component of capitalist ideology—a united, integrated working class is taking shape and assuming its designated historic place. Indeed, the process of formation of an integrated working class of Negro and white workers as the basis of the Negro-labor community has paved the way for an integrated nation in which all of our people live in equality.

The historic path to a united, integrated working class has been marked by many obstables and many setbacks. Such a process is slow because it is fundamentally a process of development of

a class ideology and class outlook. Ideology is the result of experience upon experience. For long periods the white workers could not see their overall class interests because of the heavy fog of chauvinism and prejudice. The fog has slowly dissipated, though much of it still remains.

With the lifting of the fog, the process of unification takes place through a series of qualitative leaps. The unionization of the basic mass production industries remains a modern landmark as one of these qualitative leaps. It went a long way to destroy the ideology behind the craft unions—one of hiding the working-class nature of society. The craft union ideology was an instrument that long divided the Negro and white workers.

The CIO, and especially the Left-led unions, made historic contributions to this development. Their formation firmly established the concept that all workers, Negro and white, of all trades and professions, belong to united industrial unions and locals.

A graphic illustration of both processes — the formation of an integrated, united working class and the development and rise of the Negro-labor community—was the Conference to Organize the Negro Steel Workers into the New Steelworkers Union, held in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania in 1937. This was a conference representing all sectors of the Negro people and their organizations, meeting with the leaders of the newly emerging steel union. This participation was a clear indication of how the leaders of the Negro people's organizations understood both the role of a united, integrated working class in defense of its own class interests and that of the Negro-labor community in the struggle against Jim Crow. This Conference was an important step in the development of both of these processes.

The process of integration and unification of the working class is continuing. The Negro workers have become a part of the most militant and most union-conscious sector of the U.S. working class. This process and the growth of the class consciousness in the ranks of the working class are parts of the same development. Class consciousness is the most formidable antidote to the poison of chauvinism and prejudice.

The process of class integration has made its clearest advances wherever the need for class unity has been most obvious. Thus each economic struggle has been a classrom for integration and unity. In such struggles, class and individual self-interests rise to the surface, and the evil, divisive purpose of chauvinism becomes more obvious and therefore more easily exposed.

The influence of the rising integrated, united working class on the struggles of today is not always fully appreciated because its influence is not always direct or dramatic. But as the fog lifts, as the workers get a new qualitative sense of their class position,

they will increasingly have a greater influence on the character of all mass currents and movements. The methods of mass struggle today already show the influences of working-class experience. The sit-ins, boycotts, picket lines, mass demonstrations, combining economic struggle with political action, and the tactic of alliances and united front relations, are all variations of methods originally developed in the fires of the class struggle. And the leaders and spokesmen of religious and social organizations take a more forthright stand for civil rights where they sense the influence of members of the working class in their organizations and communities.

The vote for the Civil Rights Bill was a barometer of how the elected officials assessed the mood of the people in general. But above all it was an assessment of the mood of the Negro-labor community in the big industrial centers. Workers are most often not the spokesmen or the leaders of reform movements. But invariably it is the Negro-labor community that is the mass base of all of them. Therefore, to appreciate fully the present role and influence of this community, one has to study its grass-roots base, and the details of relations and forces that never appear in headlines or are not immediately evident. But it is from this base that all movements get their staying power and their militancy. Movements that do not have the support of this mass base are usually very short-lived.

THE NEGRO-LABOR COMMUNITY IN THE SOUTH

Jim Crow and unorganized shops are closely related twin evils in the South. They are, in fact, two faces of one policy designed for one purpose—maximum profits for big business and the landowners. The net result of this policy is a "Southern differential" of lower wages, longer hours, mass poverty, mass misery. The brutal oppression of the Negro Americans, combined with an open policy of violence against unions and progressive organizations—this is the strategy of big business for keeping the South a sort of semi-colonial preserve for extreme exploitation, high profits, cheap labor, runaway shops, and disfranchised people ruled by a racist, fascist-like gang through terror and murder. Big business wants this kind of South not only because of the immediate profits it yields but because it is a bulwark of reaction throughout the nation. The ultra-Right Goldwater attempt to use the South as a base in his bid for power strikingly illustrates the point.

The heart of the forces that will break this stranglehold of reaction on the South is the Negro-labor community. Toward this end, it is necessary to find the links that bring together the drives to end Jim Crow and to abolish the non-union shops. The trade unions will have to understand that they will never conquer

the one evil by ignoring its inseparable twin. Jim Crow is anti-union; the anti-union policies are instruments in perpetuating Jim Crow. These are the two sides of the coin. The struggle against the common enemy in the South demands a new level of unity and integration of the working class and a new quality in the relations within the Negro-labor community. This is the central challenge facing the leaders and the rank and file of this community. There is a great need for a national conference of the Negro-labor community to map out a joint mass plan for ending segregation and discrimination, ending the brutal terror against Negro citizens, and against unions and union organizers, and bringing equality, the right to collective bargaining, and equal protection under the law to all citizens of the South. Such a common drive would be the greatest stimulus to the progressive forces on all fronts.

HISTORIC ROOTS

The history of the American people is full of examples of how the objective forces in our society have pressed toward the formation of both the Negro-labor community and an integrated, united working class. Because these early efforts did not result in the full-blown product, or because there were numerous setbacks, is no reason to call them failures. Nor are these grounds for rejecting the idea that these things are in the process of development. Each of the experiences in our history has added something to this development. And each new development has in turn made the objective conditions more ripe, and has thereby slowly increased the pressure of the objective screws of history.

In the last century, the Knights of Labor constituted the first real attempt to organize a national working-class union. They were outlawed and condemned. But even these early class formations had in them the seeds of the unified, integrated class of Negro and white workers. The objective forces were just beginning to turn the screws on. In the South the Negro workers led the heroic efforts to organize unions under the conditions then existing.

Long-range and permanent assemblies in the South of today can be most meaningful if they rest on large industrial union locals of an integrated working class which have put an end to the practices of discrimination in their shops, which have outlowed Jim Crow by union contract and union constitution. This relationship can then become the basis for a Negro-labor community that can determine the direction of union affairs in the South.

It was during the Civil War that the Negro-labor community left its first indelible mark on our history, and the post-Civil War

period is evidence of the fact that it did not take long for the capitalist class to realize the potential danger to its selfish aims which the development of such a community presented. It quickly let loose on both a campaign of murder and terror.

The capitalist class allied itself with the forces against the slave-based South only when its narrow self-interests were served, and not for one minute longer, Ethical, moral or humanitarian considerations were not factors that motivated them. As long as the capitalist class of the North profits from slavery, it supported the slave society of the South. Only later, when the slave system became an obstacle to the expansion of their profit-making empires, did the capitalist class give its support to the struggle against the slave society of the South. This was a very brief period because capitalism was interested in doing away only with those features of slavery that were adverse to their narrow self-interests. In fact, it adopted as its own the features that aided their drive for profits. This is the background for the present system of segregation ad discrimination, of white chauvinism and terror practiced against the Negro Americans.

The relationship of the working class to the issues and forces involved in the Civil War was quite different. For example, how different the course of our history might have been if the working class of Eengland had not stopped the English Government from entering into armed struggle against the North when the Civil War was hanging in the balance. The working class was the only force that opposed the armed attack. It put up an historic battle. It is true that the working class was motivated by its long-range self-interests. But these were also the self-interests of human society in its struggle forward.

The Civil War period also has rich lessons on the nature of alliances based on parallel self-interests. The victorious alliance against slavery finally included the slaves, the workers and the frontier farmers, as well as sections of the capitalist class, and the clergy and professional people, mainly in the northern states. Though these were allied against slavery, the contradictions between the classes in the alliance did not disappear. The advanced sections of the working class fought to include and combine the struggle against wage slavery with the struggle against chattel slavery. The capitalist class fought against all concepts of classes and class struggle within capitalism. Most of the popular leaders for the abolition of slavery took a favorable position to the struggles of the working class. These were swallows heralding the future course of development of the Negro-labor community.

But not all of the anti-slavery forces could see the relationship of the rising working class and its aims to the struggle against the slave system.

These differences in the alliance created stresses and strains, but the objective screws pressed the alliance against slavery. The precursors of the labor-Negro community of today were even present in the actions of the beginnings of an organized labor movement in the South.

Not all of early labor understood the urgency, from the standpoint of their own self-interest, of the need to end the slave system. Some argued that an end to their "wage slavery" would then force an end to the slavery system in the South. But then as now the special oppression of the Negro Americans constituted a roadblock to progress. Then as now it was in the self-interest of all exploited and oppressed to join together in an alliance to put an end to Jim Crow.

★ ★ ★

Thus the Negro-labor political and economic community is a specific U.S. historical development. It has roots in history, and is fed by present-day objective factors. In the very center of this community is the developing united. integrated Negro and white working class, ever more conscious of its class nature and its assigned role in our present and future history.

It is important to understand the nature of this community and the role of the working class in it because all future progress basically emanates from this source. It is important because all who try—for whatever reason—to create divisions in this community are acting to disperse and to dissipate the main driving forces of progress. What we are called upon to do is to find the issues, the organizational forms, the understanding that will help the objective conditions further to unite this community.

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ON THE CONSULTATIVE MEETING OF REPRESENTATIVES OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

RESOLUTION* OF PLENARY MEETING OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION MARCH 26, 1965

Having heard Comrade M. A. Suslov's report on the Consultative Meeting of representatives of Communist and Workers' parties, held in Moscow on March 1-5, 1965, the CC, CPSU fully endorses the Communique and the Statement on the events in Vietnam adopted by the Meeting and approves of the activities of the CPSU delegation.

The Central Committee considers that the Meeting constituted an important step in strengthening the unity of the world Communist movement in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism, for national liberation, peace, democracy and socialism.

The results of the Meeting show that the participating Communist parties are firmly resolved to do everything in their power to cement the unity of the world Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism and the line set forth in the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement.

The Central Committee fully agrees with the participants in the Meeting that the strengthening of unity presupposes above all a higher sense of internationalist responsibility on the part of every Communist Party and the active participation of each Party in joint actions in the common struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, in support of the liberation struggle of the peoples, against the rule of monopoly capital, for world peace and affirmation of the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, for socialism and communism. Of special importance today are joint actions by the Communist parties of all countries, of all the peace-loving and democratic forces, to repulse the U.S. imperialists aggression against South Vietnam and other peoples subjected to imperialist aggression. A call to this effect is contained in the highly important Statement adopted by the Meeting on the events in Vietnam.

The CC, CPSU regards as correct and fully approves the measures taken by the Presidium of the CC in agreement with the leader-

*Pravda, March 27, 1965.

ship of the Party of Working People of Vietnam to render further aid and support to the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people and to strengthen the defense capability of the DRV with a view to repelling the aggression of the U.S. imperialists.

The CC, CPSU is in full agreement with the views and considerations set forth in the Communique. For its part, our Party will do everything necessary to give effect to these views and considerations and to ensure that they lead to a strengthening of the unity of the world Communist movement on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

The CPSU shares the conclusion of the participants in the Meeting that differences in the Communist movement, weakening its unity, cause damage to the cause of the world liberation movement, to the cause of communism. Our Party, like the other fraternal parties that took part in the Meeting, holds that the present situation imperatively calls for effective measures to overcome the difficulties in the Communist movement and to restore the unity of its ranks.

The CC, CPSU supports the proposals, worked out by the Meeting participants in an atmosphere of complete equality and mutual respect for the opinions of all the parties, concerning the ways and means of strengthening the unity of the Communist movement. These proposals call for joint actions in the struggle for common aims, collective efforts to improve relations between parties, bilateral and multilateral meetings and other forms of contact between parties, and the discontinuation of open polemics abusive and uncomradely in form. At the same time it is necessary to promote a comradely exchange of opinions on the important problems of our time and strictly to observe the standards governing relations between parties as defined by the 1957 and 1960 conferences.

The unity of the fraternal parties could also be promoted by convening, at a suitable date, a preliminary Consultative Meeting of representatives of the 81 parties which took part in the 1960 Meeting. Such a meeting would make it possible to decide, by the most democratic methods, on the ways and forms of preparing a new International Conference of representatives for the new International Conference and its convocation at a suitable time would be in the interest of the world Communist movement—this conclusion reached by the participants in the Consultative Meeting is fully supported by the CPSU.

The CC, CPSU approves the measures taken by the Presidium of the CC since the October (1964) Plenary Meeting to strengthen fraternal friendship with the socialist countries and the unity of the world Communist movement, including the steps taken to promote contacts and cooperation with all the Communist and Workers' parties.

The CPSU will continue steadfastly to pursue the Leninist line

laid down in its Program and in the Declaration and Statement of the Moscow meetings, firmly upholding the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and working together with the other Communist parties to unite all the socialist countries, all the Marxist-Leninist parties, all the revolutionary forces of our time, in the fight against imperialism and colonialism, for national liberation, peace, democracy and socialism.

URGENT MEASURES FOR THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF SOVIET AGRICULTURE

REPORT* BY L. I. BREZHNEV, FIRST SECRETARY, CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE CPSU, TO THE CC, CPSU, MARCH 24, 1965

Comrades, last November the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union passed the important decision to merge the industrial and rural Party organizations at regional and territorial level. The decision won the wholehearted approval of the Party and the people.

A great deal of organizing and political work has been done since the November Meeting of the CC on the setting up of single Party, government, trade union, and Komsomol bodies. Party conferences have been held at territorial, regional and district level, with more than 700,000 Communists attending, and more than 34,000 speaking in the debate.

The delegates to the conferences discussed the decisions of the October and November meetings of the Central Committee. They stressed that the setting up of single Party bodies would make for a further improvement in the work of Party organizations, and increase their leading role in the management of economic and cultural affairs.

Single regional and territorial Party committees have been elected at Party conferences in the 85 Regions and Territories where the Party organization had been divided into industrial and agricultural ones. Single Regional and Territorial Executive Committees of Soviets of Working People's Deputies have also been set up. District Party committees have been elected at District Conferences. The Party committees of production boards have been abolished.

The Central Committee of the CPSU has supported the proposal of the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the Union Republics and regional and territorial committees that some districts be divided into smaller units. A number of new rural districts have been set up with the aim of promoting economic and cultural development. At present we have 2,434 District Party committees, an increase of 611 over the number that existed at Collective-State Farm Boards. Experienced personnel have been sent to reinforce the district committees.

*Pravda, March 27, 1965.

The organizational structure of the Party bodies has been brought into line with the Rules of the CPSU. The restoration of single Party bodies on Leninist principles has increased the role of the Party organizations and put an end to their separation resulting from uncalled-for reorganizations. The Party organizations now have every opportunity for fruitful work.

The Central Committee of the CPSU is submitting to this Plenary Meeting the problem of urgent measures for the further development of agriculture. This question is being raised because there have been serious shortcomings and mistakes in agricultural management in recent years, which were laid bare at the October and November plenary meetings of the Central Committee.

With a view to steadily advancing the socialist economy of our country, and improving the Soviet people's standard of living, we must take a number of important measures to increase agricultural output. We consider the development of agriculture the concern of our entire Party, of all our people.

I. THE MAIN RESULTS OF AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT IN RECENT YEARS

Comrades, our agriculture is based on the most advanced social system, one that has stood the test of time and has proved its invincible vitality. Thanks to the socialist system, the Communist Party has been able to do much to promote agriculture.

The September 1953 Plenary Meeting of the CC of the CPSU was an event of vast importance. It charted the right course in agriculture. And we must say frankly that we achieved definite results as long as its decisions were being carried out. Much was done to strengthen the collective and state farms organizationally and economically, to improve their material and technical base, and to increase material incentives for people engaged in agriculture.

Tens of thousands of agricultural experts and organizers went to work in the countryside at that time in response to the Party's appeal. The reclamation of virgin and disused lands went a long way toward increasing grain production. In the first five years after the September meeting of the Central Committee sown areas were considerably expanded, yields rose, and gross and marketable output of farm produce went up.

Unfortunately, these positive results were not consolidated and carried forward. We are confronted by the fact that agricultural development has slowed down in recent years and that our plans for increasing agricultural production have remained unfulfilled.

According to the target figures, gross agricultural output should

have grown under the Seven-Year Plan (1959-65) by 70 per cent, but the actual increase over the six years that have already passed is 10 per cent. From 1955 to 1959 gross output rose by an annual average of 7.6 per cent, whereas in the last five years it was only 1.9 per cent annually. The rise in yields of the basic crops has slowed down. The average yields of grain crops between 1955 and 1959 showed an average increase of 1.7 centners per hectare over the previous five-year period, but between 1960 and 1964 the rise was only 0.8 centners.

A similar state of affairs is observed in stock farming. The rate of increase in the cattle population dropped to half that of the previous five-year period. As for hogs, sheep and poultry, their numbers showed a considerable decline over the same period. The average milk yield per cow on the collective and state farms has decreased by 370 kg.

These data suggest that while there was a noticeable advance in agriculture up to 1959, little headway has been made since then.

What are the main reasons for this situation?

First, the weak spot in agricultural management is that the demands of the economic laws governing socialist economic development were not fully taken into account, and, indeed, were ignored altogether. We mean above all such laws as those of planned and proportional development and expanded socialist reproduction, as well as the principles of coordinating public and personal interests, providing material incentives, and so on. As we know, reality severely punishes those who disregard these laws, who ignore them and use a subjective approach.

Purely arbitrary practices have been gaining ground in the practical leadership of agriculture in recent years, especially as regards planning, price formation, financing and credits. For example, it cannot be considered normal that the procurement prices of a number of agricultural products do not cover production costs, with the result that collective and state farms incur great losses.

Frequent, and occasionally far-fetched, reorganizations created an atmosphere of nervous tension and confusion. They made it impossible for managers to look ahead, and undermined their faith in their own ability. Quite often it became the rule to run collective and state farms by issuing bureaucratic instructions and peremptory orders, instead of doing thoughtful and painstaking work and making a deep analysis of the situation.

Secondly, very big tasks were set before agriculture, but they were not adequately supported by economic measures, specifically by properly fixing prices for agricultural produce and manufactured goods, allocating appropriate investment funds and improving

material and technical supply. State investments in agriculture were 11.3 per cent of the total investment in the economy in the five-year period (1954-1958), while the target figures for the Seven-Year Plan (1959-1965) put them at only 7.5 per cent.

As distinct from any other branch of the economy, the construction projects of state farms and especially of collective farms were not fully supplied with the necessary materials and equipment. Often large sums were spent on projects which were not required urgently for production purposes. As a result, this expenditure did not produce the necessary economic effect and so was detrimental to the economy.

Thirdly, very little was done to achieve an all-round improvement in farming methods and to raise soil fertility. Many collective and state farms violated the rules of crop rotation and the elementary rules of agronomy. Central bodies issued many different stereotyped directions on land cultivation, the crop pattern, the change-over from one system of farming to another, and the keeping and feeding of cattle, without allowing for the natural and economic conditions of production and local experience. All this hampered methodical economic management. It reduced the responsibility of agricultural bodies, and did not lead to more efficient use of the land.

Lastly, when speaking about the reasons for the lag in agriculture, we must admit that there were also serious shortcomings in the work of Party, government and agricultural bodies. Needless to say, the work of staffs was made more difficult by frequent reorganizations. But even so, we did not fully use the opportunities we had. We did not work well enough among people, did not make sufficient use of experts and of agricultural science, and failed properly to organize the analysis and dissemination of advanced know-how.

Comrades, we encounter the consequences of errors in agricultural management in every part of our country, but their adverse effect was particularly marked in the non-black earth areas. Take Smolensk Region. Gross agricultural output there has increased by only one per cent in the last five years. The region has yet to reach the prewar level of production of the most important field crops.

Crop yields in the region are still low. The milk yield per cow on collective and state farms has decreased by nearly 400 kg. The only branch of agriculture that is showing a profit is flax-growing.

We cannot help being seriously concerned about the state of affairs in agriculture. The Presidium of the CC CPSU has worked out and is now submitting to this Meeting important economic measures intended to strengthen the collective and state farms organizationally and economically.

We realize that we must improve agriculture in order to build communism successfully. To solve this problem, which is the concern of the whole people, we must put agriculture on a firm economic foundation. Lenin considered this problem one of the major problems of the Party's economic policy, for it affects the bedrock of the Soviet state—the relations between the working class and the peasantry.

We must correct the mistakes made in agriculture as speedily as possible, and put an end to subjectivism. We must use, on a broad economic basis, material and moral stimuli to foster production. This calls for serious effort and radical changes in the working methods of the Party, government and economic bodies, of all of us.

II. THE SYSTEM OF AGRICULTURAL PROCUREMENTS NEEDS TO BE IMPROVED

Comrades, the Presidium of the Central Committee attaches great importance to the problem of improving the system of procurements and purchases of agricultural products. It has many shortcomings and needs to be improved.

Its main defect today is that it creates uncertainty on the collective and state farms, and prevents proper planning of production. The collective and state farms receive purchasing plans for a period of only one year, often with great delay. Furthermore, these plans are often amended during delivery, and collective and state farms are given additional assignments often exceeding the planned targets.

Collective and state farms have been known to appeal to the state for seed after completing grain deliveries. In 1962 the state sold them 1,373,000 tons of seed. This year requests have again been made for two million tons of seed.

In a number of belts, the price for the purchased grain does not cover the cost of its production. These practices are detrimental to the state. They undermine collective and state farms, and provide no incentive to the farmers.

We all know from experience the difficulties involved in grain procurements. The fact that the grain purchasing plans in the last ten years were fulfilled only three times—in 1956, 1958 and 1964—shows how faulty and unrealistic they were.

Reality demands that we improve the entire grain procurement system. First of all, we must go over to stable procurement plans covering several years. These plans should harmoniously combine public interests with those of the farms concerned.

The Presidium of the CC, CPSU is submitting to this Meeting the following proposals:

First, that the plan adopted for grain purchases in 1965 be reduced from 4,000 million poods to 3,400 million poods;

Second, that these 3,400 million poods remain fixed and stable for the entire period covered by the coming Five-Year Plan, including 1970.

Stable plans for grain purchases in the coming six years should be fixed for all republics, regions, territories, districts, collective and state farms.

We suggest the following draft plan for grain purchases in the Union Republics for the period 1965-70;

	Million poods
USSR AS A WHOLE	3,400
Russian Federation	2,103
Ukrainian SSR	617
Byelorussian SSR	15.3
Uzbek SSR	17.5
Kazakh SSR	586
including Tselinny Territory	443
Georgian SSR	4.3
Azerbaijan SSR	8.2
Lithuanian SSR	4.6
Moldavian SSR	24.4
Latvian SSR	4.0
Kirghiz SSR	10.4
Tajik SSR	1.8
Armenian SSR	1.2
Turkmen SSR	1.2
Estonian SSR	1.8

As you see, comrades, the Presidium of the Central Committee is proposing a fundamentally new system of planning grain procurements. This is a vital necessity today and it will effectively help the productive forces of agriculture. We are certain it will win the approval and support of the Party and the people.

Simultaneously we suggest raising—beginning with this year's harvest—basic purchasing prices for wheat, rye and some other cereals, and also for sunflower seed produced by state farms. So-called sliding-scale prices are to be annulled. The new purchasing prices for wheat and rye are suggested as follows:

PURCHASING PRICES
(in rubles per ton of basis conditions)

	For collective farms		For state farms and other establishments	
	wheat	rye	wheat	rye
Russian Federation (exclusive of the north-western, central and Volga-Vyatka regions)	86	81	59	63
North-western, central, Volga-Vyatka regions of the Russian Federation, Polesye in the Ukraine, Byelorussian SSR, Lithuania SSR, Latvian SSR and Estonian SSR	130	130	130	130
Ukrainian SSR (exclusive of the Polesye and Moldavian SSR	76	76	45	45
Kazakh SSR	80	80	65	60
Kirghiz SSR	85	80	65	60
Uzbek SSR, Georgian SSR, Azerbaijan SSR, Tajik SSR, Armenian SSR, Turkmen SSR	90	85	90	85

The new purchasing prices for grain will benefit all. They have been evolved with due regard to the local conditions. Take, for instance, Byelorussia and the Baltic republics. Their procurement quotas will be much lower. Moreover, prices for grain purchased from collective and state farms in these areas will be increased from 50 to 100 per cent against those operating today. If the collective and state farms in these areas work better and reap good harvests—and we have no doubt about that—they will derive an extra income from grain sales to the state over and above plan. As for the collective and state farms in the major grain-growing areas, such as the Ukraine, Siberia, North Caucasus, the Volga country, Kazakhstan, the Urals, and the Central Black Earth Region, they will be able in the new conditions further to increase their profits from grain sales to the state.

Comrades, the Presidium of the Central Committee thinks it necessary to inform this Meeting that the proposed amount of grain purchases will not fully meet growing requirements and the need to build up state reserves. Therefore, along with planned procurements, we should make provisions for above-plan purchases of staple food crops from farms having a surplus of marketable grain.

The state will encourage the free purchase of farm produce, and will stimulate it by means of stable prices. It will do everything to promote commodity relations in agriculture. To stimulate the sale by collective and state farms of agricultural produce over and above plan, it is proposed to establish a 50 per cent increase over the basic purchasing price of wheat and rye.

We hold that stable state procurement plans and new purchasing

prices for basic cereals—wheat and rye—will help to lay a solid foundation for our grain farming, and put an end to the low grain production capacities of collective and state farms in a number of belts. These economic inducements will serve as a most important instrument for raising labor productivity and overcoming the lag in this leading branch of farming within the next few years.

Naturally, these measures will entail additional expenditure, and the state is prepared to cover it by redistributing budget appropriations. We are convinced that this aid will enable collective and state farms to produce and the state to purchase much more grain than today. Besides, the farms will have more grain to meet their own requirements. This, in fact, is the main idea of the new system of grain procurements.

Prominent in our plans for increased grain output are the Ukraine, the Volga country, North Caucasus, Siberia and the Central Black Earth Region, which have long been famous as the country's major granaries. The new important grain-growing areas, such as Kazakhstan and the Urals, where vast tracts of virgin and disused lands have been reclaimed, must also extend their production capacities.

The Presidium of the Central Committee has considered the state of agriculture in the non-black earth belt, which can and must, for its part, occupy a creditable place in grain production. In the past, large areas were sown to rye, oats, buckwheat and other crops throughout this belt.

This belt accounts for over 40 million hectares, or one-fifth of the cultivated area of the USSR. It has a stable rate of precipitation and can produce bumper crops every year, provided the standard of cultivation is adequate. However, it has not received proper attention in recent years, with the result that its crop farming has declined. Our plans envisage measures to promote farming in this belt.

Comrades, we are having difficulties in keeping the country properly supplied with buckwheat, millet and rice. Less attention has lately been paid to their production and this has led to a substantial reduction in sown areas and in total output.

We must reconsider our attitude to cereal crops. We must encourage production of buckwheat and millet, as well as rice. An adequate purchasing price could be one of the incentives.

The importance of a proper price policy on agricultural products is evident from our experience in increasing output of cotton and sugar-beet. Many comrades here will remember that in 1949 raw cotton prices were substantially raised, and that this led to a rapid increase in its production. Then, between 1958 and 1962, bonuses and exchange sales of grain and other goods to the cotton-growing collective farms were abolished. As a result, yields and total output declined.

Early in 1963 cotton prices were raised by 20 per cent for the

collective farms and 12 per cent for the state farms, and exchange sale of grain was re-established. As a result, cotton yields went up to 21.5 centners per hectare the next year as against 18 centners in 1962.

This was also the case with sugar-beet. In 1958 stimuli for increased production of this crop were abolished. What happened? Yields and procurements went steeply down. In 1962 the purchasing prices of beet were raised from 23 to 29 rubles per ton, and bonuses in sugar for growers were restored. The result: in 1964 yields went up considerably and procurements almost doubled.

I would like to mention the state of rice cultivation in our country. The demand for rice is growing from year to year. But rice cultivation is not getting the attention it merits. In the last five years we have had to import almost 1.5 million tons of rice. This has cost us a pretty sum. Wouldn't it have been better to invest that money in rice cultivation at home?

The Party, government and agricultural bodies in a number of regions in the Ukraine, Kazakhstan, the Central Asian republics, the Krasnodar and Stavropol territories and Rostov Region are taking practical measures to increase rice output. This year the rice area can be expanded by 30,000 hectares.

If we all tackle the problem we will have plenty of rice. Measures to increase rice output should be included in the Five-Year Plan, so that in order to fully provide the needs of the country and cut out imports.

These are the economic measures which the Presidium of the Central Committee is submitting to this Meeting with a view to increasing grain production.

Comrades, it is a well-known fact that animal husbandry directly depends on crop farming, primarily grain output. Increased grain production lays a solid foundation for progress in stock-breeding. The Presidium of the CC, CPSU is planning a number of economic measures to facilitate the advancement of this important branch of the economy.

As matters stand today, stock-breeding at many collective and state farms is unprofitable.

We are faced with an obviously abnormal situation: the more meat a farm produces, the greater is its loss. Surely we cannot put up with this.

This has also led to a sharp drop in the sheep population in a number of regions. Take Yaroslavl Region, the homeland of the famous Romanov breed. Before the war they had 470,000 sheep; today only 186,000 are left. In Kirov Region the number of sheep has decreased by more than half over the same period and in Bryansk Region by 33.4 per cent. In 25 regions in the north-western, central and Volga-Vyatka areas the sheep population has gone down

from 16,700,000 in 1928 to 7,500,000 in 1964, or by more than half.

State farm managers and collective farm chairmen, as well as agricultural, Party and government bodies cannot but be held responsible for this state of affairs in sheep-breeding. They have not done everything possible to make this branch profitable.

We must take steps to eliminate shortcomings in animal husbandry. First and foremost, we must establish, as from this year, a specific procurement plan for animal products for the republics, regions, territories, districts and collective and state farms covering several years. It should take into account development prospects, specialization, natural, economic and other conditions.

With due regard to the suggestions of the CP Central Committee and the Councils of Ministers of the Union Republics, and with the aim of preserving the livestock population in order to increase the output of animal produce, it has been decided to fix the state procurement plan for cattle and poultry in 1965 at 8,500,000 tons instead of 9 million tons fixed earlier. We must reduce somewhat purchasing plans for other animal products.

The following draft procurement plan for animal products in 1967-70 is suggested:

	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970
Cattle and poultry (live weight in thousand tons)	8,500	8,930	9,460	10,020	10,680	11,400
Milk (thousand tons)	33,000	34,620	36,235	38,390	40,800	43,400
Eggs (millions)	9,400	10,000	10,840	11,920	13,510	15,000
Wool (thousand tons, in terms of scoured wool)	348	361	373	387	407	430

To hasten the growth of output of animal products, we need to take certain additional measures in terms of state assistance to collective and state farms. The drafts to be handed to you suggest, in keeping with local conditions, the following additions to purchasing and procurement prices at collective and state farms: cattle from 20 to 55 per cent, hogs from 30 to 70 per cent, sheep from 10 to 70 percent, and in the mountainous regions up to 100 per cent.

This increase in purchasing prices will not affect the retail prices of bread, cereals, meat and meat products.

As you see, the state is additionally investing large sums in animal husbandry as well. We are doing this to help the collective state farms make this branch profitable. The Party, government and agricultural bodies, the collective farm chairmen and state farm managers should use this help to radically improve animal husbandry within the next two or three years.

The Councils of Ministers of the Union Republics must, on the

basis of average increases in existing meat prices, differentiate the production of meat without loss.

Many regions are asking that when drawing up purchasing plans the specified fat content of milk be reduced to the actual average level achieved. The request is justified, and an appropriate decision has been drafted. The prices paid for skimmed milk in the past are being restored. This will bring additional profits to the collective and state farms.

Stable plans for purchases of animal products over a number of years plus state aid will enable collective and state farms better to plan the development of animal husbandry. They will be able to calculate in advance how many head of livestock they can keep on the farms, what buildings they must construct and how they must secure fodder stocks. In short, collective farmers, state farm workers and specialists will be able to tackle all the specific problems of increasing output of animal products creatively, as thrifty masters.

The measures taken earlier by the Government and the Central Committee to lift the restrictions on keeping livestock in the households of collective farmers, factory workers and office employees will greatly promote the effort to increase the supply of animal products.

The projected measures to step up output of animal products will prove effective only if we do everything to build up sufficient fodder stocks. It is for the collective farmers, state farm workers and agricultural specialists to decide how this should be achieved. They know local conditions better than anyone else. They know better what to sow on their fields and what fodder to use.

We have no doubt that collective and state farms will fully use the recommendations of research institutions and experimental stations, and practical achievements in choosing the fodder they want to sow.

However, mention should be made of one particular source of increasing fodder supply. We must urgently take measures to improve grassland and pastures. Our country has about 300 million hectares of hay fields and pastures, but a considerable part of them is neglected. This applies particularly to the Moscow, Leningrad, Novgorod, Pskov, Kalinin, Ryazan and some other central regions.

Let us find the means, allocate the machinery and improve the state of these lands. The collective and state farms can do much by themselves, but the state will apparently have to help them in land reclamation, clearing undergrowth, etc.

A few words about maize. This crop yields good harvests in many areas, both for grain and silo, and it would be wrong not to use the rich opportunities it affords for increasing fodder pro-

duction. We consider it necessary to say this here at this Meeting of the Central Committee because in some places the attitude to maize is wrong and people jump from one extreme to another. Maize should take a worthy place wherever its yields are high.

Comrades, the introduction of stable plans, the raising of basic prices for a number of farm products, and the system of above-plan purchases at higher prices will create new conditions for every farm, every management and every Party organization in a new situation. They will provide excellent opportunities for fruitful work and give them greater confidence.

From now on it will be possible, taking account of local conditions, to determine the crop pattern in advance, to restore crop rotation wherever it was upset, and to develop and introduce on the basis of scientific achievements and the latest experience progressive methods of cultivation and measures to increase livestock population and productivity.

A stable purchasing plan for six years ahead and encouragement of greater output of marketable produce will contribute in large measure to agricultural progress. They will allow full scope for the initiative of specialists and managers, and will give them the opportunity to freely display their abilities and enterprise and get rid of stereotyped methods in crop farming and animal husbandry.

The CP Central Committees in the Union Republics, the regional territorial and district Party committees, the government and agricultural bodies have the difficult and important task of providing every collective or state farm with stable procurement plans for the coming six-year period with due regard to local climatic and economic conditions and to soil fertility. And this must be done without any mistakes, comrades.

Success will largely depend on the proper planning of purchases: either all farms will rapidly develop in the new conditions, or, if mistakes are made and the plans are not worked out objectively, some farms will make good progress while others will not. This is why we must at once begin careful work on stable economic, agronomical and zootechnical plans, to be conveyed to every collective or state farm.

We must agree once and for all that these plans may not be altered by anyone. A stable plan will not diminish the responsibility of Party and government bodies for increasing output of agricultural products and fulfilling state assignments. Indeed, it will increase their responsibility.

If we say that the plan has the force of law, then it has to be binding on all: it may not be amended, but neither may it remain unfulfilled!

All the regulating levers of the state should be used to ensure that the collective and state farms all over the country, while

having different opportunities, enjoy approximately equal economic conditions for development. Progress on any farm will depend in decisive measure on the effort of its management and specialists, on the enthusiasm and industry of its personnel, on the fruitful work of the Party, government and agricultural bodies.

III. CONSOLIDATE THE MATERIAL AND TECHNICAL BASE OF AGRICULTURE

Comrades, during the current seven-year period the material and technical base of agriculture has somewhat improved and the number of tractors, lorries and farm machines has increased. Agriculture has been getting more electricity. Our industry, our workers, engineers and technicians have done much to supply it with modern machinery.

However, the quantity of the machinery in use on collective and state farms is still inadequate. We are still short of tractors, lorries, combines and other complex farm machines, of cultivators, harrows and seeders. This shortage slows field work and reduces yields.

It is hardly normal for autumn ploughing to last not 18 to 20 days, but up to two months, as it often does, and to be discontinued when the frosts come, whereas every peasant knows that he must finish autumn ploughing early if he wants a good crop. For lack of sufficient numbers of combines and other machines, the harvesting of cereals often takes from 30 to 40 days, which entails great losses.

To advance agriculture, we must greatly augment the material and technical supply of collective and state farms. We must manufacture much more farm machinery and improve its quality, its reliability and durability.

In expanding the output of tractors and other machines, it is essential to ensure that machine parts, units and mechanisms are standardized. We can no longer tolerate a situation in which every new machine creates a problem of spare parts, and the list of spare parts keeps on growing.

Workers, engineers, technicians and Party organizations at industrial enterprises should do everything to supply farm machinery on time and radically to improve its standards. The agricultural authorities should, in their turn, discard the practice of making numerous alterations in the orders for farm machinery they place with industry.

Efficient use and careful maintenance of the available machinery are highly important. It is essential to heighten responsibility for the proper use of farm machinery, to increase material incentives

for the engineers, technicians and machine operators, and to improve the supply of spare parts and materials to collective and state farms.

First of all, repair facilities must be improved. This is a most important matter that brooks no delay. We can provide the collective and state farms with large quantities of new machinery, but we will achieve less than satisfactory results unless we provide dependable repair facilities. Present facilities enable us to carry out only 60 per cent of the necessary repairs without delay and at a reasonably high standard. Practically 13,000 farms have no workshops for so much as current repairs.

Repair facilities were gravely undermined when the machine-and-tractor stations were reorganized. More than 600 well-equipped repair works and shops were transferred to Economic Councils and other non-agricultural organizations. Many of the shops were sold to collective farms some of which cannot use them to the full while nearby farms lack repair facilities.

Some shops are poorly supplied with machine tools and power equipment. During the past four years agriculture has received only 36,000 metal-cutting machines, which is less than one machine per farm. We must remedy this abnormal situation.

The prices of farm machinery, spare parts and materials have to be reviewed, as the price of electricity supplied to agriculture, with the aim of closing the price gap between industrial and agricultural electricity consumers. Unfortunately, the budget does not allow us to carry out these measures this year. The State Planning Committee and the Ministry of Finance of the USSR must find the funds to solve this problem next year.

We must encourage the establishment of mechanized units, machine-hiring and machine-and-animal-husbandry stations, and meadow reclamation stations that will help perform various specialized operations. We can concentrate in these units and stations powerful machinery whose purchase by individual farms is unprofitable and inexpedient from the state point of view.

These units and stations could sign contracts with collective and state farms for the extraction and application of lime and peat, for land improvement, excavation work, the improvement of grassland and pastures, farming operations in high-altitude regions, and so on.

It is a decisive condition for increasing production to have sufficient numbers of highly qualified machine operators, engineers and technicians. People on collective and state farms have long considered, and rightly so, that the machine operator is the kingpin in the countryside. Indeed, crop yields, total harvest, farm incomes, and the standard of living of collective farmers and state

farm workers depend primarily on the efficiency of machine operators.

We must give more attention to the training of engineers, technologists, tractor drivers, combine operators and other mechanics for agriculture. We must also see to it that they have material incentives to increase production, make better use of machinery, and keep it in good repair.

To ensure that the important problems of advancing production, and of specializing and consistently intensifying agriculture are solved, the Presidium of the CC, CPSU considers it necessary substantially to increase investments. We are now drafting a new five-year plan envisaging the investment of 71,000 million rubles in state and collective farms.

State investments will include 41,000 million rubles for the provision of production facilities and the purchase of machinery, and 21,000 million rubles out of this sum are to be spent on building and assembly work. This is a tremendous amount. In fact, it is almost as much as has been invested in agriculture in the nineteen years since the war.

There is to be a considerable increase in output of tractors, bringing annual output to 625,000 by the end of the five-year period, that is, almost doubling last year's figure. In five years agriculture is to be supplied with 1,790,000 tractors, including 780,000 ploughing tractors and 10,700 million rubles' worth of other farm machines. Output of grain combine harvesters is to grow from 84,000 to 125,000 annually.

You know of the great difficulties that our agriculture encounters because of the shortage of motor transport. Of course, we cannot in five years supply the collective and state farms with all the lorries they need. We believe, however, that in the next five-year period we can double the output of lorries and send up to 1,100,000 lorries to the countryside—as against the 394,000 supplied during the past five years.

Output of tractor trailers, machines and equipment for stock farms, loading and unloading facilities, excavating, land-reclamation and irrigation machinery is also to increase considerably.

To fulfil this vast program for more tractors, lorries, combines and other farm machines, we will have to build about 80 new plants and shops. The State Planning Committee of the USSR intends to invest more than 4,000 million rubles in their construction during the five-year period.

Approximately 200 new repair works and more than 1,000 specialized shops will be built by the Farm Machinery Board, and repair facilities now in use will be reconstructed. In addition, a large number of new shops will be built on collective and state farms and old ones reconstructed.

Huge power stations have been built in our country in recent years. Nevertheless, 12 per cent of our collective farms still have no electricity for lighting. Agriculture consumes only 4 per cent of the electricity generated in the country, and uses only half of it for production purposes.

We must take vigorous measures for the electrification of agriculture. The State Planning Committee, the State Committee for Power and Electrification, the Ministry of Agriculture, and scientists must be asked to prepare a program for the extensive electrification of agriculture with a view to solving this most important problem in the next few years.

While on the subject of measures to advance farming, it is necessary to emphasize the importance of the chemical industry. We must make it absolutely clear that the envisaged measures become far more effective as chemicals are introduced into agriculture on a large scale. The chemical industry has to improve its work, increase the rate of production and supply of high-quality mineral fertilizer, pesticides, herbicides and defoliants.

I wish to lay particular stress on the importance of developing irrigation in arid areas and of carrying out drainage works in excessively moist areas. Provision has been made to irrigate an area of more than 3 million hectares and to drain 6 million hectares in the next five-year period. This involves a vast amount of work. I wish to remind you that the irrigated area in the country has increased by only 2.4 million hectares, while three million hectares have been drained during the past 20 years.

Irrigation work is to be conducted mainly in the Central Asian Republics, in southern Ukraine, and in parts of North Caucasus and the Volga country. We must strictly forbid the construction of an irrigation system without at the same time constructing a collector-drainage network. These irrigation schemes must be real engineering installations built according to the latest standards of hydro-engineering. Unless this is done, irrigated land cannot be kept fertile for long.

The production of grapes and other fruit and the cultivation of tea, subtropical and valuable industrial crops should be further developed in the southern republics and regions of our country where the collective and state farms' perennial plantations occupy a considerable area.

I have already mentioned the serious position of agriculture in the non-black earth belt. The five-year plan should therefore give proper attention to measures to ensure that the deficiencies in agriculture in the non-black earth areas of the Russian Federation, the Baltic republics, Byelorussia and the Polesye Region of the Ukraine are eliminated as soon as possible. Highly intensive dairy-farming, pig-breeding, poultry- and grain-farming, the production

of potatoes, flax, hemp, hops, and other crops will be further developed in these areas.

It is high time to deal at state level with the problem of calcinating acidic soils, and also of extracting peat to be used as fertilizer in this area. As from this year the state is assuming the cost of calcination and land-reclamation works. The economic plan should include measures to combat soil erosion and we must earmark appropriate funds and facilities for the purpose.

The Presidium of the CC, CPSU is including in the plan for this year and in that for the next five-year period, measures to give adequate priority to the problems of investment, material and technical supplies for agricultural production, rural construction and the promotion of collective and state farming.

As from 1966, the State Planning Committee of the USSR and the Councils of Ministers of the Union republics will provide the necessary material and technical facilities for capital construction on collective farms, just as they do in the case of state farms. All farms must be supplied with the necessary material facilities in time and to the full.

IV. USE SCIENCE AND LATEST METHODS TO PROMOTE AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

Comrades, agricultural science has been assigned an important role in the measures which the Central Committee of the Party has drawn up to remedy shortcomings in agriculture and promote its growth. Science owes its great power to the unity of theory and practice. An admirable feature of Soviet science is that it serves the peoples.

In addition to producing profound theoretical works that have contributed to world science, outstanding Russian scientists have played a direct part in the decision of important practical questions. We must do everything to promote the traditions of our compatriots, our brilliant scientists.

Our country has a ramified network of research and training institutes and experimental agricultural stations at which a large contingent of scientists are working fruitfully. Among our justly respected scientists are K. Skryabin, V. Pustovoit, P. Lukyanenko, V. Kuzmin, B. Sokolov, F. Kirichenko, V. Remeslo, A. Sokolov, K. Bakhtadze, V. Milovanov and many others.

However, the achievements of our agrobiologists and their practical assistance to agricultural production could have been greater if faulty theories and dogmas, conceived without adequate scientific thinking and maintained by injunction, had been eliminated in good time.

Science does not tolerate a subjective approach and premature conclusions that have not been verified in practice. It can proceed only on objective data confirmed by precise experiment, by experience in production, by reality.

Genuine science takes nothing for granted. It cannot be the monopoly of individual scientists, let alone of administrators, whatever their authority. Unfortunately, we have lately had cases of people, who were scientifically incompetent, assuming the role of judges in arguments between scientists and so shackling their initiative and obstructing the free creative discussion of scientific problems.

The Academy of Sciences of the USSR and the Lenin All-Union Agricultural Academy are now taking steps to unite the efforts of scientists in order to ensure that science makes rapid progress and helps agricultural production.

The Soviet people are fully entitled to expect a worthy contribution to agriculture, not only by those working in agricultural and biological sciences, but from chemists, specialists in machinery, physicists, economists, physiologists, mathematicians, and scientists in other branches of knowledge.

We must do everything to enable our scientists to work fruitfully in agriculture. Science will receive the fullest encouragement and assistance by the Party and the Government. In turn, the Party and the people expect highly effective research. We believe in the capability of our scientists and want them to be more daring, to make bolder incursions into life, delve into the mysteries of living nature, to maintain close contact with the collective and state farms and equip practical workers with new discoveries and achievements.

Splendid practical workers who have vast experience have come to the fore in the course of the development of our socially-owned agriculture. Their achievements and their work provide inexhaustible opportunities for raising productivity in agriculture. We must see to it that the experience of the foremost workers is widely used in practice.

In the past we had many excellent ways and means of encouraging the best workers. These have been forgotten. I mean the awarding of orders and medals, certificates of merit and valuable gifts, and extensive displays of the achievements of the finest workers and enterprises at the USSR Agricultural Exhibition, which was a real center for the popularization of the best methods in agriculture.

The Ministry of Agriculture and the Central Committees of the Trade Unions should join forces with the government and Party bodies in the Union Republics, territories and regions to work out as soon as possible measures for a more effective propagation and

assimilation of the latest experience and for the encouragement of the best workers in agriculture.

Comrades, our agriculture has a vast body of highly competent specialists. Unfortunately, the attitude to specialists has been incorrect in recent years, their knowledge and experience have often been ignored, and in a number of cases they were prevented from discharging their important duties.

Lenin taught us to be attentive, considerate and appreciative toward specialists and to value them. He used to say. "To correct in an offhand manner the work of hundreds of the best specialists, to dismiss it with trite-sounding jokes, to boast one's right 'not to endorse' — is this not disgraceful?

"One must learn to treasure science, to reject the 'Communist' conceit of dilettanti and bureaucrats, one must learn to work systematically, making use of one's own experience and one's own practice." (*Coll. Works,* Vol, 42, p. 344, Fifth ed. /in Russian/). Well said!

We should radically change our attitude to specialists and scientists in agriculture, should give them systematic assistance and support, should encourage their initiative, and surround them with care and attention. They should in reality be made organizers of production, proponents of agronomical and zootechnical knowledge, of all that is new and progressive.

Agronomists and livestock experts are the technologists of agricultural production, their role is as great as that of engineers in industry. The Party regards these specialists as its reliable and highly qualified assistant in the effort to advance agriculture. We trust our specialists who have been reared by the Communist Party. With active support from heads of enterprises and from Party and government organizations, agricultural specialists will draw on their potentialities to ensure the steady growth of crop yields and of livestock productivity.

V. CERTAIN QUESTIONS CONCERNING THE ORGANIZATIONAL AND ECONOMIC STRENGTHENING OF THE COLLECTIVE AND STATE FARM

Comrades, the development of proper socio-economic relations in the countryside is an important condition for the growth of the productive forces of agriculture. Two historically-conditioned types of socialized farming have developed in our country — collective farms and state farms, each type being based on the corresponding form of socialist ownership — public ownership and collective-farm, cooperative ownership.

Experience has shown that the right combination of these two

types of farming enabled us to reorganize agriculture on socialist lines. Both will presumably continue to coexist and progress for a long time. What we must do at this stage is not to rush the transformation of one type into the other, but to do everything to enable both types to develop and flourish.

The economic measures planned by the CC, CPSU create conditions for the successful development and consolidation of both the collective and state farms. However, to make fuller use of the new potentialities for the rapid advancement of agricultural production, we must remove a number of serious shortcomings in the leadership of state farms and particularly of collective farms.

In this sphere, a great many arbitrary and — to be frank — ill-considered decisions were imposed some of which were at variance with the essence of collective farming and with real conditions. The past few years have seen mergers of farms in many parts of the country. Some collective farms have become so big as to become unmanageable. In setting up state farms on the basis of collective farms, the economic aspect of the matter was sometimes ignored, with the result that many of the new state farms proved cumbersome and hard to manage. At present some of them operate at a loss.

All this shows that the cardinal problems of socio-economic relations in the countryside must not be decided in an off-hand manner or by injunction. These problems affect the vital interests of millions of Soviet people, which means that they are policy matters and so should be settled carefully, without undue haste, and not until the economic situation favors it. On the other hand, it would be just as unwise to rush now into splitting up the merged farms.

We must not ignore the fact that the democratic principles of collective farming are grossly violated in many cases. On some collective farms most of the members hardly take any part in discussing and settling cardinal problems of farming. Furthermore, some collective farms have lately disregarded the provisions of the Rules of the Agricultural Artel (Cooperative) whereas the Rules are the backbone of the management and functioning of the cooperative.

The collective farm is a cooperative organization which cannot function and progress normally if its democratic principles are flouted. Hence these principles must be strictly observed on every collective farm.

We must admit that many provisions of the existing Rules of the Agriculture Artel have become outmoded. There is a need for improvements in the Rules. The time has come to draft new Rules taking account of the positive experience of collective farming

in recent years. It is also necessary to begin preparations for the Third All-Union Congress of Collective Farmers, which should convene not later than next year. The Congress should be preceded by district, regional, territorial, and republican congresses.

There are many other questions concerning the organizational and economic strengthening of collective and state farms. Everyone knows that well-organized work and strict accounting are indispensable for the proper management of a farm. Profitability should underlie any objective appraisal of the operation of collective and state farms. Unfortunately, the self-supporting principle is not very popular on our farms today.

Take, for example, the state farms. The state allocates funds, establishes plans for the delivery of produce, and fixes prices. It also determines the amount of the pay fund, and even the number of personnel and the categories of workers, including managerial workers and service personnel. The losses incurred by state farms are met by the state. The self-supporting principle is upset by the actual economic relations between the state, on the one hand, and the state and collective farms, on the other.

We should no longer be excessively rigid in distributing investments and subsidies for state farms. The state farms should all become completely self-supporting in the next few years. The profit they make should be left at their disposal, so that they can expand, increase capital construction, encourage good workers, and improve the cultural and living standards of their staffs.

To enable the state farms to use the profit made through efficient work for expanded production, the planning bodies should provide for appropriate manpower, building funds, materials, mechanisms and equipment to be made available to the farms.

The Ministry of Agriculture should in collaboration with Union Republic and other authorities, as well as with economists, prepare specific proposals for putting the state farms on a completely self-supporting basis.

Financing the collective farms and granting them credits are matters of great importance. We have to sort out things and put them right also in this important field. The Ministries of Agriculture and Finance and the State Bank should prepare proposals to improve the system of financing the collective farms and extending credits to them, and submit their proposals to the CC CPSU.

Many collective farms are heavily indebted to the state and this hinders their work. In order to ease the situation, primarily for the economically weak collective farms, and to enable the farms to function normally, the Presidium of the CC, CPSU considers it possible to write off their debts.

The existing procedure of taxing collective farm incomes needs

to be revised. At present the taxable income of the collective farm includes part of the production costs, namely, expenditure on the remuneration of the farm members, and also the value of the unfinished product. This is wrong. A draft has been prepared amending the decree on income tax levied on collective farms and introducing a new procedure, under which taxes shall be levied on the net and not the gross income of the collective farm.

We must take appropriate steps for the further consolidation and protection of the common socialist property of the collective and state farms. To begin with, we must ensure proper use of the land, put an end to a wasteful and rapacious attitude to the land.

Today we have to be thriftier than ever before. We must be economical in everything. It is not a question of a passing campaign, but a constantly thrifty attitude to everything: machinery, fuel, the operation of motor transport; here must be no loss or waste of materials, products or money. This concerns everyone from the collective farmer and the worker to the manager. A resolute effort must be made to tighten labor and state discipline on the collective and state farms.

Material and moral incentives for the workers in agriculture are an important condition for the growth of production. There are many unsolved problems here. The system of remuneration on the collective and state farms is far from perfect.

The Ministry of Agriculture of the USSR should in conjunction with agricultural bodies in the Union Republics, with scientists, specialists, and leading collective farmers, review the experience gained and submit proposals to improve remuneration on the collective farm. They should also consider the question of setting up monetary funds and stocks of products to guarantee payment for the work of the collective farmers.

It is also necessary to study the questions of material inducements for collective farmers and state farm workers who are directly engaged in land cultivation and animal husbandry and who achieve the best results.

The system of remuneration of the managerial workers and specialists of state farms and trusts, which was introduced in the past, has not justified itself. We should discard it and pay state farm managers and specialists regular salaries according to the amount of work they do, their qualifications and length of service. They should receive their salaries every month and in full.

Now for another point. Letters coming in from the countryside suggest the introduction there of the same prices for consumer goods as have been fixed for the town. The Presidium of the CC, CPSU thinks this feasible as from May 1965 for most of the goods and as from January 1, 1966, for certain kinds of goods. Former members of the collective farms whose land has been

turned over to state farms and other state-owned enterprises and organizations are asking that the law on pensions for collective farmers be extended to them as well. This question is also being settled in their favor.

The economic measures for the development of agriculture submitted to this Meeting will undoubtedly enable us to strengthen the collective and state farms organizationally and economically, to increase material incentives for those working in the countryside and raise the output of farm produce.

VI. RAISE THE STANDARD OF PARTY WORK IN THE COUNTRYSIDE

Comrades, in view of the great tasks in our country's economic and cultural development, the leading role of the Communist Party in the life of society is growing immensely. Communism is being built by the mighty creative effort of the people. This places on the Party the special responsibility of steadily improving organization, political, economic and ideological work.

The situation places great demands on the Party cadre. The cultural standard of our people has improved and their political outlook has broadened. Our Party and government cadres must steadfastly develop a Leninist ability to lead the masses in order to measure up to their role of leader in Communist construction.

More efficient organizing work by the Party is absolutely indispensable for the implementation of the proposed measures for teh further development of agriculture. Experience has shown that the higher the level of organizational leadership, the greater the economic achievements.

We must admit that some Party organizations still exercise little influence over the economic activities of collective and state farms. They overlook serious shortcomings and the standard of their work among the people is low. The work of some Party organizations still lacks militancy and purposefulness.

The Central Committee of the Communist parties of the Union Republics, the territorial and regional Party committees, and each one of us need to adjust our methods of work so as to discard all that is superfluous and harmful in Party work. We must stop giving peremptory orders and bureaucratic instructions, and stop exercising petty tutelage and usurping the functions of the managers and experts of collective and state farms. We must do away with all conceit and put an end to all ostentation and fuss.

The task is to rally the people to carry out the measures planned by the CC, CPSU, to ensure the consistent realization of these measures. This depends, first of all, on the effort, energy and per-

severance of Party organizations, and on the ability of their leaders to organize the masses.

A special effort should be made to increase the role of the primary Party organizations on collective and state farms. They are in the frontline, directly carrying out the policy and directions of the Party. At present there are 50,000 primary Party organizations in the countryside, with a membership of more than two million. That is a great force, comrades, a force capable of efficiently accomplishing the tasks set by the Party.

The sercretaries of the primary Party organizations of collective and state farms should be given substantial help and support, all the more so because many of them have been elected to their post for the first time or are overburdened with work in their special field. Perhaps we ought to increase somewhat the number of full-time Party secretaries on the collective and state farms.

Comrades, we have just restored the district Party unit. Many fine new people have assumed leadership of the district organizations. Our duty is to help the district Party committees to get to work quickly and vigorously.

The CC CPSU places great hopes on the district Party committees, which must carry out important assignments for the organizational and economic strengthening of the collective and state farms. They must coordinate and guide the work of the local government bodies, the trade unions and Komsomol organizations in the countryside, and guarantee the implementation of the measures for agricultural development planned by the Party's Central Committee.

Constant attention to the advancement of the collective and state farms and to increased agricultural production should be the determining aspect of the work of Party bodies. The task is to see to it that the ranks of efficient workers grow, and to help people to acquire greater skill in agricultural production. We must have more and more highly skilled farmers, stock-breeders and farm machine operators in every village.

The Party organizations must daily concern themselves with the satisfaction of the cultural and other needs of the workers in agriculture, so that their housing conditions improve from year to year, and that the villages are provided with good clubs, libraries, schools and shops. We all know that production plays the decisive role in the development of any social system. But it would be wrong to forget about the cultural problems of the countryside. To provide proper cultural and living conditions means, among other things, promoting collective and state-farm production.

Our work will be crowned with success if we use such powerful forces as the local government bodies, the trade unions and the Komsomol. Whenever taking an important step on the road to

communism, our Party has invariably done everything to heighten the activity of these political organizations of the working people. The CC CPSU hopes that these organizations will find a fitting place for themselves in the people's effort to advance agriculture.

Much better use should be made of such a powerful factor for organizing the masses as the press. Hundreds of national, republican, territorial and regional newspapers are published in our country. Recently the Central Committee decided to resume the publication of district newspapers.

Our press should have a thorough knowledge of problems of agricultural development. It should promptly publicize new developments, raise major questions of collective and state-farm production, and hold up the best examples for the masses to emulate.

Numerous propagandists are active in the countryside. At meetings and in personal talks with collective farmers and state farm workers, they explain our Party's policies and the meaning of important events taking place in our country and elsewhere, and rally the people for efficient and fruitful work. It will be their task to popularize the decisions of the Meeting.

Party organizations must help propagandists in every way in their important work. The secretaries of Party committees should get together with them more often, should analyze their experience and help them improve their work. We must help them to rally the people for great achievements, to imbue them with a revolutionary spirit.

In the face of the great and difficult tasks in agriculture, we must stress once again that ideological staunchness and unshakable confidence in the correctness of the Party's policy is the force which helps all of us to overcome every difficulty and effectively to solve practical problems.

The experience of the Communist Party shows that the higher the ideological standard and thoretical training of Party, government and economic executives, the more competently they lead the masses and the more fruitful their work. Our cadre must continue to master Marxism-Leninism. They must make a deep study of the law of socialist economy, and improve the forms and methods of their political work among the masses.

The measures for the development of agriculture worked out by the Presidium of the CC, CPSU create favorable conditions for Party work in the countryside. The task now is to put all the tremendous material and organizational forces into action, and to use them to the full to enhance the enthusiasm and encourage the initiative of the masses in their work, and to secure high labor productivity, which, in the final analysis, is the most important factor in the further development of agriculture. "To build up a new labor discipline," Lenin said, "to build up new forms of social

relations between people, to build up forms and methods of drawing people into the labor effort is . . . the most gratifying and the noblest of tasks." (*Coll. Works*, Fifth Russ. ed., Vol. 40, No. 316)

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Comrades, the measures for the development of agriculture that have been submitted to you, and the large state investments they entail are a vital necessity and are aimed at meeting an urgent need of the whole people. We are certain that they will help us put the collective and state farms on a sound material basis and create objective conditions for the steady and planned advancement of agriculture.

The main task now is to put an end, once and for all, to a subjective approach to the management of socialist agriculture and to make wide use of economic and moral stimuli in every sphere of collective and state farm production. The farms must have more economic autonomy; the Party, government and agricultural bodies, and farm managers and experts must play a greater role and bear greater responsibility for the state of affairs in agriculture.

All our measures and all our efforts should center on the solution of the main problem of agriculture, which is to raise the standard of farming, to secure high yields, to increase the productivity of livestock, to guarantee the profitable operation of all branches of agricultural production.

The measures proposed by the Presidium are inspired by the desire to steadily improve the material and cultural standards of all Soviet people and strengthen the alliance of the workers and peasants.

We must bring home to the Party membership and to all our people the significance of the proposed measures, and of the vast expenditure the state is going to make. On the other hand, our cadre should understand very clearly that this is only the beginning of the important work we have to do. We must heighten our cadre's sense of responsibility, strengthen Party and state discipline all along the line, and be most exacting toward everyone—leaders and the rank and file alike.

We must all be demanding of ourselves and conscious of our responsibility for the implementation of our plans in agriculture.

I wish to express the confidence that our Leninist Party, in close unity with the entire Soviet people, will do everything necessary for the steady progress of socialist agriculture.

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Comrades, this Meeting is taking place at a significant time. The Soviet people have accomplished a feat unprecedented in history.

A Soviet man, a member of the great Party of Communists, was first in the world to step out into space. It is a great victory for our socialist country, our heroic people, our Communist Party. On behalf of this Meeting, allow me to congratulate Pavel Ivanovich Belayev and Alexei Arkhipovich Leonov, and the Soviet scientists, engineers, designers and workers, on their brilliant victory.

In these stirring days our people have won another important victory. The elections to local Soviets recently held in all our fraternal Republics demonstrated once again the unbreakable union of Communists and non-Party people.

All this inspires our Party and all Soviet people to new feats of labor for the glory of the country, for the triumph of communism.

SUPREME INTERNATIONALIST DUTY OF A MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY*

A Communique on the Consultative Meeting of representatives of Communist and Workers' parties in Moscow has been made public. The participants in the Meeting held consultations on questions of common interest and exchanged opinions on ways and means of overcoming the differences and strengthening the unity of the world Communist movement.

As the Communique stresses, the meeting proceeded in an atmosphere of fraternity and friendship and was imbued with the spirit of active struggle for cementing the cohesion of the international Communist ranks on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism and the line defined by the Moscow conferences of 1957 and 1960, whose documents, the Declaration and the Statement, contain a profound analysis and characterization of our time, and a correct, realistic appraisal of the correlation of world forces.

Events since the two Moscow conferences have fully confirmed the conclusions and appraisals of these documents. As is stated in the Communique, consolidation of the positions of socialism, upsurge of the national-liberation and the international working-class movements, and growth of the forces fighting for the maintenance of peace have constituted the basic trend in world development. Rapid progress has attended the economic and cultural advance of the socialist states, growth of people's initiative, and perfection of socialist democracy. The appeal of socialism has increased still more. The anti-imperialist, anti-colonial struggle of the peoples has gained in scope and intensity. The working people in the capitalist countries have been fighting ever more resolutely against exploitation, against the imperialists' reckless schemes, for the vital interests of the masses, for democracy and social progress, for peace and international mutual understanding.

Our Party sees it as its important duty to defend the fundamental propositions and uphold the general line of the world Communist movement collectively worked out in the Declaration and the Statement and unanimously adopted by the fraternal parties.

Current events show that international reaction and above all U.S. imperialism are resorting to ever more brazen actions against the socialist countries and the newly-free countries, against the revolutionary movement of the masses. The developments in Vietnam and the Congo, the constant provocations against the Repub-

*Rabotnichesko delo editorial, March 12, 1965.

lic of Cuba and the imperialists' aggressive actions in other parts of the world aggravate the international situation and gravely endanger world peace and the security of the peoples. This demands that all the Communist parties and socialist countries should fight shoulder to shoulder in the common battle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, against the rule of monopoly capital, for rendering active support to the liberation movement, in defense and for the strengthening of world peace.

Our Party and the Bulgarian people are working actively for the triumph of the policy of peace and peaceful coexistence. The correctness of this policy has been borne out by world developments, by history. Pursued in the interests of the peoples, it has promoted the growth of the anti-imperialist, class and national-liberation struggle and the rallying of the peace-loving and democratic forces.

The Statement on the events in Vietnam, adopted by the Moscow Consultative Meeting, expresses the internationalist solidarity of the fraternal parties with the people of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, with the Party of Working People of Vietnam and the South-Vietnamese patriots who are waging a courageous struggle against the imperialists' brazen aggression. The participants in the Meeting called upon the Communist and Workers' parties and all the progressive and democratic forces of the world to act concertedly in defense of the freedom and national independence of the Vietnamese people.

The Bulgarian Communist Party and all our people unreservedly support the peoples fighting for freedom and national independence, the peoples still suffering from imperialist and colonialist oppression. They have proved this on many occasions.

Unity of all the revolutionary forces of our time is indispensable for success in the fight against imperialism. These forces are the socialist community, the national-liberation movement, and the international working class. Their unity is unthinkable without the unity of the world Communist movement. The decisive importance of the unity and solidarity of the fraternal parties was stressed in the 1960 Statement: "It is the supreme internationalist duty of every Marxist-Leninist party to work continuously for greater unity in the world Communist movement."

The Bulgarian Communist Party has always regarded it as its chief task to work for stronger ideological and political unity in the world Communist movement, for the close cohesion of the countries of the socialist community. It has always considered development and consolidation of relations of friendship and cooperation with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, with the Soviet people and the peoples of the other fraternal countries to be the most reliable guarantee of our national independence and successful socialist construction.

The disagreements in the Communist movement weaken its unity and do damage to the cause of the world emancipatory movement, the cause of communism. The participants in the Moscow Consultative Meeting pointed to ways of surmounting these disagreements. They expressed their conviction that what unites the Communist parties far outweighs that which disunites them. The Communique stresses that it is quite possible and necessary that the fraternal parties should work for unity of action in the struggle against imperialism, in the matter of all-round support for the national-liberation movement of the peoples, in the struggle for world peace and peaceful coexistence, in the defense of the vital interests of the working class.

All opportunities and means should be used to this end—bilateral and multilateral meetings and other forms of party contacts and exchanges of opinion. The Communique stresses that international conferences of the Communist and Workers' parties are an effective means of exchanging views and experience, enriching Marxism-Leninism and working out common positions in the struggle for common aims.

The Consultative Meeting in Moscow and the Communique adopted by it are fresh proof of the desire of Marxist-Leninist parties to search for and find ways of overcoming the disagreements in the world Communist movement, of cementing its unity and solidarity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, the Declaration and the Statement. There is no doube that this desire will meet with favorable response among those who cherish this unity and solidarity.

Our Party, the Party of Dimitri Blagoyev and Georgi Dimitrov, also took part in the Moscow Meeting; it supports the conclusions and estimates contained in the Communique. Its long and glorious history is one of boundless devotion to our great Communist teaching, uncompromising struggle for its ideological purity. In the work and struggle for world Communist unity our Party sees a guarantee of the victory of socialism and communism, of the success of the struggle against imperialism and war, of the triumph of peace, national independence, democracy and social progress.

RESOLUTION* OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY OF FINLAND

Having heard, at a meeting held on March 20 and 21, the report of its delegation to the Consultative Meeting of representatives of Communist and Workers' parties, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Finland stated that the Meeting had served a useful purpose. The CC, CPF resolution points out that the Meeting took into consideration the opinion of the CPF regarding the differences in the world Communist movement and measures to overcome them.

The great importance of the Moscow Meeting lies in the fact that its participants took an initiative aimed at restoring world Communist unity on the Marxist-Leninist principles set forth in the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement. The Communique of the Meeting notes that although there are differences over the political line, theory and tactics, it is perfectly possible and necessary to work for united action in combating imperialism, in supporting the peoples' liberation movement, in fighting for peace, for the vital interests and historical goals of the working class. The Consultative Meeting approved of world meetings of Communist and Workers' parties as one of the forms of solving common problems. Bilateral and multilateral meetings of fraternal parties, while important, cannot work out a common line for the entire world Communist movement. Hence the need for world conferences of all the parties. The new world conference should be carefully prepared. Conditions should be created for all the fraternal parties to take part in preparing it in order to improve the climate in the world Communist movement.

The CC, CPF approves of the proposal of the Meeting for the discontinuance of unfriendly and abusive polemics and for their replacement by a serious and comradely exchange of opinions on questions of common interest to the fraternal parties. Interference in the internal affairs of any parties should be avoided. Each party solves its problems in the interest of its people. The autonomy of each party and the solidarity of all the parties are principles supplementing each other.

The CC, CPF considers that the CPF delegation represented its Party at the Moscow Consultative Meeting in strict accordance

*Kansan Uutiset, March 23, 1965.

with these principles and thus contributed to the success of the Meeting. The CC recommends the Political Bureau to follow developments in the world Communist movement, maintain contacts with the fraternal parties, take part in regional conferences of Communist parties, especially those of the Nordic countries, and help convene a world meeting of all the parties.

The CC, CPF is confident that the struggle for world Communist unity will contribute to the victory of the peace forces over those of war.

SIGNIFICANCE OF MOSCOW CONSULTATIVE MEETING OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES*

The recent Consultative Meeting of representatives of Communist and Workers' parties and the Communique unanimously adopted by them constitute a major step forward and an important contribution to the struggle of the Communists for the unity and solidarity of their great international movement. The documents of the Meeting are eloquent proof of the atmosphere of friendship and fraternity in which it worked. They also demonstrate the usefulness of the discussion in which representatives of 19 parties took part, displaying a high sense of responsibility. The fruitful results of the Meeting are evident, as is shown by the approval voiced in statements and comments by many Communist and Workers' parties of the socialist and capitalist countries, as well as by the progressive press.

The representatives of Communist and Workers' parties unanimously adopted decisions of vast importance for the world Communist movement at the present stage, for further progress in the international situation and the entire world revolutionary movement. The successful outcome of the Meeting is due to their loyalty to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, to the program jointly worked out at the international conferences of 1957 and 1960, to the common interests of the world Communist movement, loyalty to the main goals and tasks of the revolutionary movement of the peoples.

The Meeting participants did not limit themselves to voicing the firm determination of their parties to exert every effort for closing the ranks of the Communist movement. They backed up this determination with a careful examination of concrete ways and means of overcoming the differences and difficulties. They expressed firm conviction in the importance of a new international conference of representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties and decided to launch preparations for it in all fields—ideological, political and organizational, having in mind the participation in it of all the fraternal parties. They adopted the proposal to convene a general consultative conference of representatives of the parties that took part in the Moscow Meeting of 1960.

Displaying a new approach to the vital tasks of our movement, the representatives of many Communist and Workers' parties

*Al Akhbar editorial, March 21, 1965.

headed by the tried and tested Party of the Soviet Union displayed a correct and profound understanding of the qualitative changes that characterize the situation confronting the world Communist movement today.

Since the international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties in 1960 the situation in the world has changed in favor of the forces of peace, socialism and national liberation. The working-class and liberation movements continue their onward march, gaining new experience as they are confronted with new problems requiring creative solution. It is important to correctly appraise this and draw lessons from the experience thus gained, and from the situation that has developed in the world Communist movement. The appraisal should be made by common effort, with the active participation of all parties, with observance of democratic principles and respect for the equality of the parties. Top-level international Communist forums are the best way of ensuring the realization of the tasks of the movement and concentrating attention on principles really uniting the different national contingents of Communists.

Overcoming the difficulties will take some time, of course. One should not expect that the possible international conference will work a miracle and remove all the difficulties at one go. What is important today is to conduct active joint preparations for it. It is also necessary to end the open polemics, which sometimes takes an unfriendly and abusive form. It is necessary, however, to continue fruitful discussions and creative exchange of opinions and experience regarding important aspects of the present situation and theory and tactics. These discussions should be sincere and friendly. and the desire shown to find practical solutions which would cement the unity of the Communist movement, not divide it and deepen the split. Marxist-Leninists the world over cannot but support the stand of the Consultative Meeting on the issue of solidarity of the international army of Communists.

The creative character of the decisions of the March Meeting was the result of the careful study by its participants of all the important problems bearing on the Communist movement, and the destinies of all mankind, the result of their close cooperation and mutual confidence.

Consolidation of the positions of socialism, the upsurge of the national-liberation and working-class movements and the growth of the forces advocating the preservation and consolidation of peace is the main trend of world development today. At the same time it should be noted that world reaction and above all U.S. imperialism are growing increasingly active in different parts of the world, trying to aggravate the international situation. They are committings acts of aggression against socialist states and countries

that have cast off the colonial yoke, against the revolutionary movement of the peoples.

The imperialists are out to take advantage of the differences between states of the socialist community and in the world Communist movement, the disagreements and disputes which weaken Communist unity and so do damage to the cause of the world liberation movement and communism.

Hence the need for Communists to focus attention on the principles and aims which unite them and which far outweigh that which disunites them at present. Despite the differences over the political line and many important problems of theory and tactics, there is every ground to believe that Communists will be able to close the rift in their struggle for common aims. The importance of the unity of the world Communist movement stems from the need to fight against imperialism and its aggressive actions, for peace, national liberation and socialism.

In order to achieve the unity and cohesion of our movement and remove the existing disagreements, it is necessary to wage a joint struggle against the common enemy, imperialism, support in every way the liberation movement of the peoples, and uphold peace, peaceful coexistence and the vital interests and historical goals of the working class.

Centering of the Communists' attention on what unites them, on the organization of united actions aimed at strengthening their solidarity and unity in the fight against the common enemy will enable them to consolidate their ranks. But this unity cannot be achieved by imposing the will of one party on all the other parties or by demanding that this or that party abandon its political line. The most important thing today is to continue tireless, persistent and patient efforts to remove the existing obstacles, to work for closer unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The Lebanese Communists view the March Consultative Meeting in the context of the above-mentioned aspects of the struggle for unity. They hail the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the initiator of this Meeting, which is working selflessly to strengthen the unity of Communists. The Lebanese Communists highly appreciate the exchange of opinions that has taken place, the documents adopted at the Meeting, and the prospects it has opened up. They consider the decisions of the Meeting to be fresh proof of the creative power of communism, an important stage in the struggle for the unity of the Communist movement and of all the anti-imperialist and anti-militarist forces fighting for liberation, peace, progress and socialism.

JOIN EFFORTS TO STRENGTHEN COMMUNIST UNITY*

The membership of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and the working people of Mongolia are deeply satisfied by the outcome of the Consultative Meeting of Communist and Workers' parties, held in Moscow from March 1-5 last. They see the Communique unanimously adopted by the Meeting as a highly important document showing the right way to the consolidation of all the revolutionary forces of our time against the common enemy, and to closer unity of the world Communist movement, on Marxist-Leninist principles.

The documents of the Meeting show that the participants were well aware of their internationalist duty and the responsibility of each Marxist-Leninist party for the world revolutionary movement.

It is characteristic of the world situation today that against the background of a considerable strengthening of the positions of socialism and the steady growth of the forces fighting for peace, democracy and national liberation world imperialism is stepping up its offensive against the working-class and national-liberation movements of the peoples of various countries, launching acts of aggression against the socialist countries and countries that have shaken off colonial rule. The Communique stresses that this situation makes it more imperative than ever for the Marxist-Leninist parties and all democratic and peace-loving forces to join efforts and strengthen their solidarity in the fight against imperialist aggression, for national independence, peace and the security of peoples.

The Statement on the events in Vietnam, approved by the participants in the Consultative Meeting, is a vivid indication of their internationalist solidarity in the anti-imperialist struggle. The working people of the MPR, who resolutely condemn the U.S. imperialists' armed intervention in the internal affairs of Vietnam and their acts of aggression against the DRV, wholeheartedly approve of this document, which expresses fraternal solidarity with the heroic Vietnamese people, the Party of Working People of Vietnam and the National-Liberation Front of South Vietnam in their legitimate fight against the U.S. militarists and their hangers-on.

The fact that the Moscow Meeting took a new important step to overcome the differences that have arisen in the world Communist movement, to cement the movement on the basis of Marxism- Lenin-

*Unen editorial, March 16, 1965.

ism and proletarian internationalism, of the line set by the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement, was an outstanding result of the Meeting. This step and the principled approach to the issue of closing the ranks of the Communist movement fully accord with the position of the MPRP on questions relating to the promotion of the unity and solidarity of the Communist parties and socialist countries, a position which found expression in the decisions of the 14th Congress and subsequent meetings of the Central Committee of our Party.

The participants in the Meeting, expressing the firm resolve of their parties to surmount the differences, which are doing great harm to our common cause, made a collective effort to find ways of strengthening the unity of the Communist movement.

The Communique stresses the possibility and necessity, in present conditions, of joint agreed actions by all the fraternal parties in fighting the common enemy, imperialism, giving maximum support to the liberation movement of the peoples, and fighting for world peace and the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems. It regards these actions as the surest way to overcome differences and as a realistic basis for the consolidation of the world Communist movement. The unanimity of the Meeting on this point expresses the aspirations of all who place the interests of the world Communist movement, of peace and communism, above everything else.

The Communique devotes a great deal of attention to the necessity of all the Communist and Workers' parties making collective efforts to improve relations between parties, using all opportunities—bilateral and multilateral meetings and other forms of contact and exchange of opinions.

The recent meeting of the Communist parties of twenty-two Latin American countries, the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty countries, the DRV and KPDR visits of the Soviet delegation led by Comrade A. Kosygin, the visit paid to our country by the CPSU delegation led by Comrade A. Shelepin, other reciprocal visits by leaders of the socialist countries, and Communist meetings were an important contribution to internationalist solidarity and closer links between fraternal parties and countries, to their Marxist-Leninist unity and cohesion.

Our Party, like the other Marxist-Leninist parties, thinks it necessary to continue meetings and active contacts between fraternal parties in the interest of more militant solidarity and unity of all the forces standing for peace, democracy, national independence, socialism and communism.

The Communique reaffirms the proposition of the 1960 Statement to the effect that nowadays world meetings of the Communist and Workers' parties are an effective form of exchanging views and

experience, enriching Marxist-Leninist theory by collective effort and working out common positions in the fight for common objectives.

The MPRP has always favored the idea of convening a new meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties, which should help to overcome the difficulties existing in the Communist movement and to work out common internationalist positions of the Communists of the world on the basis of a collective Marxist-Leninist estimation of the important events and changes that have taken place in the world since the latest world meeting.

In view of the actual situation, the parties attending the Consultative Meeting took a new and concrete approach to the question of preparations for a world meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties. They declared for preparing the new meeting vigorously and thoroughly, on collective and democratic lines, with all the fraternal parties cooperating.

The valuable initiative of the Meeting, aimed at holding a preliminary consultative meeting of the eighty-one participants in the 1960 Meeting to discuss the question of a new world meeting, benefits all the Communist parties and is a contribution to their unity.

Our Party, like other fraternal parties, attaches great importance to joint efforts to create in the world Communist movement an atmosphere favorable to preparations for and the holding of a new meeting. Many fraternal parties have stopped open polemics and have been doing everything to promote the solidarity of the Communist movement.

The situation in the Communist movement will not be normalized until open polemics, which are unfriendly and insulting, are discontinued and until factional activity in any form is ended.

Our Party, which strictly adheres to the standards of inter-party relations established by the Moscow Meeting of 1957 and 1960, has always been opposed to some parties interfering in the internal affairs of other parties, and to the imposition of the will of some parties upon others.

The existence of differences over the political line and tactics should not lead to a slackening of fraternal links and cooperattion between socialist countries or Communist parties.

It is the supreme duty of every Marxist-Leninist party to abide by the principles of proletarian internationalism and to do all in their power to overcome the difficulties existing in the Communist movement.

The representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties who took part in the Moscow Meeting were guided in their discussion of matters of vital importance by the desire to contribute to the unity and solidarity of the world Communist movement. Their collective initiative and joint efforts in searching for new ways of furthering unity of action in the struggle for common goals will

undoubtedly be appreciated and approved by every contingent of the great Communist movement.

The Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party will, with a profound awareness of its internationalist duty and great responsibility, continue its effort for an active contribution to preparations for a new meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties, to the provision of a favorable atmosphere in the world Communist movement, and hence to greater unity and solidarity of the movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

JOINT COMMUNIQUE* OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND BELGIUM

Talks with E. Burnelle, Chairman of the Communist Party of Belgium, and B. Gordover, member of the CC, CPB, were held in the Central Committee of the Communist Party Czechoslovakia on March 10 and 11.

The Belgian comrades were received by A. Novotny, First Secretary of the CC, CPC. The talks were also attended by V. Koucky, Secretary of the CC, CPC, and O. Kaderka, head of the Foreign Department of the CC, CPC.

The representatives of the CPC and CPB exchanged information on the policies and activities of the two fraternal parties, carried on in keeping with the agreed line of the world Communist movement as laid down in the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement. They expressed firm determination to promote the unity of the world Communist movement against imperialism and colonialism, for peace and peaceful coexistence, for democracy and socialism.

The Belgian comrades gave a positive appraisal of the results of the March Consultative Meeting of representatives of Communist and Workers' parties, and approved of the Communique unanimously adopted by the Meeting.

The talks, which took place in a comradely atmosphere, reaffirmed the two parties' community of views on all major problems of our time. The representatives of the two fraternal parties also declared in favor of closer cooperation between the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Communist Party of Belgium.

*Le Drapeau Rouge, March 15, 1965.

THE OUTLOOK

THESES* FOR THE 19th CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AUSTRIA

I

The four years since the 18th Congress of our Party have been years of contradictory development.

Many of our proposals were carried into practice. The ideas put forward by us gained in impact. The class point of view we have been upholding—to the effect that a maximum of benefits for the working people should be sought in any situation—spread among the greater part of the working class and led to appreciable results in the sphere of wages and social policies. The parity commission on which many workers once pinned big hopes lost much of its prestige, nor did the establishment of a new Council bring greater respect for it. The struggle over the nationalized enterprises resulted in beating off the attacks of foreign capital and Austrian reaction, and prevented the transfer of Siemens Werke to the German monopolies.

Broad anti-fascist, patriotic actions were carried out in countering neo-fascist and anti-Austrian sorties. They were joint actions by Communists, Socialists and Catholics. Our fight against the return of the Hapsburgs forced the Socialist leadership to revise its attitude to the idea of their return. The relations between Austria and her socialist neighbors improved considerably, and trade with Eastern countries has been playing an increasing part, primarily as regards the nationalized enterprises.

There can be no doubt that these changes and improvements are due in substantial measure to our proposals and ideas, and to our fight. On the other hand, our attempt to win seats in Parliament miscarried, and the number of our members and our activists decreased. This contradictory development is the chief problem facing our Party. Apart from the difficulties stemming from the political situation, it was caused by shortcomings and mistakes in Party work.

II

Some of the favorable changes are due to the fact that the traditional tactic of vilifying Communists and rejecting every

*Abridged from **Volksstimme**, Feb. 23, 1965.

constructive proposal or initiative emanating from them is less effective now that international tension has eased somewhat. We, for our part, promoted this development by maintaining the principle of peaceful coexistence, according to which no international dispute can justify an atomic war. We have always felt that it is wrong to argue about which is more important—the fight for peace or the fight for socialism. The fight for peace gathers momentum in step with the fight for the establishment of a society in which there will be no class making profit from war. By the same token, the fight for this society is worth while only when it is linked with the fight to preserve the lives of people, who should enjoy the benefits of the new system. This applies especially to world political crises resulting from imperialist acts of aggression, such as those against Cuba, Vietnam and the Congo.

Our views are inspired by general propositions regarding the class struggle, by the principles of humanity, and by the special interests of our people and our working class, who would be wiped out by an atomic war. We found a larger audience whenever we pointed out that upholding neutrality, the policy of active neutrality, is the important contribution which the peace forces of Austria must make to world peace. However, we were unable to bring it home to the masses that the West German monopolies are exerting increasing pressure on Austria and that the danger threatening our country as a result of the resurgence of German militarism is growing. Outside our Party, those who are warning against the threat to our country's neutrality and independence on the part of German imperialism are very few, even in those groups which, like ourselves, are against Austria joining the EEC. This constitutes not only the principal weakness of the peace forces of Austria but, evidently, the principal weakness of our own struggle for peace. Joining the EEC in any form would be a heavy blow to our sovereignty. It would imperil the nationalized enterprises and our democratic gains.

III

The changed balance of world forces—the expansion of the socialist community, powerful popular revolutions in the colonies and semi-colonies, the uptrend of the working-class movement and the growth of the peace forces in the capitalist countries—has made it possible to aim at averting a world war and at establishing a lasting world peace. It has also confronted the working-class movement in the capitalist countries with new problems in the struggle for a socialist revolution. In combating and competing with the socialist world, the developed capitalist countries were compelled to adopt methods and tactics which make it impossible for

the working class to fight capitalism by using the notions and views that were valid between the two world wars.

In the developed capitalist countries, the role of the state and of the regulation measures it employs, primarily in the interest of big capital, has increased immensely. Alarmed by the concrete example of socialism, these countries are constrained to pursue the policy of achieving a high level of business activity and industrial growth in order to provide the highest possible level of employment. The working-class movement has ample opportunities of securing concessions on wages and social policies, as well as on the issue of providing full employment. The exploiter classes can no longer exert direct pressure on wages. They seek greater profit by boosting prices, by means of inflation as an invariable concomitant of a favorable economic situation, and by subtler methods of intensifying labor. On the other hand, the considerable growth of production and higher productivity of labor, and far-reaching technical achievements enable the workers to buy consumer goods they could not afford before—true, at the price of overtime work, falling heavily into debt and working at high pressure.

Such is the contradictory and misleading picture of the "welfare state": full employment along with the fear of losing one's job; an economic situation that by and large is favorable along with slumps in certain economic fields; a growing standard of living for the working people along with the much faster growth of the employers' profits; higher real wages along with more and more cuts and curtailments due to the increasing cost of living and depreciation of money; tremendous technological progress along with as tremendous a waste of products, raw materials, manpower and health; a world of unprecedented wealth that is also an unprecedented vacuum in which the development and happiness of the individual comes last.

Since World War II there have been no regular economic crises affecting the condition of the workers and leading to further impoverishment. There have been crises and slumps which, however, never reached as far or as deep as the world economic crisis of the late twenties and early thirties. Poverty is still widespread in the advanced capitalist countries but there is no progressing impoverishment.

We do not orient our policy on economic crises and on impoverishment but counter the plans of big capital with proposals for full job security, for an increasingly favorable economic situation—proposals in the interest of the workers which it will take all of the militancy of the working class to realize.

IV

For all that, capitalism remains as capitalistic as ever, and more

useless, more at variance with common sense and more threatening to life than ever before. The growing importance of state intervention within the framework of a capitalist economy shows that the capitalist has become redundant. The employer is above all else an appropriator, as an Austrian economist put it. Capitalist private ownership prevents the full use of production capacities and continuously increases the cost of living, restricting the growth of real wages. It is no longer in a position, particularly in view of the prospects of automation, to provide people with work and to free them from economic crises and upheavals. Capitalist economy based on profit is the breeding ground of all the dangers to peace, of more and more tendencies and acts of aggression increasing world political tensions. Big capital, both national and foreign, is the mainspring of all the tendencies to set up authoritarian regimes, and is at the root of all the inroads on democratic liberties and gains

As in the past, capitalist ownership of the means of production is an obstacle to every effort to extend democracy and ensure effective participation of the working people in the management of political and economic affairs. The working people, who produce all the riches, in no way influence the choice of the items produced, the methods by which this is done, or the persons for whom they are produced. Profit, not the public interest, is still the decisive factor in determining the direction and content of production and research. Big capital controls the more important levers for moulding public opinion, and therefore exercises control over the workers and their leisure hours outside the production premises.

V

Orientation on the peaceful road to socialism has become possible and, indeed, necessary as a result of the changed balance of forces, of changes in the capitalist countries. The revolutionary working-class movement would degenerate into a sect if it disregarded the new factors. Orientation on the peaceful road to socialism does not imply that the road is bound to be peaceful and there will be no struggle. But it alone makes it possible to form in the capitalist countries the broad alliance of the decisive popular forces which can suppress attempts by the exploiting classes to retain their power through civil war. There can be no orientation on socialism in Austria without orientation on the peaceful road to socialism.

This orientation calls for the setting of stage-by-stage goals whose attainment would limit the power of capital and extend that of the working people.

To advance to socialism by peaceful means, it is necessary, on the one hand, to restrict the power of capital by changing the nature of property, by eliminating capitalist influence on the nationalized

enterprises, by nationalizing the key enterprises in industry, banking and insurance still in capitalist hands, and, on the other hand, to extend and renovate democracy, ensure participation in the management of production and the economy generally by the working people, through democratization of the machinery of state and the whole of public life. Needless to say it takes struggle to accomplish these tasks.

VI

The growing tendency for peasant farming, which produces for the farmer, to be replaced by farming that produces for the market, and for the processing of farm produce at the farmyard to be taken over by big private and cooperative undertakings, and above all the intensive mechanization of agriculture have thoroughly changed relations in the countryside. The agricultural population is steadily decreasing; so is the number of small and, to a lesser degree, medium enterprises. Most young peasants also work in industry, even if they continue to live in the countryside. The same is true of most of the small farmers. More than fifty per cent of all farmers are also engaged in other basic or subsidiary industries. By far most of the rural settlements today are of the industrial rather than the agricultural type. The problem of the outflow of population has become the central problem of the countryside.

More and more branches of agricultural production are being "industrialized" due to the complete mechanization of field operations, the establishment of poultry and hog factories, etc. Even the medium peasant farms cannot go on receiving credits; retain the present terms of sale and purchase, and their competitive capacity in relation to the enterprises in various fields of production unless they expand cooperation. The beginnings in this sphere, so far very modest, should be encouraged in every way. This is resisted chiefly by the Economic Alliance of the Austrian People's Party. The release of the working peasants from the unnatural alliance with big industrial and commercial capital, and their advance alongside the working class are the decisive condition for Austria's peasant farming to remain viable.

On most Austrian peasant farms, including the majority of the big farms, the land today is cultivated solely or mainly, by the farmer and his family. This is why all those who own land, with the exception of the big landowners, are now either semi-proletarians ("part-time" farmers) or small commodity producers unless they are simultaneously engaged in large-scale trade or something like that. In fighting against monopoly capital and large-scale landownership they can — and it is in their own interest that they should — become allies of the workers.

VII

The fact that decisions of vital importance are made without consulting public opinion, and the spiritual vacuum resulting from the domination of certain methods or shaping public opinion are resented by a section of the intelligentsia. This heightens interest in Marxist thought and in the socialist perspective. Serious discussions along democratic lines, showing that we respect views differing from ours, a debate on spiritual questions into which we Communists must inject our Marxists views, and constructive proposals directed against official disrespect for culture and research are all in keeping with the interests and requirements of many intellectuals, and our Party should therefore devote greater attention to discussions with the intellectuals.

VIII

The working people's readiness to approve of the orientation on the peaceful road to socialism will depend in large measure on the conviction that the socialist revolution will bring new democratic liberties and gains without eliminating the liberties and gains already achieved, and without abolishing the existing freedom of the individual. The socialist revolution is the greatest democratic revolution in history, for it removes the poisoning and corrupting influence of capital. But so far it has been victorious primarily in economically backward countries where there was no solid parliamentary tradition and where the establishment of new government institutions was conditioned by the fact that the revolution had been accomplished through civil war or after World War II. Violations of socialist democracy in the socialist countries were conducive, among other things, to the spread of false notions as to the relationship between democracy and socialism both within and outside the revolutionary working-class movement.

The socialist revolution has always involved far-reaching democratic changes. It has revolutionized the educational system, which for the first time in history affords the masses opportunities for the full development of the personality. It has ended a disgraceful situation in which considerations of private gain influenced government decisions of vital importance. It has opened for the workers the road to the control and management of the enterprises, and has led to the greatest emancipation of women. But we also take account of that which has been negative in the experience of socialist construction, and proceed from the experience of our own country when we say:

In Austria, socialism will add to the existing liberties new ones that cannot be introduced until capitalism has been eliminated.

We seek a road providing greater opportunities for free artistic and scientific endeavor and guaranteeing freedom of conscience and respect for the sentiments of the religious. Private property in small-scale industry, the handicrafts and agriculture will perform an important function, with the cooperatives — to be managed on democratic lines — playing an increasing role in this private sector.

The peaceful road to socialism will be taken by several parties. As they advance along it the existing parties will undergo changes and arrive at socialism together.

The common struggle now being waged by different groups against monopoly capital speaks of the emergence of an alliance of different parties, which in the course of socialist construction will represent different sections of society.

IX

The orientation of the Communist parties of the developed capitalist countries on the peaceful road to socialism suggests conclusions that important for their present-day policies. Since the road to socialism will be taken by several parties and since cooperation of the democratic forces is indispensable for the realization of socialist objectives stage by stage — because socialism has prospects only if democratic alternatives in the direction of socialism are put forward already today -- the issue of allies in general and that of unity of action of the working-class movement in particular is of decisive importance. There can be no socialist perspective without a policy of united action and without orientation on the rallying of the democratic forces.

The trade unions could play a special role in realizing this perspective because, being a single class organization, they comprise representatives of different parties and are of decisive importance in the fight for the democratization of public life and for socialism. This is why it is so important to democratize the trade unions. They are also a most important organization for agreement between Socialists, Communists, Christian workers and non-party people, the platform on which it is easiest of all to implement unity of action of all industrial and office workers — Socialists, Communists, Christians and non-party people.

Socialist and Communist unity is the nucleus around which the democratic forces can rally to fight neo-fascism, for democratic demands, national sovereignty, and peace. The Communists consider it their chief task to support this policy of democratic unity. To renounce this task would mean renouncing the socialist perspective.

X

There are favorable objective conditions in Austria that make it possible to achieve socialist objectives stage by stage and the immediate objectives of democratic renovation. Most of the basic heavy industries have been nationalized and so have the big banks. Austria has a developed system of communal services. The geographical proximity of socialist countries makes it easier to wrest concessions from the bourgeoisie in the most diverse fields. The industrial and office workers make up 70 per cent of the gainfully employed population. Although they have yet to become the decisive factor in society, they could win important rights to a say in the management of the enterprises and the economy generally. The principal objectives in the struggle for socialism are the following:

(a) Democratization of the machinery of state and public life; a genuinely democratic electoral reform giving equal weight to the vote of each elector, free and open exchange of opinions on the radio and on TV; genuine freedom of instruction in the higher schools.

(b) Coordination of production, research, investment, and the sales policy of the nationalized enterprises; removal of the representatives of capital from the key agencies of the nationalized enterprises and banks; extension of nationalization to the whole of large-scale industry and to the insurance companies; coordination of programming and planning policies within the nationalized sector which would be of importance to the whole national economy because it would end discrimination against the nationalized sector in setting up new enterprises, and would also pave the way to the solution of the problem of the proper location of industry in Austria's underdeveloped areas.

(c) Workers' participation in the management of the enterprises and the economy as a whole, including questions relating to price formation, investments, and so on; the nationalized enterprises should come first in this respect.

XI

The policy of social partnership is the main obstacle to the utilization in Austria of the favorable strategic opportunities of unsaddling big capital. It means completely renouncing an active and independent labor policy in respect to capital and rejecting the socialist perspective. It demobilizes the working class, misleads the democratic forces, and strengthens big capital by renouncing the opportunities which the working people have in Austria. It stifles working-class initiative and leads the working

class astray in ideological matters. It is the main cause of the shift to the right in Austrian policy last year.

It is on this conviction that the policy of social partnership is fraught with disastrous consequences that our attitude toward the coalition policy of the Socialist Party of Austria (SPA) is based. We are criticizing the SPA not because it is represented in a coalition cabinet but because within that coalition it pursues the policy of social partnership.

The SPA's claim to leadership might be seen as an indirect admission that the Austrian working peopl edo not exert sufficient influence on government policies and that their influence could be far greater. But we are fighting against a policy which confines itself to parliamentary combinations, and against enhancement of the role of the Free Party of Austria (FPA). We wholeheartedly welcome the resistance which class-conscious comrades from the SPA are putting up to the policy of the leaders of that party. It is impossible to pursue a policy promoting our national sovereignty in collaboration with the enemies of Austrian neutrality. Nor can one put forward any alternative serving the socialist perspective while making cause with confirmed opponents of socialism.

We make our support of SPA policy conditional on whether it stands for the democratic alternative and for actions by the working people in support of this alternative and the socialist perspective. We support every step which the SPA takes in the interest of the working people and of progress. We realize that no decisive gains in the social sphere, in the sphere of home policy and foreign policy, on the issue of democratization, etc., can be scored unless the greater part of the Socialist workers take up this demand and, in common with their class brothers, bring strong and effective pressure to bear on the SPA leadership to make them heed the demands of the working class. This is why we regard it as our chief political task to seek agreement with the SPA comrades. In fighting for unity of action, we can have only one line, the line prompted by the interests of the working class. This is the reason why we support every initiative toward rallying the workers against capital and reaction, why we are fighting against the policy of social partnership with the utmost determination, and why consolidation of the Communist Party is so important.

We know that socialism in Austria ean be built only in collaboration with the Socialist workers. Therefore, unity of action with the SPA comrades is very important to us. But we also know that the policy of social partnership strengthens the positions of capital. We are therefore fighting against this policy as a modern form of opportunism in the working-class movement.

The Party's campaign for seats in Parliament is an essential component of our general policy, particularly in view of our

orientation on democratic renovation. Our policy in the election campaign is directed — in line with our general struggle — against capital and reaction, against the Austrian People's Party (APP) and the Free Party of Austria (FPA). Furthermore, it is a resolute struggle against the SPA policy of social partnership. The chief difficulty in our struggle for seats in Parliament is, in addition to the unfair electoral system, the fact that elections to the National Council are coming more and more to be alternative elections between the two ruling parties. Our ideas will influence the masses to a greater extent also during elections provided we succeed, in greater measure than before, in implementing our policy and carrying out our plans.

XII

The reason why we have been criticizing the policy of enhancing the rol eof the FPA — a policy which the SPA leaders are pursuing because they lay claim to the leadership of the country — is not only that it inevitably involves anti-Communist sorties. We have been combating it also because it was leading to the rejection of agreement with the democratic elements in the APP, made a rightward shift in that party and in the government possible, and did tremendous harm to the opposition, the so-called reformists in the APP. It was against the background of recent developments in the Church and in the Catholic camp at large that the policy of enhancing the role of the FPA delivered a crippling blow to the opportunities for a democratic alternative. Besides, it increased ideological confusion among the workers. As for the reformists, it enable them to smooth over the contradictions in the APP. Lastly, it facilitates possible attempts at building bourgeois blocs.

Of vast importance for democratic unity are the developments taking place in the Catholic camp and in the APP. Left Catholic journalists are courageously opposing fascism and advocating peace, and occasionally even the socialist perspective. Hence, to rally the democratic forces and realize the prospects we are holding out to the working class, we need an effort toward agreement with the democratic elements in the Catholic camp and in the APP.

We Communists know that we cannot travel by ourselves the path we propose to the working class. We also know that many Socialists, as well as groups of Catholics, have similar ideas about the future of our country. This is why we earnestly call for a policy of unity of action and democratic unity. This is why our chief task is to pursue such a policy. This is why we regard the defeat of anti-communism as a prerequisite for a progressive outlook in our country.

XIII

We are elaborating these ideas on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, with due regard to the specific conditions in our country and our working class. We have no interests other than those of the Austrian nation, nor aims other than those of the Austrian working class. We see defense of the interests of the Austrian nation, and maintenance of the neutrality and independence of Austria against German militarism, as a platform on which all the patriotic-minded people of our country can unite.

Proceeding from scientific socialism and taking account of the conditions of the class struggle in our country, we want to ascertain the democratic alternative of today and the socialist outlook for the future. We know that we owe the new opportunities to the changed balance of world forces, the rise and development of the socialist community, and the powerful revolution going on in the colonies and semi-colonies. We are most closely linked with every country where capitalism has been abolished, with all those peoples who are looking forward to socialism, with all the movements fighting against every form of colonialism. Proletarian internationalism underlies our world outlook, and guides us in action.

We think that one cannot be a real socialist unless one supports every effort aimed at achieving socialism. We think that one cannot be a real internationalist unless one supports every effort to achieve national sovereignty, against colonialism. One of the weaknesses of the Austrian working-class movement is that despite its long-standing internationalist tradition, it has yet to find effective forms of expressing its solidarity.

But we are an autonomous party which works out its own concepts with due regard to the experience of the international working-class movement and the conditions in its country, a party which conducts its political struggle in line with the interests of its own working class. This may result in our arriving, in some form or other, and by virtue of a distinctive geographical position and distinctive conditions, at views differing from those of fraternal parties. We hold that these divergences should be discussed in a serious and friendly form, without anathematizing and excommunicating anyone. The fact that in the past we sometimes failed to take proper account of this autonomy led to certain political mistakes.

We are Austrian Communists. As Communists we are closely linked with the world Communist movement. As Austrians we proceed from the conditions in our country and from the experience of our own working-class movement. As Austrian Communists we uphold the interests and prospects of the Austrian working

class. Thereby we serve the common interests of the international working-class movement.

XIV

The chief ideological task of our Party is to convince the rank and file and the activists of our Party that this policy must be pursued in every sphere. The main ideological weakness of the leading Party bodies is that so far we have succeeded to a very insignificant degree in promoting political initiative stemming from this orientation, and the chief responsibility for this falls on the Party leadership. Outdated notions, views and working methods still play a big role. This accounts for the fact that while our proposals and ideas, which accord with present-day conditions, are meeting with growing response, the Communists are not active enough as proponents of these proposals and ideas and many of them do not even know that these ideas and proposals, which are being translated into reality, have been advanced by their own Party.

The chief ideological task of our Party is to reorganize its work and orientate the comrades on the new political tasks we have put forward in the theses "Austria's Road to Socialism" and reaffirmed in the resolutions of the Eighteenth Party Congress. Only those Communists who are convinced of the correctness of the Marxist conclusions suggested by the changed balance of forces can convince the Austrian Socialist workers of the need for unity of action, and convince the Austrian democrats of the need for democratic unity. Concepts alone are not enough. They convince only when they are followed by action.

XV

The struggle for socialism in Austria is a pressing task. Austria has all the material prerequisites for the transition to socialism. The Communists consider it their task to provide political and spiritual prerequisites for this transition. Our arguments, which justify the class point of view by daily experience, are aimed at this. So are our concepts of nationalization, automation, school reform, and so on, which are the nearest democratic objectives on the road to socialism. We want the 19th Congress of the Party to increase the appeal of the idea that Austria's program is a socialist program.

XVI

All the immediate objectives, and those to be achieved stage by stage, are conditional on the issue of eliminating big capital from

the political and economic spheres. The present coalition government is a government of social partnership. Only by combating the political foundations of this government system can big capital be removed. There are democratic forces in the country destined to accomplish this. The idea of a government of democratic renovation supported by the democratic and patriotic forces, the government we are striving for, implies that the big capitalists and their hangers-on shall be removed from the government, the chambers and the unions, and that the spokesmen of foreign monopolies will disappear from the Austrian political and economic scene along with them.

Socialism is on the order of the day. Orientation on socialism should be on the Communist order of the day. The Austrian working class, and the people as a whole, need a strong Communist party to fight for national sovereignty, for peace, democracy and socialism.

STATEMENT*

OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, SOUTH VIETNAMESE NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT

For more than ten years now South Vietnam has been the object of U.S. imperialist intervention and aggression. In the recent period the U.S. imperialists have sent in a large number of their own combat troops, including missile units, marines and B-57 bombers, besides mercenaries from South Korea, Taiwan, the Philippines, Australia, Malaya, etc.

Today they have gone to such lengths in pursuit of their infamous ends as to order their own as well as their stooges' air forces systematically to raid North Vietnam and Laos. They are not only persistently waging a criminal war of aggression in South Vietnam but also seeking to spread the flames of war to all of Indochina and South-East Asia.

The U.S. puppets in power in South Vietnam are daily committing more and more outrageous crimes against the people of this country. Traitors devoid of conscience, they kowtow to the aggressors, inviting (like a man who lets a snake into his chicken coop to devour his chickens) the armed forces of the USA and its satellites to slaughter the South Vietnamese people, to occupy and plunder our sacred soil, and brutally to oppress and exploit our people.

The people of Vietnam, of the whole of Indochina, of South-East Asia and the whole world for whom peace and justice are precious are outraged by the criminal aggression of the U.S. imperialists and voice their vehement protest against it.

In this extremely grave situation the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front once again declares its firm and unshakable resolve to carry the War of Resistance to the U.S. imperialists to the end.

1. The U.S. imperialists are violating the Geneva agreements. They are the most brazen aggressors and warmongers, the mortal enemies of the Vietnamese people.

It is common knowledge that the U.S. imperialists aided and abetted the French colonialists in their aggressive war against the Vietnamese people. During this war, which ended in a debacle for the aggressors, they gave the French colonialists $2,600 million in aid as well as hundreds of thousands of tons of arms, and sent

*Nhan Dan, March 24, 1965.

in 200 military advisers to help crush the Vietnamese people's fight for independence and freedom. But the heroic people of Vietnam, resolved to fight to the end and to die rather than submit to slavery, and wholeheartedly supported by the peoples of the whole world, won a resounding victory and liberated half of the territory of their beloved lands from the enemy. This led to the conclusion in Geneva in 1954 of international agreements solemnly recognizing the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, restored peace in the area and laid the foundations for the peaceful reunification of Vietnam.

Knowing full well the value of these agreements, the Vietnamese people have strictly observed them from the very beginning and are resolved to remain faithful to both their spirit and their letter in the future as well.

The U.S. imperialists and their stooges in South Vietnam on the contrary, flouted these agreements from the very outset and eventually scrapped them completely. For the last eleven years they have been openly waging a brutal aggressive war in South Vietnam in an effort to subjugate and enslave its people, to reduce it to a colony and military base, and to perpetuate the division of Vietnam.

The ink had not yet dried on the Geneva agreements when the U.S. imperialists hastened to muster their myrmidons into the SEATO military bloc and demonstratively placed South Vietnam under the "protection" of this bloc, which was tantamount to putting it under U.S. control. Ever since then the USA has been intervening more and more flagrantly in the affairs of South Vietnam. From the end of 1954 to 1959 the U.S. imperialists and the Ngo Dinh Diem puppet government repeatedly conducted ruthless campaigns of persecution and extermination of patriots, such as the campaigns in Chuong Tan Bieu and Thoai Ngoc Hau, staging massacres of the peace-loving, patriotic-minded population, killing former members of the Resistance and wiping out religious sects and all those who did not support them.

No sooner had peace been restored than South Vietnamese blood was spilt in Duy-Xuyen Huong-dien, Cho Duoc, Vinh Chinh and many other places, including the streets of Saigon. Steadily extending and intensifying the brutal punitive operations, the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen adopted in 1959 the fascist-like Ordinance 10/59, which outlawed as "Communists" all public and political associations as well as individuals in South Vietnam who did not fall in line with them. It is estimated that in this period the U.S. hangmen and their aides killed or threw in prison hundreds of thousands of South Vietnamese patriots for the sole reason that they worked for peace, insisted that the Geneva agreements be fulfilled, urged consultations concerning a general elec-

tion with a view to reuniting the country, or merely because they would not submit to the hangmen.

These crimes committed by the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen naturally evoked indignation throughout Vietnam and caused a storm of protest all over the world.

Public opinion in Vietnam, in all of Asia, and throughout all the five continents condemned these crimes and demanded that the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen cease their aggression against the South Vietnamese people and observe the Geneva agreements of 1954.

But in spite of the protest voiced by all peace-loving peoples the U.S. imperialists stubbornly continued the predatory war in South Vietnam.

In the past eleven years the U.S. imperialists have spent, in the guise of "aid," $4,000 million on implementing their aggressive colonialist policy in South Vietnam; of this sum more than 80 per cent has been used directly for military purposes. The U.S. rulers attach a special importance to this aggressive war. President Johnson, like the late President Kennedy before him, the U.S. National Security Council, the Departments of Defense and State, and the CIA have closely followed developments in South Vietnam. Honolulu has become the scene of regular monthly meetings between the men of the White House and the Pentagon and U.S. commanders in the Pacific area on how best to carry out their plans of intervention.

In order to take the conduct of the aggressive war in South Vietnam directly into their own hands, the U.S. imperialists have set up, in addition to the American military mission, their own military command in Saigon headed by Paul Harkins. Recently they established what is called a joint U.S.-Vietnamese command but which actually is a U.S. agency wielding extensive powers and subordinated directly to the U.S. President and Department of Defense. Nearly all high-placed U.S. officials, including members of the government and generals, have been in South Vietnam on inspection tours and to help in working out aggressive plans. Moreover, the U.S. government has sent some of its leading generals to direct the war on the spot. One of these is General Maxwell Taylor, former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

The U.S. imperialists and their henchmen are using all modern means of warfare except nuclear bombs to intimidate and kill the South Vietnamese with the sole aim of subjugating them and transforming South Vietnam into an American colony and military base.

In the past 11 years they have conducted more than 160,000 punitive expeditions, big and small, killed more than 170,000 people, wounded or maimed through torture nearly 800,000, imprison-

ed over 400,000 in 1,000-odd prisons, and raped tens of thousands of women. They have razed to the ground countless villages, herded more than five million people into 8,000 concentration camps which they call "prosperity zones," "resettlement centers," "strategic settlements," etc., and used chemical weapons which have poisoned tens of thousands of people and destroyed crops and fruit trees over an area running into hundreds of thousands of acres. They have destroyed thousands of pagodas, churches, chapels and temples and killed tens of thousands of priests and monks. Under the iron heel of the U.S. aggressors and their hangers-on fertile South Vietnam lies bleeding and ravaged. The ruthless fascist regime they have set up is even more brutal than Hitler's Nazi regime or the most fearful tyrannies of the Middle Ages.

These facts fully expose the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, and their aggressive, perfidious nature. They have not only violated all the provisions of the cease-fire agreement and the Final Declaration of the Geneva Conference of 1954, but have brazenly scrapped all these international agreements. And not only have the Washington rulers and the Vietnamese traitors ignored the Geneva agreements; they have also flouted on the spirit and letter of international law and the decisions of the Bandung conference. Such are the facts. To cover up their piratical nature, the U.S. imperialists seek to throw dust in the eyes of the peoples of the world, but in vain. This applies also to the so-called White Book recently put out in Washington. A fabrication from beginning to end, it is the old clumsy device of a criminal shouting "Stop thief!" But at the same time it makes it still more glaringly patent that the U.S. imperialists are out to intensify and escalate their criminal war. In a word, the situation in South Vietnam is this: the U.S. imperialists are waging a criminal aggressive war, shamelessly violating the Geneva agreements; they are the most dangerous aggressors and war provocateurs, the mortal enemies of the peoples of Vietnam, Indochina and the world.

2. The heroic people of South Vietnam are resolved to expel the U.S. imperialists, to liberate their country, to build an independent, democratic, peace-loving and neutral South Vietnam, and to bring the reunification of their native land.

The people of South Vietnam want peace, but they are equally determined not to allow U.S. imperialism and its henchmen to trample their land and fetter them with the chains of slavery. They will sooner die than submit to bondage. The 14 million South Vietnamese have risen as one man to a decisive, heroic, selfless struggle to defeat the U.S. aggressors and the Vietnamese traitors, to liberate South Vietnam and win independence, democracy, peace and neutrality and thereby help to safeguard peace in Indochina and South-East Asia generally. The patriotic war

waged by the South Vietnamese people accords with the most elementary, basic principles of international law, which include the right of the peoples to self-determination and to wage patriotic war in self-defense against aggression from without. In their liberation war the people of South Vietnam use diverse types of weapons against the enemy, and the main supplier of these weapons is none other than the U.S. imperialists, who have suffered heavy defeats time and again in recent years.

Although they entered the struggle with bare hands, the people of South Vietnam have built up their strength and won many victories. And they are confident that they will win by their own efforts and with the wholehearted support of the peoples of the world. The U.S. imperialists and their stooges are now in a hopeless impasse. Faced with the powerful popular revolutionary tide sweeping South Vietnam, they are making desperate efforts to save themselves. To find a way out of the extremely perilous situation they are plunging headlong into military adventures fraught with the gravest danger.

The growing shipments of U.S. arms to South Vietnam, the build-up of naval air strength, the concentration of mercenaries from South Korea and other satellite countries, the air raids on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and Laos—these and other measures are by no means a sign of strength. On the contrary, they are the insane acts of a brutalized enemy that has lost his head. But they can intimidate no one. The present escalation of the war by the U.S. imperialists is in itself another defeat for the aggressive colonialist policy they have pursued in South Vietnam for the past eleven years; it is added testimony to the bankruptcy of this policy, of their "special war."

But if the U.S. imperialists are already bogged down in this "special war," war on a wider scale would involve them in still greater difficulties. Were they to extend the war to North Vietnam, all of Indochina or still farther afield, they would unquestionably suffer a still more ignominious and speedy defeat.

The South Vietnamese National Liberation Front once again declares that the U.S. plan to secure—by building up the U.S. air, naval and land forces in South Vietnam, bringing in satellite troops and launching air raids against North Vietnam and Laos—"positions of strength" that would force the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front and the South Vietnamese people to sell their birthright in negotiations with the USA, is wishful thinking on the part of political madmen and military adventurers. The people of South Vietnam have this to say to the U.S. imperialists and their agents: the U.S. imperialists now have no choice but to get out. If, in spite of everything, you persist in prosecuting your war, you will suffer the most crushing and most ignomi-

nious defeat. On behalf of the heroic South Vietnamese people 14 million strong, the National Liberation Front solemnly declares: the people and their armed forces are firmly resolved to carry on the fight until they have achieved their goals—independence, democracy, peace and neutrality. The South Vietnamese people are resolved to continue dealing shattering blows at the U.S. aggressors and their servitors and are bound to win in the end. All negotiations with the U.S. imperialists are now completely pointless inasmuch as they persistently refuse to withdraw their forces, war materials and means of warfare, as well as the troops and means of warfare of their satellites, and to dismantle their military bases, and inasmuch as the traitors are continuing to barter away the sacred rights of the South Vietnamese people to independence and democracy while the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front, the only true representative of the 14 million South Vietnamese, is denied the decisive say.

3. The heroic South Vietnamese people and liberation army are resolved to do their sacred duty to the end and expel the U.S. imperialists in order to liberate South Vietnam and defend North Vietnam.

Vietnam and the Vietnamese people are an integral whole. North and South Vietnam belong to the same family. This feeling of of kinship is strong in each and all of us. This is as true as the fact that the sun rises in the East, and there is no force on earth that can shake the truth. In the present sanguinary war, in this life-and-death struggle against the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, the heart cannot but feel the pain when the hand is severed. It is only natural and logical that the people in North Vietnam should be determined to do their duty to their brothers and sisters in South Vietnam.

On behalf of the 14 million South Vietnamese people, the National Liberation Front makes this solemn pledge to its 17 million brothers and sisters in the North: the heroic South Vietnamese people and their army of liberation are resolved to fulfil their sacred mission to the end—to drive out the U.S. imperialists, liberate South Vietnam and defend the North in order to effect the reunion of their homeland.

To find a way out of the critical situation and evade inevitable defeat in South Vietnam the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys have of late been recklessly sending planes and warships to bomb and shell North Vietnam. They have, however, been punished according to their deserts. Over 50 U.S. jets have been shot down. The army and the people of South Vietnam, rejoicing over this fact, warmly welcome the outstanding victories of the army and the people of North Vietnam.

The heart feels the pain when the arm is severed! To protect

our kinsmen in the North the army and the people of the South strike back in retribution at the U.S. aggressors and their stooges. To each blow by the U.S. imperialists against the North of our homeland the army and the people in the South will reply in double and treble measures.

In February, when the aggressors and traitors attacked the North, the liberation army in the South delivered telling blows at important military bases and the main forces of the enemy, put out of commission 20,706 enemy officers and men (among them some 600 Americans killed, wounded or taken prisoner), captured 4,144 weapons of various kinds, and damaged or destroyed 111 planes of various types.

The South Vietnamese National Liberation Front warns the U.S. imperialists and Vietnamese traitors: having failed to conquer the 14 million people of South Vietnam, you can hardly hope to be able to crush the entire Vietnamese nation of 30 million. Military gambles and escalation of war, far from helping you to find a way out of the impasse, will, on the contrary, only hasten your destruction.

In order to get out of their predicament in South Vietnam the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys have also repeatedly bombed and shelled the liberated areas in Laos, violated the border and invaded the territory of Cambodia, used poisonous chemicals and bombs to kill Cambodians. But the peoples of Laos and Cambodia have given a worthy rebuff and dealt counter-blows at the U.S. aggressors and their hirelings.

The people of South Vietnam warmly welcome the unbending heroism and militancy of the peoples of these two neighboring countries. They are resolved firmly to stand by the peoples of Laos and Cambodia in the struggle against the common enemy — U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. The people and the Liberation Army of South Vietnam are determined to rout the U.S. aggressors and their agents in our country, which has become a springboard for acts of war and piracy on the part of the USA and its stooges against the kingdoms of Laos and Cambodia.

The people of South Vietnam once again welcome the outstanding success of the recent conference of the peoples of Indochina.

The National Liberation Front and the people of South Vietnam warn the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys that should they dare to extend their aggression to the whole of Vietnam, and spread the flames of war to Indo-China as a whole, the invincible power of the 30 million people of Vietnam and the unconquerable power of hundreds of millions of people in Indochina and Asia generally will destroy them.

4. The people of South Vietnam express their profound grati-

tude to the peoples of the whole world who cherish peace and justice, for their sincere support, and declare their readiness to accept any aid, including arms and other war materiel, from their friends on all the five continents.

The just, patriotic struggle of the people of South Vietnam enjoys the sympathy, support and approval of all peoples who cherish peace and justice. The peoples of the world accord the people of South Vietnam not only moral support — they have helped and are helping them materially as well. Needless to say, the people of South Vietnam and their spokesman—the National Liberation Front—are fully entitled to accept this valuable aid, and warmly welcome it.

The National Liberation Front has always relied mainly on its own strength and possibilities, but it is prepared to accept any aid, moral and material alike, including arms and munitions, from all the socialist countries and nationalist states, as well as from international organizations and peace-loving people of the whole world. Moreover, the front reserves the right to buy arms and military equipment from other countries to strengthen its self-defense potential in this war.

The international conference of solidarity with the people of Vietnam in the struggle against the U.S. imperialist aggression and in defense of peace, held at the end of last year and attended by representatives from over 50 countries and 16 international organizations, gave a positive reply to these urgent and fully legitimate demands. If the U.S. imperialists continue to bring their own and satellite troops to South Vietnam and spread the war to North Vietnam and Laos, the National Liberation Front will appeal to the peoples of other countries to send their youth and servicemen to South Vietnam to combat the common enemy jointly with our people.

Should the need arise, with the U.S. imperialists continuing to sow suffering and death in South Vietnam, the National Liberation Front will call on the sons and daughters of south Vietnam who moved to the North in keeping with the cease-fire agreement and who for ten long years have lived far from their native places, to return to the South and take up arms in order to destroy the enemy and save their country and families.

The wrath of the people of South Vietnam and the peace-loving peoples of the whole world is turned against the U.S. imperialists and their flunkeys, who cannot accept mercy. They will have to answer for all the grave consequences of their aggressive actions. On behalf of the 14 million people of South Vietnam, the Central Committee of the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front expresses once again its profound gratitude to the peoples of the socialist and nationalist countries, to international organizations

and all the peace-loving peoples for their sincere support of the just and patriotic War of Resistance in South Vietnam. More than ever we deem it our internationalist duty to do everything in our power, whatever the sacrifice, in order to make a worthy contribution to the great common struggle of all peoples in defense of independence, democracy, peace and social progress in Indochina, South-East Asia and throughout the world, to the defeat of the international gendarme—aggressive U.S. imperialism.

5. Our task is to rally the whole people, arm them and continue to advance heroically, firmly determined to fight and defeat the U.S. aggressors and the local traitors.

Major victories have already been won in the armed struggle waged by the South Vietnamese people against the U.S. aggressors and their accomplices.

The U.S. imperialists and their lackeys only seem to be strong; in reality, they are weak, frustrated and isolated more than ever before. The South Vietnam people, firmly remembering their vow rather to die than be slaves, will defeat their enemies—the barbarians and plunderers.

The National Liberation Front and the people of South Vietnam derive their strength not only from the justice of their cause; they are rapidly growing stronger materially and organizationally. They have always been the victors; the longer they have to fight the stronger they become; and their victories are growing in number, and impact.

We are the worthy countries of the traditions of Dien Bien Phou and the thousand-year-old history of the Vietnamese people's struggle against invaders, and we have elevated these traditions to a new height. The National Liberation Front and the people of South Vietnam are fighting heroically in an extremely favorable situation when all the oppressed peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America have risen in the struggle for freedom. The socialist countries and the democratic and peace forces all over the world constitute an important factor of human progress, a factor which curbs and destroys imperialism and colonialism in all their forms. If the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys recklessly spread the flames of war to the whole of Indochina, the peoples of this area and of all South-East Asia will resolutely take to arms and sweep them into the ocean.

The people of South Vietnam and their sole genuine representative—the National Liberation Front—will undoubtedly win the final victory.

The Central Committee of the National Liberation Front calls on the heroic people of South Vietnam and their armed forces staunchly fighting on all the war fronts to grip their weapons

still more firmly, vigorously to develop their fearless militancy, resolutely and firmly to carry out the following tasks:

—unite the people in a monolithic whole;

—arm the people and rally them as one man to the struggle to defeat the U.S. aggressors and the local traitors;

—the Liberation Army and the people's armed forces should boldly go forward, continuously, resolutely and unerringly strike at the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys, giving them not a moment's respite, and vigorously destroy the enemy forces;

—the population of the rural areas should continue to destroy the remaining "strategic hamlets," roots the enemy out of his strongholds, expand the liberated districts, combine the liberated villages and districts into a single whole, develop them into strong bases of support, engage the enemy whenever he is seen, fight to win, staunchly holding and defending their native villages and fields;

—the population of Saigon, Huê, Da-Nang and other towns should build up their revolutionary organizations, hold demonstrations, activize the struggle in all fields, demanding that the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen stop the war in South Vietnam and exposing the Vietnamese traitors who aid the aggressors and barter their country and people;

—the whole people, cadre workers and servicemen should heroically march forward under the banner of liberation, and fight unflinchingly to rout the U.S. aggressors and their accomplices and save the country.

Even if we shall have to fight for another 10 or 20 years or more and endure still greater difficulties and privations, we are prepared and determined to fight to the end, as long as a single U.S. soldier remains on our soil.

The history of the Vietnamese people goes back a thousand years. It is a heroic history of a heroic people. In the past 10 years of the struggle against the U.S. imperialist aggressors and their henchmen a brilliant page has been inscribed into this history by the people and the Liberation Army of South Vietnam.

We have won and are continuing to win victories while the U.S. imperialists and their agents have suffered and are suffering defeats in this war. This demonstrates that we are invincible, that the aggressors and their agents are weak. If we have been able to win victories over the United States in the past 10 years and more, today we have every condition to defeat them. If the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys have suffered defeat after defeat in the past 10 years or more, today they are growing weaker and will suffer still heavier defeats. And if the U.S. imperialists spread the war to the North, their defeat will be no doubt even more disgraceful. Confident that victory will be ours, we are de-

termined to carry on the fight, unerringly levelling smashing blows at the U.S. aggressors and their henchmen in order to liberate the South, defend the North and reunify our homeland.

March 22, 1965.

RESOLUTION* OF THE CC PRESIDIUM CP OF JAPAN

LET US LAUNCH VIGOROUS UNITED ACTIONS AGAINST THE AGGRESSION IN INDOCHINA, AGAINST THE JAPAN-SOUTH KOREA TALKS, THE REVIVAL OF MILITARISM AND THE REVISION OF THE CONSTITUTION.

I

The situation in Asia and Japan is entering a crucial stage. Its primary characteristic is that the U.S. imperialists, having found themselves in an utterly hopeless situation as a result of the heroic struggle of the people of South Vietnam, have only resorted to an escalation of the war of aggression in Indochina. In defiance of world opinion, they have resumed bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and are launching massive air raids on that country.

These events have shattered all illusions about U.S. imperialism and laid bare the sinister nature of its policy of aggression and war. They have also created the extremely grave danger of a major military provocation in Asia that may even develop into a nuclear war.

At the same time U.S. imperialism, acting in collusion with its British counterpart, which is pressing forward its neo-colonialist plans centred on Malaysia, is plotting to form in Asia a combat-ready anti-Communist military bloc of Japan, South Korea and Taiwan. The aim is "to make Asians fight Asians" and "internationalize" the war of aggression in Indochina still further by sending South Korean, Chang Kai-shek and Philippine troops and by Japan rendering medical, economic and other assistance to South Vietnam.

Angered by this sinister intensification of the U.S. imperialist policy of war, the peoples are voicing their protest in huge demonstrations all over the world, particularly in Asia. The common fight of the Asian peoples against the U.S. imperialist aggression in Indochina and against its expansion is becoming a vital element of the battle for world peace, for the independence of the peoples.

Another characteristic of the situation in Asia and Japan is the growing role of Japanese monopoly capital and the Sato

*Abridged from **Akahata**, February 14, 1965.

government in the intensification of the U.S. imperialists' policy of aggression in Asia.

During the Japanese-American talks last January the Sato government promised to expedite its assistance to the U.S. aggression in South Vietnam, the completion of the Japan-South bloc of Japan, South Korea and Taiwan, to launch intrigues aimed Korea talks, and the establishment of an anti-Communist military at asserting the concept of "two Chinas," and to allow the open delivery of nuclear weapons into Japan under the Japanese-American "security treaty."

An increasingly hostile policy towards China, the forcible "repeat entries" of U.S. atomic submarines into Japanese ports, the visit of Japan's Foreign Minister Shiina to South Korea to speed up the Japan-South Korea talks, and other facts show that the Sato government, assuming the role of an agent of U.S. imperialism, helping it to pursue its policy of "containing China" and committing aggression in Asia, is doing its utmost to keep to the road of dependence and aggression, so as to turn Japan into a "great power" in the Far East. It is a road leading Japan to the position of a base of U.S. imperialist aggression, fomenting in the Japanese people a hostile attitude towards the peoples of Asia, and drawing Japan into a war of aggression. Already the USA is using the military bases on Japanese territory for its aggression in Indochina; ships of the U.S. Seventh Fleet are sent from the Japanese port of Sasebo.

Peace and security in Asia and the rest of the world now depend in great measure on the struggle of the Japanese people against the dangerous military and foreign policy of the Sato government. Of special importance in this struggle is the movement to frustrate the Japan-South Korea talks, which the U.S.-Japanese reactionaries want—at a time when the South Korean regime of Pak John Hee is again strengthening its military establishment at the bidding of the U.S. imperialists — to conclude in April by signing an agreement.

A third characteristic of the situation in Asia and Japan is that in view of the situation described above, the Sato government is conducting an offensive against the Japanese people on a broadening front and stepping up the restoration of Japanese militarism and imperialism dependent on U.S. imperialism.

The aims which the Sato government pursue under cover of demagogic propaganda about an "independent foreign policy," "social development" and "tolerance and harmony" were revealed by the secret document of the National Defense Agency bearing the code name of "Operation Three Arrows," which was exposed in Parliament on February 10 last.

Two years ago the anti-patriotic, reactionary ruling circles of

Japan mounted, under the direction of the U.S. imperialists, a far-reaching plot to sabotage the Constitution and do away with democracy in Japan. This plot envisaged a second Korean war in keeping with U.S. imperialist plans of aggression, and an open revival of Japanese militarism. This makes it all the clearer how greatly the independence and security of Japan and Japanese democracy are threatened by the existence on Japanese territory, contrary to the Constitution, of an American army controlling Japanese self-defense troops.

The onslaught of the U.S. and Japanese ruling circles on the democratic rights and living conditions of the Japanese people is growing stronger and stronger. In keeping with its intention to revise the Constitution in a reactionary spirit, the Sato government is carrying out reforms of the state machinery, the judiciary and local self-administration system, etc. An increasing effort is being made to revive militarist ideology and militarize education as is shown by the proposed revival of *Kigensetsu.**

The anti-national, anti-popular policy of the Sato government makes the life of various sections of the Japanese people more and more unberable, and greatly jeopardizes the nation's economy. Hence the increased importance of the Japanese peoples' fight against the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries and the Sato government's policy of reviving militarism.

II

The present situation creates objective conditions which, being interconnected, favor the further development of the popular struggle and open a new stage of this struggle.

First among these conditions is that the enemy's anti-national, anti-popular policy induces more and more people to fight.

The U.S. imperialists' aggression in Indochina, the use of Japanese seaports by American atomic submarines, the stepping up of the Japan-South Korea talks, the exposed Operation Three Arrows, etc., all bring powerful protests from every section of the Japanese people.

The relentless onslaught on the living conditions of the people, the considerable increase in fees for social services and the attendant tremendous rise of the prices of consumer goods, the growing cost of medical service, the reactionary reform of the public health system, etc., lead to mounting discontent among large sections of the people, including supporters of the Liberal-

*Celebration on February 11 of the anniversary of the ascension of the mythical Emperor Jimmu to the throne, an event regarded as the founding of the Japanese empire. Until Japan's defeat in World War II, the ruling circles used the event to cultivate militarism and chauvinism among the population. After the war **Kigensetsu** was abolished.—**Ed.**

Democratic Party* and members and supporters of the Party of Democratic Socialism and *Komeito.***

The struggle for vital demands is being joined in by people from different walks of life: workers suffering from low wages, dismissals, speed-up, and industrial accidents; peasants ruined through the import of American surplus products, the government's policy of "improving the structure of agriculture," and as a result of severe frosts, and forced to leave their farms in search of a job; small and middle businessmen, with whom the number of bankrupties has reached a postwar high; housewives vainly trying to make both ends meet; students protesting against the increase in tuition and entry fees; the unemployed and the sick.

Another objective condition is that popular unity is coming into existence in the struggle against the enemy onslaught.

The democratic forces tend increasingly towards unity and solidarity. Following the joint democratic actions in Yokosuka against the enry of American atomic submarines, an agreement was reached between two national organizations on unity of action in the port of Sasebo to keep U.S. atomic submarines off.

Seven youth organizations, among them the youth department of the general Trades Union Council (SOHYO), the Socialist Youth League and the Democratic Youth League, joined forces to "win the spring labor battles, frustrate the Japan-South Korea talks, prevent the reactionary revision of the Constitution," and so on.

Thirty-five organizations, including the Communist and Socialist parties and organizations for peace and international friendship, united in the Association for Assistance to and Solidarity with the People of South Vietnam.

The new movement for democratic unity is growing fast, with progressive-minded intellectuals cooperating. It has set up the Public Coordinating Committee against the reactionary revision of the Constitution, and the National Association for the Return of Okinawa and Ogasawara.

Closely connected with the spring labor battles are joint actions against a revision of the public health and mutual insurance systems. These actions are being launched throughout the country by many democratic organizations, first of all by the Communist and Socialist parties, the Party of Democratic Socialism, and SOHYO.

A third objective condition is the aggravation of contradictions in the enemy camp.

Japan's policy towards China has caused sharp differences even

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*The ruling party.—**Ed.**

***Komeito** (literally, "party of clean politics") was founded in 1964 as the political organization of **Soka Takkai**, a religious society which has a membership of about 11 million.—**Ed.**

in the Sato government and the Liberal Democratic Party. Members of this party are also protesting against the increased cost of water in Tokyo. On the cost of medical treatment, the government has even been opposed by some organizations of monopoly capitalism. Even the bourgeois press has protested against U.S. air raids on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and against the secret plan of the National Defense Agency to establish a "wartime state system." The more fiercely the U.S.-Japanese reactionaries pursue their anti-national, anti-popular policy, the more the internal contradictions and antagonisms grow in their camp.

A fourth objective condition is the gains of the Communist Party of Japan, which is leading the struggle against the U.S.-Japanese reactionary forces, and enjoys growing support among the masses. Since its historic Ninth Congress the Party has been working to strengthen its unity. In line with the tasks stated in the Central Committee report to the Congress, it has been actively establishing a united front, organizing the struggle of the masses, and reinforcing its ranks.

III

The important thing at present is for all the democratic forces to counter the U.S.-Japanese reactionaries' policy of war and aggression, exploitation and plunder with explicit demands and a joint struggle for peace in Asia and all over the world, for the independence and security of Japan, in defense of the vital interests and democratic rights of the Japanese people.

The struggle of the Japanese people is gathering momentum. However, it is far from measuring up to the exigencies of the rapidly changing internal and international situation. The chief reason for this, as our Party has repeatedly pointed out, is that complete agreement at the center and in the provinces among the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, the trade unions and the democratic organizations is still lacking, agreement which would provide the basis for democratic unity.

Taking advantage of this, the U.S.-Japanese reactionaries are stepping up their offensive against the Japanese people. In the circumstances, democratic unity and solidarity are an urgent necessity.

Our Party calls on the democratic forces soberly to appraise the present grave situation, overcome all misunderstandings and difficulties, put aside controversial issues and speedily achieve unity of action on common tasks in the struggle against the anti-national, anti-popular policy of the U.S.-Japanese reactionaries.

Our Party calls on all the democratic forces to launch joint actions at the center and in the provinces, in industry, in towns and country.

Unity can be attained—there are no insuperable obstacles to it. If unity is not achieved now, this will be regretted for a long time to come.

Our Party gives priority to the pressing political tasks of the nation: fighting against the U.S. imperialist aggression in Indochina; frustrating the Japan-South Korea talks; keeping Japanese ports closed to U.S. atomic submarines; preventing a reactionary revision of the Constitution, the Operation Three Arrows, the revival of militarism, heavy taxes, high prices, low wages and worsening social security; bringing about the restoration of diplomatic relations with China, and the return of Okinawa and Ogasawara. It spares no effort to achieve unity of action of the Communist and Socialist parties and the trade unions.

At present, when a passive attitude to unity of action is still widespread among certain democratic forces, the effort of our Party and the vanguard contingents of the democratic forces for unity is of special importance. To establish unity, it is necessary to end passivity and act without delay, to set up united-action committees in various fields of the struggle and on separate problems, and to secure resumption of the activities of the National Council against the Japanese-American "security treaty."

Our Party and the foremost democratic forces should work among the masses and fight together with them, organizing their demands. They should also organize a mass discussion of the present serious situation and of the need for democratic unity. Not until the masses themselves demand unity will the National Council against the "security treaty" be able to resume nationwide activities.

The mass meeting to be held in Tokyo on February 15 on the initiative of our Party and the Democratic Youth League is to be the signal for mass united actions through the country.

We call on all those who want independence and democracy, peace and a neutral Japan, and happiness for the Japanese people to unite for the great political struggle against the U.S.-Japanese reactionaries' policy of war and aggression, against the aggression in Indo-China, against the Japan-South Korea talks and the use of Japanese ports by American atomic submarines, for the expulsion of the U.S. imperialists from Asia and Japan, against the revival of Japanese militarism.

February 12, 1965

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SPEECH* BY WALDECK ROCHET

GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE FCP, AT CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETING MARCH 31 - APRIL 1, 1965

In my contribution to the lively and fruitful debate on Gaston Plissonier's report I shall deal with the main political lessons of the municipal elections. Briefly they are as follows:

1. The Communist Party achieved considerable results and consolidated its positions. Communist-led municipal councils were returned with an increased majority. The Party won new councils, including those in Le Havre, Nimes, Alès and other big cities. Today it administers more cities with a population exceeding 30,000 than any other party. In the country as a whole, the electoral lists presented or supported by the CP generally poll large votes.

2. The electorate approved of the democratic unity lists presented as a result of agreements between Socialists, Communists and other republicans. On many occasions these lists, supported by a Communist or Socialist majority, came out on top. We scored our biggest success in Paris, where 38 candidates, among them 24 Communists, were returned in six electoral areas on democratic unity lists.

3. The UNR suffered considerable losses. In Paris, the first ballot brought it 100,000 votes less than in 1959. Many middle class or petty bourgeois voters who had supported de Gaulle in the previous elections turned away from the UNR and cast their votes for such old Right-wing parties as the Independents and the MRP.

The contradiction of the mass base of Gaullism, which we noted during the referendum and the elections to the Chamber of Deputies in October and November 1962, became more pronounced.

THE FCP IS MAKING HEADWAY

All this testifies to the growth of opposition to one-man rule, with the working class and the toiling masses of town and country forming the backbone of the opposition.

Our explanation of the success of our Party in the last elections is simple. This success was the result of good work by the Communist-led municipal councils, the Party's consistent policy of opposition to one-man rule, and, lastly, its persevering effort for

*Abridged from **l'Humanité**, April 2, 1965.

the unity of action and for an alliance of all the democratic forces. For, besides campaigning for Communist majority lists, we contributed to the success of numerous unitary lists on which the Socialists were in the majority, as was the case in Lorient, Montauban and elsewhere, and of other Left lists, as, for instance, in Brive.

The unity tactics of our Central Committee were faithfully applied by the Party organizations in both rounds all over the country, Grenoble included.

ELECTORATE APPROVED OF AGREEMENTS ON UNITY

Our objective was clear; to defeat the candidates of the UNR and other reactionaries and ensure the victory of the alliance of the labor and Left forces needed for defeating the regime of one-man rule and establishing genuine democracy.

In the debate on the report some Central Committee members asked, with good reason, how far the agreements on unity between Socialists, Communists and other republicans had been approved by the electorate.

All the comrades replied that the democratic unity lists presented by the Communists and Socialists had won extensive approval of the Communist and Socialist voters wherever they had been constituted normally, with the consent of the local organizations of the Socialist Party (SFIO) and its representatives on the municipal councils.

In an effort to preserve the split, the bourgeois press is making much of the fact that in some cities, such as Amiens, Boulogne-Billancourt and Isy-les-Moulineaux, no Socialist-Communist lists were elected. But in these cities the Socialist organizations and Socialist councillors were strongly divided. Some of them agreed to run on joint lists with the Communists, while others, in particular mayors whose term had expired, rejected unity and joined the reactionary lists of the MRP and the Independents.

Such was the cause of the reverses. It follows that these examples are no proof of the people's unfavorable view of unity. They merely show that agreements between Socialists and reactionaries misled the working people and seriously injure Left unity and alliance. Had the Socialists, Communists and other republicans united throughout France against the UNR and other reactionaries, the results of the elections would have been much more favorable.

In any case, it is clear that not a single candidate of the Socialists and the Left forces in general, and perhaps even of the Communists, would have been elected in Paris without democratic unity lists. This also applies to the rest of the country.

That is why we consider that the chief lesson of the elections is

that unity of action of Communists, Socialists and all other republicans without exception is the only way to end one-man rule and to establish a government of democratic unity firmly pursuing a policy of progress and peace.

ABOUT THOSE WHO ARE PREPARING A SUBSTITUTE FOR GAULLISM

Various sections of the bourgeoisie are fiercely resisting this development, either because they want to preserve one-man rule or because they want to replace it by another reactionary regime.

The point is that contradictions are visibly growing within the French bourgeoisie itself. The big monopolies have certainly not given up the regime of one-man rule, but it is evident that some sections of the big bourgeoisie are busy preparing what they call "post-Gaullism" to prop up the present regime or establish some new system serving their interests. As the situation changes the big bourgeoisie is compelled to change methods and even the system of government in order to remain in power.

That is why, in analyzing the fact that some of the Gaullist voters have in recent years joined up with the Independents and the MRP, we should take account of its contradictory aspects.

On the one hand, among the voters who in the recent elections said "Yes" to de Gaulle but withheld support of the UNR there are working people, in particular numerous members of the middle classes and the petty bourgeoisie who are justifiably discontented with the Gaullist policy and whom we should strive to win over for democracy.

On the other hand, the Independents and the MRP are reactionary parties which exploit the legitimate discontent of certain social groups hit by the policy of the monopolies to pave the way for "post-Gaullism" serving the interests of the big bourgeoisie.

That is why some bourgeois circles are even now trying to strengthen the Independents and the MRP, making them out to be "centrist" parties with which the Socialists could and should come to terms in order to prepare the substitute to Gaullism. This explains why such reactionary papers as *l'Aurore* and *le Figaro* violently attacked the joint Socialist-Communist lists while lavishing praise upon such Socialists as Defferre, who had chosen an alliance with the reactionaries.

This is indicative of the readiness of certain sections of the big bourgeoise to use Defferre's candidature for replacing Gaullism by another reactionary power serving capitalism. One of the conditions made is that Defferre should go farther to the right, to the point of more or less renouncing his own party.

This is bound to run into formidable difficulties, for while Def-

ferre himself seems ready to try this gamble, many active Socialists are evidently against a general political agreement with the Right parties. For all activists, all Socialist workers, know as well as we do that the so-called "centrist" parties with which Defferre has decided to align himself are out-and-out reactionary parties.

WHAT "CENTRIST" POLICY MEANS

To bring clarity into this matter, we have only to recall, as Comrade Jacques Denis has done, the role these Right parties played in numerous governments between 1947 and 1958.

On the social plane, they always stoutly opposed the demands of the working people and invariably militated against secular education. They proved incapable of solving the Algerian problem. They waged the war for several years without ever trying peace talks. Eventually many members of the National Center of the Independents became ignominious supporters of the OAS.

Their foreign policy was notorious for complete subservience to the United States and, hence, resistance to an international detente, complicity in the cold war policy, and the sacrificing of French independence to the struggle against communism.

Finally, in 1958, they contributed in decisive measure to the establishment of the Gaullist regime, which they have supported on many occasions since then.

Of course, there can be no question of the working class and the democratic parties refusing to take advantage of the political contradictions between various groups of the French bourgeoisie. On the contrary, we consider that these contradictions should be used to the full in order to deliver telling blows to monopoly power and to end one-man rule as early as possible. However, they should be used in such a way as to lead to a new, genuinely democratic regime and not back to the past.

DRAW MORE AND MORE SECTIONS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE INTO THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY

The way to achieve this great aim — abolishing one-man rule and establishing genuine democracy — is not to make the working class follow in the wake of this or that group of the bourgeoisie. The task is to promote unity of the working class with all democratic forces.

To justify their alliance with the Right parties, some Socialist leaders say that the Left votes are not enough to defeat the UNR and its allies.

During the municipal election campaign we showed that this argument is merely an excuse, for in many cities where the Social-

ist and Communist voters constituted the absolute majority the local Socialist leaders preferred, nevertheless, to align themselves with the Independents and the MRP rather than accept the Communist Party's proposal for unity.

On a national scale, however, it is true that the Left parties — Communist, Socialist and Radical — do not yet command a majority of votes.

Hence the imperative need for the democratic parties to do everything to win over for democracy increasingly large sections of the people, including the numerous working people and members of the middle classes still under the influence of Gaullism or the "centrist" parties.

However, this goal does not justify alliance either with the UNR or with other Right parties, and if the Left parties enter into this alliance they will betray their own cause and discredit themselves, much to the delight of the bourgeoisie and to the benefit of the reactionaries.

The only real solution is to form a broad alliance of the majority which would gradually unite, on a common platform, the working class, the working peasantry and the urban middle sections against the monopolies. This calls, above all, for increasing unity of action of Socialists and Communists and for an agreement between all the parties, workers' trade unions and democratic groups without exception.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY'S IMAGINARY RIGIDITY . . .

That is why the struggle for working-class unity and for an alliance of all the working people remains the main political task for us Communists. This unity and this alliance are all the more necessary since, despite the setback suffered by the UNR, one-man rule persists and has immense potentialities.

Unfortunately, the SFIO leaders' present orientation, expressed in numerous agreements with Right parties, does not promote Left unity, and an alliance of the progressive and democratic forces.

During the election campaign the editors of *le Populaire*, trying to justify these agreements with the reactionaries, claimed that unity with the Communist Party was hard to achieve because the CP had presented excessive demands and had even abandoned, to a certain degree, the flexible tactics it had applied in the previous elections.

This assertion is completely unfounded. All Communists know full well that in the cantonal elections of 1964 Communist tactics was determined by the same goal — to defeat the UNR and reaction.

We advanced no other special demands, except that unitary lists

be drawn up with due regard to the influence of the political groups making up the alliance.

In reality, the difficulties that have arisen between Socialists and Communists are due above all to the implementation of the decision of the SFIO National Council widely recommending alliances with the Independents and the MRP.

. . . AND SFIO'S SHIFT TO THE RIGHT

It is the SFIO's shift to the right and not the imaginary inflexibility of the Communist Party that is responsible for the present difficulties. Whether they like it or not, there is a shift to the right, expressed both in documents adopted by various SFIO bodies on different occasions and in practical steps during the municipal elections.

The resolution on the political orientation adopted by the 54th Congress of the Socialist Party in June 1963 said: "The coalition of all Left democrats will be a very important political factor. But it may fail to muster a majority strong enough to support a government. With the present alignment of electoral forces in France, the democratic Left may — unless they secure the support of the Communist masses — prove incapable of carrying out their program and so play into the hands of the Rights in whatever form — classical or fascist — they may present themselves."

In contrast to this, the resolution which the SFIO National Committee passed last December made no mention of the need for a Communist-supported coalition of the democratic Left forces to combat all the Rights.

True, the resolution of 1964 still admitted of the possibility of certain agreements with the Communists if they are absolutely necessary to defeat the UNR, and we noted this as a positive fact. But the new and by no means positive development is that the same resolution openly recommends electoral alliances with such Right parties as the Independents and the MRP. It is no longer a struggle against all the Rights in their classical or fascist form, but an alliance with a considerable section of the reactionaries, described as "centrist" for the occasion.

★ ★ ★

In order to justify the shift to the right, Gérard Jaquet explained in *le Populaire* that the agreements concluded during the municipal elections were temporary and were not to be followed by a general political agreement either with the Right parties or the Communists.

We readily admit that there is a difference between temporary

electoral agreements and general political agreements. But we are entitled to ask whether or not the electoral agreements with the Right parties are to lay the groundwork for a future general political agreement with the MPR and the Independents.

Gérard Jaquet and Claude Fuzier write in *le Populaire* that after the elections an effort should be made towards political clarification. That is correct. But they advance the idea of a "confederation" or "federation" of the Left non-Communist, so-called "Left democratic" forces.

We see nothing wrong about the contemplated Left non-Communist alliance, but we say that it will be too weak to defeat the Gaullist regime and the other reactionary forces. In fact, this alliance, if it materializes, will represent 20 to 25 per cent of the electorate at most.

Therefore, a solution to the problem should be sought, not in establishing a Left non-Communist alliance, but in reaching agreement, on a common platform, between all the democratic parties, organizations and groups without exception.

It is to be regretted that the Socialist leaders reject this general agreement, for it alone paves the way for success in the struggle against one-man rule, for genuine democracy.

CONCERNING DEFFERRE'S CANDIDATURE

It is a very alarming fact that by supporting Defferre as a presidential candidate the Socialists have already set course for a political alliance with the Rights.

When Defferre allied himself in Marseille with the National Center of the Independents and the MRP, rejecting all Communist proposals for unity, he thereby made an absolutely clear political choice. Moreover, in the second round of the voting, he received the official support of the national leaders of the UNR, and this shows him up even more clearly.

That is why the support of Defferre's candidature by the Socialist Party presents a growing obstacle to an alliance of the Left forces, of the republicans.

Not long ago a group of Left writers, lecturers and artists called upon all the democratic parties and organizations to agree on a common candidate.

The Communist Party has always favored such an agreement. Since December 1963 we have repeatedly declared our explicit desire that all the democratic parties, Socialist and Communist in the first place, should reach agreement on a common program of action to oppose the candidate of the regime of one-man rule with a candidate of the alliance of all the democratic forces.

On the other hand, we have warned, and do so now, that if our proposals concerning the program and political objectives continue to be rejected, the Communist Party will nominate its own candidate and urge all the working people and all the republicans to come out massively for its policy of unity and alliance.

WE SHALL FIGHT ON FOR UNITY

We intend to fight on for unity, now and in the future, after the presidential elections. To us, the presidential elections are merely an episode, a stage in our general battle for democratic renovation, while the reasons for which the Communists, Socialists and other democrats should unite are of a fundamental and durable nature.

No one denies that there are disagreements between the Socialist and the Communist parties. Indeed, had they not existed, we would be in one party today. But we do not think that these disagreements are of a character ruling out Socialist-Communist unity in the struggle against one-man rule, for social progress and peace and, eventually, for socialism.

For more than two years, Communists and Socialists have been taking numerous parallel or joint actions to uphold the economic and social demands of the working people, to advocate secular education, to safeguard the freedom of local self-government, to resist the "strike force," to promote peace and achieve an arms reduction. We believe these joint actions and numerous agreements on unity in municipal elections have drawn Socialist and Communist working people closer together, and this is the important thing. We urge our organizations and our activists to do everything to preserve and strengthen these bonds of amity.

The obstacles to unity being raised by some leaders like Defferre show that long and persevering work is needed to establish unity. Unity does not come by itself, spontaneously, for the bourgeoisie has a vital interest in preserving the split and therefore uses every means to maintain confusion and prejudice among the working people and thereby to stem progress to unity.

This is why the Party organizations, above all the local ones, should step up the struggle for unity and draw into joint actions not only the mass of the Socialist working people, but also working Christians and non-party people. For they all have the same interests and equally strive for progress, peace and freedom.

With this aim in view, we should intensify our propaganda among the masses and make it more convincing. This calls for increasing the distribution of *l'Humanité* and the publication of numerous newspapers by the Party cells, especially at factories.

THE NEED TO FIGHT FOR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEMANDS . . .

As Comrade Plissonier's report quite correctly stressed it is, above all, in struggle that unity of action is achieved and strengthened. It is in joint actions that working people of different convictions come to know and appraise one another, to realize that unity in all battles — both for immediate demands and for political changes — is essential for victory.

Party organizations should therefore pay greater attention to the defense of the economic and social demands of the working class, the urban middle sections and the working peasantry. The struggle for economic and social demands is all the more important since the still existing Gaullist regime continues its reactionary policy of subservience to the monopolies.

That is why our Party, which does not dissociate the interests of the working people from those of the nation as a whole, will go on actively supporting every action for social demands, in particular for full employment, a general increase in wages and pensions, shorter hours without pay cuts, bigger family allowances, a lower age limit for pensioners, an end to the rise in rent, and respect for the right to strike and for trade union freedoms.

. . . AND FOR PEACE

Lastly, the struggle for peace remains a prime task for us Communists, all the more pressing since the American aggression against the Vietnamese people increasingly endangers world peace.

We side wholeheartedly with the Vietnamese people, who are fighting for freedom and independence, and we shall step up the fight for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Vietnam and the implementation of the Geneva agreements of 1954.

Foreign policy problems are polarizing the political forces in France more and more.

The position of our Party is clear. The resolution of our 17th Congress calls for an active policy of peace which would help disengage France from military pacts and make possible a genuinely national policy within the framework of peaceful coexistence.

We consider that in the present international situation it is not in the interest of France to sacrifice its national independence to membership in one military bloc in order to fight another military bloc — contrary to what the supporters of European integration under U.S. leadership claim.

That is why we are fighting to ensure that France sets out to ease international tension, advocates the settlement of international tension, advocates the settlement of international conflicts through

negotiation, opposes all "national," "multilateral," "Atlantic" or "European" strike forces, contributes to the solution of the German problem through negotiation in the interest of European security and, lastly, advances disarmament proposals.

We must launch an extensive ideological and political campaign to bring this policy of peace and national independence home to our people and to win their support for it.

STEADILY IMPROVE PARTY WORK IN EVERY FIELD

Party organizations and all Communists working in mass organizations and movements should step up their activity whether they are fighting for economic demands, for democratic freedoms, or for peace.

Our Party can and must fulfil these tasks, for it has emerged from the recent battles stronger than before.

Our Party will rally around its Central Committee more closely than ever and continue its advance, steadfastly implementing the line set by the 17th Congress, that is, fighting on two fronts — against sectarianism and dogmatism, and against opportunism. This is not to say, of course, that we are free from shortcomings, that everything is perfect in our work. We must remove our shortcomings and continuously improve Party work in various fields.

We know that the struggle against one-man rule and reaction is not over and that new great political battles lie ahead. But the loss of positions by the UNR and the first results achieved in the struggle for closer unity hold a promise of political changes.

Our Party will score further successes in the struggle against one-man rule, for social progress, for democracy and peace as it vigorously fights in the spirit of the 17th Congress for greater unity of the working class and all the democratic forces.

RESOLUTIONS* OF THE CC, FCP

1. THE CONSULTATIVE MEETING OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES IN MOSCOW

The Central Committee of the French Communist Party, at a meeting in Saint-Denis on March 31 and April 1, heard the information report of Comrade Raymond Guyot, member of the Political Bureau, on the work of the Consultative Meeting of 19

*L'Humanité, April 1 and 2, 1965.

Communist and Workers' parties held in Moscow from March 1-5. It approved the activity of the FCP delegation to the Meeting.

The Central Committee is gratified that the Consultative Meeting achieved its aims—to search, in a fraternal and constructive spirit, for the best means of strengthening the cohesion of the world Communist and working-class movement in the fight against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, for the national independence of the peoples, for peaceful coexistence and peace, for democracy and socialism.

The Consultative Meeting stated in its unanimously adopted final Communique that consolidation of the positions of socialism, upsurge of the national-liberation and working-class movements and growth of the forces fighting for the preservation and consolidation of peace is the dominant trend in present-day world development. At the same time world reaction, primarily U.S. imperialism, is becoming more and more active in various parts of the world, seeking to aggravate the situation and committing acts of aggression against socialist countries, countries that have freed themselves from colonialism, and the revolutionary movement of the peoples.

The Central Committee fully approves of the main idea of the Communique, namely, that in the present situation effective unity of the world Communist movement, the basis of all the progressive forces of our time, is more necessary than ever before.

The divergences in the world Communist movement are weakening this unity and hence injuring the cause of peace, national liberation and communism. The Meeting therefore urged all the fraternal parties to display a still higher sense of internationalist responsibility and spare no effort in joint actions to defeat the common enemy, imperialism.

Thus the Moscow Consultative Meeting vividly demonstrated the active solidarity of the participating parties with the heroic people of Vietnam, with the Party of Working People of Vietnam. It called for greater international solidarity in the face of the U.S. imperialist aggression. The French Communist Party will intensify its struggle for the freedom of the Vietnamese people and all the peoples suffering from imperialism and colonialism. As the U.S. aggressors are expanding their barbarous actions in Vietnam and creating a grave danger of world war, all those who cherish peace and the future of mankind have a vital task to fulfil in common.

The divergences existing in the world Communist movement should not be an obstacle to joint actions of all the fraternal parties against imperialism. On the contrary, such actions will help create favorable conditions for overcoming these divergences.

The FCP has lately undertaken a number of political and practi-

cal measures in this respect to promote its fraternal relations and active cooperation with all the fraternal parties. It will continue its vigorous effort aimed at furthering the joint struggle of our parties in behalf of the masses, of the peoples. It is in this spirit that the FCP has proposed to the Communist parties of the European capitalist countries holding a conference to discuss certain common problems and tasks. The FCP believes that the conference agenda could include questions of the struggle against a multilateral nuclear force and for European security, for peace in Vietnam and for solidarity with the Vietnamese people, for solidarity with the Spanish people.

Along with the parties represented at the Moscow Meeting, the FCP declares for discontinuing open polemics of a nature inimical and offensive to fraternal parties, and for strict observance of the standards of inter-party relations unanimously laid down by the conferences of 1957 and 1960, standards which, among other things, prohibit factionalist activities and interference by any one party in the internal affairs of other parties.

The FCP unreservedly shares the opinion that a new international conference of the parties would fully meet the interests of the world Communist and working-class movement. A world conference, prepared collectively and held on the principle of equality of all the parties, would make it possible to determine in common the general orientation of the entire movment with due regard to the important changes in favor of the forces of peace, national liberation and socialism that have taken place in the international situation since the last conference. It would help strengthen, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism and the general line determined in the 1951 Declaration and 1960 Statement, the cohesion of the world Communist and working-class movement and thus increase its militancy.

Consequently, the FCP supports the propositions of the Meeting of the 19 fraternal parties regarding the active and careful preparation, on a broad collective basis, of such a conference and, in particular, of a preliminary consultative meeting of the 81 parties that took part in the world conference of 1960.

Conscious of its internationalist duty, the French Communist Party will steadfastly contribute to the attainment of the objectives proposed to all the fraternal parties by the Moscow Consultative Meeting with a view to strengthening Communist unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, in keeping with the vital interests and historical aims of the working class.

Saint-Denis, April 1, 1965.

2. RESULTS OF THE MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS AND THE PARTY'S WORK TO ESTABLISH A UNITED FRONT

The Central Committee approves the report of Comrade Gaston Plissonier on the lessons of the municipal elections and on the development of the Party's work to establish a united front.

The results of the municipal elections are of great political significance. They reflect the attitude of the French people to the challenging problems of today and to government policy.

The interest which millions of voters took in questions of national significance is a highly positive aspect of the elections.

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The results of the elections show above all a decline in the influence of the government and a reverse for the UNR, despite the active participation of its ministers and deputies in the election campaign, despite Pompidou's open intervention in favor of the government's candidates, despite the constant allusions to patronage on the part of de Gaulle himself. The failure of the UNR was particularly evident in the big cities. In Paris, 16 Gaullist deputies and one minister were blackballed and the UNR lost 153,000 votes, polling 10 per cent less votes than in the 1962 elections.

The loss of ground by the UNR indicates that the working class is dissatisfied with the capitalist monopolies' policy pursued by the regime of one-man rule. The peasants are also hostile to this policy; large sections of the urban middle classes and the petty bourgeoisie have expressed similar sentiments.

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The consolidation of the positions of the French Communist Party and the success of its lists and of the joint democratic lists in which the Party took part were another feature of the elections.

The Communist Party has retained, with considerable gains, the leadership of the municipal councils of all the big cities which it headed before. It has won the leadership of eight new councils in communes whose population totals more than 30,000. Its lists have won in numerous small and medium communes, and thousands of Communist deputies have been elected to municipal councils.

The agreements on Socialist-Communist unity, which led to the presentation of joint lists, had the approval of the electorate.

In Paris the joint lists polled more than six per cent more votes than the total polled by the democratic parties in 1962. The UNR attempt to secure a majority in the municipal council was defeated, and joint democratic lists won in 9 out of the 20 electoral areas.

Joint lists defeated the UNR and other reactionary parties in several large suburbs of Paris.

A new development is that part of the electorate, faced with the choice between the lists of Gaullists and those that included Gaullist delegates or were even supported by the UNR, on the one hand, and joint democratic lists, on the other, refused to support the candidates nominated or supported by the government, and approved the joint lists of the democratic forces.

This fact shows that it is possible and necessary to win over for democracy those voters who were misled by UNR demagogy and who cannot be regarded as reactionary—any more than voters misled by the other Right parties.

The elections have delivered a further blow to one-man rule. They mark progress towards working-class unity and the alliance of all democrats. They have created better conditions for putting an end to the present policy and advancing towards genuine democracy.

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To demonstrate their disapproval of de Gaulle's policy, part of the electorate chose to vote for the lists of other reactionary parties. This was a result of the regrettable attitude taken by the Socialist Party, which on many occasions persisted in allying itself with those parties, occasionally at the cost of weakening its positions in the municipal councils, as was the case in Marseille. The reverse suffered by the Gaullist party compels some ruling groups of the bourgeoisie to contemplate the replacement of the present power by another reactionary power within the framework of the system established after 1958. These political forces, which have already done so much harm to the country and led to the setting up of one-man rule, are trying to canalize to this end the discontent of of the French, who have had enough of the anti-social and anti-democratic policy of the de Gaulle government.

The question is whether the struggle against one-man rule will result in a succession of reactionary regimes, or whether it will have a democratic outcome. The aim is to end the reactionary power of the monopolies and replace it by genuine democracy. This should not be sought by trying to make the working class follow in the wake of this or that group of the capitalist bourgeoisie.

On the contrary, it is necessary to work for a broad alliance of the majority of the progressive, democratic and national forces, and this calls, first of all, for broader unity of actions of the Communists, Socialists and other republicans.

That is why the French Communist Party reaffirms that only agreement between the democratic parties, organizations and groups

on the basis of a common program to be carried out jointly can pave the way for the necessary democratic changes.

This outlook determines its attitude to the forthcoming presidential elections. As the 17th Congress of the Party stated, "it is a matter of not only replacing one man by another, but of opposing the candidate of the regime of one-man rule with a jointly nominated candidate truly representing the movement of the masses and the alliance of all the democratic parties and organizations without exception, with the aim of establishing a new democracy."

The anti-Communist character of Defferre's election campaign in Marseille, the blocs that were formed, and the open support of the UNR are, unfortunately, indicative of this presidential candidate's orientation on alliance that would even include the Pinay group, an orientation based on the anti-democratic Constitution of de Gaulle.

The FCP reaffirms its support of a common candidate with a common program; it will continue to work towards this solution. If this solution proves impossible despite its successes, the FCP will nominate its own candidate.

The municipal elections signify a victory for FCP policy. They corroborated the decisions of its 17th Congress. By ensuring success for the lists presented or supported by the Communist Party, the voters expressed their approval of:

—the party which keeps its promises and whose deputies in the municipal councils work in the interests of the population despite the obstacles put up by the regime;

—the staunch opposition the Communists have been offering to one-man rule since its very inception, and the democratic perspective proposed by them;

—defense of the interests of the working people and their families, of democracy and peace;

—the clarity, fairness, and fervent spirit of unity which distinguish the policy of the FCP.

It follows that the task of the Party members and organizations is boldly and energetically to implement the policy of the 17th Congress, with due regard to the progress made. Extending the united front to include every democrat, and above all Socialist-Communist unity of action, are essential for further progress in the struggle against one-man rule. The success of unity depends on the following two main factors:

1. Propaganda work by Party organizations to ensure a better understanding of the policy proposed by the Communists. The success in the elections should in the nearest future be followed up with numerous public meetings organized by Party cells and sections, and simultaneously with energetic efforts to carry out the decisions of the Party national conference on *l'Humanité* and the press. The impact and successes of the Party's ideas and actions

should also help win thousands of new members, especially before April 28, the closing day of the Maurice Thorez enrolment campaign coinciding with the 65th anniversary of the birth of our outstanding leader, whose death we mourn.

2. Intensified joint actions by all the social strata suffering from the policy of the capitalist monopolies. At the present stage these actions can and should develop:

—in defense of all the demands of the working people—higher wages, full employment, shorter hours—as well as in defense of a democratic fiscal system, a social policy on housing problems, and other vital social and democratic demands supported not only by the democratic parties, trade unions and organizations, but also by organizations representing the most diverse social strata;

—in defense of world peace, above all with the aim of ending the U.S. imperialist aggression in Vietnam, for general, simultaneous and controlled disarmament, for a foreign policy favoring France's disengagement from military pacts, and for a genuinely national policy within the framework of peaceful coexistence.

Recent months have seen further progress in building unity of all democratic forces to win genuine democracy. Further steps have been taken towards Socialist-Communist unity. The results of the municipal elections show that there is no other way of removing the present power and establishing a democratic regime.

Saint-Denis, April 1, 1965.

3. THE SITUATION IN VIETNAM AND SOUTHEAST ASIA

The situation in Vietnam and Southeast Asia is deteriorating from day to day. The U.S. leaders are waging a real war against the people of South Vietnam, a terrible war in which they do not stop at using toxic gases, bombing schools and destroying civilians. At the same time they are committing increasingly grave acts of aggression against the DRV. It is a flagrant encroachment on the rights of the peoples, an open violation of the Geneva agreements of 1954, which guarantee the independence of Vietnam and categorically prohibit the setting up of military bases and the presence of foreign troops on its territory. Furthermore, the U.S. imperialists' tactics of escalation gravely imperil peace and threaten to plunge the world into a nuclear conflict overnight.

The French Communist Party reaffirms its complete solidarity with the Vietnamese people fighting for their freedom and independence. It calls upon all working people, all democrats and patriots to step up the struggle for an end to the U.S. military interference in the affairs of South Vietnam and to acts of aggression against the DRV, for the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops, and for the

right of the South-Vietnamese people freely to shape their destiny.

Powerful demonstrations of peace fighters, young people and women have already been held in different forms, with Communists taking an active part.

The French Communist Party vigorously supports the Peace Movement's initiative of making April 6 a national day of struggle for peace in Vietnam. The Communists will take measures to organize powerful united actions in the most varied forms, including demonstrations, marches, and deputations to the U.S. Embassy and consulates.

Let the will of the French people to preserve peace and ensure the Vietnamese people's right to self-determination be expressed more and more emphatically from day to day, particularly on April 6.

Saint-Denis, March 3, 1965.

4. APPEAL FOR THE FOUNDING OF THE MAURICE THOREZ INSTITUTE

On October 9, 1964, the Central Committee of the French Communist Party adopted a decision on the founding of the Maurice Thorez Institute in Paris.

The Institute is to perpetuate the tremendous theoretical and practical contribution of the Chairman of the French Communist Party, an outstanding fighter of the world Communist movement.

As a center of intellectual activity, the institute is to help researchers and politicians better to appreciate the life and work of a man who witnessed and took part in the greatest events of our epoch.

No one has done more than Maurice Thorez for the development in France of Marxism-Leninism, this humanism of our time, for the building of a genuine working-class party, a party fully devoting itself to the service of the people and the nation.

Maurice Thorez's works dealing with democracy, the ways of transition to socialism, the possibility of averting war in our time, the united front of the working class and the alliance of the democratic forces are a model of theory closely combined with political practice. They are a classical contribution to the theory of scientific communism. Their influence has been and remains decisive for the development of public life in our country.

Maurice Thorez has the credit for wresting the revolutionary and democratic legacy of France from the bourgeoisie, which disgraced and abandoned it. He will for ever remain the best fighter for the unity of the French nation and the greatness of our people and a defender of their culture.

His teachings on proletarian internationalism, the struggle against

all forms of colonialism, and the right of nations to self-determination are part of our history and light up the way to our future. The same is true of his view of the world, which he described as marching to socialism owing to the victory of the Great October Revolution.

Collected and classified at the Maurice Thorez Institute, the documents, study materials and manuscripts which served as the basis for his creative activity and are intimately connected with his works will be placed at the disposal of researchers and activists. Together with the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin and all other works devoted to the working-class and democratic movements, they will help educate thousands of new fighters for socialism and peace.

In this way, the education of the entire younger generation striving steadily to advance their culture in the interest of the great cause of social renovation will be made easier.

This work will involve considerable expenditures. To be able to build and equip the institute, we must have 100 million old francs by April 28, the day when we shall be commemorating the 65th anniversary of the birth of Maurice Thorez.

We appeal to the hearts and minds of all progressives. We call upon them to contribute to the Maurice Thorez Fund and enthusiastically to advocate this Fund in order to promote the great battle for peace, democracy, and socialism, which brings freedom.

ON THE DEMOCRATIZATION OF THE COUNTRY AND THE TASKS OF THE CPG

RESOLUTION OF THE EIGHTH MEETING OF THE CC, CP OF GREECE

I

The situation in the country remains tense. It is characterized by an aggravation of the antagonism between the broad masses and the democratic forces ever more insistently demanding through democratization of the entire life of the country, on the one hand, and the plutocratic oligarchy and the forces of internal and external reaction, which are stubbornly striving not only to retard the process of democratization but also to halt it altogether and restore in one or another form the previous state of affairs, on the other.

The mass movement, whose growth largely determines the trend of developments, was decisive in both foiling the plans of the internal and external Right-wing forces and taking some steps towards democracy.

The united mass struggle headed by the Communists has resulted in the partial satisfaction, despite frantic resistance on the part of the monopolies and the government, of some economic demands of the working people and the solution of certain problems facing the country. The democratic forces have strengthened their positions in the trade unions, in local government, in the cooperatives and other mass organizations. The militancy born of the popular struggle has been preserved and strengthened. The reactionaries did not dare to carry out their sinister putschist plans, which were exposed in good time by the CPG and EDA (United Democratic Left Party). The court, the plutocratic oligarchy and the foreign imperialists were prevented from setting up a Center-Right government and bringing about a deal between the Center Union and ERE (National Radical Union).

The mass struggle of the Greek people, along with the heroic struggle of the Cypriots and the firm support of the Soviet Union and the other peace-loving countries, helped in large measure to prevent the imperialists and the domestic reactionaries from settling the Cyprus question in the interests of NATO.

II

The main force opposing the slightest step towards fuller demo-

cracy is the ERE, spokesman and obedient tool of the foreign monopolies and the local plutocratic oligarchy, the most reactionary, neo-fascist force in our country.

Steadily losing ground among the people, the ERE has launched, with the encouragement of the government and the full support of foreigners and the oligarchy, an offensive against the democratic forces and the gains of the people. It is engineering plots against peace and tranquility in the country. The task of the democratic movement, of all those who want tranquility and democratic order, is to expose and repulse the neo-fascist plans and aspirations of the ERE, win over those sections of the people still under its influence, neutralize the forces on which it relies, and foil its attempts to take advantage for its own neo-fascist purposes of the popular discontent at the failure to satisfy the vital demands of the people. The Communists, all democrats and patriots should counter the offensive of the ERE by rallying their forces, intensifying the struggle for democracy, exposing the crimes, treachery and corruption of the ERE, repelling its provocations and resolutely opposing in united mass struggle any attempt on its part to intimidate the people and impose a putschist solution on them. Acting in common, the democratic forces will frustrate the plans of the plutocratic oligarchy, the court and the foreigners, backed by the Right in the Union Center, to set up a Center-Right government as the first step towards restoring the power of the ERE and embarking on an anti-popular and anti-national policy.

III

The inconsistent policy of the Center Union government, its vacillations, retreats and concessions in the face of the fierce offensive of the Right forces add to the painfulness of the democratization process. The government's approach to the solution of the main problems facing the country, despite some positive features, do not meet the real needs of the country and the aspirations of the people and fall far short of the pre-election promises.

The issue of democracy remains most acute. The CPG appreciates the government's action in publishing of documents pertaining to the plan (exposed by the Left forces at the time) on the basis of which the then ERE government effected the 1961 coup in the guise of elections. The chief conclusion from this is that the democratic forces should unite to prevent the ERE from repeating such crimes. Hence the increasing urgency of the issue of democracy. For key offices are still held by people loyal to the Right forces; the emergency legislation of the civil-war period has not been abolished; people convicted for political reasons remain in prison; "loyalty" certificates remain in force; thousands of citizens

are deprived of political rights; political emigres are not allowed to return; the National Resistance Movement is denied recognition and persecuted. Thus, the Center Union government's steps towards democratization have been very modest. It has made dangerous concessions — as, for instance, on the question of the leadership of the General Confederation of Labor, and has resorted in some cases to such undemocratic measures as the requisitioning of strikers and use of violence against them, or the banning of mass meetings.

As regards the problem of Cyprus, a serious national problem and one that agitates the entire people, the government has offered some resistance to the pressure of the imperialists and the reactionary Right forces, which in company with the Rights in the Center Union leadership, are stubbornly pressing for a new Zurich. But basically the government has not dissociated itself from the NATO policy which is responsible for the tragedy of Cyprus; it has failed to use the tremendous opportunities afforded by the support of the Soviet Union and the other socialist states as well as non-aligned countries, for solving the Cyprus problem in an anti-imperialist, peaceful way, in the interests of the Cypriots, in the interests of peace and the security of the peoples.

In its foreign policy the Center Union government, despite some steps such as the restoration of relations with the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the signing of agreements with it, or the visit to the Federal Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia, has not fully freed itself from the fetters of imperialism. It has not embarked on an independent Greek foreign policy. Its policy continues to be determined by the interests of NATO. It has consented to the establishment of a NATO missile center in Crete and of the multilateral nuclear force; it countenances either overtly or covertly, the imperialist crimes in the Congo and South Vietnam.

In the economic sphere, the Center Union government has done little or nothing to solve the acute problems plaguing the working people. Nor has it tackled general economic problems. Some of its actions (acceptance of worse terms for the agreement with ESSO-Papas*, recognition of Greece's old foreign debt, agreements on new state foreign loans on onerous terms, etc.) increase the country's dependence on foreign monopolies. The state budget does not meet the needs of the people and the interests of the national economy. It aggravates the unbearable burden of military expenditures and taxes on the working people and does not essentially promote national economic development. The government restricts the role of the state in capital construction by resorting to foreign loans and making industrialization and economic de-

*ESSO is an American company; Papas is an American capitalist of Greek descent.—Ed.

velopment dependent on the "good will" of private capital and primarily of foreign monopolies, which are only interested in extorting super-profits and in the economic enslavement of Greece. The economic policy of the Center Union government is being more and more adapted to the demands and interests of foreign and local monopolies, which intensify the exploitation of the working people and the plunder of the nation's wealth. The government's insistence on association with the European Common Market has evoked the resistance not only of the working people and the middle strata, but also of the business circles, which have begun to demand a postponement of a step fraught with dire consequences for Greek economy.

IV

The period since the Seventh CC meeting has witnessed major actions of all social strata and classes headed by the working class for economic and social demands, against the neo-fascist campaign, for peace, against the imperialist interference of the Americans and NATO in the affairs of Cyprus and in the internal affairs of our country.

The chief lesson learned by the factory and office workers, peasants and other social groups is that the government's concessions and the satisfaction of some of their demands were primarily the result of their actions and struggle.

The past year has borne out the correctness and vital importance of "The Program of Struggle for the Restoration and Extension of Democracy, for the Economic and Social Progress of the Country." This program should guide our activities today as well, serving as the basis on which we can and must rally the masses, all the democratic and patriotic forces. The struggle for the realization of this program is a component of the struggle for the program of national-democratic reforms. Progress in implementing the democratization program as a result of the struggle of the people will create the prerequisites for effecting national-democratic reforms.

At present emphasis should be laid on the struggle for the following basic demands:

a) Removal of fascist elements from the state apparatus and disbandment of the terroristic detachments in the countryside (TEA), the reactionary officers' organization IDEA, the Central Information Service (KIP) and all semi-government organizations. Immediate abolition of all emergency and anti-democratic measures; restoration of trade union and democratic freedoms; release of political prisoners; repatriation of political emigres; general amnesty. Introduction of a proportionate electoral system.

Legalization of the Communist Party, which is a pressing problem, will be of decisive importance for normalizing life in the country.

The demand for a legal CPG will be realized if it is taken up by the masses, by a broad and vigorous mass movement accompanied by extensive ideological and explanatory work. The CC meeting again brings the question of legalization of the CPG, raised in the CC letter of April 25, 1964, before the government, the parliament and the political parties and calls upon the people to fight for it.

The meeting extends warm greetings to the fighters still held in jail by the Center Union government despite their innocence, and urges the people to demand their immediate release.

The meeting notes the great importance of the international support given to this struggle of the Greek people.

b) Satisfaction of the urgent and vital economic and social demands of all the working people. Reduction of military expenditures. A resolute and consistent policy of industrialization. Immediate postponement of the abolition of customs tariffs and rejection of any association with the Common Market. Revision or annulment of shackling agreements with foreign capitalists. Extenion of trade with the socialist countries to provide the country with means of production.

c) All-round support of the struggle of the fraternal Cypriot people for complete independence, territorial integrity, liquidation of foreign military bases, demilitarization of Cyprus, the right to self-determination, and the affirmation of the rights of the Turkish minority. The CPG exposes and denounces the machinations and interference of the imperialists, who, speculating on the natural desire of the Cypriot people to cast off the shackles of imperialism and re-unite with Greece, are trying, under the cover of "enosis," to push through a solution of the Cyprus problem which would accord with their imperialist interests in the East Mediterranean. Refusal to take part in the NATO multilateral nuclear force. Denunciation of the imperialist interference and provocations in Indochina, the Congo and elsewhere, and support of the national-liberation struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The CPG notes once again that today more than ever before it is in the national interests of Greece to withdraw from NATO and to pursue a genuinely independent national policy, a policy of neutrality, a policy of friendship and cooperation with all countries.

To ensure the satisfaction of these demands, which conform to the aspirations of the entire people and to the genuine interests of the country, it is necessary to intensify the popular movement, improve its organization and leadership, employ all forms of struggle, for partial demands to national struggle on major issues, and constantly to promote the unity of action of the democratic forces.

Of utmost importance is the powerful unity of the trade union movement, tireless work by Communists among factory and office workers aimed at overcoming the shortcomings in this movement

and helping it to win in 1965 new victories in the struggle for the economic demands of the working people, for the democratization of their organizations and creating the conditions for convening a unity congress of the General Confederation of Labor conducted on a truly democratic basis.

At the same time the movement of the peasants, middle strata and intelligentsia, should be broadened and the works of the Communists in their mass organizations should be improved.

An important role in the struggle of the people for democracy and social progress is played by the democratic youth movement. Efforts should be continued to develop the mass movement of the younger generation, which is on the upgrade already, and to repulse the reactionaries' offensive against that movement.

It is also important to promote the women's democratic movement, to organize the women's struggle for their demands, for peace and democracy.

The movement for peace should become a well-organized mass movement.

Parliamentary activities and struggle, if combined with the mass popular movement, can make an important contribution to the struggle for democratization and for broader democratic unity.

V

Putting forward the program of struggle for democratization, the CPG organizes the struggle of the people for the fulfilment of the promises made by the government, for the satisfaction of their demands and the solution of national problems, for genuine democracy in all spheres of public life. It supports any step of the Center Union government benefiting the people and the country, its every action against the Rights and their anti-democratic and neo-fascist aspirations. At the same time the CPG deplores, denounces and opposes all government actions running counter to the interests of the people, and as well as its policy of "fighting on two fronts" which hampers the struggle for democracy and for the unity of the popular and democratic forces and serves the interests of the Rights.

There exist forces today capable of preventing a neo-fascist comeback in any form and ensuring a democratic approach and the solution of the problems facing the people and the country. They are the forces which fought and overthrew the hated police regime of the ERE and which comprise the overwhelming majority of the people. Abnormal putschist solutions are rejected also by those sections of the people who follow the Rights. The forces of democracy are superior to the forces of neo-fascism and they can, given organization, unity, cooperation and coordinated actions, frustrate the neo-fascist plans of the Rights, isolate the Right elements in the Center Union government, and secure a turn in the government's

policy towards greater democracy. The CPG considers that this calls for a policy of broad alliances which, as was shown by the municipal elections and the parliament's decision to bring to trial Karamanlis and his accomplices, is feasible.

In the course of this struggle our Party will convince the masses that resolute democratization can be ensured by a government which, relying on all the democratic forces in and outside parliament, will embark on a genuinely democratic program. This will demand the broadest possible democratic cooperation and unity and persistent effort to overcome the psychosis and prejudices stubbornly cultivated by the reactionaries, and to eliminate the pernicious influence of anti-communism in all its forms.

★ ★ ★

The present situation calls for redoubled efforts to remove the shortcomings and mistakes in the organization and guidance of mass actions, and in our tactics. The most serious of these shortcomings are:

The "Program of Struggle for the Restoration and Extension of Democracy, for the Economic and Social Progress of the Country" worked out by the CC CPG and published on February 28, 1964, is not in the center of attention of Communists and has not won sufficient mass support. The principle of combining the immediate partial demands of the working people with general democratic and national demands has not been understood and is not being carried into effect. The importance of providing every mass action with good leadership is underestimated. Mass actions are not always correctly and persistently directed towards a definite pre-set aim. The essence of our tactics in respect to the Center Union and its government is sometimes distorted, creating the danger of losing, in the new conditions as well, the ability to differentiate between the forces of the Left and those of the Center, and this can have serious consequences. The clearer this differentiation, the more consistent our policy towards the Center Union, the more persistent the work among the masses and among the Center Union supporters and functionaries with the aim of establishing broad popular unity, the greater will be the possibilities and pre-requisites for broader cooperation and unity of the democratic forces.

The struggle against Greece's participation in the multilateral nuclear force was not vigorous enough. The struggle against the putsch planned by the Rights was not always combined with the struggle for democratization, and at one time was even divorced from it. Communists have not succeeded in securing sufficient mass support for the demand for the abolition of emergency legislation and the legalization of the Party.

These shortcomings are due, among other things, to the difficul-

ties involved in adapting the work to build a united front to the new conditions, in drawing more people into the struggle for more democracy.

VI

The expansion of the U.S. imperialist armed intervention in South Vietnam and the aggressive actions against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam create a dangerous situation in Indo China and seriously imperil world peace. The Meeting expresses solidarity with the heroic people of Vietnam and calls upon the Greek people to step up the struggle for the immediate withdrawal of the troops of the United States and its myrmidons from South Vietnam, for an end to the armed attacks on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, for peace and the security of the peoples.

★ ★ ★

Together with the CPSU and the other fraternal parties the CPG is exerting efforts to preserve the unity of the world Communist movement. Our Party considers that a new international conference of all the Communist and Workers' parties should be convened for this purpose. In order to prepare such a conference and overcome the existing serious difficulties all the parties should display persistence, good will and patience.

VII

Improvement of organizational and ideological work, and of Party leadership in general is essential if the Party is to fulfil the tasks facing it, to organize and provide correct guidance to the mounting mass movement.

The sharpening of the struggle between Marxism and bourgeois ideology, the specific conditions in which our Party exists and works, the increased activity of various anti-Party dogmatic and revisionist elements demand much closer attention to all aspects of ideological work. We must steadfastly uphold the purity of theory and our line both in the Party and among the masses, give the masses correct guidance and tirelessly work to win their support. Our ideological struggle will be effective if it always remains militant, if we rebuff hostile ideology and propaganda and anti-Party deviations from correct Marxist-Leninist positions, systematically expound the line and program of the Party, advance a thoroughly considered policy on the political, economic, ideological, cultural and social issues confronting the people for their immediate demands and the movement for democratization, national-democratic reforms and socialism.

February 1965.

FOR STRONGER UNITY IN THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

STATEMENT BY THE CC, CPG

The Consultative Meeting of representatives of 19 Communist and Workers' parties held in Moscow on March 1-5 is an important contribution to the consolidation of the unity of the world Communist movement, to the struggle against imperialism and colonialism, for national independence, peace, democracy and socialism.

The CC, CPG expresses its full approval both of the consultative character of the Meeting and of the documents it adopted.

The Consultative Meeting took place at a time when U.S. imperialism, supported by the more aggressive quarters in the other imperialist countries and seeking to prevent the growth of the forces of socialism and the national-liberation and working-class movements, is becoming more and more active and undertaking aggressive actions and provocations seriously endangering the freedom of the peoples and universal peace. This calls for greater vigilance, unity and active mobilization of the anti-imperialist and revolutionary forces.

The CC, CPG fully endorses the appeal of the participants in the Consultative Meeting to all the Marxist-Leninist parties to work without delay for united action by all the progressive and democratic forces to render assistance to the heroic Vietnamese people and secure the immediate termination of the armed attacks on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the withdrawal of the armed forces of the United States and its satellites from South Vietnam.

The CC, CPG shares the conclusion reached at the Consultative Meeting that what unites the Marxist-Leninist parties far outweighs that which at present disunites them. The differences notwithstanding, it is quite possible and necessary to achieve united action in the fight against imperialism, in rendering all-round support of the liberation movement of the peoples, in the struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence of states, big or small, with different social systems, in the fight for the vital interests and historical goals of the working class. Unity of action in the struggle for these common goals is the most effective means of surmounting the existing differences and strengthening the unity of the world Communist movement.

The CPG hold that bilateral and multilateral meetings, and other forms of exchange of opinions between fraternal parties, should

be used for solving common problems. In present conditions, international conferences, at which the principles of complete equality and independence of each party are always strictly observed, are a reliable and effective means of exchanging experience of value to all concerned, overcoming differences, working out common positions of the world Communist movement on pressing international problems, and enriching Marxist-Leninist theory. Therefore thorough preparation for a new international conference, to be held at a suitable date, fully accords with the interests of the world Communist movement.

Immediate discontinuation of open polemics and abusive attacks, efforts to avoid taking any step that might undermine the unity of the Communists of all countries, respect for the principle of non-interference by any party in the internal affairs of other parties, continuation of the discussion on disputed issues in a comradely spirit are indispensable for creating favorable conditions and a healthy climate for the convening and successful holding of a new international conference.

The CC, CPG agrees with the Communist and Workers' parties which attended the Consultative Meeting that a preliminary consultative meeting of the 81 parties that took part in the 1960 Meeting should be held to discuss the question of convening a new international conference.

The CPG, for its part, will do everything in its power to fulfil its internationalist duty; it will join efforts with other fraternal parties in strengthening the unity and solidarity of the world Communist movement on the unshakable foundation of Marxism-Leninism and the historic documents of the Moscow conference of 1957 and 1960.

March 17, 1965.

STATEMENT* OF THE SWISS PARTY OF LABOR

The Swiss Party of Labor received with great interest the communique of the Consultative Meeting of representatives of Communist and Workers' parties in Moscow. It, too, considers that what unites the Communist and Workers' parties far outweighs that which disunites them, and that, despite the existing disagreements, it is necesary and quite possible to establish unity of action in the fight against the common enemy, for common aims. The common enemy is imperialism, and the common aims are: the consolidation of the socialist camp; complete political and economic liberation of the countries that have freed themselves from the yoke of imperialism; emancipation of the peoples still under imperialist rule; abolition of all racial discrimination, above all in the United States and the Republic of South Africa; defense of the vital interests of the working people of the capitalist countries, and their struggle to destroy capitalism and build socialism.

The main aim, the most urgent and most important task of the Communist and Workers' parties everywhere is to prevent a new world war, to fight for general and complete disarmament and to ensure peaceful coexistence, which will enable all the peoples to shape their own destiny and to embark on the road of progress and general well-being.

Unity of the world Communist movement hastens and facilitates the achievement of these aims and promotes the cause of socialism, while disunity and division in the world Communist movement hamper the achievement of these aims and play into the hands of imperialism. The Swiss Party of Labor therefore supports any attempt, any measure and any form of exchange of opinions and experience which could contribute to the elaboration of common positions in the struggle for common aims. It declares its agreement with the proposals of the Consultative Meeting and, for its part will do everything to help overcome the existing differences and restore the unity and solidarity of the world Communist movement.

Leadership of the Swiss Party of Labor, March 20, 1965.

*Vorwaerts, March 25, 1965.

MOSCOW MEETING*

The Communique of the Moscow Consultative Meeting of Communist parties held early this month has been published The Meeting concentrated on a search for ways and means of overcoming the differences and strengthening the unity of the Communist movement, the great force of our time that changes the world and frees man from the evils of capitalism, the war menace, and the scourge of poverty and exploitation.

We see the Meeting and its positive outcome as a victory for the Communist movement and, hence, for all the peoples. It will be recalled that at first the imperialist press hoped that the Meeting would not take place. When, however, the Meeting became a fact the imperialist press predicted its failure. But the prediction did not come true. Indeed, there is evidence of the fruitful character of the Meeting, which "expressed the firm determination of their parties to do everything in their power to cement the world Communist movement and to strengthen its unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism and the line defined in the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement."

The Meeting was attended by representatives of Lenin's Party, which accomplished the October Revolution and ushered in a new era of world history, by representatives of other socialist countries building a new life, of parties carrying on their fight under capitalism, and of three Latin American parties, including the United Party of the Socialist Revolution of Cuba, which has paved the way to liberation and socialism for the entire Latin American continent.

The peoples are gratified by the fact that this meeting took place, that it will strengthen the Communist movement, whose responsibility is so great. This movement, founded on the best traditions of the proletariat and the immortal behests of Marx, Engels and Lenin, came into being after the victory of the first socialist revolution. Today, a hundred years after the founding of the First International, the ideas of socialism are a reality for one-third of mankind. They have brought about a great change by rousing to struggle all the peoples, even those whom brutal imperialist oppression seemed to have placed outside the march of history.

The Meeting pointed out that consolidation of the positions of socialism, upsurge of the national-liberation movement, and growth of the forces advocating the maintenance and strengthening of peace constitute the basic trend in world development. On the other

*El Popular, editorial, March 11, 1965.

hand, it noted that world reaction, primarily U.S. imperialism, which refuses to reconcile itself to its defeat, is launching acts of aggression against the socialist and the newly-free countries and against the revolutionary movement.

Today unity is more imperative than ever, for imperialism is capitalizing on the differences to promote its own ends. And "what unites the Communist parties greatly outweighs that which at the present time disunites them." All the revolutionary forces — the socialist community, the liberation movement and the international working class—need unity if they want to act in common.

The Communist and Workers' parties, which in this complex world have to operate in different conditions, may have different views on certain problems. But they have common teachings and interests — those of the international proletariat and the peoples, which call for greater Communist unity in the fight for socialism and against imperialism, for active solidarity with the peoples fighting for liberation from imperialist oppression, for world peace and the peaceful coexistence of all countries, big and small alike, irrespective of differences in social system.

Unity is a great goal, one to work for painstakingly, indefatigably and actively, exerting collective efforts and waging a joint struggle, using every opportunity and every means, holding bilateral and multilateral meetings, improving relations between the equal and independent parties, and convening international meetings to elaborate common positions in the interest of the struggle for common aims.

The participants declared for comprehensive and active preparations for a new meeting, to be attended by all the fraternal parties. An opinion of paramount importance voiced at the Meeting was that the meeting should be preceded by a preliminary consultative conference of the eighty-one parties which attended the 1960 Meeting and that this called for consultations with all these parties.

The participants also declared in favor of the observance of the Communist principles governing relations between parties, against the interference by one Party in the internal affairs of other parties, and for abstention from harmful public polemics while carrying on fraternal exchanges of views.

There is no doubt that this process will be crowned with success. Communists and all the anti-imperialist forces of the peoples may rest assured that the vigorous struggle for Communist unity on solid principles, a struggle using proper methods, will ultimately yield the desired results.

Our Party, acting in accordance with the line laid down by the 1957 and 1960 meetings and striving for the unity of the Communist parties, hails the results of the Moscow Meeting. At the continental meeting held at the end of 1964, our Party, like other parties of

Latin America, reaffirmed its "determination actively to contribute to world Communist unity based on Marxist-Leninist principles and the policy documents of the 1957 and 1960 meetings," considering it necessary to do its utmost "to pave the way to unity, ensure mutual understanding in the socialist community, and avoid all that increases the danger of a split, hampers fraternal and constructive discussion and makes it difficult for the fraternal parties to act in a united front with the aim of overcoming the present divergencies and turning all their energy to the fight against the imperialists and other reactionaries." The communique of that meeting also said that "we must base ourselves on common points of view expressing our common ideology, Marxism-Leninism, and do everything to ensure that solid unity on questions of principle wins the upper hand."

The meeting of the Latin American parties also declared in favor of discontinuing public polemics, finding appropriate ways of settling disputed issues, and ending all factional activity. It supported the idea of holding bilateral and multilateral meetings of the Communist parties.

Such are the views of the Uruguayan Communists, who welcome the success of the Moscow Meeting. We are confident that its results will contribulte to the unity of the Communist movement and help to intensify the struggle against imperialism and for peace. An earnest of this is the ardent call for international solidarity with the heroic people of Vietnam.

THE DIFFERENCES IN THE WORLD COMMUNIST AND WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT

RESOLUTION OF THE ELEVENTH (FOURTH) PLENARY MEETING OF THE CC, PPI

Having heard and discussed the report of the Provisional Bureau, Central Committee of the People's Party of Iran, on the differences in the world Communist and working-class movement and on the attitude of our Party toward these differences, the 11th (Fourth) Plenary Meeting of the CC, PPI resolves:

1. To approve the report of the Provisional Bureau of the CC.

2. Recent years have seen the rise in the world Communist and working-class movement of fundamental differences over a number of questions bearing on the strategy and tactics of the movement. The absolute majority of the fraternal parties, including our own Party, adheres to one position on these questions, while the Communist Party of China and certain other fraternal parties which support its views adhere to a different position. The differences are between those who uphold the principles of Marxism-Leninism, on the one hand, and those who advocate dogmatic and sectarian views, on the other. Unfortunately, these differences have gone so far as to endanger the unity and solidarity of our movement.

In view of the diversity of the internal and external conditions in which the fraternal parties have to operate, divergences within the revolutionary movement over particular questions are possible. It is extraordinary, however, that the CPC leaders should have turned these divergences — which could have been, and still can be, settled through comradely discussions and exchanges of opinions, without impairing the unity and solidarity of the Communist movement — into a special platform and a means of fighting against a number of fraternal parties. They have plunged the Communist movement into an atmosphere of internal discord at a time when it should preserve its unity and use the favorable international situation to the utmost to realize its revolutionary ideals.

3. As far as the strategy and tactics of the world Communist and working-class movement and the differences within the movement

*Abridged from **Mardum**, central organ of the PPI, Feb. 20, 1965.

are concerned, our Party has always adhered to a definite position. It took part in drafting the documents of the world meetings of 1957 and 1960, and put its signature to them. It also approved of the decisions of the 20th and 22nd congresses of the CPSU, which are of fundamental importance for the Communist movement as a whole.

At various stages of the controversy in the international movement, spokesmen of our Party clearly stated its position at world conferences. Our Party has repeatedly published on its press documents and articles explaining its position in the totality of the questions, or on particular questions, under discussion. It did so because taking a neutral stand on the fundamental differences which have arisen in the world Communist movement is wrong. In the circumstances, the right thing to do in keeping with the principles of proletarian internationalism, for the benefit of the unity of the fraternal parties and for a correct settlement of the differences between them is to uphold the right positions and principles against those who adhere to the wrong positions and principles. This has been, and will be, the main task of our Party.

4. The issues on which the CPC leadership and those who support its line express incorrect views are varied. Most of them bear on the strategy and tactics of the world Communist and working-class movement. Among them are the issues of the character of our epoch, the main contradictions of the present period, war and peace, peaceful coexistence, the forms of transition to socialism, the personality cult and the estimation of Stalin as a person. Since these issues cannot be set forth in detail in this resolution, this Meeting states that its position on them is identical with the position maintained in the report of the Provisional Bureau of the CC.

5. This Meeting states that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, its 20th and 22nd congresses and its leadership played an outstanding part in the matter of conceiving, shaping and promoting the fundamental creative line which today is upheld by the majority of the fraternal parties. The CPSU, which is the vanguard of the world Communist and working-class movement, has invariably played the main role in upholding the creative principles of Marxism-Leninism, exposing dogmatic and revisionist views, upholding the principles of unity and solidarity of the world Communist and working-class movement, maintaining world peace and steering a realistic course toward its preservation and promotion, and defending the revolutionary and liberation movements.

Our Party has on more than one occasion stated that the CPSU, the most experienced and seasoned contingent of the world Communist movement, is the recognized vanguard of the movement. The vast experience it has gained while waging great battles for socialism and communism and upholding peace and friendship

among the peoples contributes in substantial measure to the right solution of the problems of our movement. Its example, an embodiment of proletarian internationalism, inspires the fraternal parties in their sacred struggle.

Our Party has always attached paramount importance to the maintenance and promotion of fraternal friendship with the CPSU. It considers that one of its major tasks is to continue extending and strengthening this friendship.

6. Our Party has in the past taken certain steps to maintain its position on international questions. But it cannot consider them adequate, for there is a tremendous need for explanatory work among its rank and file and the population. In view of the devices which the CPC advocates of dogmatic concepts use to spread their ideas, the Party must resort to such propaganda media as will make its activity more effective and increase its influence.

THE SITUATION IN THE COUNTRY AND OUR PRESSING TASKS

THESES OF THE ELEVENTH PLENARY MEETING OF THE CC, PPI

I. THE CHARACTER OF THE PRESENT REGIME

Despite certain changes in the class character and the methods of the regime*, its main features and methods are unchanged.

First of all, the regime is anti-national. The renunciation of the country's traditional neutrality, membership in CENTO, the conclusion of a bilateral agreement with the United States, the placing of the nation's oil resources at the disposal of imperialist monopolies, the adoption of an open-door policy and the granting of priority rights to imperialist capital in Iran, the acceptance of fettering imperialist loans, the placing of the Army under the supervision of foreign advisers, and the granting of political immunity to these advisers are some features of the regime's anti-national character.

Secondly, the regime is anti-democratic. The Shah's absolute power over the legislative, executive and judicial branches, the security service's control of the country, inhuman sentences by

*The reference is to the regime brought into being through a coup d'etat in August 1953—**Ed.**

military tribunal sitting behind closed doors, torture, executions, mass murder, exile or deportation without due process of law, the banning of national democratic parties, press censorship and the prohibition of opposition newspapers are but some features of the regime's anti-democratic character.

As for the principal methods of the regime, which stem from the above peculiarities, they still consist in terrorism and reliance on the imperialists, particularly the U.S. and British imperialists.

2. The Shah — the key figure of the regime has been unable to settle the contradictions of our society. The exceedingly unfavorable economic situation, the chronic stagnation of the market, the low productivity of agriculture and industry, growing unemployment, the soaring cost of living, the increasing burden of state loans, a chronic budget deficit, a wide gap between revenue and expenditure, the free penetration and unhampered domination of foreign capital, chaos and corruption in the machinery of state, a chronic crisis of education, a deeply discontented society, and so on, are all obvious facts admitted even by spokesmen of the regime.

3. Under the pressure of various internal and external factors, the regime had to make some concessions. It set about carrying out reforms, and began to use more varied tactics.

The PPI called public attention to the necessity for solving the contradictions of our society, for regenerating it socially and economically, and indicated the direction this regeneration should take and the content it should have. The maturity of social conditions and the revolutionary activities of the national democratic organizations, particularly of our Party, as well as the hardships and privations of the people, on the one hand, and the persistent effort of the Shah and his government to preserve the existing system (which has lost its historical bearings and blocks the development of our country), on the other, put Iranian society in a precarious position, aggravated class antagonisms, and narrowed the social base of the Shah and his regime.

This situation has alarmed the imperialists. In those countries where feudalism can no longer be preserved, they are ready, in pursuing their neo-colonialist policies, to lean more heavily on the bourgeoisie which is dependent on them. That is why the imperialists, above all the U.S. imperialists, who are anxious to retain their profits and consolidate their neo-colonialist positions, some time ago urged the Shah to take measures in order to dampen revolutionary sentiment in society.

4. The steady decline of feudal and patriarchal relations, and the rapid spread of capitalist relations in town and country constitute the main socio-economic content of the changes which are occurring in Iran and which were promoted by the agrarian reform and certain other measures of the regime. This development is

taking place in a country oppressed politically and economically by the colonialists and governed by a reactionary regime, and is therefore going on slowly, painfully and unevenly.

Class differentiation in the countryside is on the increase. The class of tenant farmers is disintegrating into bourgeoisie, petty bourgeoisie, proletarians and semi-proletarians. In the specific conditions of Iran, this differentiation adds to unemployment in the towns and produces certain negative social effects.

Another important development in Iranian society today is the rise of a comprador bourgeoisie as a result of the appearance of mixed banks, industrial establishments and trading and agricultural companies. This bourgeoisie has brought Iran's economy under its control and is playing as important a role in the country as the feudal lords did in the past. The aim of the regime is to sell the state plants listed in the Shah's program, abolish state monopolies, which the Mansur government regarded as a condition for economic progress, and strengthen the private sector in the country to the detriment of the state sector. All this enables foreign capital to penetrate into the country and to gain key positions.

The feudal lords are changing too. They either become capitalist landowners or, helped by a regime which wants to preserve their influence and position in society, invest their capital in industrial, financial and commercial undertakings. In other words, while changing their class character and gradually disappearing as a class by itself, they remain among the ruling classes.

Class differentiation also involves the handicraftsmen and small traders in the towns. Unable to withstand growing competition on the part of the imperialist monopolies and the Iranian capitalists who are dependent on the monopolies, they are ruined and many of them join the vast army of the town poor.

Slums are springing up on the outskirts of big cities, and unemployment is hitting increasingly large sections of the population.

5. In view of these changes, our former definition of the class character of the regime, which we described as a feudal-comprador dictatorship, is no longer accurate. It would be more accurate to say that today the regime is becoming transformed into a dictatorship of different sections of big capital linked with the imperialists and landowners. The Shah is trying gradually to replace his social base, feudal and patriarchal system, which is no longer viable. He wants to bring a powerful comprador section into being in the town and a kulak section in the countryside, and to create a new, capitalist base for himself in order to turn Iran into a full bourgeois monarchy.

6. It is in these conditions that the regime has introduced certain changes into its methods of government. While terrorism and reliance on imperialism are still among its methods, it has now supple-

mented them with certain other political devices, such as reforms, the establishment of various societies, the making up of a "revolutionary" ideology, and the claim that it is implementing a program for "scientific" research and introducing various "innovations."

II. THE NATURE OF THE REFORM, AND THE SHAH'S NEW METHODS

7. The agrarian reform is the most important of the reforms being carried out by the regime.

The law on the agrarian reform and the amendment to it are half measures. They bear a deep imprint of the reactionary socio-political aspirations of the Shah and his regime. The reform will give land to every landless or land-hungry peasant. Levying a tax on the peasants in favor of the landowner under the pretext of collecting a debt they owe for the land, leaving vast tracts of fertile land at the disposal of the landowner on the plea that feudal exploitation is being replaced by capitalism, and a number of other features of the reform cannot do away with the domination of the landowner in the Iranian countryside, ensure the emancipation of the peasants and end the appalling poverty of the rural population. The reform does not provide a radical solution for the agrarian and peasant problems in our country, for it is chiefly aimed at increasing capitalist exploitation, which, in turn, is bound to breed sharp contradictions and to bring additional hardship to the peasants.

Speaking at a peasant congress, the Shah officially demanded — in exchange for the half-hearted agrarian reform and the non-committal promise to abolish the landowner regime — that the peasants submit to his despotic power to the point of swearing allegiance to him. Thereby he showed that his true aim is to preserve and strengthen despotic rule.

For all the shortcomings of the reform, one should see its relatively positive content and, on the other hand, beware of two mistakes: failure to realize its true socio-political aims because of its objective content, and failure to realize its objective content because of the authors' subjective aims, and hence adoption of an absolutely negative policy toward the reform.

8. The granting of suffrage to women is another reform which the regime boasts of. The Shah's court regards itself as the emancipator of Iranian women. Yet the fact that women have been formally granted the right to take part in elections — which we consider a step forward — is a result of the struggle which the progressive forces in our country, both women and men, waged for half a century and is due to the present international situation.

Women have been granted substantial rights in most of the Moslem countries of Asia and Africa. In Iran, the granting of suf-

frage to women has no serious practical importance for the simple reason that there are practically no free elections here. Besides, it does not solve the problem of women radically. Iranian women still lack many civil and social rights, such as the right to divorce, to custody of the children in the event of divorce, the right to inherit, the right to work, and to be paid for their work, on an equal footing with men, the right to appear in court on a par with men, to travel and so on. They suffer from the distressing custom of polygamy. Besides, they suffer from the same social scourges as are the lot of men.

9. The regime claims that it has taken steps to improve the living standard of the workers. And it is making a great deal of fuss about the law on profit-sharing by the workers.

The purpose of that law is to conceal capitalist exploitation, win the workers' support for expanding capitalist production, enlist their cooperation with the exploiting classes, divide them and blunt their class consciousness. Actually, the workers' incomes will not go up because most of the plants and shops covered by the law (which does not extend to the oil industry and some of the state-owned plants) operate at a loss owing to the economic crisis. Those workers who under this law will receive a negligible share of the profits constitute a small proportion of the Iranian working class.

The regime is the enemy of the workers but it poses as their friend on the ground that it has included them in electoral committees, enables them to sit in the Majlis, and set up "trade unions" for them. The "workers' unions" under the Ministry of Labor are one of the elements of the Shah's policy of implanting various organizations from above, a policy designed to exercise control over the working-class movement and to use the workers' votes. What the regime has brought the workers is a high cost of living, low wages, unemployment, police persecutions and other privations.

10. The regime claims that it has reformed the administrative apparatus. A long time passed before the government, following a series of "administrative revolutions," introduced a relevant bill into the Majlis. The bill drew extremely sharp criticism from public opinion, particularly office workers. The government is trying to force the bill through.

The unwieldly administrative machinery which swallows a sizable proportion of budget appropriations, is a heavy burden on the people, and even on petty government officials.

Only a social revolution can destroy the existing machinery of state, remedy its chronic ills, and create a people's system of government, simultaneously improving the living standard of the absolute majority of the office workers.

11. Today the building up of the Iranian Army is supervised by American advisers. Numerous shackling agreements have turned

the Army, contrary to the desire and will of almost all officers, NCO's and privates, into a puppet force. The regime, far from taking measures to make the Army a national democratic army, accentuates its anti-national and anti-democratic features. It removes honest and patriotic-minded men and officers either through arrest and repression or through discharge. It extends police surveillance to the armed forces, which it wants to convert into the Shah's household troops.

12. The regime claims that it has reformed education and the health service. It is making a great deal of fuss about the Educational Corps, Cultural Progress Corps, Health Corps, etc. The devoted work of the members of these bodies, which have been set up by the government, including the Educational Corps, merits high praise but it cannot solve the burning problems of our education and health service.

Iran is in crisis as far as schools, teachers and textbooks are concerned. Tuition fees at all levels are too high for the Iranian family. The regime's reckless measures, far from helping to eliminate the illiteracy of more than 80 per cent of the population, are aggravating educational problems. Whereas a substantial proportion of budget appropriations is spent — overtly or covertly — on military projects, allocations for education and medical care are negligible.

13. Better relations with the socialist countries are one of the regime's new features in the foreign-policy sphere.

The improvement of relations with the Soviet Union — a result of the Soviet government's efforts and of its loyalty to the principles of peaceful coexistence — is conducive to the political and economic independence of our country, and the progressive forces therefore welcome it. It accords with the Iranian people's invariable aspiration.

The argument which the opponents of this relative improvement put forward, saying that it tends to strengthen the present regime or that it is a "deal" between the Soviet Union and the Anglo-American imperialists, is absolutely wrong. Ever since it came into being, the Soviet Union has sought better and more extensive relations with Iran, and the Iranian people have always taken a favorable view of it.

Undoubtedly, the relative improvement of relations between Iran, on the one hand, and the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, on the other, weakens the positions of imperialism in our country, which, in turn, contributes to the consolidation of our political and economic independence.

14. Another new foreign-policy feature of the regime is the conclusion of a tripartite treaty of economic, cultural and technical

cooperation between Iran, Turkey and Pakistan, signed in Ankara in 1964 as the Regional Welfare Pact.

The treaty is a result of the changed balance of world forces and indicates a crisis of the CENTO pact. Iran, Turkey and Pakistan want to use this treaty, which the Anglo-American imperialists allegedly have had nothing to do with and which the three signatories have given a Moslem touch, for demagogical purposes. The treaty shows that the Iranian government in the present international situation would not mind having greater opportunities for maneuver in common with its CENTO allies.

Our foreign policy is still inspired by the Anglo-American imperialists and is linked with the foreign policy of one country. The partial changes which have come about in it could not have changed its character as a whole.

15. One of the methods to which the regime has in recent years been resorting more and more often is the setting up of parties, "trade unions," peasant cooperatives, women's and youth leagues, various clubs and other centers, and the holding of congresses, referendums and meetings. These measures are intended to help the regime in carrying out its schemes, and are part of the policy of implanting organizations from above.

Whatever the true aims of this method, it objectively makes for the emergence of various social groups on the political scene in both town and country, and shows that it is becoming increasingly difficult to govern the country by the rigid methods of a tyrannical regime.

16. To attract foreign capital and to protect its interests, the regime has issued a series of laws which grant — even according to official quarters — greater privileges to foreign capital than the legislation of other countries.

We hold that foreign investments in the forms and in the situation which are shaping up in our country are injurious to sound and rapid economic growth. They increase Iran's dependence on imperialism instead of laying the material groundwork for economic independence. Instead of increasing the national wealth, which should be a source of general well-being and hence of growing incomes for the working people, they facilitate its plunder.

One of the more important tasks of the nation's economic policy is to abolish foreign capitalist domination in Iran.

17. The regime boasts of its oil policy. It makes out this policy, which is a betrayal of our national interests, to be a source of progress and prosperity for the country. The regime, itself a product of conspiracy by the old monopolies, has no goal other than to protect imperialist control of the nationalized oil wells and their continued plunder.

The regime has brought our rich oil deposits to the hammer, and

every day delivers more and more of them into the hands of the oil monopolies. These acquire, jointly or severally, the priority right to exploit part of the oil wells. The sale of the wells by auction continues by the terms of the law on the auction sale of all the oil wells of the country (divided into 12 fields).

The regime's oil policy essentially accords with its desire to attract foreign capital and to acquire as much money as possible to make up for the chronic budget deficit and to cover the growing military and administrative expenditures. As oil extraction brings huge profits, the imperialists prefer to invest in Iranian oil rather than in other branches of business. The regime, for its part, shows particular zeal and perseverance in this sphere.

Certain quarters close to the regime admit that the greater part of the profit from oil either returns to the imperialists through foreign trade or through the Planning Organization, is spent on the armed forces and the administrative apparatus, which is also linked with the imperialists, or is pocketed by the home exploiters, primarily the Shah.

18. Despite the ostentatious measures and boastful claims of the regime, continued subservience to imperialism, deciding all questions in favor of the imperialists, the suppression of the liberation movement, terrorism and repression, have always been its distinguishing feature and main content. The reforms serve as an attractive facade for a regime which is reactionary by its very nature. Since they are inconsistent and half-hearted, are being effected at a time when the country has lost its political and economic independence, do not follow a single development plan, lack public support, and are being carried into practice by a corrupt administrative machinery, as well as for other reasons of a similar nature, they cannot eliminate the main evil of our society, its backwardness.

During the government referendum on various laws, including the utterly reactionary law on the sale of state-owned plants, our Party chose the tactic of boycott in order to prevent whatever illusions might be bred by the regime's demagogy, and not to take a single step that might strengthen the Shah's despotic regime. Time has proved this tactic correct.

The economic plight of the country and universal poverty, as well as the growing political consciousness of the people, have widened the gulf between the government and the nation. In view of the acute crises which affect the regime, the above factors make it possible to bring about useful changes. Experience has shown, however, that unless the subjective factor is properly used, that is, unless the revolutionary and opposition organizations are well prepared and act as a unit, taking advantage of the situation, the

regime will hold its own against the objective factors unfavorable to it.

III. THE OPPOSITION AND THE ISSUE OF A UNITED FRONT

19. At the early stage of the rule of the present regime there was a decline in the national movement, which had suffered a reverse. But as the regime went through various crises—under the Eqbal, Sharif Amami, Alam and Mansur governments—and owing to the explanatory and organizing work of the opposition parties and groups, popular resistance to the regime grew. Throughout the country, in town and country alike, there began strikes, demonstrations and other joint actions by the workers, peasants, students, office employees, shopkeepers, handicraftsmen and members of the clergy.

20. Worthy of note among the major events of late years are the popular demonsrtations which took place in Teheran, Tabriz, Shiraz, Qum and elsewhere in June 1963. These demonstrations, which originated on a religious basis, soon went beyond the bounds set by their organizers, and developed into popular actions against the Shah. The unarmed demonstrators displayed extraordinary courage. The regime crushed these actions with unparalleled cruelty.

Despite the selfless bravery of the participants, the demonstrations bore no fruit because they were poorly organized and lacked proper leadership.

21. At present the regime is faced with a broad opposition movement embracing various social groups and political organizations. The PPI, the National Front and other progressive organizations, which belong to this heterogeneous opposition, represent the people's resistance to the regime.

This national democratic opposition is fighting the regime from the left. On the other hand, some members of the ruling classes, who are dissatisfied with the regime for various reasons, specifically on account of certain reforms, are fighting the regime from the right.

22. The clergy is basically heterogeneous but most of its members are linked with the middle classes and to some extent reflect the psychology and tendencies of these classes. Those members of the clergy who are now opposed to the regime, especially since the Majlis passed the law on the immunity of the American advisers, openly advance anti-imperialist slogans and advocate the independence and freedom of their country.

23. The National Front (NF) is one of the influential national democratic opposition parties. It has organizations both in Iran and abroad—in Europe and America. Its Iranian organizations have for some time been passing through a profound crisis. The European organizations of the NF are the most consistent as regards the issue of peace and the situation in Iran.

The NF is not homogeneous. It falls into the most varied trends from conservative liberal to revolutionary democratic, for its members are connected with different classes, such as the national bourgeoisie and the urban petty bourgeoisie, and the intellectuals.

The NF in general and its European organizations in particular are noteworthy for a leftward shift. Today the NF shows greater radicalism in its utterances against the regime and imperialism, including the U.S. imperialists. Its program now includes certain progressive socio-political watchwords. The shift occurred under the impact of the international situation, particualrly the struggle of the people in the underdeveloped countries, the impact of Iranian public opinion, and the direct influence of our Party's struggle and propaganda. But despite these positive changes, the NF continues its tactics of rejecting joint actions with the PPI.

24. The appeal for dissolving the parties and fusing them in a single organizations, to be called the National Front, has been the slogan of the Executive Committee of the NF in Europe ever since the last congress.

Our Party has repeatedly pointed to the fallacy of this concept and the theory it is based on, namely, that political differentiation between the masses of the exploited in a country like ours is impermissible. Our Party considers that the classes in our society are sufficiently developed to have organizations of their own expressing their special class interests. We hold that a front of parties should be the totality of independent organizations united by a single program for action. The facts show that our Party's appeal is meeting with an increasingly widespread response in the ranks of the NF, at home as well as abroad.

25. The issue of a united front is not, in the view of our Party, limited to the unity of the PPI and the NF. The main content of a united front consists in cooperation of all the anti-imperialist classes and sections of the people, of which the alliance of the workers and peasants is the backbone. This is why work among the workers and peasants, the use of legal trade unions and cooperatives in town and country, and the effort to draw as many workers and peasants as possible into the fight against the regime are the principal condition for the establishment of a united national front against colonialism and tyranny. The Party should get rid of shortcomings in its work among the peasants, who are becoming more and more active and influential as political fighters. It should find proper forms of propaganda and organization to establish the right relations with the peasantry and to use this vast revolutionary force.

It is wrong to counterpose our Party's slogan of unity of action with the NF to the issue of the need for the alliance of the workers and peasants, as some people occasionally do. Our Party will steadfastly continue its policy of unity of action with the NF despite the

disruptive tactics — deliberate or otherwise — of the present NF leadership. On the other hand, it has always held, and still holds, that its main task is to organize the popular forces under the leadership of the working class.

26. Our Party is also following the policy of unity in relation to other opposition organizations, including the Socialist League (SL). The SL leaders are trying to dissociate PPI members from the Party leadership. SL propaganda often betrays hostility to the Soviet Union and the PPI. Nevertheless, we are willing, as we have said in our letter to the SL, to engage in any serious talks on united action with the SL against the present regime.

IV. THE TACTICAL AIM AND THE DEMANDS OF THE PPI

27. Our tactical aim is to eliminate the present anti-national and anti-democratic regime and form a national democratic government. This government should work for peace and friendship among the peoples, the political and economic independence of the country, democratic rights and freedoms, the material and spiritual progress of the country, and the well-being of all working people in town and country.

28. In contrast to the policy of stabilization in the interest of reaction and imperialism, our Party is seeking radical changes for the benefit of the people.

Our society is one or two hundred years behind the foremost societies of the world. Yet it has great natural and manpower resources. To overcome its extreme material and spiritual backwardness and attain the level of the foremost nations, it must make very rapid progress in every sphere. This calls for the establishment of an appropriate social system, that is, a national democratic system.

29. The national democratic government of Iran should pursue a policy of neutrality and of friendship with all peoples, particularly the peoples of the socialist and neutralist countries. It should withdrawn from CENTO and abrogate shackling treaties and commitments to the imperialists, particularly the U.S. imperialists. It should expel foreign advisers from the country.

The national democratic government should pursue a sound economic policy on scientific lines. The economic development of our country must be non-capitalistic.

The national democratic government should embark on industrialization in order to provide the material and technical base for a strong and independent state and to provide universal well-being and prosperity. It should carry out an agrarian reform on the principle of distribution without compensation of all the land owned by the Shah, the mosques and the state. It should promote peasant

cooperatives among the landless and land-hungry peasants and introduce modern farming methods all over the country.

The national democratic government should restore the abolished constitutional standards, introduce democratic liberties, annul the inhuman sentences passed by military tribunals, amnesty all the political prisoners, provide conditions for the return of all the political prisoners and exiles to normal life and work, and guarantee the free operation of parties, trade unions and the press. It should govern the country on the basis of decentralization and local self-government, and should safeguard the rights of the peoples of Iran.

With a view to eliminating illiteracy, the national democratic government should create a progressive system of public education, enact insurance legislation, establish the right ratio between the cost of living and wages, and give jobs to the unemployed, making full use of the country's opportunities for this.

30. In view of the changes which have occurred in recent years in Iran and abroad, the Party Program, which underlies the political and ideological activities of our Party, should be reviewed and improved.

V. THE ROAD OF DEVELOPMENT OF OUR COUNTRY

31. There can be no doubt that were democratic principles respected in our country, that is, were the free operation of parties and trade unions, freedom of the press, of elections and demonstrations truly guaranteed, and were the despotic regime with its security service and military tribunals succeeded by a law-abiding government, the Iranian people would strive to solve the acute and pressing problems of society by means of peaceful struggles and through a peaceful transition. But in the present conditions, at a time when there is not a hint of freedom and when a bloodthirsty dictatorship crushes all opposition with the utmost cruelty, oppresses increasing sections of the people, and counters the slightest action against its schemes and methods with persecution, arrest, exile, torture, execution, mass murder and punitive expeditions, the opportunity for the normal solutions of acute social problems has been ruled out by the regime itself. This is why all the national democratic organizations, which suffer from the Shah's tyranny, are coming more and more to the conclusion that the present regime has to be overthrown by force.

32. While our Party draws the conclusion that in the present conditions the forcible way is the one of the two ways of development of the revolution that today comes to the fore, it holds that it must not fully rule out the possibility of a different prospect—that of a peaceful way—appearing in the future. To avoid the blind alley of one-sided tactics, our Party should carry on its work with

due regard to the existence of both possibilities and to the greater likelihood of the non-peaceful development of the revolution.

33. Naturally, determining the form of transition is not enough to accomplish the revolution. A careful study of the internal and external conditions of our country, proper preparations and timing, the right choice of practical slogans and suitable forms of using force, organizing action in such a way as not to rely exclusively on the strength of the vanguard, etc., are indispensable for taking the right line of action and proceeding with proper foresight. The Party leadership is duty bound to carry out adequate preparations, and to act with a profound awareness of its responsibility and with due account of the interests of the Party and the movement.

34. To state that a violent revolution is more likely does not mean denying the necessity for organizing work, as some think. Restoring the strength of its organization in the exceedingly difficult conditions of today is a cardinal and invariable task which our Party must accomplish if it is to play a fitting role in the transformation of society. A solidly united Party organization is the paramount condition and necessary basis for struggle. Without it the Party cannot maneuver, cannot use different forms of legal and illegal, peaceful and non-peaceful struggle.

35. To state that the non-peaceful development of the revolution is more likely does not mean, on the other hand, renouncing the habitual forms and methods of struggle, renouncing the struggle to wrest concessions from the regime, the struggle for a general amnesty, for democratic liberties, for the closest unity of all the forces opposed to the regime, renouncing strikes, etc.

The Party can lead the movement to victory in the face of all turns in the situation, of all ups and downs, provided it makes proper use of every opportunity, correctly defines the cardinal task, and makes proper preparations. Furthermore, our Party should carefully avoid opportunism, passive tactics, adventurous policies and sectarian methods.

SMASHING THEIR CHAINS*

An Afro-Asian economic seminar was held in Algiers from February 22-27, 1965. It was attended by 68 delegations representing various countries and liberation movements of Asia and Africa.

One of the items on the agenda was the issue of hastening the liberation of the peoples still under colonial oppression.

The first resolution passed by the seminar says: "Firm support for the fight against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, and above all against U.S. imperialism, for the fight to win and consolidate national independence, constitutes one of the supreme international duties of humanity, one of the most pressing tasks in the struggle to maintain world peace and safeguard the security of the peoples."

This firm support, the resolution points out, should express itself, specifically, in the dispatch of arms and military equipment, medical and school supplies, prime necessities and funds, in the training of military, technical and administrative personnel, the provision of special travel facilities, and so on.

The seminar recommended launching a broad fund-raising campaign in support of the national-liberation movements, boycotting the colonialist countries, and serving economic and diplomatic relations with them.

The liberation movements should also receive worldwide diplomatic support.

"At the same time," the relevant resolution says, "the seminar recommends that governments and organizations in Asia and Africa exercise revolutionary vigilance in aiding and supporting the national-liberation movements in order to foil imperialist attempts to undermine the movements from within."

One of the seminar resolutions specifies that "those countries which are still waging an armed fight for their liberation should be aided with due regard to the genuinely popular nature of their fight. The countries that wish to help them should first ascertain whether the organizations they are going to help express the aspirations of the people and whether they are really waging an effective fight against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism."

With the seminar over, the editors of *l'Alger Republicain,* organ of Algeria's National Liberation Front, asked the representatives of some national-liberation movements to share their impressions of the seminar and to comment on the progress of the liberation battles in their countries.

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*Abridged from **l'Alger Republicain,** March 10, 1965.

"PORTUGUESE" GUINEA

Abilio Duarte

AFRICAN INDEPENDENCE PARTY OF GUINEA AND THE CAPE VERDE ISLANDS

During the seminar the Afro-Asian peoples attending it showed that they are well aware of their strength and their weaknesses, and of the need for real and dynamic unity in the economic, political, social and cultural spheres.

That is why we regard the new platform which has just been drawn up a most important step toward the progress of our underdeveloped countries, and a unanimous and irrevocable decision to end colonialist, imperialist and neo-colonialist exploitation in our lands for all time.

As you know, so-called Portuguese Guinea is divided into two zones: the liberated zone, which covers the entire south of the country and stretches northward in a broad belt, and the other zone, where our people's army, our guerrillas and people's militia are still battling against the Portuguese forces of repression.

In recent months our Party has concentrated on reorganizing its basic structure at section and zone level and on building up and reorganizing our people's revolutionary armed forces. On the other hand, it has concentrated on measures to develop industry, trade, education and the health service in the liberated areas.

This activity, which accords with the strategic plan approved by our First Congress, consists, among other things, in the redistribution of the various units of our people's army all over the country. These units, closely cooperating with the guerrillas, launch frequent attacks on enemy positions.

With this reorganization and redistribution, our struggle is entering a new stage. The enemy, attacked and harassed everywhere, is sustaining increasingly heavy losses.

Our activity in the liberated areas may be summed up as follows:

Agriculture. Last year production of rice, a staple food crop, increased from 25,000 to roughly 30,000 tons, or by almost 20 per cent.

Agricultural cooperatives have been set up in various parts of the liberated zones as experimental farms.

Trade. We compelled the Sociedade Commercial Ultramarina, the second biggest company in our country, which had monopolized trade in the south, fully to discontinue business and to close down its branches.

Our Party has set up "people's shops," which supply a substantial part of the population in the liberated areas with foodstuffs.

Education. We have improved the few old schools and opened dozens of new ones.

From 1961 to 1964 our Party provided a university education to sixty-three young people, or three times as many as the Portuguese colonialists have trained in five centuries.

Health. We have set up health centers at the guerrilla bases and in various villages. They aid the population and the less seriously wounded servicemen.

MOZAMBIQUE

Lourenco Mutaca and Sarfu Khan Mohammed

FRELIMO

The seminar was the first to adopt specific resolutions in order to render effective aid to the liberation movements.

We were also impressed by the fraternal atmosphere of the discussions. There was no indication of differences between the delegates representing independent countries and those from countries still under colonial rule. This enabled the delegates from the countries fighting for their independence frankly to voice their opinions and to speak of their needs. A very important thing for us is what we learned about the experience of other countries, the difficulties they encounter with regard to national problems and imperialist infiltration.

You know that our Party, Frelimo was founded in June 1962 and held its first congress in September of that year. We have felt since then that we must create in Mozambique basic conditions for waging war against Portugal, for we have seen that she was not prepared to negotiate the independence of our country with any political group. We therefore organized the masses to ensure that our fighters found support among them. The work took us exactly two years. We declared war on the Portuguese colonialists last September, and have been scoring success after success ever since.

I must say that the material aid our African and Asian brothers have been giving us is very valuable. They send us arms, and modern ones too. The fight is going on and we will do all in our power to step it up and to extend the front. Its progress is most encouraging, and the morale of the population and the fighters is excellent. We therefore think we will win independence sooner

than we had hoped if things go on like that and if we suffer no reverses.

It is important for us to have Mozambican personnel ready to assume the political, economic and social organization of the liberated areas.

Speaking of the training of personnel, I am at a loss to say how much we appreciate the help we have been getting from Algeria. It has been very useful and without it our struggle would hardly have been as successful as it is today. You know that the first group of our military personnel was trained in Algeria, which was also the first country to help us financially. It is with our Algerian brothers that we have discussed and settled some of our difficulties. We are confident of Algeria's support and we hope other countries in Africa and Asia will follow her example.

ANGOLA

Luis d'Almeida

PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT FOR THE LIBERATION OF ANGOLA

The Afro-Asian Economic Seminar was an event of considerable importance to us. It was the first major effort by the Afro-Asian world to improve the coordination of our work aimed at promoting and consolidating our political, economic and social independence.

Today there is still a difference between the aid the imperialists render to their puppets and the aid which the anti-imperialist countries extend to the national-liberation movements. The imperialists are more consistent and close-knit. When it is a question of helping those who protect their interests they do it thoroughly. Vietnam and the Congo are cases in point. The aid rendered to those who are truly fighting should be more dynamic. The time for talk is over, let us hope the resolutions that have been adopted will be carried out.

We send our more competent people to the areas where armed resistance is particularly active to carry on reorganizing and mobilizing work and to provide military and political leadership. After summing up the difficulties which the Angolan revolutionary movement encountered in 1963 and 1964 and which were mainly due to the situation in the neighboring Congo (Leopoldville), the PMLA had completely to reshape its military and political apparatus to face the new situation.

Our units create insecurity everywhere in order to paralyze the

entire colonialist economy, primarily by striking at its basis, the lumbering industry.

Part of Cabinda, or one-quarter of the territory, has already been freed and in the enemy-occupied areas our guerrillas continue to harass enemy troops. Elsewhere in Angola we are carrying on political work to step up the fight by opening new fronts.

The fact that our struggle has not yet assumed the desired scale is due above all to the interference of Leopoldville in Angolan affairs and to that government's attitude toward us, which in November 1963 went to the point of expelling representatives of our movement from the Congo.

However, while the attitude of that country, with which we have the longest frontier and whose people are fighting for genuine independence, may be an obstacle to the early attainment of our independence, there is no doubt that this obstacle can be surmounted.

Whatever the trend of events, the year 1965 will see intensified political and military activities on our part. It will be an important turning point in our people's struggle for real liberation from every form of foreign domination.

ADEN

Abdallah Yahya Zin

NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT OF SOUTH YEMEN

The seminar was also a fitting reply to the imperialist monopolies. It revealed once again the considerable discrepancy there is between the prices of the raw materials sold by undeveloped countries and the prices of the manufactured goods sold by the imperialist countries. This state of affairs seriously affects industrial progress in the underdeveloped countries. To cite an example, Indonesian exports between 1950 and 1962 dropped by 7 per cent, while its imports showed a 27 per cent increase.

This trade policy is, therefore, a threat to the Afro-Asian countries, particularly as regards their standards of living, for prices keep climbing. Analyzing the situation, delegates to the seminar exposed the obstacles which imperialism is raising to the development of Asian, African and Latin American countries, and condemned it.

The British protectorate ended in 1962. But the British, who were intent on prolonging the occupation period, decided to form federa-

tions of South Arabian countries, including Aden. The people began to fight against this imperialist plan.

The fight became organized as the National Front, which comprises workers, peasants, servicemen, intellectuals, and members of the national bourgeoisie. Formed in October 1963, the Front began an armed struggle all over the federation against the British invader and the feudal sultans in the pay of the colonialists. The British countered with violent repression and unprecedented outrages.

I also wish to point out that the Front is waging a resolute struggle against the imperialists in the face of opposition by several parties, which seek a compromise with the invader on the plea that our country might become a second Congo.

The aim of the Front, supported by the mass of the people, is to gain political, economic and social independence, so that it may subsequently form a federation with the Yemen. It wants to establish a single free and independent state.

EQUATORIAL GUINEA

Atanasio N'Dong

SECRETARY GENERAL, PEOPLE'S NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT (PNLF) OF EQUATORIAL GUINEA.

We consider that the economic seminar held in Algiers has produced useful results by promoting African consciousness.

We believe that during the meeting to be held in preparation for the Summit in Accra, the Afro-Asian Solidarity Organization could concentrate on examining effective methods and specific means by which friendly people and governments should help the liberation movements battling against classical colonialism, as well as against neo-colonialism and imperialism generally.

The issue of the liberation struggle is highly important in view of the solemn declaration made by the Spanish delegation to the 19th Session of the UN General Assembly. Pledging the honor of its government, the delegation declared:

"The populations of Fernando Poo and Rio de Muni are masters of their future and enjoy the principle of free self-determination. . . . You may rest assured, gentlemen, that Spain will take care to rule out bloodshed or holocausts in Equatorial Guinea. Our African brothers will achieve their goal by peaceful means.

"We have already informed the Committee of Twenty-Four, as

well as other UN bodies, of our point of view, and no one has the right to question our intentions."

Our organization has taken due note of this declaration. The PNLF has set about stepping up the political struggle in Equatorial Guinea and providing conditions for an early discussion with all the members of the organization in order to work out a decisive program, that is, to present a memorandum on behalf of the population of Equatorial Guinea to the Spanish government and to demand that Spain set the date when Equatorial Guinea will become independent.

ZIMBABWE*

Noko and Sevenzai

ZIMBABWE AFRICAN PEOPLE'S UNION

The seminar was the first of its kind and we think the Algerians should be congratulated on having organized it so ably.

It should be remembered that even though political independence has been won, the Afro-Asian countries were the imperialists' milch cows for too long a time. For the first time ever, the Afro-Asians have decided that their riches shall be restored to their peoples and stop serving the industrial development of the capitalist world. The end of the exploitation of Afro-Asian countries, and the reconstruction of the colonial economy means less prosperity for the capitalist powers and perhaps the final expulsion of neo-colonialism from African and Asian countries. It is their economies that make these countries an easy prey for the neo-colonialists. If the resolutions are properly carried out, the result will be real independence that will not be political only.

The seminar has adopted decisions of great importance for the liberation movements. They include the decision on boycotting South African and Portuguese goods, and the decision on increasing financial and technical assistance in each particular country to none but truly revolutionary people's movements.

So far assistance was divided between two movements, one of which is pro-imperialist. The sooner this stops, the better for African and Asian countries. As regards the forms of aid, economic assistance is certainly as necessary as moral support, but what is the use of either without military aid?

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*African name of Rhodesia, the self-governing British colony.—Ed.

The present stage of our struggle is exceedingly complicated. It is deplorable in the sense that we have reached a point where the complete defeat of our colonialist enemies is the only solution we can contemplate. The colonialists reject all compromise and we can no longer put up with the injustice we have suffered from for years. We tried to find a peaceful, constitutional solution but all that we achieved was still harsher repression. Smith, Rhodesia's head of government, said that as long as he lived an African government there was out of the question. As for the position of the British government, it is hard to understand. That government pretends that it is searching for a solution but it is no more than a diplomatic fraud to secure the support of the Commonwealth countries. It can call a constituent assembly when it chooses. It can abolish the present Constitution any day without consulting Smith. But the point is that the British government and the colonialists are one farily. The economic links between them are very strong and there is nothing to hope for since the British government has allowed Verwoerd, Smith and Salazar to form an alliance.

The only solution is in our hands but it will entail enormous losses on either side.

Five thousand of our people are in prison camps. Twenty-three have been sentenced to death and may be executed any day. The police continue to murder Africans in cold blood.

A state of emergency has been proclaimed in several areas of the country. Since last November the areas reserved for Africans have been occupied by the police, which confiscates the harvest, livestock and other property. We are in a state of undeclared war, or rather of a war that the colonialists have declared on us, nor can the outcome of this war be decided by means of prayers.

We have finally resolved to overthrow the colonial regime by force. Unless Britain grants us independence immediately, we will win it ourselves, but we will never accept a compromise that would place us midway between oppression and independence.

SOUTHWEST AFRICA

Kankuetu and Kanjii

SOUTHWEST AFRICAN NATIONAL UNION (SWANU)

The peoples suffering from apartheid consider the seminar very important for our struggle, for as soon as we have won independence we will be faced with the new problems discussed here and

that all the African and Asian countries will have to tackle. The essential thing is to render the liberation movements the greatest possible assistance. However, this assistance will be no more than a contribution and the outcome of the struggle will depend on our own effort.

I would like to speak briefly of SWANU, which represents all the oppressed people of our country. When, in 1959, SWANU came into being, the objectives of the struggle were defined as follows:

1. To unite and rally the people of Southwest Africa, irrespective of color of skin, creed or religion, in a single national front.

2. To fight unrelentingly for the Southwest African people's right to self-determination.

3. To further the economic and cultural progress of our people.

4. To cooperate with Africa's national-liberation movements in the struggle for a united Africa.

5. To cooperate with allied movements in Africa, Asia and other continents with the aim of abolishing imperialism, tribal strife, racism and every form of oppression and economic exploitation of the peoples of the world.

The founding of SWANU was a turning point for all the peoples of Southwest Africa fighting for freedom. Since then all the illusions entertained by those who relied entirely on the UN have been dispelled. Indeed, we have revealed that no matter how many petitions are addressed to the UN, this organization cannot subdue the South African government and make it change its policy, which is hostile to the indigenous population, that is, the Africans. SWANU has adopted a policy of practical action and has begun to rally the population against oppression and exploitation by the colonial regime.

We do not expect to retrieve our country by peaceful means, for the enemy confronting us says in so many words that he will not restore it to us without bloodshed. The people of Southwest Africa want peace but when it is a question of independence . . . they are ready to counter force with force. Algeria has furnished us with a concrete example of what can be done and we will not be an exception. SWANU, a movement of true patriots aiming at action and inspired by the idea of freedom, is ready to go on to a new stage of the political liberation of the country.

Our goal is a free Southwest Africa.

SOUTH AFRICA

Makatini, Resha and Njoukonj

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC)

In our view, economic planning and cooperation to promote economic independence are necessary means of striking imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism a blow that will finish them off. They are also the only means by which the imperialist stranglehold, political inveiglement and imperialist military aggression can be resisted.

Perhaps the salient feature of the seminar was the unprecedented unanimity it showed with regard to our joint struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. This is why we think the seminar was a signal success. And we are greatly indebted to the Algerians, who have been working steadfastly throughout the seminar to foster and strengthen unity and solidarity. If all the resolutions passed are carried out it will not be long before imperialism becomes a thing of the past.

ANC is firmly convinced that armed struggle by the African people and other oppressed peoples of our country is the only way to end apartheid and foreign domination in South Africa. It will be recalled that with this aim in view Umkonto we Siawe* has been methodically carrying out acts of sabotage by destroying installations belonging to the government, communication, and estates. We realize that sabotage alone cannot force the Verwoerd regime into surrender. We have therefore, sent, and continue to send, hundreds of our young men to fraternal countries to take military training. At the same time we continue to mobilize the entire African population and to train it for a nation-wide offensive.

Our country is already drenched in African blood as a result of massacres and arbitrary executions. These atrocites must and shall be avenged.

We have called on the world to isolate the Verwoerd regime diplomatically, economically and militarily. The majority Afro-Asian countries have responded to our call. Their task is to take collective measures against the imperialist countries openly opposing this call.

We stress an aspect of the economic sanctions that makes the Verwoerd regime particularly vulnerable. It is the embargo on oil.

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*The military arm of ANC.—**Ed.**

We address a special appeal to the oil-producing African and Asian countries and to the Arab countries to contribute to this particular aspect of the boycott.

Inside the country we are faced with a revolutionary situation fraught with explosion. The subjective conditions are ripe and the objective conditions are ripening. This is shown by the mass demonstrations which our people hold whenever their leaders are dragged before Verwoerd's tribunals turned into human shambles, where one death sentence succeeds another.

Our people, aware of the solidarity of fraternal countries, have vowed to wade through rivers of blood if they must, to achieve their ultimate goal, to overthrow the apartheid regime and form a popular government which would restore the mineral resources—the wealth of all the South Africans — to the people whose property they are, a government which would give the land to those who till it, and would nationalize all the basic industries and monopoly industry. In reply to Verwoerd's increasing terrorism, the peasants, the revolutionary intellectuals and the workers say, "Freedom or death!"

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ELECTIONS TO THE SEJM AND PEOPLE'S COUNCILS, AND TASKS OF THE PARTY ORGANIZATIONS

POLITICAL BUREAU REPORT* TO THE THIRD PLENARY MEETING OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, POLISH UNITED WORKERS PARTY

We are entering another campaign of elections to the Sejm and the People's Councils.

During this campaign our Party, the United Peasant Party and the Democratic Party — all the forces of socialist democracy making up the People's Unity Front—will account to the people for the fulfilment of the 1961 electoral program on a nation-wide scale and in the wojewodztwos, powiats, towns and gromadas, and will submit to the electorate a program for future activity.

That program will be based on the general provisions of the next five-year plan and on the home and foreign policy directives adopted by the Fourth Party Congress and approved by the congresses of the other parties, as well as by the trade unions and youth and other mass organizations.

I. ECONOMIC PROGRESS IN THE PERIOD UNDER SURVEY

We appraise the past four-year term in office of the Sejm and the People's Councils from the standpoint of the 20 years that have passed since liberation and since we began to rehabilitate and develop People's Poland in new social conditions and within new, just frontiers.

From 1946 to 1949 we laid the groundwork for a socialist system and re-established our war-ravaged economy.

From 1950 to 1960 we rapidly expanded our heavy industry and set up a number of new industries indispensable for the all-round development of a modern economy. The dynamic growth of industrial production and vast investments drew millions of people into non-agricultural occupations. While concentrating on industrialization of the country, we began to use new working methods and new machinery in agriculture. We considerably improved the standard of living and promoted the skills, education and culture of large segments of the population.

*Abridged from **Nowe Drogi**, No. 4, 1965.

Between 1961 and 1964 we gave priority to the more comprehensive development of the country's productive forces on a modern technical basis.

Today, on the threshold of new elections, it is perfectly fair to say as we sum up that the working class and the people as a whole have by strenuous effort during the past years reached the main targets, if not all the targets, of the fifty-year plan. We have overcome serious difficulties in the country's development and made signal progress in many branches of the economy and in the education of personnel.

The developing of the fuel and power base of the country should be classed as one of the results achieved from 1961 to 1964.

Our socialist industry has been making good progress. We have put over a hundred new major industrial plants into operation.

In four years our industry increased output by 38 percent, whereas Western Europe, including Britain, the FRG and France, showed only 20 percent increase during the same period. The gap in economic development between Poland and the most developed capitalist countries of Europe narrowed still more. The rate of growth of industrial production in our country is keeping pace with the average rate in other Council for Mutual Economic Aid (CMEA) countries.

Our foreign trade developed faster than in previous years. Exports were well ahead of the growth of industrial output, which enabled us to import more raw materials, consumer goods, machinery and capital equipment. At the same time there occured favorable, if still insufficient, changes in the pattern of our exports, due primarily to the increased share of machines and mechanical equipment and of manufactured consumer goods, while fuel and raw materials exports declined somewhat. To promote foreign trade, and specialization and division of labor within the socialist system, we expanded cooperation with the CMEA countries along these lines.

In agriculture, the process of intensification made more rapid progress from 1961 to 1964. The results achieved are due to a substantial increase in investment and to the supply of means of production to the countryside and the state farms, as well as to to universal use of graded seed and to far-reaching measures to breed pedigree livestock.

Great economic progress was registered in the western territories reunified with the motherland. They are inhabited by approximately 8.5 million Poles. An appreciable increase — as against previous years—in investment in these territories helped to advance industry, agriculture, housing construction and school education.

The working people's incomes in the socialized sector of the

economy grew from 164,000 million zlotys in 1960 to 215,000 million zlotys in 1964, which exclusive of social benefits, meant an increase of 22 percent in real wages, or of 8 percent per working person.

Due to increased pay in a number of economic branches, and to increased labor productivity and improved occupational skills, the average pay of all those engaged in the national economy went up. There was a comparatively great increase in pay in the low-income brackets, reducing the disproportion in pay rates. This was due, in particular, to raising the minimum pay from 600 to 750 zlotys, accompanied by a reduction of the tax on wages and by the complete exemption of wages below 1,000 zlotys from tax.

State expenditure on pensions increased from 11,000 million to 16,000 million zlotys. In the same period the lowest pensions, involving 600,000 people, were raised by 14 to 19 percent.

The overall result of the country's economic progress expressed itself in a 25 percent increase in the national income. We diverted about 500,000 million zlotys from the national income for capital construction, which already bears fruit and will bear still more fruit in the next few years.

The development of the material and technical base of the country led to changes in socio-political relations and fostered socialist democracy. Self-government by the workers and peasants gained in importance in everyday life and in the economy, in industry and in the countryside. In industry, workers' self-government conferences became more active and their beneficial influence on economic activity and planning is becoming more and more tangible. In drafting the new five-year plan, ample opportunities were provided for the workers' collectives to put forward alternative plans. Throughout the countryside, agricultural groups and other forms of cooperation are becoming increasingly active. The People's Councils have greater powers and have increased their role in economic life and in management.

We carried out certain measures to improve the functioning of our economy. We set about revising planning methods and the management system, above all in industry and building. We extended, if still in inadequate measure, the powers of many enterprises — for example, in the export industries. We began to revise output indices and devised more effective methods of branch and local coordination. We are preparing further improvements in planning and management.

The term in office of the present Sejm and People's Councils was distinguished by substantial and solid achievements in the development of the country's productive forces, economy and culture. But during the same period we had to surmount difficulties, bring plans into line with actual requirements and the changing

situation, fight for a more active contribution to construction by the working people, and tighten discipline. We never concealed setbacks and difficulties from the public. On the contrary, we spoke of them openly in order the sooner to deal with them.

Difficulties in economic development made for a certain slackening of the rate of economic growth in 1962 and 1963, but they did not prevent us from accomplishing the main tasks set by the five-year plan and the 1961 electoral platform. The productive forces continued to develop apace and the economic potential of the country — the foundation of the people's well-being — grew continuously.

The results achieved during the past four years hold an important place in the twenty-year history of the great transformation of our country. They have greatly benefited the people.

We may well pride ourselves on our modern industry, whose production potential is ten times as great as before the war and five times as great as in 1950. We now have a numerous and considerably more proficient working class. Hundreds of thousands of various specialists aware of their duty and proud of their jobs have been trained in People's Poland.

We owe it to the work we have done during the past decade that every year we will be deriving greater benefits from the accumulated wealth — the material and spiritual potential created by the effort of the whole people. We have a powerful foundation on which to build new great projects.

II. PROGRESS IN 1966-70 AS ENVISAGED BY THE FOURTH CONGRESS. THE ROLE OF THE SEJM AND THE PEOPLE'S COUNCILS IN ITS ACHIEVEMENT

The program we will present to the nation meets the vital interests of the country and the whole of society. It expresses the collective thought and will of the Party, as well as of the People's Unity Front.

The economic development program will be the focal point of our electoral platform. All our initiatives are inspired by the desire to provide a better standard of living for the people.

Further industrialization holds a key position in the country's development program. A substantial increase in industrial production, the leading branch of the economy, will be achieved not only by expanding and modernizing the capacities we have but by building new large capacities.

The value of the total output of our socialist industry between 1966 and 1970 is to go up by 45 to 47 percent, with the chemical, engineering, power and non-ferrous metal industries developing at the highest rate.

The main task facing industry, the workers and engineers, is considerably to improve technical indices and quality in keeping with the growing requirements of the home and foreign markets.

In the engineering industry, the branches that have the highest technical standards, namely, those manufacturing electronic equipment, automatic machinery, electric equipment, metal-working machine-tools, and machines and equipment for the chemical industry, are to have priority. These branches are of decisive importance for the production of modern high standard export items.

In the chemical industry, attention is to center on output of synthetic fibres and plastics. Numerous new plants are to be built and the production begun of new materials for other branches of the national economy and for the market.

We will continue to expand the fuel and power base and the extraction of the country's natural resources in proportion to the opportunities for investment we will have.

Steel output is to increase to almost 11 million tons, which should be enough to supply the needs of the national economy, provided the metal is used more sparingly, the grades of steel and rolled stock improved and more up-to-date plant used.

The planned growth of industrial production will largely be secured by making better use of available capacities, and by increasing the numbers of workers, working in two or three shifts and continuously operating plants turning out raw materials and semi-manufactured goods in short supply. Greater recourse to work by shifts in industry, which so far is very limited, particularly in the engineering industry, will enable us not only to increase output but to make proper use of work places without substantial investments.

The tasks set before industry for the next five years are arduous. A discussion of the best ways of accomplishing them in line with the decisions of the Second Plenary Meeting of the CC showed that we still have potentialities for increasing output, improving quality and modernizing production, as well as for reducing costs per unit produced. The drafts of alternative factory plans prepared by workers' self-government bodies and by managements under the guidance of Party organizations show that there are more effective variants of production and investment which should be taken into account when approving the five-year plan in final form.

The chief target of our agricultural program is to increase output by 14 or 15 percent. This will require a considerable increase in deliveries of means of production to the countryside and in investments.

Economic progress in the next five years will depend on the rate of growth of foreign trade and the further reshaping of its pattern.

It is essential that exports keep ahead of the growth of industrial output and the national income. This should be achieved by increasing the export of machinery and other equipment, as well as of other industrial products, in such a way as to ensure that by the end of the next five years their value equals half the value of our exports.

The rapid growth of export, particularly that of manufactured goods, will expand our import opportunities. Many key investments are likewise subordinated to foreign trade requirements, the aim being to reduce imports paid in foreign exchange and to increase accordingly the export of national products where this is economically justified. The rapid growth of foreign trade will make it possible to increase trade in consumer goods and hence to enrich the home market and the better to supply the population.

These targets call for large investments. In fulfilling the next five-year plan, we will have to spend 830,000 to 840,000 million zlotys, or 38.5 percent more than in the present five-year period, on industrial construction, agricultural development, social needs and the public services. It follows that the rate of growth of investment will be higher than that of the national income, which makes it indispensable, among other things, to provide for a wide range of projects. Therefore we must very firmly oppose the tendency to increase investments and their share in the national income still more. This is a condition for the harmonious development of the economy and for the real and steady improvement of the people's standard of living.

The assignment of jobs to the younger generation will be one of the main targets of the 1966-70 plan.

Extensive investment will provide a wide range of projects. Simultaneously we must give priority — on the basis of a profound analysis of available capacities — to such modernizing and organizing measures as are likely to attract manpower reserves with little or no investment. There will be numerous new opportunities for employment also outside industry — in agriculture, the public services and the handicrafts.

The fulfilment of the new five-year plan in conformity with its main targets will substantially increase the national income and enable us to raise real wages and the incomes of the population. The individual consumption fund should go up as a result by almost 25 percent, or by almost 18 percent per capita.

The tasks we are putting forward are arduous but feasible. Our people can and must accomplish them.

THE ROLE OF THE SEJM AND THE PEOPLE'S COUNCILS IN THE PROMOTION OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

During the present Sejm's term in office its role in our socialist

democracy has increased. The steady functioning of the Sejm as the supreme body exercising control over government activities has become a normal practice. The Sejm meets at regular intervals and its commissions are active. The legislative activity of the Sejm has contributed to the consolidation of socialist law and order and to the growth of the prestige of state power.

The extension of the control functions of the Sejm is typical of its past activity. Government reports to the Sejm, information reports by Ministries and other departments to Sejm commissions, direct appraisal of groups of deputies with the local situation, and reports by the Supreme Control Chamber all indicated that the Sejm and its commissions and members kept in close touch with developments throughout the country and with the nation's major problems. The development of the institution of recommendations and proposals increased the Sejm's influence on the activities of the government, the Ministries and other departments, and has made criticism and intervention on the part of the deputies more effective. The Sejm was particularly active in working on economic development plans and drafting budgets.

The connection between deputies and constituents is typical of the socialist representative system. During the first three years of the present Sejm's term in office the deputies had 25,000 meetings with their constituents. However, these contacts were not maintained in a systematic manner in all the wojewodztwos and not all the deputies took part in them in equal measure.

There is a need further to extend contacts between deputies and constituents, to go into specific everyday problems of vital imporance, into public sentiment and opinion, to extend contacts between members of the Sejm, on the one hand, and members of the People's Councils, activists of the Party and the People's Unity Front, on the other, and also to coordinate the deputies' local work more closely with their parliamentary activity.

The past period of activity by the local elective bodies has brought serious changes into the powers and the style of work of the People's Councils. The nature of these changes was determined by the decisions of the Eighth Plenary Meeting of the CC in June 1961. At that time we stressed above all the necessity for decentralizing powers and responsibility in the Councils, and the need to promote their coordinating functions.

The main purpose of those decisions was to improve the work of the People's Councils, encourage their initiative and independent action in economic management and in the rallying of the population to fulfil our day-to-day construction plans.

The decentralization of economic management heightened the responsibility of hundreds of thousands of Party and non-Party activists for the state of the national economy. It increased their

influence on the solution of important economic problems. Thereby it strengthened the democratic foundations of our social organization.

The transfer of many planning and managing functions from the center to the People's Councils at all levels expressed itself in the pattern of their budgets. The total quota of the budgets of local People's Council increased from 58,000 million zlotys in 1961 to roughly 77,000 million zlotys in 1965.

The highly dynamic growth of local budgets was due above all to the doubling of expenditures on agriculture and education, which from now on are covered almost entirely out of local budgets.

The problems of inter-branch territorial coordination of the work of various production and service establishments, as well as of mutual coordination in production, employment, service, cultural and social matters are acquiring prime importance. Only all-round coordination at local level can, in collaboration with central departments and associations, ensure the proper utilization of reserves, and reduce investment and production expenditures.

Local coordination should extend to every field of economic activity and should be recognized as a necessary component of the work of all the local administrative and economic agencies, a component producing optimum results in economic management.

The People's Councils must take part in drafting programs for economic activity and the technical reorganization of their districts and the units situated in them. These programs should reflect the economic potentialities of the districts concerned, reveal shortcomings and abnormalities in their previous development, and offer optimum variants of economic development.

The demand that the powiat, town and gromada Councils be allowed greater leeway in using the budget appropriations saved by them out of above-plan incomes is correct. This should result in greater economic returns, afford the Councils greater opportunities of taking the initiative, and enable them to fulfil their tasks more effectively.

IMPROVE MANAGEMENT AND STRENGTHEN THE LINKS BETWEEN THE COUNCILS AND THE PEOPLE

The concept of socialist state is a representative system based on the people sending their elected representatives to the organs of state power at all levels. The political forces and mass organizations operating in our country, which enhance the role of the representative bodies, are at the same time carrying on work aimed at promoting the initiative of millions of working people, improving all the various forms of public control over the functioning of the state apparatus and the management of socialist enterprises. Work-

ers' self-government in production and in the sphere of the public services, self-government in the cooperative movement, whose influence extends to millions of people engaged in the movement, especially in the countryside, the tenants' self-government bodies, represented by block and settlement committees, and autonomous agricultural groups involving a sizeable part of the village constitute a mass school for management and administration, a school which inspires people with a sense of responsibility for the affairs of the state.

Consequently, the forms of organization of socialist democracy in our country are very broad and varied. To impart an appropriate content to them means educating and raising the efficiency of people day by day, steadily strengthening the links between deputies and constituents, increasing the role and influence of the representative bodies, and of the commissions they set up, on the activities of the administrative agencies. This necessarily means enhancing the responsibility of the executive bodies—the government and the presidiums of the People's Councils—to the Sejm and the People's Councils, and exercising control through the relevant commissions of the Sejm and the People's Councils over the activities of the central and local administrative bodies.

A special role in this extensive system of socialist democracy is assigned to the People's Councils, particularly those of their sections which are directly linked with the electors—to the town, district and gromada People's Councils.

The functions of the sessions of the Councils, and of the commissions and presidiums elected by them, as well as of the executive apparatus are being substantially extended. This is due to the increased coordination powers of the Councils in respect of the bodies and enterprises under central jurisdiction, to the extension of the powers of the commissions in respect of the Council departments, the further growth of local budgets, and hence the increased responsibility of the Councils and greater control by them.

The importance of the Council sessions has to be increased. It is true that they have become more effective in recent years and that the standard of the materials submitted to them has improved. But their work has many elements of perfunctoriness and the deputies' participation in the discussion of the various activities of the Councils' executive apparatus is still inadequate. Often the executive apparatus drafts Council decisions without consulting the organizations and collectives concerned. The method of questions by deputies during and between sessions is used to a very small extent. The Council sessions still give little attention to the problems of the key industries in terms of coordinating their solution with local economic activities. The links between trusts and Councils are not strong enough.

With a view to enhancing the authority of Council decisions, we must considerably increase the role of the commissions and deputies in verifying execution of the decisions.

The Council commissions at all levels should rally a large body of volunteers to recommend various measures, exercise draft decisions, and carry out analyses and tests.

To be able to work fruitfully, commissions and deputies should, first of all, maintain steady and all-round contacts with the electorate, give proper thought to electors' criticisms and proposals, and vigorously exercise direct and indirect public control.

In the newly-elected Councils there should be no such thing as passivity on the part of some deputies and a scornful attitude to meetings with the constituents—shorcomings which have marked the activity of the present Councils. The deputies are also duty bound to accept complaints, statements and proposals from their constituents at fixed hours. The prestige of the Councils and their members is gauged largely by the number of the problems they solve.

A better performance by the administrative bodies implies combating bureaucratic and arbitrary practices, low-standard work, and delays and red tape on the part of government offices and various Council departments in dealing with requests from the citizens. The code of administrative procedure adopted during the term in office of the present elected bodies went a considerable way toward improving the public services and promoting law and order. The Councils verified the proper execution of code provisions, and worked out the principles of dealing with applications and of supplying applicants with appropriate information. They brought a certain system into the matter of considering citizens' requests.

But these efforts have not yet become universal and are not effective enough. There is a continuous stream of complaints and statements flowing into the central bodies. Some of them are unsigned. These complaints and statements are prompted by distrust of the local bodies, a distrust which in turn is due to the indifference or scorn which this or that department of the administrative apparatus shows toward citizens' problems.

To combat these harmful practices, it is first of all necessary to pursue the right policy on personnel and to exercise effective public control on a large scale. It is necessary to improve the educational and political standards and the proficiency of administrative personnel. A great deal also depends on better functioning of the central bodies, which sometimes impose unnecessary tasks, many of which the lower bodies cannot cope with, demand countless reports, send the Councils circular letters and thousands of instructions that regulate the Councils' current activities much too scrupulously. The higher administrative bodies should concentrate on

providing guidelines and exercising control over the execution of their instructions, and see to it that the staffs observe the principle of responsibility for independent decisions.

The Council deputies and commissions, whose paramount mission is to improve relations between government offices and citizens, has a special role to play in combating specific cases of bureaucratic approach, incompetence or evil intent. This should be made easier by having meetings with the electorate, receiving and examining complaints at work places, asking questions as to the protection of the interests of various groups of the population, exercising strict control over the procedure of examination of requests in government offices and Council departments, and systematically informing the electorate of the outcome of the examination of their requests or proposals.

The fruitful performance of their varied functions by the Councils should benefit in greater measure than before from the activities of the committees of the People's Unity Front, which unite over 500,000 volunteers. By cooperating with the Councils, block committees and other organizations, the Front committees greatly influence many aspects of our public life.

The electoral programs of the Front committees were carried out satisfactorily throughout their term of office, despite objective difficulties and financial restrictions.

The introduction of new forms of public control in trade, public catering and cooperatives under trade-union guidance will make it possible to enlist the effort of tens of thousands of volunteers in the fulfilment of the tasks of the Councils in protecting citizens' interests and in combating ignorance, abuses and theft. This task is all the more important because it is at local level that economic abuses and parasitism—which the Councils cannot combat effectively unless they resort to extensive public control — manifest themselves most frequently.

The Councils should draw cooperative organizations into the work of the local organs of people's power in greater measure, and should help them in carrying out important economic tasks.

The Councils should pay special attention to agricultural and rural housewives' groups and to the Rural Youth League.

During the present Councils' term in office the Party bodies concerned themselves in increasing measure with the Councils' problems. They did more than before to promote the specific activities of the Councils and the democratic forms these activities took, increase the role of the social factor and the effectiveness of Council sessions, ensure the exercise of their powers by the commissions, and enhance the deputies' prestige. Not all the Party bodies have made comparable progress in this respect. The old habit and tendency of duplicating the functions of representative

bodies, which results in diminishing their constitutional role, still tell. This is why we must improve political guidance of the work of the Councils, consistently do away with injunction and the practice of duplicating the Councils in the performance of their functions, and increase the responsibility of their presidiums and commissions for the leadership of the national economy and for management at local level. The task of the Party bodies in promoting the constitutional role of the Councils is to conduct political work among the deputies and local administrative personnel, to guide the activities of deputies' clubs, and thereby to ensure the leading role of the Party membership in the social and professional machinery of the Councils' activity.

Greater activity by Communist deputies will ensure that Council sessions concern themselves primarily with the truly decisive local problems and become agencies for real and not perfunctory control over the activity of the presidiums as executive and administrative bodies and of the staffs subordinated to them, and that the commissions truly exercise control over the work of the departments. This concept of the role of the Party as the motive power of the Councils' democratic machinery will increase our role in society and make for increasing Council participation in socialist construction.

THE TASKS OF THE PARTY IN THE ELECTIONS

The elections to the Sejm and the People's Councils confront the Party with challenging tasks. It is useful to repeat here that the role of Party organizations is not limited to guaranteeing the proper course of the election campaign in terms of organization. The Party's activity during the election campaign should be aimed, as in the past, at fostering the political and economic activity of the masses, at increasing their socialist consciousness and sense of common responsibility for the destiny of the country and the towns, villages or gromadas concerned.

The election campaign provides conditions for improving the standard of work toward spelling out and fulfilling the decisions of the Fourth Congress, for extending the opportunities for the Party's political and organizational influence in order to strengthen the links between the Party and the people's government, on the one hand, and the working people in town and country, on the other.

The cardinal task of the Party in this campaign, particularly at its early stage, is an honest appraisal by the People's Councils and the committees of the People's Unity Front of the work done, and accounting to the electorate for the implementation of the electoral program of 1961.

Deputies' meetings with citizens, talks and discussions at factories, in the countryside, and various rallies make it possible not

only to assess the work done by the organs of state power but also to ascertain the opportunities there are for the further economic and cultural advancement of each district. New local electoral programs of the People's Unity Front will take shape in the course of extensive dialogues with the electorate, of a comparison of local needs with national plans and with the means at the disposal of local authorities.

As they carry on their political work of drafting programs for the new organs of state power, Party organizations should skilfully bring local interests into harmony with the national interest, show the electorate the interconnection and inter-dependence of local and national plans, combat parochial attitudes, and decide local matters in the interest of the whole country.

Electoral programs should not be mere sets of promises. They should be programs for the activity of the organs of state power and of the population, realistic programs that rally the working people by drawing their attention to key national and local problems.

A political task of vast importance confronting the Party organizations today is to ensure the careful and proper selection of candidates for the Sejm and the People's Councils.

In nominating candidates fo relection to the People's Councils at all levels, the Party bodies must, as a rule, ascertain the opinion people at his work place have of his performance and his social activity. Candidates put forward by workers' collectives should be discussed at open Party meetings. In the case of candidates representing a certain social environment, such as the teaching profession, the health services or the handicrafts, it is necessary to ascertain the opinion of the relevant staffs and voluntary organizations.

As in the past, electoral lists of the People's Unity Front should include, in addition to members of our Party and other political parties, a substantial number of non-party people comrades. The proportion of non-party members during the present term in office was 3.4 percent on the gromada Councils, almost 29 percent on the powiat and town councils, and 19 percent on the wojewodztwo Councils. The cooperation of non-party activists representing diverse sections of the population and mass organizations in accordance with the general principles of the PUF is most desirable and should continue in the new Councils to be elected.

During the coming election campaign we intend to discuss candidates more extensively than before at village meetings, in settlement and town electoral districts, and everywhere else. The new candidates nominated during these discussions, and all comments and doubts regarding the nominees, should be carefully studied and taken into consideration — provided they are reasonable — when taking a final decision on the list of candidates. The experience of previous election campaigns shows that consideration of the propos-

als of the public not only contributes to the nomination of suitable candidates, but also creates a sound political atmosphere of support for all the Front candidates, ensures the massive appearance of the electors at the polls, and makes for closer links between the organs of state power and the public.

Increasing claims will be made on deputies as the role of the Sejm and the People's Councils grows. In addition to excellent political, moral and social qualities, candidates should be distinguished for their active part in the implementation of the Front program. They should enjoy high prestige and the trust of the population. Besides, they should have a sound knowledge of popular sentiment and of the problems facing various segments of the population. It is a question of composing the Councils in such a way as to enable them not only to properly represent the social composition of our society but also to perform the role of organs of state power in practice, coordinate economic activities at local level, indicate the right direction of administrative activity and exercise control over it.

The social and professional composition of the Councils at all levels should reflect the composition of the electorate in the right proportion. It should reflect the changes in this sphere resulting from industrialization, shifts in industry and investment, progress in agriculture, and improvements in the people's cultural standard.

The Councils elected previously had a greater proportion than before of deputies from among the workers and people representing the staffs of large industrial establishments. Furthermore, they had a considerably greater proportion of deputies who had received a complete elementary, secondary or higher education. These changes, which are in keeping with the evolution of our social organization, should be carried forward in the coming election campaign, and should make for increased participation in the Councils by workers, engineers, technologists and economists engaged in industry and building. Hence it is necessary to have on the Councils corresponding proportions of activists of trade unions and the cooperative movement, and of people active in science, culture and the health service—with due regard to local conditions.

Our Party will continue to seek greater participation in local government bodies by women, above all those active in the Women's League and in rural working women's groups, as well as those representing youth organizations—the Rural Youth League and the Socialist Youth League, who initiate many social events, with the youth participating en masse.

In determining the proportional composition of the future People's Councils, account should be taken of the need to preserve continuity in their work and to reinforce them with new people. Many Councils are in need of new people well versed in economic matters, while

leaving former active and tested deputies in the electoral lists, we must see to it that the composition of the Councils is renewed.

Our Party will accomplish its tasks in the election campaign in close collaboration with the United Peasant Party and the Democratic Party. This is why the fundamental provisions of plans for the election campaign, guidelines for political work among ehe masses, lists of candidates, and draft election programs should be carefully discussed—prior to announcement at meetings of the PUE committees—by the local coordinating committees of the political parties.

The working people's growing sense of responsibility for the affairs of the country, their increasing sense of dignity, their growing participation in the management of enterprises and the administration of gromadas and towns, in the joint administration of Poland, constitute a valuable achievement of our system and are the result of our educational work. The election campaign will provide every opportunity of fostering this social consciousness. If we are to attain this, the election campaign should not be reduced to a mechanical procedure but should become an act of mobilization of the public for the fulfilment of current and long-range tasks in socialist construction. It should bring the organs of people's power still closer to the people and contribute to the rallying of the whole of society around our Party within the People's Unity Front.

SPEECH* BY WLADYSLAW GOMULKA

We are again advancing to the elections in a political alliance with the United Peasant Party and the Democratic Party. Our Party will play the leading role in this alliance of three parties, which during the elections will find vivid expression in the joint list of PUF candidates, an alliance based on the autonomy of each party, welded by common general objectives and aspirations, and cemented by daily cooperation over many years.

The political alliance of the PUWP, UPP and DP, and the joint lists of candidates and the organs of state power brought into being by it constitute a tremendous political achievement of People's Poland.

Anti-Polish propaganda centers abroad and the anti-socialist elements at home know from experience that no direct attacks on our socialist system meet with a favorable social response. In

*Abridged from **Nowe Drogi.** The speech was delivered by W. Gomulka, First Secretary, CC, PUWP, at the Third Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee.

twenty years the overwhelming majority of the people and the younger generation, which has been educated in new social conditions, have become fused ideologically with socialism as a system superior to the capitalist system.

It is not surprising that our enemies, while carrying on violent anti-Communist propaganda, avoid direct attacks on the socialist system. They do not venture to recommend the capitalist system to the Polish people in so many words, and the more astute of them even suggest carrying on anti-Communist propaganda, and actually carry it on, under the slogan of "improving" socialism—in the bourgeois sense, of course.

The socialist and democratic masks which the enemies of socialism and democracy put on cannot mislead anyone. The fact that enemy propaganda has to use them is proof of the popularity of socialism, of people's democracy, among our people. The socialist system of People's Poland came into being and grew by the will of the masses and is based on a large network of genuinely democratic institutions.

Our Party, which is operating in a political bloc with the UPP and DP, is not only the spokesman of the working class, that leading force of the people, but also the party of the alliance of the workers and peasants, the party of the alliance of the working class and the intellectuals, the spokesman of the working people in town and country, the proponent of the interests of the whole people. Our Party, which numbers over 1.6 million full and candidate members, unites not only the foremost segment of the working class but also a large number of peasants associated with our ideology, and a very substantial proportion of intellectuals active in various fields.

Hence, the three-party system in our country does not mean that the different parties forming it represent different working classes and social strata. This system is rooted in our country's traditional multi-party system. In the new, socialist conditions it expresses itself in the activity of the UPP and the DP, which are not Marxist parties but have embarked on socialist construction in People's Poland under the leadership of our Party.

The political alliance of the PUWP, UPP and DP provides a solid foundation on which all sections of society, the working people in town and country, rally around people's rule and the objective of socialist construction.

The People's Unity Front offers ample scope for patriotic-minded non-party people — irrespective of their religious convictions or political record — who are aware of their duty toward society and want to serve their country, which is building socialism. It also allows scope for the socio-political groupings of Catholic laymen, not as bodies representing all who profess Catholicism, but as

representatives of the social strata which seek in the Christian world outlook a justification for their favorable attitude to people's power and for their patriotic activity.

Based on these principles, the PUF, which rallies all the active social forces around the political alliance of the three parties under the leadership of our Party, is in harmony with socialist democracy and with the chief trends of its development in our country.

During the term in office of the present Sejm and People's Councils our country expanded and strengthened the bonds of friendship, alliance and mutual assistance with all its neighbors, with the Warsaw Treaty countries and with other socialist countries. On the international scene it came out as an ally of all the peoples defending their freedom, their right to independent existence and sovereignty. As for its policy toward the capitalist countries, our country based it on the principle of peaceful coexistence.

Our voice, our initiative in favor of detente, disarmament and the peaceful settlement of conflicts, our contribution to the peace policies of all the socialist countries helped Poland to gain in international prestige and world renown.

Upon the election of new organs of state power we will in common with our allies consistently pursue our foreign policy of peace and consolidate the position of Poland as a member of the great community of socialist nations. Fraternal friendship and close alliance with the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Treaty countries, a political, economic and defensive alliance, which from the early days of People's Poland has safeguarded our state frontiers and the security and development of our country, are the invariable guiding principle of our foreign policy.

The weight and importance of the Polish-Soviet alliance are exceptionally great. It has three main, closely interconnected aspects:

1. The Polish-Soviet alliance is a highly important factor for the security and development of our country and, therefore, meets the vital interests—both current and historical—of the Polish people and state.

2. The Polish-Soviet alliance is a key component of the Warsaw Treaty, which raises an insurmountable barrier to the intrigues and plans for aggression of the West German imperialists and hence plays a tremendous part in guaranteeing European and world peace.

3. The Polish-Soviet alliance also meets the vital interests of the Soviet Union and its peoples, for it promotes the security and international position of the Soviet state.

This alliance is also an important factor for the unity of the socialist camp and is, therefore, in the interest of all the socialist countries and world peace.

The vast importance of the Polish-Soviet alliance is realized and

fully appreciated not only by our Party, but also by the Polish people as a whole. It is also realized by the enemies of People's Poland and of socialism, by all the apologists for reaction and imperialism.

In fighting against People's Poland—a fight which is part of the general imperialist fight against the world socialist system and its leading force, the Soviet Union—our enemies use diverse methods, mostly maneuvers designed to undermine the friendship and alliance joining Poland and the Soviet Union. As far as our enemies and all opponents of socialism are concerned, this is the important thing in the present stage of the struggle between the two social systems.

The strength of all the socialist countries hinges on unity. To deprive them of unity, to loosen the bonds of alliance joining them together, particularly the bonds with the Soviet Union, means dooming them to weakness and allowing the enemies of socialism to eat them up by the "evolutionary" process. People's Poland owes its strength and dynamic development not only to the socialist system, which releases the creative energy of the people, but also to its friendship, cooperation and alliance with the socialist countries, with the Soviet Union, to its membership of the socialist community, to its foreign policy, which is guided by our Party and is invariably based on the internationalist principles of unity and solidarity of all the socialist countries.

We Poles are unafraid of the revenge-seeking intrigus of the Bonn government and the West German militarists. They, for their part, do not entertain the illusion that their territorial claims on Poland can be played as a Polish-German game of chess. Poland has no common frontier with the FRG but only with the GDR, which has long since recognized the Polish-German frontier along the Oder and Neisse. Territorial claims made by one state on another state separated from it by a third would be absurd did not the FRG pin its revanchist hopes on a world war.

That is the key to an understanding of the policy of Bonn, which doggedly clings to its revanchist illusion as it tries hard to secure nuclear weapons for the Bundeswehr.

Poland insists that the Western powers officially recognize the Polish-German frontier along the Oder and Neisse, not because in the absence of such recognition it will be uncertain of the stability and inviolability of this frontier, but because it wants to promote European peace, which is threatened by the West German militarists, by the Bonn government and its policy of territorial claims. Official recognition of our western frontier by the West would be a step beneficial to peace and hence to Poland. It would be a blow only to the West German forces of aggression and other similar forces allied with them and basing their policy on the concept of an armed conflict in Europe and the rest of the world.

The time will no doubt come, sooner or later, when the Western powers officially recognize the present Polish-German state frontier as final. The Polish people would accept such an act with proper respect. But it would in no way influence our foreign policy, our attitude to the Soviet Union, to the unity of the socialist countries. In today's world, which is divided into two social systems, the security and inviolability of our western and northern frontiers would continue to be based, even after the Western powers, including the FRG, had recognized them as final, on the unbreakable alliance with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

However, there is no promise today of a positive change in the attitude of the West, particularly the FRG, toward our frontier along the Oder and Neisse.

Today, twenty years after the defeat of Hitler Germany, the significance of the Polish-Soviet treaty of alliance is as great as in the early postwar years, when the socialist countries of Europe, faced with the threat of a revival of German imperialism and of a new aggression on its part, were rallying together and strengthening their defenses.

Today the socialist countries' unity is just as necessary, just as indispensable, for the maintenance of peace, for a peaceful solution of the German problem, for the struggle for disarmament and the elimination of hotbeds of armed conflict, for the safeguarding of the sovereignty of the peoples against imperialist intervention.

Shifts in the balance of world forces in favor of socialism and the national-liberation movement have entailed a crisis of the imperialist "positions of strength" policy and increased in some ruling quarters of the West the tendency in favor of peaceful coexistence. But the forces of aggression, which are trying to resolve the crisis of their "position of strength" policy through various acts of aggression, as is evident from the continuing imperialist intervention against the peoples of Africa, Southeast Asia and Latin America, particularly the present U.S. intervention in Indochina, which is coupled with increasingly frequent attacks on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, still predominate.

America's intervention in South Vietnam in support of the anti-Communist regime so hateful to the population, gangster methods of blackmailing the DRV, the bombings of DRV territory, the killing of innocent people, of women and children, by the U.S. invaders, have created a situation threatening world peace.

The U.S. intervention in Vietnam must stop if a new dangerous world crisis is to be avoided.

Of decisive importance for reversing the course of events imperilling peace and for waging a victorious fight against imperialism, in defense of peace, against neo-colonialism, for the freedom of the oppressed peoples, is the solidarity of all the revolutionary forces

of the world—the Communist movement, the commonwealth of socialist nations, the national-liberation movement and the international working class. Had not the solidarity of these forces, based chiefly on the unity of the socialist camp, been impaired, imperialism could not have ventured on the series of acts of aggression which it is committing today against the national-liberation movement.

Unity of action of the socialist camp and the world Communist movement in the struggle against imperialism, for peace, for the freedom and independence of the peoples, is an absolute necessity of our time. With a view to strengthening this unity, our Party has joined a considerable majority of the Communist and Workers' parties of the world in declaring for the preparation and convening of a new conference of all the Communist and Workers' parties. The first step toward it was the Consultative Meeting of 19 parties held in Moscow. The Communique, which sums up the results of the Meeting, recommends holding "a Preliminary Consultative Conference of representatives of the 81 parties that gathered at the 1960 Meeting" in order to discuss the question of a new international meeting. Our Party unreservedly supports this recommendation of the 19 parties and fully approves of the content of the Communique released by them. We, for our part, will do all in our power to contribute to the solidarity of the socialist countries and the world Communist movement as a whole. The Polish people and all the peace- and freedom-loving peoples have a big stake in this.

RESOLUTIONS* OF THE CC, RUMANIAN WORKERS' PARTY

I. REINFORCEMENT OF THE PARTY RANKS AND THE TRAINING AND PROMOTION OF PERSONNEL

The Central Committee puts on record that the task of further strengthening the ranks of the Party, set by the CC meeting in April 1962, has been fully carried out. Towards the end of 1944 the Party had 1,337,847 full and candidate members, as against 919,873 in April 1962. Workers make up 44.16 percent of the membership, peasants 32.98, and intellectuals, office employees and other categories 22.86 percent, the proportion of industrial and agricultural specialists, teachers, lecturers and other cultural workers being 9.43 percent.

The meeting notes an increase in the Party membership in the main spheres of economic, social and cultural activity. In such important industries as metallurgy, mining, the oil and power industries and engineering, Party members and candidate members account for 30 to 32 percent of the personnel.

There is a substantial increase in Party membership in the countryside. Compared with April 1962, the number of full and candidate members from among the peasants has more than doubled, with the result that many new Party organizations have come into being in the countryside and the Party has gained in strength considerably.

The enrolment in recent years of prominent scientists, cultural workers, engineers, technicians, university lecturers, teachers, writers and artists will greatly help Party organizations to cope with scientific and technological problems of production and promote science, literature and art.

The national composition of the Party reflects that of the population. Rumanians account for 87.33 percent of the membership, Hungarians for 9.28, and Germans, Serbs and people of other nationalities for 3.39 percent.

The ideological and political maturity of the membership has grown and its cultural standard has improved. Almost all the full and candidate members are engaged in Party studies in some form or other. More than 90 percent of the Party workers have finished central or regional Party schools or night schools of Marxism-Leninism.

Party bodies steadfastly concern themselves with the promotion

*Scinteia, April 17, 1965.

of professionally and politically competent people enjoying prestige to key posts in the Party, the mass organizations, the government apparatus and the economy. Over 76 percent of the Party workers have been doing Party work for five years or more. Over 67 percent of the managers and 58 percent of the head engineers of enterprises of national importance have an industrial service record of more than ten years. All this is a result of the Party's effort to have a stable body of personnel well versed in Party work and industrial management and to promote their competence.

The annual membership meetings and conferences held between October 1964 and January 1965 were attended by 96.1 percent of the full and candidate members, with 436,000 Communists, or one-third of those attending, taking part in the debate. They showed the steady progress of organizational and political work, the enhancement of the Party's leading role in every field, the Communists' striving to solve the major problems of their work, and their increased sense of duty. They also showed an improvement in the style and methods of work of the Party bodies and organizations, and revealed their consistent adherence to the principle of collective work.

These meetings and conferences furnished added evidence of Party unity and of the determination of the membership to devote all their energies to the implementation of the political line of the Party.

Altogether 276,630 Communists were elected members of district, city or local Party committees, or group organizers. More than half of the members of the Party bodies and almost two-thirds of the secretaries of local Party organizations and committees were re-elected, and 122,000 Communists were elected for the first time. This ensures continuity and the passing on of experience, as well as the reinforcement of Party bodies with new members.

This meeting of the CC appreciates the fact that while maintaining the right proportion of industrial workers, the membership elected numerous peasants and other workers in agriculture, engineers, technicians, economists and cultural workers to the leading bodies of the Party.

Discussion in Party organizations of major economic, social and cultural problems and important initiatives of the Party and the Government in domestic or foreign policy is of special moment for socialist construction and efficient Party work.

Having analyzed the results achieved in reinforcement of the Party ranks, the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party resolves:

1. To continue focussing attention on the political, moral and professional qualities of applicants for membership with a view

to reinforcing the Party ranks still further. Party building work should be geared, as before, to the consolidation of local organizations in the key branches of economic and cultural activity. A special effort will be made to strengthen the Party organizations at new enterprises, construction projects, in production teams, agricultural cooperatives, schools and trading establishments.

2. Party bodies and organizations should steadfastly concern themselves with raising the ideological and political level and encouraging the initiative and political consciousness of the membership, which should be educated in the spirit of patriotism and socialist internationalism, and equipped with a knowledge of Party and government decisions, the Party's position on the main issues of the world Communist and working-class movement, and the foreign policy of our state.

3. The Central Committee instructs the Party bodies to continue promoting the best workers and peasants, the best technicians, engineers and other intellectuals who have a sound political and ideological grounding, high professional qualifications and executive and organizational experience, enjoy prestige among the masses, and wholly devote themselves to the implementation of the political line of the Party, to leading posts in the Party, the mass organizations, the economy and the state apparatus.

4. It is the duty of Party bodies and organizations carefully and patiently to help leading personnel, especially newly-promoted workers, to improve their style and methods of work and carry out their tasks as fruitfully as possible.

5. Party bodies and organizations should periodically analyze the practice of admitting new Party members and of training and promoting personnel, the style and methods of work of Party bodies, and the ideological and political training of full and candidate members of the Party, and take appropriate measures.

6. Party bodies should pay special attention to the promotion of inner-Party democracy, to the consistent application of the collective principle in every aspect of their work. They should see to it that the entire membership takes on active part in the discussion and fulfillment of their tasks by Party organizations, and should enhance the guiding role of the Party in every field of activity.

II. THE RESULTS OF THE ELECTIONS TO THE GRAND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY AND THE PEOPLE'S COUNCILS

The Central Committee considers that the elections to the Grand National Assembly and the People's Councils were a vivid proof of the democratic nature of our society, and of the high patriotic and civic consciousness of all the working people of our country.

The elections demonstrated the unbreakable unity linking the people with the Party and the Government. The almost unanimous vote cast for the candidates of the People's Democratic Front was indicative for our people's full approval of the home and foreign policy pursued by the Rumanian Workers' Party and the Government of the Rumanian People's Republic, of our people's firm belief in the correctness of this policy.

Political and organizational work was conducted among millions of working people during the election campaign. About 9,500,000 citizens attended meetings with candidates and submitted more than 170 suggestions, and most of them pledged to help translate them into reality. A total of 141,884 deputies were elected to the People's Councils, 44 percent of them for the first time.

The task of the central and local government bodies is to ensure the realization of the numerous valuable suggestions made by citizens during the election campaign. Party bodies should assist the People's Councils in improving their work, help the deputies perform their important functions, and generalize the valuable experience gained during the election campaign in order to strengthen the Party's links with the masses.

In view of the complexity of the tasks in socialist construction, the Grand National Assembly should regularly discuss major economic, social, cultural and political problems. The deputies are duty bound to maintain close contact with the population and to report periodically to their constituents.

The Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party expresses confidence that in preparing for the Fourth Congress of the Party the workers, peasants, intellectuals and all the citizens of our country will redouble their efforts to complete socialist construction and ensure the vigorous development of our country for the good of our people, for the good of socialism and world peace.

RENOVATION AND EXTENSION OF DEMOCRACY

STATEMENT* BY THE ELEVENTH CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF NORWAY

The pace of development is swift in our time. The worldwide system of open colonial oppression has collapsed in the course of a few years. More and more coutnries are winning national freedom. The capitalist world system is losing ground while the socialist world system is rapidly strengthening its position. The appeal of socialism is steadily growing all over the globe. More and more people and countries are taking the socialist road. *Socialism is renovating the world.*

On the other hand, the peoples are faced with serious problems fraught with danger. The arms race continues, swallowing up enormous values. Thousands of atom bombs are poised threateningly over the world. In an effort to hold other countries and peoples under their sway, the imperialist countries constantly create situations which may lead to a disastrous big war. The U.S. action in Vietnam today is the most dangerous instance of this.

In West Germany, militarism again has its hands free, which spells an increasing danger for Europe as well. However, the peace forces of the world are strong enough to prevent war provided they act together.

The socialist system, the new national states, and the people's active fight for peace in every country are the surest safeguard against the war danger. By joining their forces they can thwart the schemes of adventurers bent on war, and enable the policy of peaceful coexistence to pave the way for a peaceful world.

The Communist Party of Norway sees it as its task to work for Norway's and the Norwegian people's active resistance to all war provocations, and to foster their international effort for detente, disarmament and peace.

In so doing, the CPN comes out against all racial discrimination and condemns it as inhuman. We will work for our people actively expressing their support for the national-liberation movements, which are fighting for freedom and the right to self-determination.

National sovereignty and independence are prerequisites for the Norwegian people to be able to shape the future of the country.

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*Friheten, April 2, 1965.

They will also enable us, a peace-loving people, to contribute in full measure to peace, peaceful coexistence, detente, and total disarmament. Although Norway has a small population, it can play a positive role in world politics.

The Norwegian people should be on their guard against new attempts to maneuver Norway into the Common Market or other economic or political blocs of a similar nature, which would further prejudice our national sovereignty in important spheres. Norway's foreign relations, in both the economic and the political fields, should be based on the principle: Norway and the whole world.

A BROAD ALLIANCE TO EXTEND DEMOCRACY

Our society has also undergone great changes as a result of rapid progress in science and technology.

The country has benefited from a long period of economic uptrend, and the working people have been able to improve their living standards by promoting the growth of production and fighting for economic and social progress.

However, this improvement has been out of step with the growth of production. Although the Workers' Party has been in power for thirty years now, there has been no stimulus for democratic changes in the capitalist social system that would put progress on a solid basis. No steps have been taken to democratize the economic life of society.

On the contrary, there has been a marked concentration of capital. The power of big capital has grown considerably in these years, and has come to influence government policies in increasing measure. *The Workers' Party and its government have chosen to rule WITH big capital rather than AGAINST.*

In place of that policy, the task to set before Norway's working people today is the fight for reforms limiting the power of big capital and extending democracy.

Norwegian politics are in need of socialist renovation. The nation needs a new policy recognizing the class struggle and putting forward a clear socialist perspective.

Class relations in Norwegian society show that there are objective opportunities for a broad popular alliance to restrict the power of big capital. This alliance could go much further than the working-class movement and its parties.

Workers, office employees, peasants, fishermen, handicrafts-men and other small producers, scientists and technologists would be natural allies within this association based on far-reaching common interests.

THE MAIN ISSUE OF DEMOCRACY

By fighting over a long period, the Norwegian people have many

democratic rights. The CPN regards it as its natural duty to oppose any curtailment of these rights. The Communists are for greater democracy in every social sphere.

Extension of the people's democratic rights is a condition for the all-round development of Norwegian society. The people shouuld at every stage have a sovereign right to choose their own way. These principles determine the Communists' attitude to our democracy.

Today it is also necessary to democratize the foundation of society — economic life, the industries — in order further to release the creative forces of our people. The material and cultural growth of the country is a result of the working people's effort. Every working man or woman should therefore have the right to take part in all important decisions bearing on labor relations and other social matters. An active contribution by major trade unions and other social and cultural organizations of the people should be an important element of our democracy, one giving it vigour and content. The struggle for democracy in labor relations is in the forefront now.

It is a question of having representatives of the factory and office workers — to be elected by the employees themselves or by their organizations — in the very management of big enterprises, on boards and councils, so as to make real co-management and control possible.

To extend and renovate democracy the government should gain control over the more important private sources of investment and financing and pursue in these spheres a policy in line with the interests of the nation. A sizeable body of public representatives in major private institutions, which would enable the state to control bank loans, and the establishment of a state bank of commerce coud be the first step in this direction. Public control should also extend to the activity of insurance companies in the sphere of loans.

To gain full control over the country's economic command positions, the state should take over the biggest banks, primarily the Norske Creditbank, Bergens Privatbank and Christiania Bankog Kreditkasse, and the key monopoly enterprises.

Our Party considers itself duty bound to take the initiative of fostering democratic progress at as rapid a pace as possible, both locally and in terms of the provinces and the country as a whole.

Democracy should be guaranteed and built up at the national as well as communal level. It is particularly important to stop the present process of transferring to the administrative bodies the power which belongs to the bodies elected by the people, such as the Storting and the communal councils. The establishment of mammoth communes is fraught with the danger of undemocratic administration

at the expense of democracy in the communes. All the major communes should have the administrative bodies decentralized to bring the responsible executive bodies nearer to the ordinary man and his problems. Closely linked with this is the important task of counteracting in every commune increasing inroads by the state, which disrupt communal self-government.

To safeguard self-government and democracy in the communes is a matter that has the greatest bearing on the prosperity of the people and on democratic progress.

It is necessary to introduce an absolutely equitable electoral system that will give us a Storting corresponding to the number of votes polled by each party all over the country. There is a need for democratic reforms making it possible to dissolve the Storting and announce extraordinary elections. The CPN favors nation-wide referendums on issues of great importance for the country and the life of the people.

The CPN sees it as its task to advocate renovation of the policy of the entire working-class movement in the country. This policy should include all that is valuable in our people's democratic traditions, and its ultimate goal should be to establish a parliamentary socialist republic.

GREATER EFFORT BY SOCIETY FOR THE COUNTRY'S PROGRESS

In the prevailing capitalist conditions, the development of the country is becoming more and more lopsided. Certain areas of the country and communes are threatened with depopulation. Society should take proper measures to remedy this trend. It should channel investments to industrially underdeveloped areas by controlling and regulating them, make large investments for its part and allot state funds and facilities for the development of big and small centers in the various districts.

Industrialization can be carried out both through direct public investment and on private lines. In line with the task of democratizing economic public measures. Today it is necessary and expedient to leave the solution of many minor industrial problems to private individuals. Society should stimulate measures facilitating new industrial development where it is needed first and foremost.

The CPN will concern itself with these questions specifically, both at local level and in terms of the provinces and the country as a whole. It will initiate appropriate measures upon ascertaining requirements and possibilities. Naturally, it will seek the broadest possible cooperation with all who are interested in the early fulfilment of this great development task of the country.

The development of agriculture, forestry and fishing industry should also be promoted with due regard to the interests of society and the individual. One of the nation's tasks today is to ease conditions for the small farmers instead of making things difficult for him. It is in the interest of both society and the individual to safeguard the existence of the rural population.

Price increases must be stopped if the economy is to develop on a sound basis. Inflation is not needed to ensure full employment and economic growth. It badly undermines the economy and causes growing concern. Rising prices affect primarily wage labor. To protect the interests of the working people, it is necessary to use, among other things, the powers given by the law of prices. In particular, society's price policy should come out firmly against the huge profits the big capitalists now make.

The great increase in labor productivity shows that working time can be reduced far more quickly. Automation and the steadily growing intensity of labor stress the need for the working-class movement as a whole to demand a five-day week and the reduction of working time to forty hours a week as one of the reforms that should be carried out in the near future.

There are tasks to accomplish in the social and cultural spheres as well:

—Pensioning should be so organized as to enable everyone to enjoy this social achievement before he is too old; adequate old age pensions should be provided for all irrespective of their previous incomes.

—Housing construction should be substantially expanded — to no less than 40,000 to 45,000 new flats annually. Credit terms for construction should be such as to enable everyone to acquire suitable housing. Interest on housing loans should therefore not be raised. Allowances should be preserved.

—Basic nine-year school education should be introduced throughout the country within a short space of time, on the fundamental principle that all young people should, wherever they live and whatever the economic position of the family, shall have equal rights and opportunities to receive a general education, which will make possible all further studies. Knowledge is an imperative necessity in our time and society should give the youth the opportunity to acquire it. Everyone should gain access to cultural benefits. Research is a public concern of paramount importance.

DISENGAGEMENT FROM NATO

The 11th Congress of the CPN stresses that the fight for peace, for the prevention of a new world war, is every Communist's foremost task today. The Norwegian people should as a nation make

a positive contribution to peace, to the promotion of relations between peoples based on the principles of peaceful coexistence.

When the Storting meets again in session Norway will have contractual opportunities of withdrawing from NATO. Norway should get rid of this alliance with the imperialist powers and adopt a neutral status guaranteed by the great powers. There is a need to discuss the possibility of forming a neutrality alliance of the Northern countries. A group of neutral, non-aligned states in the North would be a highly important peace factor.

Even before disengaging itself from NATO, Norway could take the initiative of easing tension. The Norwegian government should stop slavishly accepting every measure or act of provocation by the United States and our other imperialist "allies." It should have the strength to uphold its own views.

In NATO, Norway should emphatically oppose the formation of a multilateral nuclear force and other measures likely to lead in fact to the proliferation of atomic weapons. Norway's policy on bases should consistently uphold the principle: all facilities for the armed forces of other countries should be abolished and all military maneuvers on Norwegian soil involving foreign armed forces ended. Norwegian troops should be commanded by Norwegians.

A Norwegian initiative aimed at making the North an atom free zone under an appropriate treaty would contribute appreciably toward relaxing tension. Our people's resolve to defend their national freedom should not be exploited for the atomic strategy of "balance of fear." The Congress refers to the provisions of the Party Program regarding the defense of the country's neutrality, an independent, democratic and national defense in keeping with the natural conditions of the country.

The CPN states its fundamental position in favor of a cut in armaments and of complete disarmament throughout the world. The Party will work to ensure that Norway takes the initiative of fostering this development and proceeds to set a positive example. The UN should be strengthened as an important factor for peace and international cooperation.

UNITY OF THE WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT

The working-class movement must rally closer together and strengthen its unity if Norway's working people are to carry out the great decisive action that must extend democracy and bring about socialist renovation. The existence of a strong and united trade union organization in our country provides a solid class basis for the promotion of unity in the trade union, economic and political spheres.

It is exceedingly important for the trade unions to take an active

part in the political activity of the working-class movement. They should seek for forms of activity that will rally the membership for an active political contribution in favor of common demands. The CPN regards political party membership as a personal matter and is therefore against the principle of collective membership of political parties.

What presents a serious difficulty for the organization of joint action is that there are three political parties in the working-class movement today. The right of each party to seek new members should be respected, but it is also necessary for all the three parties to realize that joint actions benefit the working-class movement as a whole.

Differences over fundamental issues as well as on matters of practical politics should not be an obstacle to the joining of forces to solve problems on which views converge. A common fight for common interests lays the most solid foundation for working-class unity. But all the three parties should contribute to the achievement of progress in this respect.

The CPN will for its part cooperate in establishing comradely relations between all working people at work — places and in workers', office employees', fishermen's and peasant organizations. Such relations are essential for solid unity.

This is how the CPN will work to pave the way for renovation throughout the working-class movement, a renovation that can help our people to make great strides forward.

The CPN calls for a rallying of forces in order to lead the people on, to a socialist society, through extended democracy.

THE SITUATION IN THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

STATEMENT BY THE 11TH CONGRESS OF THE CPN

The 11th Congress of the Communist Party of Norway takes note of and approves the line pursued by the Party's Central Board with regard to the disagreements in the world Communist movement.

That line was set forth in a Central Board statement in January 1963. In that statement and in a later and more detailed document — the new Program adopted by the Party Conference in 1963 — the Party took a stand on the more important questions with which the international debate has been concerned. The Party line was

also expressed in subsequent statements, specifically at the Party Conference in April 1964.

This Congress states that the Party has unanimously supported that line. This provided the basis for the CPN's contribution to the effort to reduce the damage which the exacerbation of the struggle between parties has caused to the world Communist movement. On the basis of this unity the Party was able to support the increasingly insistent demand of our movement that the differences which naturally arise be held in businesslike and comradely forms and that the dispute be prevented from extending to the relations between socialist state. In carrying on this effort, the Party has always maintained that all the Communist parties are on common ground and that what unites our parties is far stronger than that which at the moment disunites them.

Concerning the preparation and convening of a new world Communist conference, the CPN has consistently upheld the view that such a conference can restore unity provided all the parties agree to attend. The latest experience shows that comprehensive preparations are required to achieve this aim and that they will take much effort and time. There is a need for consultations and contacts between representatives of all the parties, for meetings between two or more parties to discuss and clear up questions of common interest, and for committees representing several parties to discuss the new problems that have cropped up in our international movement. All this is needed for the gradual development of new forms of unity of our movement. Special attention should be focussed on the common tasks and objectives in the fight against imperialism and neo-colonialism, against monopoly domination, for the people's liberation movement, in defense of all the peoples hit by imperialist aggression, for a world peace based on respect for the independent and territorial integrity of every country. This concentration on pressing tasks will help more than anything else to bring the various views on the cardinal problems of our time closer together.

The 11th Congress of the CPN stresses that these efforts should be based entirely on the standards of cooperation between parties set by previous world conferences, namely, the complete equality and independence of all the parties, and non-interference in the internal affairs of fraternal parties. The willingness of every party to contribute to the effort for reestablishing the unity of our world movement is a requisite for the observance of these standards.

The 11th Congress of the CPN states that the Meeting of 19 Communist parties held from March 1-5 last proceeded as a consultative meeting searching for new ways and means of promoting the solidarity and restoring the unity of the Communist movement. The Communique of the Meeting pointed to a number of measures

likely to foster unity. This Congress also welcomes with satisfaction the Conference of 20 fraternal Latin American countries held in Havana in January 1965, as an important step toward strengthening our international front and consolidating its unity.

This Congress supports the proposal put forward by several fraternal parties for a conference of all the Communist parties of the capitalist countries of Europe to discuss their joint struggle for common aims. It will be an important step toward unity of action in the fight against imperialism, for the fullest support of the liberation movement of the peoples, for world peace and the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems, and for the vital interests and socialist goals of the working class. Joint actions in the fight for these common goals are the surest way to promote unity and fraternal cooperation in our movement.

STATEMENT BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF SPAIN

The Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Spain, having discussed with great interest the Communique of the Consultative meeting held in Moscow at the beginning of March, approves of the proposals contained in the Communique.

We consider the Meeting an important contribution to the search for appropriate ways of strengthening world Communist unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

It is imperative for the consolidation of our movement that every Communist display the highest sense of responsibility. We must all forge, gradually and through sincere and fruitful exchanges of opinions and experience, fraternal ties which should naturally exist between parties guided by Marxist-Leninist principles.

At present we are faced with a danger which cannot be ignored in discussing the issue of unity of the socialist camp and the world Communist movement — the barbarous aggression of the U.S. imperialists against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. A socialist country has been subjected to piratic attacks, with the use of such means of warfare as gases, which even the Nazis did not dare to use. This foul aggression demands concerted action by all the peoples, the Communists in the first place, in defense of the heroic Vietnamese people. The U.S. imperialists' aggression gravely endangers world peace. Unless countered with united actions by all the peace forces, they may draw the world into a nuclear conflict with terrible consequences.

It is to be admitted that the differencs in our movement and the sharp form the polemic has taken, as well as the splitting activities, far from helping to curb the more aggressive circles of U.S. imperialism, will serve as a kind of stimulus to them. This state of affairs does not contribute to unity but, on the contrary, aggravates the split of the colossal forces of the peace camp, which can and must resist the imperialists. This alone should be sufficient reason for all the Communist parties to rally their ranks and try to overcome the obstacles to closer unity.

The CPS considers that in a world where profound social changes are taking place, where the might of the socialist camp is growing from day to day, and where the ideas of Marxism-Leninism inspire a considerable part of the working class and the people to fight for national and social emancipation, forms of unity and cooperation between Communist parties cannot remain unchanged. While re-

taining their internationalist content, relations between Communist parties can be improved and strengthened as they fight for common aims, as they study and jointly solve new problems posed by social development.

There are two inseparable premises to proceed from: on the national plane, it is the duty and responsibility of each Communist party to shape its policies and tactics in complete independence and autonomy; on the international plane, each Communist party should maintain fraternal relations with the other Communist parties in defending common interests and in fighting against imperialism.

This is not a nominal duty but a component of Communist ideology, which is as profoundly internationalist as it is hostile to bourgeois nationalism. Fraternal contacts between Communist parties, and the unity and vitality of the world Communist and working-class movement are indispensable for greater cohesion of the forces for peace, democracy and socialism.

The complete equality of all the Communist parties has been proclaimed at world Communist conferences. Today there is no party, nor can there be any, whose decisions are binding on the other parties. At the same time, no party can interfere in the internal affairs of another party. At both world conferences, these principles were first proclaimed by the CPSU, which clearly defined the features which should characterize our movement today. These principles should lead, not to dispersion and disunity, but to a still greater effort for the greatest international solidarity, without prejudice to the broadest autonomy on the national plane. The fact that there is no leading party increases the responsibility of all the Communist parties without exception, from the biggest to the smallest, for the preservation of unity and solidarity.

The CPS approves of the conclusions of the Moscow Consultative Meeting, for it considers that these conclusions will promote the unity of action of the entire Communist movement. We thus merely reaffirm the position we have adhered to from the first.

Let us recall, in this connection, what our Party said at the end of 1961: "We should realize that in the world Communist movement discussions will take place and problems will arise in the future as well. The more the Communist movement develops, the more reason there will be for this. But it is necessary that those discussions be held, and those problems solved, on Marxist-Leninist principles; that each party bear in mind, not only its own narrow interests, but also the common interests of the revolution and of peace; that in the course of the discussions the parties strive for solidarity, for unity on the fundamental issues and on questions of the international policy of the Communist movement."

Accordingly, we stressed that the polemic in the movement was

a polemic between comrades and should therefore be conducted by democratic methods—through discussion, criticism and persuasion—and that such methods as coercion, ultimatums or excommunication be ruled out.

Such was the meaning of our support of a new Communist conference. In November 1963 our CC came to the following conclusions:

"In the present circumstances, it would be useful to convene a conference of the World Communist movement . . . If agreement is reached to hold such a conference, we shall attend it not in order to sit in judgment of one or another party and to condemn it. We shall go to the conference prepared to engage in comradely discussion in order to achieve agreement on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles. And even should such an agreement prove impossible at this juncture, we would come to the meeting with a desire to strengthen and not break the existing ties, with a desire to promote unity and to continue the discussion in a calmer atmosphere. We would come with the conviction that only discussion and experience can help the Chinese comrades to realize their mistakes and prevent an aggravation of the split."

We therefore support the proposal for a preliminary consultative conference of the Communist and Workers' parties to discuss the question of holding a new world Communist conference. We also favor bilateral meetings, talks, consultations and any other activity aimed at coordinating the efforts of the Communist parties, paving the way for the consultative conference, and at the same time working out, through a comparison of views, the method of organizing the world conference, and its agenda. At the same time we consider that public polemics should stop or should at least be conducted strictly on the basis of principle, without insults and accusations that explain nothing and merely poison relations, and prevent consolidation of Communist unity.

We see, and we think everyone else sees, the difficulties these proposals may encounter. But they can and should be surmounted through dialogue and fraternal discussion, by joint persevering effort, everyone realizing that no effort can be more thankful than the effort to solve the problem of unity.

The Communist Party of Spain will continue to do everything to strengthen fraternal bonds with all the Communist parties, being confident that thereby it will promote the interests of its working class and its people, which are inseparable from the interests of the world Communist and working-class movement.

Executive Committee,
Communist Party of Spain,
March 1965.

GUS HALL PLEDGES FIGHT FOR FREEDOM AND PEACE*

I want to thank *The Worker* for inviting me to speak at the 41st anniversary meeting. This meeting is a further demonstration of the vital and indispensable role of *The Worker* as a fighting voice for all that is progressive in American life.

With a sense of watchfulness, and keeping the pressure on, we join with all democratic-minded Americans in hailing the victory of Selma and the Voter Registration promise. The struggle to eliminate Jim Crow is on the threshold of possibly its most important breakthrough.

The long struggle, the demonstrations, the marches, the sit-ins, the parades, the days and nights in jails and prisons, the sacrifice of lives, the resolutions and the protests—are about to harvest their most important victory. But the struggle must go on. The cold-blooded murder of a Detroit working-class mother of five in Alabama this morning should serve as a warning that the enemy has not given up.

We Communists do not look for any special credits, but we are proud of the fact that of all the present political, religious or labor organizations now supporting the civil rights struggle, we have the longest record of continuous service, a commitment that goes back almost 50 years. We now join with the millions in hailing the victories of Selma and Montgomery and pledge to continue to participate and to give our full support until the day when Jim Crow will be no more in any corner of our 50 states.

The wonderful scientific achievements of man and the improvements in the affairs of human society are all shrouded by a danger, a fear of a nuclear conflict that will destroy not only these achievements of today and yesterday, but places the future existence of civilization itself in doubt.

RESPONSIBILITY

The world is again being escalated to the brink and is fast reaching the point where turning back will be most difficult, if not impossible.

We Americans carry a heavy responsibility because the source of the escalation is here. The culprit is in our midst. And no amount

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*Speech by Gus Hall, leading Communist spokesmen, delivered at the Town Hall in New York on March 26, 1965 at the 41st anniversary celebration of **The Worker.** Published in **The Worker,** April 4, 1965.

of demagogy, fakery or denials can now cover up the criminal acts of mass murder being committed by the armed forces of the United States against the peoples in Indo-China. U.S. imperialism stands naked and convicted as the invader, the aggressor, the murderer of men, women and children of Indo-China.

The murderous and insane use of explosives, the use of napalm fire bombs, the use of chemical bombs that spread phosphorous fires that cannot be extinguished by water—and now the use of poison gas bombs—all against civilian centers, has established a new low in bestiality, a new low in the degeneracy of moral concepts.

The so-called explanations only further expose the warped mentality of the instigators of these crimes. To the shocked world the Presidential Press Secretary states: "The President was not aware of the use of poison gas." As a matter of fact, this was going on when he visited Vietnam as the Vice-President. Rusk and McNamara keep repeating: "It has been done before." Indeed it has—but the world is not going to accept such criminal nonsense to cover up this barbaric deed. The logic of such an explanation is that it is all right to drop A-bombs because it has been done before.

The world has a right to know, and is asking: "Where is the possible difference in the morality of using the people of Vietnam as a testing ground for new poison gases and chemical warfare from the morals of the fascist gangsters who used the lives and bodies of six million Jews for testing ever newer means of automatic mass murder? There is no basic difference.

Where is the difference between the debased racist morality of a Governor Wallace who orders the killing and clubbing of civil rights workers, and the wanton murder of the people of Vietnam, who are also fighting for the right to vote—a right promised in the Geneva Treaty of 1954, but denied by the intervention of U.S imperialism? Governor Wallace this morning also justified the murder of Mrs. Liuzzo by saying it has been done before.

There is a most urgent and crucial need for the American people to understand the full meaning and import of this experimentation with new methods of mass murder.

The Pentagon has been busy developing a new branch of military science. It is a military branch developed specifically for war against a whole people.

This is the Pentagon's response to the colonial-liberation revolutions. These liberation revolutions have the support of whole peoples and nations. Therefore, the new military technique is geared either to conquer or to destroy whole peoples or nations.

In Vietnam attempts were made to herd the people into imprisoned communities behind concentration camp — like walls and fences. This was followed by the use of a new catalog of weapons aimed to destroy anything that grows or lives.

VILLAGES POISONED

Let me read to you some on-the-scene observations from the most timely and history-making book, *Vietnam: Inside Story*, by Burchett:

"One of the means devised by the U.S. Command for its special war is the use of air-sprayed chemicals against food crops—the trees were bare of leaves or fruit—it destroyed all the food crop and livestock.

"Cambodian Minister of Foreign Affairs stated—'Between June 13-July 23, 1964, U.S. planes dumped toxic powder on six villages —killing 76 people, most of them children'—and this was in Cambodia. The State Department stuck to its 'safe for humans' fakery —but admitted the villages were poisoned by mistake."

Yes, indeed, it has been done before.

The world is observing the hypocrisy of U.S. government officials sitting in world bodies talking about raising more food in the underdeveloped countries—while it is destroying for years to come the possibility of raising food in one of the richest food-growing areas in the world.

With deadly chemicals and bombs, experiments have been and are being conducted to defoliate large farm areas, to kill every growing plant, flower, tree, grass or weed.

Now to all this the Johnson Administration admits the most shocking addition to this new branch of imperialist militarism. To the weapons of defoliation, chemical warfare has now been added, the weapons of depopulation—the policy of destroying and gassing of whole communities.

It has been reported that one of the features of this war to defoliate and depopulate is that the pilots are not assigned specific targets. Why should they? The target is the people. The target is anything that is green or moves. No wonder some of the Marines accidentally shot each other.

The overall issue is the injustice and the brutality of imperialist aggression—the oppression and enslavement of a people. The specific charge the world now lays at the doorstep of the Johnson Administration is the immorality and the utter insanity of the policy of defoliage and depopulation. A total war against a people — the depopulation of nations. The responsibility for this policy must rest above all on the President of the United States. That he accepts the advice of the fanatics, the voice of the Militarists, the evil conspirators against world peace in his official family — is also his responsibility.

For years the destiny of our land and its relations to the world were influenced by the diabolic schemes of the Dulles Brothers. One, as Secretary of State, the other as head of the CIA—they kept

the world on the brink of disaster—as a matter of principle, as a matter of policy.

Now we have another set of brothers coming up. They have taken up where the Dulles' left off. Both are in high places determining U.S. Policy in South East Asia. They are the architects of the policy of defoliage and depopulation. They are as fanatical as were the Dulles brothers. They are the Bundy brothers. That such evil voices have influences on our policies is again, in the first place, the President's responsibility.

The ultra-Right militarist turned Ambassador, Maxwell Taylor, just this week expressed the outlook of these forces in our government when he said, "The war in Vietnam is now a war without limits." President Johnson's denial is meaningless when the world know that it is the Maxwell Taylors and the Bundys who are sitting in the seat of tactical decision-making.

The New York *World Telegram* this week editorially plugs for the same path of suicide. It stated: "But it is a truism, that in war anything is fair—any belligerent if he wants to win uses whatever device he can find to promote the end."

DEPOPULATION

It is this degenerate mentality of imperialism that justified a total war of depopulation against a people. It is the concept of a war "without limits" that is behind the escalation of the war, an escalation which, if not halted, is bound to reach a point of no return.

The United States is the aggressor. It is conducting a brutal, unprecedented war of "depopulation."

But Johnson and Rusk keep repeating: "Nobody has come forward wanting to negotiate." What was the meaning of U Thant's proposal, if no looking for a way out? The U.S. policy is not only a policy of aggression; it is coupled with an arrogant policy of unconditional surrender. It is this that blocks all possibility of negotiation.

What is there to negotiate? People who are fighting for their independence are not going to negotiate about becoming enslaved again. Freedom and independence are not items that can be negotiated away. This is the epoch where they must be accepted as a way of life. On the basis of equality and independence, there is no doubt in my mind that the people of Vietnam will negotiate. They will negotiate:

—For mutually beneficial trade and friendship pacts;

—For guarantees that their independence and neutrality will be honored;

—For the evacuation of all foreign troops from their soil.

In independence, the people of Vietnam must have the right to determine how they want to live. Such negotiations would be in the

interest of world peace, the independence of nations, and the best self-interest of the peoples of Vietnam and the United States.

The policy of defoliage and depopulation is designed to destroy, to enslave. The U.S. policy is not for negotiations, but for unconditional surrender. It is an imperialist policy.

In the now famous "Guernica," Pablo Picasso captured and preserved for all time the brutality and the bestiality of the Hitler-Mussolini-Franco bombings of the cities and hamlets of Spain.

The "Murals of Hiroshima" have etched into the human conscience the evil and murderous nature of the arch-killer of millions, the U.S.-dropped atom bombs.

The killer is on the loose again.

Where is the artist who will sketch for the present and future generations the savagery, the cold-blooded sadistic brutality of the United States military in using the peoples of Indo-China as a testing ground for new weapons of destruction, explosives, fire bombs, and poison gas bombs?

TOTAL WAR

This moral decay is demonstrated by the policies of total war against a people, the criminal acts of poisoning all livestock, the chemical destruction of all crops, the policy of depopulation by poison gas bombings. This is further demonstrated by the criminal act, as reported this morning, of injecting poison into at least 15 thousand bags of sugar after the ship was illegally seized by U.S. Government pirates on the high seas—sugar belonging to a nation with whom we have friendly relations—poison that was purchased by the Federal government, poison that was pumped into the bags of sugar by employees of the Federal government—a Federal government department whose head sits on the highest councils of government. These are acts which if continued in today's world, will isolate the United States as an "outlaw nation." All this paints a gruesome picture of a dying system. Like fascism, these are the trade-marks of capitalism as it is trying to turn back the clock of time. But we who know history also know there is nothing that can save capitalism.

SPEAK FOR PEACE

These are policies of imperialism for the sole benefit of the big corporations. They are not policies of our people. They are against the best interests of our nation. But our silence as a people is interpreted as silent support.

There were no meaningful civil rights bills, or voter-registration bills, until the crescendo of voices in protest reached mass proportions.

The policies of imperialist aggression will also continue until the

voices of peace speak louder than the influence of war-crazy fanatics in and out of government.

The American people are not for the policy of aggression. But like the civil rights movement, they must find the ways of expressing this thought through mass demonstrations.

The world must preserve civilization while human society marches forward because in the final analysis social progress and nuclear suicide are mutually exclusive. We must never forget that because today we can still say: The choice is for us to make—it will not necessarily always remain so.

Turning back from this path of aggression and national suicide is the act of courage today, the act of patriotism and service to our country. It is the necessary stepping stone to world peace.

VENEZUELA IN THE FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

RUDE PRAVO INTERVIEWS* EDUARDO GALLEGOS MANSERA, MEMBER OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU, COMMUNIST PARTY OF VENEZUELA

Eduardo Gallegos Mansera and other comrades from Venezuela spoke about the attitude of the CPV to the armed struggle which Venezuelan patriots have been waging in the mountains and in the pampa for more than three years now and about other forms of revolutionary struggle.

The interview took place the day when word came of a new wave of terror against Venezuela's Communists and other opponents of the regime, especially those who together with the Communists make up the National Liberation Front. Asked to comment on the reasons for the persecutions, Mansera pointed to the role Venezuela has been assigned by the U.S. imperialists.

Half of the U.S. investments in Latin America have been placed in Venezuela. With oil and iron ore accounting for almost nine-tenths of the invested capital, Venezuela has been reduced to the status of supplier of raw materials to imperialist monopolies, becoming a kind of raw-material appendage of the United States.

Venezuela is the world's biggest exporter of oil, which it extracts at the daily rate of 3.4 million barrels. Besides, 20 million tons of 63 percent iron ore is mined there annually. Ninety-five percent of the oil is exported, almost half of it to the United States. Output of managanese ore and bauxites is increasing.

You cannot expect the U.S. monopolists to give up such a choice bit of their own free will. In fact, they are doing everything to maintain their hold on the natural wealth of Venezuela and to prevent our country from gaining genuine independence. Along with political factors, this is the chief reason for the ruthless suppression of the Venezuelan patriots' struggle to free their country from U.S. monopoly domination.

What are the political factors?

In the first place, the tremendous influence of the Communist Party, which extends to the working class and the peasant poor and is also very strong among the students (Communists polled 6,670 votes, 68 percent, in the election to the student committees of Caracas University). The same is true of the other universities

*Abridged from **Rudé Právo**, April 21, 1965.

and of secondary schools. The student movement is the most radical and progressive force in the country.

The Communist Party is operating underground. Only four out of the 15 members of our Central Committee are not in prison. One of them is fighting together with the guerrillas, two are underground, and I live abroad. Our General Secretary, Jesus Faria, has been in prison for eight years already and his health now causes serious concern. But despite all the blows it is struck, the Party is winning increasing recognition.

The Party constitutes the backbone of the broad National Liberation Front, which includes the influential Left Revolutionary Movement and other Left groups. This alone shows that the Party is carrying on its political work among the broad masses, and that it can rely on them.

Asked what form of struggle the CPV considers most important today. E. Gallegos Mansera replied that it was armed struggle. He added, however, that the Party did not regard it as the only form of revolutionary struggle and combined it with the struggle for the economic demands of the working people and with all the other forms of mass political struggle, using legal opportunities as well. The fact that the Venezuelan Communists and other revolutionary patriots have been waging an armed struggle for three and a half years now, is not a reckless adventure. It was the situation in the country, characterized by brutal suppression of the working-class movement and of the struggle for genuine independence, that led the Party to the conclusion that the armed struggle was the only way of a revolutionary solution in Venezuela.

The guerrilla units, i.e., the Armed Forces of National Liberation, are operating on an area of about 13,000 square kilometers inhabited by almost 120,000 peasants. They engage in combat chiefly in the mountain regions of the states of Sucre, Falcon, Miranda, Trujillo, Lara and Portuguesa. Numerous and highly mobile guerrilla groups are also active in the pampa and in the areas of Barines and Apure. Not long ago the Leoni government launched a large-scale offensive against the guerrillas. It committed thousands of ground attacks and airborne troops sent helicopters to search for guerrillas, and bombed areas where it thought guerrillas were hiding. But it failed to stamp out the guerrilla movement because the guerrillas, supported by the peasants, invariably evaded encirclement, although the operations against them were led by officers specially trained in the United States. The failure of the offensive prompted the government to renew terror against the Communist Party and other opposition forces, against the student movement and the legal Left press.

E. Gallegos Mansera and other Venezuelan comrades cited some facts characterizing this new wave of repressions against patriots.

In February the police were ordered to open fire on a peaceful demonstration of workers and students in Caracas. They killed one and wounded twelve people. In March, after another bloody clash between students and police, P. Valera, Governor of the Federal District, prohibited manifestations in the capital. Democratic MPs from the Popular Nationalist Vanguard, the Revolutionary Popular Party and the National Democratic Front called for a demonstration of protest against this encroachment on democratic rights. More than 100,000 residents of the capital responded. The police again used arms, killing one student and wounding thirty students and workers. Hundreds of demonstrators were arrested. Students' and workers' demonstrations were also fired on in other cities. But this terror cannot break the militant spirit of the Venezuelan workers and students.

Almost simultaneously with the opening of fire on demonstrating patriots, the Caracas police raided trade union headquarters and arrested the chairman of the Venezuelan trade unions and other activists. Some servicemen were also arrested. Incidentally, the arrested officers included several extreme Rightists in addition to Communists. This was done to create the impression that the Government deals with equal ruthlessness with opposition from the right and the left, while its real aim is to crush the Left force.

Several days ago 25 members of the opposition were arrested. Communists are not the only ones to be hit. The seizure of the office and printing plant of *El Siglo* has deprived the opposition of a legal voice.

The current wave of terror is not the first, nor will it be the last, of course. It is typical of the situation which has prevailed for several years now.

We know that a long and grim struggle lies ahead, said E. Gallegos Mansera. He stressed once again that the armed struggle waged by Communists and other patriots was necessitated by the peculiar position of Venezuela, a country fully dominated by U.S. imperialism, whose influence there is much stronger than in any other Latin American country, a country where elections are a mere travesty and where legal opportunities of struggle for social and national emancipation are restricted more and more. However, Mansera said, we consider the armed struggle to be only one, if decisive, form of revolutionary struggle at present. He added that if the U.S. imperialists stepped up their intervention in Venezuela, the Communists and other patriots would be able to rally the masses and repel it.

FOR PROGRESSIVE CHANGES

APPEAL OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT TO THE NATION

The National Liberation Front (FLN) calls upon the people to fight in the face of the government crisis. Division and anarchy are growing in the Democratic Action Party, a tool of U.S. imperialism and the Creole oligarchy and hence responsible for the hunger and for repressions against the people. The Republican Democratic Union and the National Democratic Front, set up to combat the sectarianism and hegemony of the Betancourt camarilla, are having difficulties in acting as a camouflage for this camarilla, a role imposed on them by their leaderships.

The growing cost of living impels the disillusioned masses to fight openly against the government. The dozens of demonstrations and meetings held in Caracas, the transport workers' strike in Merida, the two strikes of taxi and lorry drivers and other actions in the interior of the country are eloquent proof of the discontent and militancy of the people.

The scope of the mass movement has frustrated the government's carefully planned attempts to create, by authorizing certain popular manifestations, the impression that some civil rights have been restored. The promised release of ex-MPs and other popular leaders and discontinuance of repressions have proved to be a fraud. Shootings, raids on trade union headquarters, imprisonment of strike and demonstration organizers, wholesale arrests, violation of all civil rights and liberties and other Betancourt methods have never been abandoned.

The siege of the peasant areas where the guerrillas hold the banner of freedom and national dignity aloft is being intensified. Particularly violent punitive operations have been launched in the states of Falcon, Monagas-Sucre, El Bachiller, Lara and Trujillo. We protest against them most emphatically.

The army, which has been turned into the chief instrument of repression and in which discontent is rife, is in a state of crisis and division.

This menace of chaos should be countered with a democratic alternative in the interest of the population at large.

Some sections of the ruling class see a way out of the crisis in attempts to restore Betancourtism in its original form, i.e., in alliance with COPEI, and to return to the bloody five-year period.

Others are thinking of a coup, pure and simple, of an open terroristic dictatorship. We seriously warn them that that will not only fail to end the crisis but will amount to a declaration of civil war on the people, something which our Front will be compelled to retaliate in a most energetic way on behalf of the patriotic and nationalist forces it unites.

We are convinced that this situation and these dangers call for the broadest alliance of all the forces striving for a democratic peace and capable of making it a reality.

There are groups in the three government parties which are offering some resistance to the continuation of the Betancourt policy and to other attempts of the government to end the crisis through increased repressions and through surrender to imperialism. But they are not strong or resolute enough to bring about a change. Having no interests that conflict with those of the country, they could make a major contribution to the solution of the crisis.

It is common knowledge that our Front is an alliance in which all the nationalist and patriotic forces of the people have associated themselves in order to form a government capable of ending U.S. monopoly rule, freeing the peasants, providing better conditions for large sections of the town population and restoring the sovereignty and independence of the country. Our Front will go on fighting for such a popular, nationalist and democratic government, for this is in the interest of the progress and happiness of our people. Far from preventing the unity of its revolutionary forces with the groups of the opposition, with the anti-Betancourt circles in the government, with democratic and nationalist-minded officers, our Front promotes it to hasten the establishment of a democratic peace enabling all of us to continue the struggle for our ideals, for the full restoration of rights and guarantees.

This unity can lead to the restoration of peace and democracy on the basis of the following pressing demands:

1. Complete amnesty, without retaliation or vengeance. Restoration of the rights of political parties and all Venezuelans. Strict respect for constitutional guarantees, especially freedom of the press.

2. Improvement of the standard of living of the masses, particularly the workers and peasants. An end to price rises. Higher wages.

For national pacification!

For amnesty and unrestricted rights and guarantees for all Venezuelans!

Against hunger, the high cost of living and unemployment!

For freedom of the press and respect for all constitutional rights!

THE NATIONAL STRUGGLE CONTINUES*

Ali Yata

In the name of democracy, in which we have deep faith, in the name of freedom, to which we have always been dedicated, in the name of the sacred rights for which mankind has been fighting for centuries and which our people have won at the price of enormous sacrifice, we are starting this newspaper, which we most joyfully devote to the Moroccan people.

We would like to begin by stating that this newspaper is not the organ of any party or organization, nor the mouthpiece of any specific group or of the propaganda agencies of any official or unofficial quarters. This newspaper does not depend on any organizations or officials at home or abroad. It will strive to express the national aspirations and to uphold progressive views based on science. This will undoubtedly put it within reach of greater numbers of citizens and make it an exponent of their views and a defender of their positions.

The objective of the newspaper is briefly stated in its title. We have called it *Al Kifah al Watani* (*The National Struggle*) because we hold that we are still fighting against imperialist domination in its old and new forms, a domination which has plunged our country into the abyss of socio-economic backwardness persisting to this day.

The national struggle is not over, nor will it be, until the devastated areas of the country's north and south are completely freed, until we retrieve the lands seized by colonialist settlers and deliver our economy from the imperialist monopolies which are still oppressing it and plundering our riches, and until we ensure that the state budget and the development of our life depend, not on favors and aid from foreigners, but on our own forces, on our energy and our specific methods.

The national struggle is indispensable for our national liberation and the consolidation of our independence. It is indispensable as an earnest of our sovereignty and of the use of freedom in the interest of the country and its people. We must say that most of the evils we now suffer from are due to the fact that certain people have for many years considered the national struggle to be at an end. They have therefore been waging a different struggle for which

*Al Kifah al Watani editorial, March 12, 1965.

the time is not ripe. It is a mistake and those who have made it should admit it. We are not responsible for it.

By continuing the national struggle, we can develop our economy harmoniously and comprehensively, bring about prosperity and abundance, and meet the basic requirements of our people, whom we can free from the horrors of poverty, illiteracy and homelessness.

By waging the national struggle, we can create favorable conditions for the restoration of the rights of the have-nots, who constitute the overwhelming majority of the people and have nothing but their labor power.

That is why this newspaper will vigorously contribute to the national struggle by fostering it and raising it to a higher plane. It will strive for national unity and concentrate on achieving the solidarity of progressive opinion, which is particularly necessary at present.

Accordingly, the newspaper will endeavor to give truthful and sincere accounts of reality, firmly to uphold the national interest, and perseveringly to champion the rights of the people.

Our newspaper will participate in the struggle which the fraternal Arab peoples are carrying on for progress and unity. It will contribute its share to resistance to imperialist pressure, intrigue and aggression wherever they occur.

Our newspaper will publicize the political, economic and social changes taking place in the underdeveloped countries, and will popularize the remarkable victories of the new world, the radiant world of socialism.

This, then, is the line which the newspaper *Al Kifah al Watani* is going to follow with the support of the people.

STATEMENT* OF THE FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY

ON THE EVENTS IN THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

Defying the right of the peoples to self-determination, U.S. imperialism has launched a new aggression. Its armed forces have occupied Santo Domingo in order to drown in blood the Dominican people's striving for progress and freedom.

The sole purpose of this aggression is to protect the interests of the U.S. monopolists and the landowners who exploit the riches of the Dominican Republic and who installed a military junta following a coup against a legally elected government. This aggression is a glaring violation of international law and the U.S. Charter.

As in Vietnam, in Santo Domingo the U.S. imperialists have arrogated to themselves the role of world gendarme up in arms against the ideas of national independence and progress. All this is fraught with the gravest danger to world peace.

Expressing the sentiments of millions of French working people and democrats, the French Communist Party declares its complete solidarity with all the Dominican patriots who are heroically combating the imperialist aggression.

French Communist Party,
May 3, 1965.

*"L'Humanité, May 4, 1965.

MATERIALS OF THE UNION OF THE PEOPLES OF CAMEROON

DECLARATION OF THE UPC REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE

At its Seveth Plenary Meeting on March 23-25 last the Revolutionary Committee of the Union of the Peoples of Cameroon analyzed the political situation in Cameroon resulting from the electoral farce of March 20, and discussed the more pressing African and international problems bearing on the Cameroon revolution.

"POPULARITY" THROUGH TERROR

Analyzing the internal situation, the Revolutionary Committee exposed the noisy propaganda campaign of the lackeys of the present regime making out that Ahidjo enjoys popularity. It called the attention of Cameroonian and world opinion to the grave situation in our country.

The political situation in Cameroon is characterized by terror, genocide, and the absence of democratic liberties. It is the result of the activities of the more than 100,000-strong force of repression which include troops of the French community, the army, the gendarmerie, the police and the militias serving the regime and commanded by officers of the "France military mission."

BUILD-UP OF FRENCH OCCUPATION FORCES

Far from leaving our country as demanded by our people, the French occupation forces have increased their strength with troops moved in from the Congo (Brazzaville).

Every pretext is used for mass arrests and bloody repressions against peaceful civilians. The fascist legislation of 1959-63, specifically the notorious ordinance of March 12, 1962, enables the authorities to court-martial citizens on the charge of spreading "rumors," tittle-tattle and false information in a biased manner". To intimidate the population, mercenaries of the army of repression exhibit the heads of brutally murdered patriots in the market-place in many localities. Former butchers of Algeria, OAS-men and many other international fascist and racist elements feel complete masters in the country and daily commit Nazi-style atrocities. More than

*President of Cameroon.—**Ed.**

20,000 patriots have for many years been rotting in Ahidjo's prisons and concentration camps, where they are mistreated in the most inhuman fashion.

ONE HUNDRED PER CENT BY DAY AND NIL AT NIGHT

The UPC Revolutionary Committee considers that at a time when the political climate in the country is poisoned by Ahidjo's mercenaires and when guns are thundering at Mungo, Bamileke, Mbam and Sanaga-Maritime, elections are out of the question. It therefore regards the March 20 plebiscite as a travesty of elections similar to the one now being staged in the Congo under the control of Tshombe's mercenaries.

Speaking in Makenene during his campaigning trip to the Mbam area last December, Ahidjo fulminated against the numerous "Cameroonians in town and country who live a legal life by day and an illegal life at night, the adversaries and enemies of the regime."

Who can believe that these enemies of the regime miraculously reformed overnight and came out in support of Ahidjo, who, without fear of ridicule, claims that he has polled 99.99 percent of the votes?

THE SITUATION DEMANDS A UNITED NATIONAL FRONT

The Revolutionary Committee declares that no plebiscites worthy of the name are possible until the imperialist troops are withdrawn from the country, the political prisoners released, the fascist system of terror abolished and all democratic freedoms restored.

It salutes the memory of the many patriots who are killed daily by Ahidjo's mercenaries.

It earnestly appeals to the patriots of all political and philosophical trends to rally closely together in a broad united democratic front and fight resolutely against the neocolonialist dictatorship of Ahidjo. Everyone should join the common struggle and demand, using the means at his disposal:

—immediate and complete withdrawal of all foreign troops and military advisers;

—abrogation of the agreements which restore foreign rule in independent Cameroon;

—unconditional release of all the political prisoners and an amnesty for them, an end to the prosecution of Cameroonian patriots living in the country and abroad;

—restoration of, and respect for, political rights and trade union freedoms throughout the country, in particular repeal of the emergency laws, etc.;

—abolition of the existing neocolonialist institutions;

—genuinely free elections.

INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

Having analyzed the situation in Africa and the rest of the world, the Revolutionary Committee notes with satisfaction the successes achieved by the forces of socialism and peace. It considers that the national-liberation movement in Africa, Asia and Latin America is on a steep rise.

The Revolutionary Committee expresses concern about the aggravation of the situation in Southeast Asia as a result of the aggressive intrigues of U.S. imperialism. It emphatically condemns the U.S. air raids on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. It demands the withdrawal of the U.S. troops from South Vietnam and reaffirms the militant solidarity of the UPC with the Vietnamese people.

It supports the struggle of the American Negroes for freedom and equality and condemns the assassination of Malcolm X by murderers hired by U.S. racists and reactionaries.

The Revolutionary Committee severely condemns the criminal attempts of the West German and other imperialists to arm Israel, this tool of world imperialism, against the Arab countries. It reaffirms its militant solidarity with the Arab peoples fighting against Zionism, for the return of the Palestinian patriots to their homeland.

LONG LIVE FIGHTING AFRICA!

Having discussed problems of the revolutionary struggle of the African peoples, the Revolutionary Committee salutes the fraternal peoples of the Congo, Angola, "Portuguese" Guinea, Mozambique, South Africa, Niger and Senegal, who are daily striking powerful blows at imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism. It expresses the unshakable allegiance of the Cameroonian people to the common cause of achieving complete independence for, and genuine unity in, the African motherland.

THE NOUAKCHOTT CONSPIRATORS

The Revolutionary Committee considers that the restoration in Nouakchott of the African-Malagasy Union under the new name of the African-Malagasy Cooperation Organization is part of a new imperialist conspiracy against the African revolution, designed to rob the Charter of the Organization of African Unity of its progressive content and turn the Organization into a Holy Alliance against the revolutionary movement of the African masses. It is also aimed at inducing the heads of revolutionary states to commit treason and at organizing throughout Africa the persecution of true African patriots, honorable leaders who have fought against colonialism and continue to uphold Africa's dignity and independence.

To achieve their evil aims, the flunkeys of imperialism and disguised enemies of Africa, such as Ahmadou Ahidjo, are trying to intimidate revolutionary African states by means of a violent campaign against "interference." Their ill-considered demands constitute gross interference in the affairs of other countries on which they want to impose their will. They are out to turn the forthcoming Afro-Asian conference in Algiers and African summit meeting in Accra into a handy instrument of blackmail. In addition, they give their blessing to the imperialist military intervention in the Congo and Cameroon, and their protection to imperialist military bases in their countries.

They do not see all that as interference. Ahidjo and his like persist in branding as interference the fight of the best sons of Africa for the complete elimination of the main cause of Africa's backwardness—imperialist rule in any form.

AN AFRICAN REVOLUTIONARY FRONT IS NEEDED TO DEFEAT REACTION

The Revolutionary Committee holds that this reactionary onslaught, this new counter-offensive of neocolonialism proves correct the UPC's invariable attitude to the problem of African unity. The UPC firmly declares once again that genuine African unity, i.e., unity for the real independence and progress of our continent, can only be achieved through the masses fighting with determination against imperialism and its lackeys. This calls for the close cohesion of all the patriotic forces of Africa.

The Revolutionary Committee therefore urges all the revolutionary forces of the continent to rally in an African revoltionary front for genuine unity, against imperialism and reaction.

THE DUTY OF THE CAMEROONIANS AND OTHER AFRICANS

The Cameroonian people, whose heroic struggle is part of this struggle of the African peoples, will not be intimidated either by plebiscites organized 100 percent by agents of neocolonialism, or by the growling of this wounded beast.

The Holy Alliance of Ahidjo, Tshombe and Tafawa Balewa will not break the resistance of our people.

On the contrary, the continent-wide onslaught of reaction and Ahidjo's histrionic attempt to represent himself as a recognized national leader have prompted all the progressive forces of the nation to step up resistance and launch a policy of broad alliance.

In view of this, the Revolutionary Committee calls on all the citizens to unite in the fight to overthrow the puppet Ahidjo and to achieve democracy, well-being and peace. All the opponents of

the present regime—workers, peasants, office employees, intellectuals, students, people of all religions, traditional chiefs and the patriotic-minded elements of the bourgeoisie—should unite and overcome internal disagreements in order to carry out the main task of the day, that is, to sweep away Ahidjo's regime and establish a new democracy in Cameroon.

Let us unite in a single Democratic Front to step up the struggle of the masses!

Let us give effective support to the armed resistance put up by the patriotic National Liberation Army of Cameroon under the leadership of Chairman Ernest Quandie! Let us intensify in every way and on every front the life-and-death struggle against the anti-national regime of Ahidjo!

The valiant Cameroonian peoples shall win!

March 25, 1965

NATIONAL UNITY*

W. Massaga

MEMBER, UPC REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE

National Unity is a traditional slogan of the Union of the Peoples of Cameroon, that cannot have the same meaning when uttered by spokesmen of the Ahidjo regime, who have appropriated it (just as they have appropriated other UPC slogans in keeping with fascist propaganda methods. Hence the need to explain what is at issue, why we should strive for national unity, who should make this unity a reality, and how this should be done.

THE PUPPETS' THESES

The men of the present regime, drunk with power, expect five million Cameroonians to give them a free hand in upholding the interests of several thousand upstarts of neocolonialism. Their interests demand continued plunder and fêting at the cost of the people's sweat, tears and blood. After five years of "real" independence, of official assurances that the popular rebellion has long been stamped out and that the regime's every effort has been aimed at winning economic independence, spokesmen of the regime no longer sum up results, or even give false promises. They simply

*Abridged from **le Voix de Cameroun,** Nos. 21-22 and 23, 1965.

demand full support from every citizen. They want the total submission of the people. This conclusion follows from an analysis of the official campaign for national unity.

In this campaign, the government bases all its spurious arguments on a thesis explicitly formulated in Ahidjo's speech in April 1963. The substance of this thesis, whose inanity and democratic character are insulting to our people, is that since independence and reunification were achieved in 1960-61, nothing can justify any opposition to the government.

"NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT" — A MOUNTAIN OF CORPSES

Proceeding from this misleading and dogmatic thesis, Ahidjo's group and its propagandists utter high-sounding phrases which in reality mean nothing. Ahidjo and his government have issued the slogan of "union of hearts." Official propaganda continuously exhorts the citizens to unite in the name of "happiness" and "national development." The latter formula is particularly dear to the supporters of the regime. The government invokes "national development" to justify its terroristic measures and its war against the population, to silence the working people, to pacify the youth or to divert the attention of the people from acute social problems. The talk of "national development" can mislead the uninitiated.

It is possible to deceive the people, to gain a delay by force and ruse. But this is also the best means of opening the eyes of the people, whose wrath will be terrible. In the face of the official campaign of lies, a simple question arises today: what have our rulers accomplished in these ideal conditions in five long years?

Two different answers are given to this question.

TWO ANSWERS

On the one hand, there are people whom the government calls criminals, bandits, bad citizens and self-seekers hiding in the forests abroad—all those Cameroonians whom it wants to send to the gallows. These people hold that the plight of the Cameroonian peasants, in particular the overwhelming majority of the small peasants, is going from bad to worse under Ahidjo's bloody dictatorship. This "handful of troublemakers" also considers that Cameroonian workers are finding it more and more difficult to make both ends meet, that the cotton plantation workers in the north of the country, virtually doomed to forced labor, the workers of Cameroon's Development Corporation and the agricultural laborers of the Mungo region are earning just enough to survive, that the Douala dockers, most of whom are not paid more than a hundred francs a day, thank heaven for having a job, that the working people suffer from the steadily rising cost of living.

These so-called bad citizens—the workers, peasants, petty officials, small tradesmen and artisans—consider the result of five years of neocolonialism to be negative. They think a change is needed.

So does our Party, which, despite imperialist measures of repression, has always led the struggle of the masses for this goal. The Cameroonian people know this. Our Party has never promised the working people a paradise on earth. It simply considers that everyone should enjoy the fruits of his labor and have the right to know how the taxes which burden ordinary people are really spent. Our Party declares that it is impermissible in a country calling intself genuinely independent, that the people should slave for the enrichment of plunderers, that the colonialists should be robbing them just as they did in the worst days of foreign rule.

The government, its flunkeys, supporters and friends take a different view. All that is left to those wishing to be "good citizens" is to repeat the official version: everything is for the best in this best of Cameroons; the population is prospering; agriculture is being modernized; peace reigns in the country; the people are grateful to Ahidjo, their "saviour," and support his party, the Cameroonian Union.

THE CAMEROONIAN UNION IS A TOOL OF FASCISM

The alleged adhesion of the people to Ahidjo's Cameroonian Union means nothing, nor is the Union itself of any consequence. The regime recognizes this, as the current campaign shows. Even leaders of the "great national party which has united the entire people" do not believe in the Cameroonian Union.

Ahidjo's Cameroonian Union, an instrument and a vivid image of his concept of national unity, is, in fact, a ramified apparatus of administrative and police coercion. To join the Cameroonian Union has never meant adhering to any ideal or program. It is merely an act of submission to the regime, often forced by the very existence of fascist system. This is why the Union has never since it was founded been an arena of struggle, constant denunciations and counter-denunciations, violent settling of accounts under constant police surveillance, and a rat-race for privileges and cushy jobs.

The Cameroonian Union has delivered our people to fascism, of which every citizen is aware even in his sleep. Thousands of fair-minded citizens have had to join the ruling party in the hope of escaping police persecution, arrest and death. They were told that membership of this party would bring them jobs, but they have been bitterly disappointed.

AHIDJO AND TRADE UNION UNITY

Trade union unity is a vital necessity. All the working people of our country strive for it in order to be able the better to uphold their civil and craft interests, which are inseparable from the interests of the nation. But the neo-colonialist regime is of a different opinion.

The agents of neocolonialism see trade union unity as neutralization of the trade unions, just as they want a national unity that will neutralize the people. They want to unite the working people in order to suppress them the more effectively, to prevent them from uttering a single word, not only about the grave crisis in the country, but also about the purely professional interests of petty officials and small artisans and tradesmen.

To achieve this, Ahidjo's regime has imposed upon the working people trade union leaders who are its most loyal servants and who at the time of classical colonialism earned the solid reputation of traitors and of hangers-on of the colonialists. This trade union leadership, which is hostile to the working people and fully devoted to Ahidjo, makes common cause with police agents planted by the regime, and as a result the working people live in constant fear of dismissal, arrest or death.

CHANGES NEEDED

Our rulers, who are trying in this way to enforce their concept of national unity, forget one thing: they can bully, gag and murder people, but they are powerless against the awakening masses and their growing determination to fight. The fascist bondage in which the regime would like to keep the people for ever is loosing: things look bad everywhere—in the ruling Cameroonian Union, in the administration, in the countryside, in the army, in the trade unions.

Changes are needed! This demand is voiced more and more insistently by different sections of the population all over the country. This means that Ahidjo's "national unity" has already fallen through and that genuine national unity of the people is in the making.

Our Party, all the patriots, all the citizens not affected by corruption, can achieve real national unity only through the struggle of the whole people for genuine independence, democracy and peace. These three demands meet the aspirations of the masses. They constitute the basis on which all our people can and must unite. They open the only way to national salvation.

THE PEOPLE WANT PEACE

The vast majority of our citizens want peace. After almost ten

years of a grim war in which foreign invaders massacred more than 100,000 of our brothers and sisters, every upright and sober-minded citizens longs for peace.

The puppets claim that peace cannot be achieved without razing the villages of patriots and herding their residents into concentration camps and fortified settlements, that it is necessary to destroy all the forests in order to drive out the resistance-fighters, to crush them like flies, to kill, burn and hang all the members of the UPC, to jail, torture and kill all nonconformists.

Such a solution is impossible militarily, stupid politically and criminal from the human viewpoint. The more than ten years of bitter experience have shown that this is futile and inhuman folly.

To speak as Ahidjo and his supporters do, of the need to "crush the rebellion" in order to restore peace means deciding to continue the war, and admitting that it brings profit, that the imperialists pay in cash for the blood and suffering of the Cameroon people.

THE PEOPLE WANT DEMOCRACY

Democracy is the only way to peace in our country. Our people will never accept false peace in exchange for freedom. No people strives for war, but every people is capable of making the greatest sacrifices to regain their rights and live a happy life.

Let it be known to the puppets who want the peace of slaves or graveyards, and those of our fear-stricken brothers who preach non-violence — as if happiness could be won through surrender — that nothing will be achieved by ruse.

As long as our citizens are compelled by persecutions to hide in forests or remote localities, as long as they are denied the right to protect their crops and wages without fear of concentration camp or torture, as long as they are unable to travel freely without the constant risk of being robbed, arrested or killed by the mercenaries of neocolonialism, and lastly, as long as the glorious Cameronian people are denied their sacred right to have a government and a regime of their own free choice, peace in Cameroon will remain an illusion.

THE ONLY SOLUTION IS TO ABOLISH THE REGIME

It is clear, therefore, that we shall never have peace with the fascist dictatorship, a regime which can exist solely by trampling democratic freedoms underfoot, a regime of war. This regime can, of course, arm itself to the teeth, build up the monstrous machine of repression, and impose its power on a certain part of the population. But the Cameroonian tragedy will continue.

As everyone knows, neocolonialism is an invention of the im-

perialist monopolies designed to disguise their domination and their exploitation of the people, to preserve or even boost the profits of foreign capitalists by giving political power to their puppets, who are generally recruited through corruption, or to those whose economic interests are closely linked with foreign capitalist interests.

The power of the agents of neocolonialism is a screen concealing the continued plunder of national wealth. It worsens the plight of the people and gives rise to a parasitic caste, the bureaucratic bourgeoisie, having its own "clubs" and "parties" and living a dissolute life. This bourgeoisie hates the people. Its philosophy is determined solely by the desire to stay in power in order to keep its pockets full, to stay in power by hook or by crook and for as long as possible, sticking at nothing—not even assassination and genocide. It is fascist-minded through and through.

That is why all of us who want peace, democracy and progress in Cameroon have but one way out—to unite in order to overthrow the neocolonialist regime, restore national sovereignty, establish democracy and achieve peace.

PATRIOTIC FRONT

An alliance of all the anti-imperialist classes, social strata and citizens for a general offensive against the regime of national dependence, the source of tyranny and war—this is what the slogan of national unity of the Cameroonian people means today.

Clearly, it is a United National Front of struggle for real independence, democracy and peace, and not a fascist-like group like Ahidjo's Cameroonian Union that can pursue a genuine policy of national unity.

The call for such a front was issued at the end of 1960 in a joint statement by UPC and its mass organizations. In December of the same year this call was enthusiastically supported by the National Union of Students. Since then, the experience of our Party, which has been striving to unite the patriotic forces, has shown that:

—the United Front should not consist of only the most revolutionary-minded patriots;

—the Front cannot be expected to come into being only as a result of difficult talks with the leaders of political, trade union and cultural organizations or leaders believed to favor the national revolution. Under a fascist system these organizations are either virtually outlawed or serve the regime. Their leaders live in fear, and doubt everything—their organizations, the people, victory;

—the United National Front cannot exist as an organized and effective force unless it makes the neocolonialist regime reckon with it. And this means, first and foremost, that it must be a result of mobilization of the masses capable of resisting fascism;

—the people's readiness to fight and the opposition of the masses to the neocolonialist regime, which are necessary for this mobilization, are becoming increasingly evident.

This means that the United Front should be established by the joint efforts of our Party and all true patriots. It is necessary to promote the spirit of patriotic solidarity, to multiply joint actions if only on a limited scale, and steadily to heighten the militancy of our people in order to bring about the elan that will impel the national organizations and all patriotic-minded citizens to adopt a common platform for resistance and offensive.

Consequently, to establish the Front, something more is needed now than to look to the top, to the leadership of our Party and the leaders of other more or less nationalist-minded organizations or groups. It should be formed around and next to us, through joint actions and not fruitless discussions. This means covering with every patriot the part of the road that he can cover with us on the firm basis of the minimum program of national salvation.

THE UPC — THE GUIDING AND UNIFYING FORCE

At the moment not all the Cameroonians who are opposed to the neocolonialist regime are agreed as to how to end the drama through which our country has been passing for almost ten years. This prevents putting an end to the suffering of our people and plays into Ahidjo's hands. Repression and corruption have divided the popular force which fought together for independence, and some people outside our Party, which is resolved to carry on the revolutionary struggle, still cherish illusions, hoping to bribe Ahidjo's deputies, as if they were richer than the imperialists. Others pin their hopes on tribal solidarity and expect to "get" Ahidjo within the framework of his "democracy."

Still others dream of imperialist-inspired coups, as if our people, having broken out of one prison, would agree to land in another. Lastly, there are those who offer no solution at all and merely vociferate against armed struggle.

All these groups are infested with agents of the regime. They include patriots who have been intimidated, confused and deceived by the enemy but who, nevertheless, remain opposed to the regime. It is our duty not only to open their eyes to the blind alley into which their illusions and idle dreams can lead them. We should enlist their participation in the resistance movement in proportion to the degree of their political consciousness and patriotism. Revolutionary vigilance should not weaken our links with the masses and affect our work among them, and there should be no confusion in this work. We are rallied around our Party on the basis of the program of action of the UPC, on the basis of its Rules, its disci-

pline, its line reaffirmed by the Party leadership—the Revolutionary Committee. As regards the genuinely anti-imperialist forces of our people, the minimum program, which meets the vital needs of the Cameroonian people, provides a platform for their unity and joint actions.

ARMED AND POLITICAL STRUGGLE

That is why we must fight and defeat—both in our own ranks and among our fellow-citizens—those who adhere to extreme positions. We must continuously expose the all-or-nothing policy, honestly correct our mistakes and overcome obstacles to the unity of all the forces, all the citizens opposed to imperialism.

Extremism is very dangerous. It can paralyze the people in the crucial moments of struggle and render them defenseless in the face of imperialist intrigue. It is a result of not only the activity of the agents of the present regime, who are plotting to sow discord among the patriots. It can also result from the actions of those fighters and patriots who may by a sectarian conduct paralyze the policy of setting up the Front. Those who want a "change" but reject the idea of victory by the people and for the people are deliberately pursuing this policy. While clamoring for national unity, they raise false problems to obstruct the most representative and vigilant patriotic forces. These advocates of a refurbished neocapitalism want to profit from the struggle of our people, just as the puppets have used for themselves and for the imperialists the hard-won independence of our people. They say that armed struggle is distasteful to them. But the seven years of their rule, and the five years of the neocolonialist dictatorship of Ahidjo and his backers have shown that unless the Cameroonian people do their utmost to overthrow the regime, that gang will go on sowing terror and death until they themselves die of old age in their ministerial chairs.

The UPC realizes that no revolutionary struggle can be limited to military operations. It stands to reason that the people's armed resistance cannot succeed without mobilization on every front, without the support of mass actions and political struggles combining the efforts of all the opponents of the regime. National unity and the United National Front are unthinkable without this sustained political cooperation.

RALLY THE REVOLUTIONARY ENERGY OF THE CITIZENS

Therefore, to waste time on sterile lamentations means abetting the enemy. The unending complaints about the UPC not sweeping away the regime, about the National Liberation Army not storming the capital, Yaounde, and not eliminating the flunkeys of imperial-

ism one after another make it easier for the puppets to promote their plans of psychological warfare. This attitude breeds doubts and discourages the population. To ensure real progress, every fighter and every patriot should first of all ask himself whether he is doing all he can now do to overthrow the neocolonialist regime.

Only in this way can we rally the revolutionary energy of the Cameroonians, strengthen solidarity, and achieve national unity in order to win freedom, progress and peace for Cameroon.

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NEW ELEMENTS OF THE SITUATION FOLLOWING THE ELECTIONS

REPORT* OF V. CODOVILLA AT PLENARY MEETING OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY OF ARGENTINA, MARCH 27-28

At this meeting we shall, among other things, generalize the experience we have gained during the recent election campaign and establish, on the basis of facts, whether or not our electoral tactics were correct.

WHY WE DECIDED TO VOTE FOR THE PERONISTS

I think we can say that, in general, the whole Party agreed with the Central Committee that it was not simply a question of the victory of one or another party, but of the future orientation of domestic and foreign policy in this period of great battles that would be decided in the election campaign.

On the national plane, the task was to bar the road to the oligarchic-imperialist reaction and clear the way for the new elements engendered by the economic and political situation in the country, whose productive forces are still poorly developed, and by the need for deep-going democratic, progressive changes.

On the international plane, it was necessary, in this age of transition from capitalism to socialism and communism, of consolidation and development of the socialist countries, of the upsurge of the movements for national and social liberation and of the working-class, popular and peace movements, to march in step with the working people and wage a common struggle in conformity with the concrete conditions of our country, thus helping to step up the fight throughout the world against the imperialist aggressors and at the same time accelerating revolutionary development in our own country.

Proceeding from these premises in its analysis of the correlation of forces and the class composition of the parties which would contend the March 14 elections, the Party leadership arrived at the conclusion that they should be regarded not as ordinary elections, but as elections which could lead to substantial democratic and progressive changes in the country.

Therefore, when it decided to vote for the Peronists, under their

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*Abridged from Nuestra Palabra, April 7, 1965.

various names, the Party leadership approached the problem not merely from the viewpoint of an electoral struggle, but sought to utilize the elections for strengthening its contacts with the Peronist-led masses, who are steadily shifting to the left, and for achieving unity in the struggle for the common demands of the working class and the entire people. The Party leadership did not make a special issue of whether particular Peronist leaders heading this or that electoral list were revolutionaries or not. It was decided to vote for all lists so as to create favorable conditions for joint actions. We achieved that, in the main.

As you will remember, we have been raising the question of rapprochement with the Peronists, having in mind their turn to the left, ever since the CC meeting of July 1962. We have been doing so, not for the sake of establishing temporary contact, but in keeping with our long-range policy which is bound to lead, eventually, through joint actions for various demands, to the unity of these forces with us for building first a united front of struggle and then a single party of the working class and the people, a party adhering to the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

We are pursuing this policy because owing to certain historical factors the bulk of the working class and the working masses generally is still under the influence of bourgeois nationalist ideology and because it is impossible to solve the cardinal problems facing the country without first winning these masses over to proletarian ideology. Hence our slogan, *"Through mass actions to the conquest of power."*

As the masses were, and still are, in varying degrees, under the influence of the Peronist leaders, we have in our work, to take them as they are and not as we would like them to be. Unless they are won over for joint actions, we will not be able to realize our slogan.

To win over the Peronist masses does not necessarily mean winning over all of them but that part whose social composition is close to that of our Party, in order to jointly establish a militant and numerically strong vanguard.

DID THE PERONISTS PUT FORWARD A PROGRAM?

Some comrades insisted that we should not vote for the lists of the Peronists because they did not put forward a program. That was a crass error. The Peronists as a matter of fact presented a program of the future parliamentary activity of their representatives and a general one of deep-going economic, political and social changes.

Their very extensive program, which I shall mention here in brief, provides for the following:

"An independent foreign policy based exclusively on the princi-

ples of the preservation of world peace and the maintenance of harmonious relations and trade with all countries. An energetic foreign trade policy aimed at expanding markets and defending international prices, and the use of all suitable means to achieve these aims, such as conclusion of bilateral agreements, a state monopoly on foreign trade, and economic contacts with all countries. Respect for the right of peoples to self-determination and recognition of sovereign governments in all international organizations. Repudiation of all forms of colonialism, imperialist policy and political, economic or military interference in the domestic affairs of other countries. Denunciation of all international military treaties as well as treaties compromising the independent policy of the nation. Respect for the right to asylum. Economic and social planning in the country with the active participation of the state, employers, and organizations of workers and specialists. Planned channeling of the national income into the basic branches of the economy through proper utilization of state capital investments, stimulation of private investments, restriction of excessive consumption and reorganization of the securities market in keeping with the financial requirements of the plan. Nationalization of the key industries, improvement and modernization of management of the state-owned enterprises. A special regime of nationalization for banking, insurance, trade and currency exchange. Annulment of the amendments of the Savio Law.* Abolition of all laws giving privileges to foreign capital to the detriment of national interests; new investment of foreign capital and utilization of previously invested foreign capital in a way that would delineate the framework of their application, rationally limit the export of profits, and ensure effective control. Agrarian reform. Liquidation of the latifunda with a view to giving the land to those who till it, and fixing the size of landed property in accordance with the zone and type of production. Mechanization of all forms of feudalism in agriculture, and economic security for the tillers of the land."

Other program statements of a political, social and cultural nature could be cited, but I think the aforesaid is sufficient.

The task today is to help, by relying on the actions of the masses, the Peronist MP's put this program into effect. Contact should be maintained first of all with the MP's of working-class origin.

It is necessary today, more than ever before, to urge the Peronist organizations to take joint action if they want to realize the basic propositions of their program.

CAUSES DETERMINING THE POLARIZATION OF THE ELECTORATE AROUND THE TWO MAIN GROUPS

The Party foresaw a polarization of forces around the Civic

*The law on the nationalization of metal-making enterprises.—**Ed.**

Radical Union of the People (CRUP) and the Peronists, for the positions of the two conformed, in the main, to the interests of the different classes although there are social strata with conflicting interests in both groups. That is exactly what happened.

What did these two groups say before the elections?

The CRUP presented itself to the electorate as a champion of order and democracy, the official party of a stable government, the party of economic and social progress which was making slow progress because of obstacles but which would expedite the implementation of its electoral program of 1963 after the elections. Hence its slogan: "We have a government; cherish it."

Thus the CRUP hoped to secure, and did secure, the support of those political circles whose common interests coincide with the interests defended by the CRUP and which feared a plunge into the unknown, i.e., the victory of Peronism with a possible military coup similar to that which occurred after the March 1962 elections.

What do the CRUP and the sections which voted for it represent from the class viewpoint?

They are essentially sections of the bourgeoisie some of which, while not opposed to foreign investments to "stimulate" industrial and agricultural production, want the government to control foreign policy; they are groups of the petty industrial and commercial bourgeoisie; that part of the agrarian bourgeoisie benefiting from the profitable sale of their produce through state organizations; executives of industrial and commercial companies; most of the civil servants, who vote for the government out of fear of losing their jobs in the event of drastic changes in the composition of the government; part of the specialists and handicraftsmen, and so on.

Justicialism, or Peronism, for its part, appeared before the electorate not as the aggressive force it used to be, but as a renovating force prepared to take part in the struggle of the masses, the parliamentary struggle included, in order to effect profound changes in the economic structure and political superstructure of the country; as a defender of democracy and national sovereignty against the aggressive actions of imperialism, U.S. imperialism in the first place; as a defender of the right of the peoples to self-determindation, and so on.

These and other similar ideas, taken partly from our program, struck deep roots in the minds of the working masses.

Although Justicialism relies on heterogeneous forces, it received its biggest vote from the workers of town and country (specifically the poor urban sections, the industrial suburbs of Buenos Aires, Cordoba, Rosario) and partially from the peasants discontented with the government's tax policy depriving them of much of their

incomes, and with the credits policy which meets the interests solely of the rich peasants and big landowners.

The Peronists were also supported by the sections of the people discontented with the government's economic and social policy favoring big capital, with the high cost of living and the worsening living and working conditions, as well as by that part of the petty bourgeoisie driven to despair by the concentration of industry and trade in the hands of big national and foreign trusts and monopolies, a process which will inevitably lead to the ruin and disappearance of the petty bourgeoisie.

Besides, it is perfectly clear that many voters cast their ballot for the Peronists not because of devotion to Peron or for emotional reasons so as to affirm, for instance, Peron's right to return to the country (a right which we Communists have always fully recognized) but above all because they consider that at present the Peronist movement is the only force which, in the event of a convincing electoral victory, can realize their aspirations.

Finally, Peronism was supported by all those who strive for revolutionary democratic and progressive changes in the economic and political structure in order to ensure peace, well-being and national independence.

Our Party's support of the Popular Union and other Peronist groups undoubtedly helped to accentuate the class, anti-oligarchy and anti-imperialist character of these elections and to hearten those Peronists who were discouraged by the defeatism of some of their leaders and intended to cast blank ballots, which would have played into the hands of the oligarchy and imperialism.

WHO WON AND WHO LOST IN THE ELECTIONS?

In this connection it is pertinent to ask (although the answer is generally known) who won and who lost in the recent elections.

From the viewpoint of the electoral struggle, I think we can say that neither the Popular Union nor the CRUP won the absolute majority. Their forces were about equal, and both received one-third or a little more of the votes.

But from the political and social viewpoint there can be no doubt that the victory of the Popular Union, despite the bourgeois nationalism of some of its leaders, was a victory for the working class and broad sections of the population.

The other bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties, including the Democratic Socialist Party, the Democratic Progressive Party and the Christian Democratic Party, either retained their positions or lost many votes.

But a real defeat was sustained by the ultra-Rights, by the Alsogarays, Aramburus, Manriques, Almadas, Solaris and their like, and, together with them, by the pro-Yankee forces, the spokesmen

of the oil, electric power and other monopolies, as well as the landed oligarchy.

This is very important for the future development of the political life of the country.

As far as our Party is concerned, it is quite clear that it brought the Peronists not only votes (the estimates vary from 250,000 to 300,000, the real figure however is even bigger), but also the enthusiasm of the people—which, as we have said, was absent in some Peronist circles. In a number of localities our Party made a decisive contribution to the victory of the Peronist lists.

GOVERNMENT UNDER PRESSURE

The big capitalist and landowners, especially foreign and U.S. monopolies in the first place, are more strongly than ever pressuring the government for concessions, and are constantly threatening a military coup.

The fact that the Radicals and Peronists have emerged from the elections with approximately equal forces and that a certain balance has been established between them has obliged the plotters to postpone their planned coup.

But vigilance shoulld not be slackened, for "gorilla" circles—both military and civil—are preparing to stage a coup to forestall the great battles looming as a result of the wosening living and working conditions of the working class and the entire people.

It is already clear today that the United States is out to force the government to revise the existing oil contracts and to grant new concessions. The same is being done with regard to the state electric company SEGBA and the automobile industry. The big U.S. companies which have built automobile assembly plants in the country and are producing increasing amounts of spares for them are demanding, as Rockefeller has declared, greater privileges.

The International Monetary Fund, the International Bank of Development and other organizations warn, for their part, that they will give "aid" to the government only if it allows them to control the finances and the basic branches of production and the national economy as a whole.

FOIL THE JOINT OFFENSIVE OF THE EMPLOYERS AND THE GOVERNMENT

Why do we insist on Communist-Peronist unity of action? Because this unity will draw the other democratic forces into united actions. These actions are urgently needed to beat back the mounting offensive of the employers and the government against the living and working conditions of the workers and the people generally.

There is no doubt any longer about the intention of the big

local capitalists and foreign trusts and monopolies to launch an onslaught on living and working conditions under the pretext that the country is experiencing an ecomonic crisis and that all should make sacrifices to overcome it.

Sacrifices in the name of what? Of still more fabulous profits for the big landowners, capitalists and imperialist monopolies? This must not be allowed to happen!

That is why the working people have been going on strike against dismissals made on the grounds of rationalization, for higher wages and better working conditions, for back pay, etc. They have achieved a certain measure of success—as a result, which shows that concessions can be wrested from the capitalists only in struggle, even though this struggle may be a bitter and sometimes prolonged one.

Does the crisis the capitalists are talking about really exist? No, it does not. A year or two ago there were certain symptoms of an economic slump developing against the background of the chronic structural crisis, but these symptoms gradually disappeared as the output of crops and livestock products increased as well as their export at prices suiting big producers, and as industrial production (especially at mixed enterprises with the participation of foreign capital) grew which partly satisfied the needs of the domestic market.

It is becoming increasingly clear that the foreign capitalists make the most of the awakening of the Argentinian economy so as to penetrate into our country, compete with the home market and swallow up the national industry, regulating and more and more restricting production for the some market and thus maintaining monopoly prices. The failure of the home market to expand is due chiefly to the insufficient purchasing power of the working class and the people in general because of the low wages and the growing prices on consumer goods, and also because of rapid inflation. The cost of living will continue to rise following the drastic increase in transport fares, petrol prices, etc. If the masses do not act to put an end to a situation in which the rich grow still richer and the bulk of the population, still poorer, the whole national economy will come to harm.

UPHOLD TRADE UNION UNITY AT ALL COSTS

In their offensive the employers and the government are using all means, including corruption of trade union leaders, to deepen the split in the trade union movement and are to this end tearing away more and more organizations from the General Confederation of Labor, which, although inconsistently, sometimes adopts class and anti-imperialist positions, and to set up a new trade union center that would take its orders from the ORIT.

It is, therefore, necessary now, more than ever before to defend

trade union unity within the GCL. This defense is part of the common struggle for a united working-class movement on the basis of its democratization and the class struggle.

The Movement for Unity and Trade Union Coordination is already playing this unifying role. Besides, it is helping to step up the fight for the immediate social and economic demands of the working people of town and country and to orient the working class in the struggle for a democratic and progressive way out of the existing situation.

THE GROWING INFLUENCE OF OUR PARTY AND THE PERONIST MASSES' SHIFT TO THE LEFT

The elections have demonstrated the growth of the political consciousness of the working people, especially those sections influenced by Peronism. It is quite obvious that had our Party been able to take part in the elections it would have polled a big vote. There is no contradiction between this statement and the fact that in the provinces where the Party took part in the local elections it did not obtain the expected number of votes.

The polarization of forces prevented this.

The support our comrades enjoyed among the Peronist masses before and during the elections is indicative of the spread of Communist ideas among them. And, I repeat, that if our Party had been able to participate in the elections it would undoubtedly have received a considerable number of votes not only among the Left Peronists, but also among non-party people sympathizing with communism who voted for other parties.

The election results were as follows: 35 percent of the votes received by the Peronists, 30 percent by the Radicals and about 30 percent by other parties.

But Marxist-Leninists should analyze the results of elections also from the class point of view.

As has been said, most of the votes obtained by the Peronists came from workers, peasants and representatives of the petty bourgeoisie who disagreed with government policy. The Peronists also received the votes of our Party. The majority of these votes came from people from the above-mentioned social strata, i.e., from the advanced revolutionary force.

ELIMINATE ALL REMNANTS OF SECTARIANISM IN THE PARTY

One of the biggest impediments to the growth of our influence among the masses, and particularly among the Peronist masses, and to the establishment of new Party and mass organizations, are the survivals of sectarianism, manifested in disbelief or insufficient confidence in the present level of political consciousness of the

working class, including those of its sections still under Peronist influence. This is the reason why some of the older comrades from the leadership at all levels consider themselves to be the sole representatives of the political line of the Party.

Another outcome of sectarianism is lack of confidence in young, i.e., new cadres, and hesitance in promoting them.

Despite the constant complaints about the shortage of cadres in view of the increased scale of Party work in the various mass movements, new cadres are not promoted to leading posts in mass organizations, which would help them acquire political experience and admistrative know-how.

This makes it incumbent on us to pay greater attention to the principle of collective leadership in all Party organizations, to distribute assignments in a better way, to show more confidence in the organizational and creative abilities of the Party organizations and leaders at the middle level, so that some leaders should no longer feel obliged to take a hand in everything in order to expedite the fulfilment of assignments, and thus enable the local organizations independently to discuss and solve their problems on the basis of the general line of the Party.

RESOLUTION ON THE CONSULTATIVE MEETING IN MOSCOW*

The CC, CPA, at a meeting in Buenos Aires on March 27-28, unanimously approved the report of the delegation of our Party to the Meeting of representatives of 19 Marxist-Leninist parties held in Moscow on March 1-5, and expresses its full agreement with the Communique of that Meeting.

The significance of the Meeting in the Central Committee's opinion is that with it the world Communist movement has made one more step towards the consolidation of its ranks.

Indeed, the representatives of the parties that took part in the Moscow Meeting did not limit themselves to reaffirming the need to work for stronger Communist unity, but adopted a stand of active struggle to overcome the disagreements, and pointed the way to the cherished goal—unity of all the Marxist-Leninists of the world.

As the Meeting noted in its Communique, the differences on problems of international policy, strategy and tactics weaken our movement and increase the aggressiveness of our common enemy, imperialism, U.S. imperialism in the first place. These differences can be overcome and the unity of the world Communist movement restored through joint actions by all the parties in the fight against the common enemy. What unites us far outweighs that which disunites us.

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*Nuestra Palabra, April 14, 1965.

In view of this, one of the pressing tasks today is to promote in every way active solidarity with the heroic Vietnamese people subjected to the brutal and criminal aggression of that international gendarme, U.S. imperialism.

The Central Committee approves the proposal, contained in the Communique, that all possibilities and means should be exploited for solving the common tasks of the Communist movement, including bilateral and multilateral meetings of fraternal parties, such as the November 1964 conference of the Latin American Communist parties. International conferences, as the 1960 Statement stressed, are the most suitable means for exchanging opinions and experience, overcoming disagreements and working out common views on problems with which the international Communist and working-class movement is concerned.

The Central Committee agrees with the opinion, stated in the Communique, that careful preparation is needed for convening at a suitable date, a new international conference. The Central Committee shares the view that the best, most democratic form of preparing for this conference would be to hold a meeting of representatives of the 81 parties that took part in the 1960 Meeting in order to adopt the final decision on the date, place and agenda of the new international conference, and also to decide on organizational measures for holding it.

The Central Committee supports the proposal to discontinue open polemics between fraternal parties, which are of a vituperative nature. At the same time the Central Committee considers it desirable to continue, in a comradely spirit, discussion of the questions of theory, international policy and tactics on which views differ. The Central Committee also declares its support of the standards governng relations between Marxist-Leninist parties as defined by the 1957 and 1960 meetings and is against interference by one party in the internal affairs of another party.

The Moscow Meeting pointed to the importance of the struggle for merging the three great streams of the revolutionary movement of our time: the socialist countries, the working-class movement in the developed capitalist countries, and the national-liberation movement of the peoples oppressed by imperialism. Our Party fully agrees with this.

The Central Committee, aware of the responsibility of our Party and all the fraternal parties for the destines of the world Communist movement, declares once again that it will spare no effort to strengthen its unity on the immutable principles of Marxism-Leninism, the Declaration of 1957 and the Statement of 1960. The Central Committee expresses its appreciation to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for having helped to convene and hold the Consultative Meeting.

RESOLUTION ON THE EVENTS IN VIETNAM*

The savage aggressive forces of U.S. imperialism are continuing their criminal bombing of peaceful towns and villages of North Vietnam. They have again, as in Korea, resorted to toxic gases and phosphorus bombs with the inhuman intention of destroying not only the staunch patriots of the National Liberation Front (Viet-Cong), but also peaceful civilians in South Vietnam. With unprecedented cynicism, they speak about strafing, "by mistake," a school building and killing 43 children.

At the same time President Johnson declares his determination to continue his aggressive policy, while Secretary of State Dean Rusk brazenly tries to justify the use of toxic gases which has horrified all civilized mankind.

All the peoples of the world are filled with growing aversion for the aggressors and are more and more loudly declaring their active solidarity with the heroic Vietnamese people. In the van of this campaign of international solidarity are the socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union, the true friend of the peoples fighting for freedom and national independence. The Soviet Government has repeatedly warned the U.S. pirates that by continuing their acts of brigandage against the Vietnamese people they are heading for an inglorious end. In keeping with its consistent policy of peace, the Soviet government demands that the conflict be settled in a peaceful way on the basis of the Geneva agreements of 1954, which provide for the immediate withdrawal of all occupation troops and instruments of war to enable the long-suffering and courageous Vietnamese people freely to shape their own destiny.

The Central Committee salutes our people, who have condemned, in various forms, the criminal aggression of the United States and voiced their solidarity with the fraternal people of Vietnam. However, the Central Committee urges the Argentine people to express this solidarity still more actively, through actions and demonstrations in the streets and protests by all democratic parties and trade union and cultural organizations. U.S. imperialism, the main enemy of the Vietnamese people which has committed aggression against them, is also the main enemy of the working class and the entire people of Argentina.

The CC, CPA hails the recent statement of the General Confederation of Working People of our country denouncing the aggression against the Vietnamese people and the use of toxic gases. The appeal of the GCWP, expressing the sentiments of our people, should immediately be supported by the working class in the trade unions and at the enterprises and by all our people. It should become the powerful voice of our people and develop into effective

*Nuestra Palabra, March 31, 1965.

actions of solidarity to help stay the aggressor's criminal hand.

If the Illia government wants to remain loyal to its party's promise to protect the right of the peoples to self-determination, it should take into account the sentiments of our people expressed in the elections of March 14, and publicly protest to the U.S. government and the UN over the use of toxic gases against the Vietnamese people in violation of all norms of international law.

At the same time the Central Committee calls upon the working class and the entire Argentinian people to be vigilant in order to prevent the reactionaries—the oligarchy, imperialism and the Pentagon generals—from drawing the Illia government into this dirty war of aggression, and to declare for all to hear their emphatic protest against the criminal use of toxic gases against Vietnamese men, women and children. The Central Committee urges the working class and the entire Argentinean people to voice their warm solidarity with the government and heroic people of North Vietnam and with the courageous patriots of South Vietnam, whose valiant struggle cannot be crushed by machine guns, napalm bombs and toxic gases, and who have already freed 75 percent of the territory of their country with a population of 8 million people from the colonial yoke.

The Central Committee reiterates its impassioned appeal to the working class and the entire people of Argentina to unite and fight for:

—the immediate cessation of the bombings and the use of toxic gases in Vietnam by the U.S. criminal aggressors;

—the withdrawal of the U.S. occupation troops from South Vietnam;

—respect for, and implementation of the Geneva agreements of 1954 signed by 14 countries, which ensure peace in Indochina and guarantee the national independence of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the right of the people of South Vietnam to self-determination.

Not a single Argentinean soldier for the war in Vietnam! Not a gram of meat, not a gram of grain, no medicines, no foodstuffs, nothing for the barbarians and aggressors!

Voice active solidarity with the government and the people of North Vietnam and with the fighting patriots and the people of South Vietnam!

To stay the hand of the U.S. aggressor in Vietnam means to stay the hand of the main enemy of our people.

Only unity and struggle will stop the aggressor and, having consolidated peace and peaceful coexistence, eliminate the danger of nuclear war.

RESOLUTION OF CC EXECUTIVE, COMMUNIST PARTY OF ECUADOR

The Consultative Meeting of Communist and Workers' parties, held in Moscow on March 1-5, and the Communique issued by it have greatly contributed to the struggle to cement the unity of the world Communist movement and overcome the differences in its ranks.

The estimations contained in the Communique and its definition of the forms of struggle for international Communist unity testify to the sincere and firm determination of the participants to work for this unity and to wage a joint struggle in order to free mankind from exploitation, shake off the humiliating tyranny of imperialism and save the peoples from a disastrous nuclear war.

These propositions are of special significance for our Party in view of the conditions in which our people live and the circumstances in which our struggle is developing.

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The Meeting concentrated on the exigencies of successful popular struggles and on the present situation and the tasks of the masses the world over in view of the increased criminal activity of world reaction, above all U.S. imperialism. It laid special emphasis on the need to rally the world Communist movement.

Thereby the participants demonstrated their profound sense of revolutionary responsibility, and their boundless devotion to the great cause of the liberation of mankind.

They noted that victory in the struggle against reaction called for unity of all the revolutionary forces, and above all unity of the Communist movement, the decisive force in the great battles of today.

These propositions, contained in the Communique, apply to Ecuador and should become our guiding principle.

It is 20 months since we found ourselves under an infamous military dictatorship taking its cue from U.S. imperialism. Supported by out-and-out reactionaries, this dictatorship oppresses the people and pursues a policy leading to a higher cost of living, unemployment, and the abolition of the few hard-won democratic rights of the people. It is selling the country to imperialism and persecuting the democratic forces, particularly the working-class movement and its Communist Party, at which it strikes one blow after another.

The situation in Ecuador is, therefore, a vivid example of the increased criminal activity pointed out in the Communique.

But as time passes and the policy of the military junta bears its pernicious fruits, popular discontent is mounting. Once again the class struggle is on the rise. The working-class and peasant movement is beginning to present demands. The student movement continues to wage hard battles against the dictatorship and scores signal victories. The masses are voicing their discontent, and public opinion throughout the country denounces the junta's policy of hunger, national betrayal, squandering, swindling and plunder. These are portents of imminent great battles.

To win these battles, the Communique points out, the Communists need solid unity and resolute coordinated actions. This unity is needed on the international as well as on the national plane, as the conference of the Latin American Communist parties stressed last December.

Just as the aggravation of differences on the international plane facilitates imperialism's infamous efforts, so the criminal activity of the small group headed by Echevarraia, Roura, Arellano, Rodriguez and their supporters, has been causing damage to the revolutionary struggle of the people. This activity had an adverse effect on the people's resistance to the reactionary coup on July 11, 1963, and thus facilitated the establishment of the dictatorship.

This harmful activity continued, sowing discord among the revolutionaries. The splitters, who wanted to strike a blow at our Party, were condemned by the majority of the revolutionaries.

Just as the Moscow Meeting stressed the need to fight jointly, in keeping with the requirements of the present international situation, so we should strive resolutely for the unity of the Ecuadoran revolutionary forces fighting for the liberation of our people. This will be the most effective form of our participation in fulfilling the great tasks of our international movement.

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Proceeding from this appraisal of the international situation, the Consultative Meeting clearly defined the fundamental principles for overcoming the disagreements in the world Communist movement:

"The participants expressed the firm determination of their parties to do everything in their power to cement the world Communist movement and to strengthen its unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism and the line defined by the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement."

This is a reaffirmation of the validity of the principles of our immortal doctrine, Marxism-Leninism, and of the correctness of the decisions of the 1957 and 1960 conferences, at which the world

Communist movement gave a definition of the present epoch and indicated forms of our future actions.

Therefore the Communique, like the decision of 1960, states that "consolidation of the positions of socialism, upsurge of the national-liberation and the international working-class movement, and growth of the forces advocating the maintenance and strengthening of peace constitute the basic trend in world development today."

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We identify ourselves with this approach to the question of ways of rallying the world Communist movement on the basis of principle and with the main positions of the Communique.

As regards the splitters in our Party, who have used the differences in the world Communist movement as a pretext for their disruptive work, the Communique clearly defines the international principles we should adhere to whenever we decide a question of unity of our Party.

We have always declared that the unity of Ecuadoran Communists can only be achieved on the principles of the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement, on the basis of recognition and implementation of the resolutions of our Seventh Congress, the Program, the Rules and the political line approved by the Congress, on the basis of recognition of the leadership elected and the decisions adopted by the Congress.

Any other kind of "unity" would mean abandoning the right position, repudiating the principles and standards of our Party and surrendering to the splitters who have betrayed the Party and the people.

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The Consultative Meeting also indicated the way to overcome the differences in the world Communist movement.

Since "what unites the Communist Parties far outweighs that which at present disunites them," the Communique declares that unity is not only desirable but also possible.

The Consultative Meeting pointed to the right method of removing the differences: cooperation in the fight for the great goals of our movement, "united action against imperialism, in rendering all-round support to the liberation movement of the peoples, in the struggle for world peace and the peaceful coexistence of all countries, big and small, with different social systems, and in the fight for the vital interests and historical goals of the working class."

It is only action that will bear out or disprove divergent concepts

and bring about solid unity of the world Communist movement. This will facilitate the defeat of our worst enemy, imperialism.

We Ecuadoran Communists hail this orientation. It is the road along which we are marching, with inevitable shortcomings and mistakes, as we fight against the handful of splitters and traitors. This group is slandering the Party and its leadership in order to draw the Party into an endless debate. The right answer to this is to extend our mass actions, our struggle on every front, against the military dictatorship and its masters—the imperialists and the home reactionaries. It is only in struggle that our people will be able to distinguish between sincere and devoted revolutionaries and those who, under cover of revolutionary phrases, are fighting against our Party rather than against the dictatorship.

★ ★ ★

The Communique points out that, as was already noted by the 1960 Meeting, world Communist unity is effectively promoted by international conferences of Communist and Workers' parties, bilateral and multilateral meetings and exchanges of opinions without unfriendly or abusive actions.

Our Party has always favored this method and said so to fraternal parties.

This method has already been proven effective in recent months. Last December witnessed two multilateral meetings: that of the Communist parties of Latin America and that of the Communist parties of the Arab countries. Both meetings revealed agreement and outlined more effective forms of joint action.

This is also true of the bilateral meetings between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Party of the Working People of Vietnam, the Korean Party of Labor, and other parties.

We are convinced that this method, and strict observance of the Communique recommendation (for a consultative conference of the 81 parties which took part in the 1960 Meetings) will greatly promote the removal of the disagreements. Specifically, we consider that giving the conference of the 81 parties a purely consultative character will greatly help to enlist participation of all the parties, for they will have no reason to fear that the conference may take decisions harmful to their interests.

★ ★ ★

Both the multilateral meetings of 1964 and the Communique of the Moscow Meeting denounce the use of improper methods in relations between fraternal parties.

The Communique of the conference of the Latin American

Communist parties contains the following clear-cut and energetic statement:

"This Conference also considers that the unity of each party is a necessary condition for the further development of the revolutionary process in the country concerned. Consequently, all factional activity, whatever its nature and origin, should be emphatically condemned."

The Communique of the Moscow Consultative Meeting states:

"The participants declare themselves in favor of strict observance of the standards governing relations between parties as defined by the 1957 and 1960 conferences, and against any interference by any Party in the internal affairs of other parties."

We fully support the vigorous condemnation of all splitting activity in the Communist parties.

★ ★ ★

Having analyzed the Communique of the Consultative Meeting of Communist and Workers' parties which was held in Moscow in March 1965, the Executive Committee of the CC, CPE expresses its agreement with the Communique and declares that it will do everything in its power to carry out the recommendations contained in it.

We therefore call upon all our organizations and all the comrades to make every effort in order to remove shortcomings, step up work among the Ecuadoran people and intensify the struggle with a view to replacing the military dictatorship by a popular and democratic government, consolidating our organization and promoting our ideological training. Thereby we shall contribute to the defeat of imperialism, to the triumph of the national-liberation movement of the oppressed peoples, to the decisive victory of the working class, to the cause of building socialism and communism all over the world.

Executive Committee of the CC,
Communist Party of Ecuador

ON RECENT POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

RESOLUTION* OF COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

I

Nearly four months have passed since the Seventh Congress of our Party. This short period has been marked by extremely serious developments in the international and national arena. The imperialists in their mad drive against world peace and national liberation, democracy and socialism, have further intensified and enlarged their aggressive war in Vietnam. This imperialist offensive is, of course, an integral part of its bid for world domination. Its naked strategy of aggression and neocolonialism is, however, not confined to Indo-China. It is projected in other countries of this Asian region through tactics of interference, pressure and blackmail.

In its aggression and war, U.S. imperialism now relies on the differences in the socialist camp and on the forces of domestic reaction in the countries whose independence it wants to undermine.

The machinations of U.S. and other imperialist powers have been recently witnessed in the Ceylon elections. They openly worked for the Bandaranaike government.

The U.S. imperialists not only continue to supply arms to Pakistan. They are also instigating that country against India to further heighten Indo-Pak tensions. The unending series of Indo-Pak border incidents cannot but be viewed except in this context.

The U.S. imperialists want to discredit and humble India into increasing submission to its blandishments and pressures.

One of their principal aims is to force India first to compromise and then to abandon its policy of non-alignment.

Imperialism naturally sets great store on the continued conflict between India and China over the border question. Recently the signing of the Sino-Pak agreement has manifestly emboldened the Ayub regime in its intransigence and in its provocative moves against our country.

Serious difficulties have arisen in the economic situation of the country, particularly owing to certain anti-popular and pro-monopoly policies of the government. Sufferings of the masses have grown further, giving rise to widespread and mounting discontent.

Imperialists and reactionaries are again seeking to utilize this situation, both inside and outside, to put pressure on government

*Abridged from **New Age**, April 18, 1965.

in order, first, to secure reactionary modifications and then to reverse the nationally accepted policies of the country.

The recent period has been one of growing decline and disintegration of the leadership of the central government, with serious repercussions all around. This, together with the cases of corruption which have lately come into the open and the partisan manner in which the government has sought to handle them, has greatly lowered its stature and prestige even among the supporters of the ruling party.

Imperialism and reactionaries within the country are taking full advantage of this situation in order to strengthen the positions of reaction, both within and outside the government. The conciliatory attitude of the leaders of the government towards reaction on the one hand and their attempts to minimize and shield corruption on the other have in no small measure facilitated the maneuvers of reaction.

II

In spite of its protestations of carrying forward the positive internal and foreign policies evolved in the life-time of Nehru, the government is showing serious vacillations and weaknesses in the face of the pressure from the imperialists and reactionaries. These vacillations and weaknesses in their turn further encourage and strengthen the imperialists and the forces of internal reaction.

The sinister character of this fresh round of imperialist pressures for the virtual abandonment of the policy of non-alignment has been strikingly revealed in what has come to be known as the Sudhir Ghosh affair. The American hand behind the whole dirty story is now obvious.

The effect of these new imperialist pressures on our foreign policy can be most vividly seen in the attitude adopted by the Government of India on the U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

The pro-imperialist parties and the monopoly press, as well as the Right inside the ruling party and the government, have been arguing in defense of U.S. aggression. The main burden of this "defense" is that the U.S. military forces in Vietnam are fighting against what is called the "Chinese advance into Asia." India, it is argued, is also interested vitally in halting this "advance" and hence must support the Americans in their war for "democracy"!

There is no doubt that this "reasoning" prevails in circles which have a hand in the making of India's foreign policy. Added to the other imperialist pressures, this line of approach results in the shameful vacillations and hesitations in government policy on Vietnam.

The Government of India's failure to act against U.S. aggression

in Vietnam, its failure to demand a halt to this aggression and the use of gas, napalm and other horrible weapons, and to insist on the withdrawl of U.S. forces has not helped to win friendship and support among the anti-imperialist, Afro-Asian countries. On the contrary, India's image has been tarnished further because of this yielding to imperialist and reactionary pressure on the most urgent international issue of today.

III

We are in the last year of the Third Five-Year Plan. Whereas the tempo of development should be of a high degree after 14 years of planning, our economy, however, continues to be beset with a whole number of difficulties, some of which are extremely serious.

The Finance Minister himself has admitted that the situation is one which is causing anxiety and he has also listed the following features: "The rising prices, the difficulties in raising adequate resources for investment and the sharp decline in our foreign reserves."

The government and the ruling party claim that they have to a certain extent curbed galloping prices, especially of food-stuffs, that they have increased the availability of food, that they are taking measures to increase agricultural production, that they have given tax relief to the common man and so on.

But these claims have really little substance. Despite the temporary lessening of the acuteness of the situation and some very minor relief given by the Union Budget to a section of the people, the problem of rising prices is far from solved. As far as the resources for our Plan are concerned, the government refuses to find correct solutions.

India's foreign exchange reserves have declined to well below Rs. 100 crores. Notwithstanding an all-time rise in our exports in 1964, deficits in the balance of payments are still growing and that too at a time when India's foreign liabilities have reached the staggering figure of almost Rs. 2,500 crores.

Repayment of foreign debts and interest charges on them have already become a serious problem. The government, however, has worked out a line to meet this situation by giving more and more incentives and concessions to foreign monopolists. Now India has to borrow even to pay her outstanding foreign debts and interest charges.

There is no room for complacency because the food situation in these few months has been slightly better than last year. In the first place, the situation always improves with the harvesting of new crops.

Secondly, one must not ignore the fact of heavier imports of

food grains under PL-480. Taking advantage of India's chronic food deficits, the U.S. imperialists are now trying to further modify their PL-480 agreements. They have begun to demand that at least half of the payments be made in dollars.

The decision of the government to set up a food corporation and start state-trading in food grains is no doubt a welcome one. But this they propose to do by buying not even three million tons of food grains out of the total of 15 million tons of marketable surplus. Again, the government is relying mainly on the wholesale trade to obtain the stocks instead of seeking the cooperation of the cultivator.

The government is even averse to taking vigorous action against the hoarders and speculators.

Even the government has had to admit that considerable stocks have already gone into the hands of the hoarders and speculators. Unless the present approach and policy of the government is radically changed, the entire food situation is going to once again reach a critical stage during the coming lean months.

Far from being brought down and stabilized, prices still remain out of control and may continue to rise again. The failure of the government to evolve an effective policy to hold the price line through effective fiscal and other economic measures continues to pose a serious problem for the masses and indeed the country's economy as a whole.

The permanent solution of the food-grain problem lies in the increase in agricultural production, breaking the stagnation on that front and making the country self-sufficient in food for the growing population as well as in raw material for its expanding industry. But the food-grains production has stagnated at a level even below 85 million tons a year (the target was again lowered to this figure from 100 million tons, the originally reduced Third Plan target).

Now in the Fourth Five-Year Plan more money is proposed to be spent in raising agricultural production (for irrigation, fertilizers and other improvements). An Agricultural Prices Commission is appointed to work out a price level remunerative to the producer.

But the main hindrance to raising agricultural production as pointed out in certain official and semi-official investgations recently being discussed (e.g., Ladejinsky's report) is the fact that a large number of peasant producers are still tenants and sharecroppers who have neither the wherewithal nor the incentive to invest in improving their agriculture and raising production.

The government and the ruling party, despite their own resolutions, are not taking necessary measures to complete agrarian reforms throughout the country by abolishing the remnants of

tenant and sharecropping exploitation and by rigorously implementing proper land ceiling laws.

Another pre-requisite for raising agricultural production is to ensure remunerative prices for the peasant producer and the supply of industrial goods he needs at fair and stable prices.

The question also arises of making use of the vast labor force of the landless rural poor available for production, both through rehabilitation of fallow lands and by setting up agro-industries, etc.

But the government, instead of taking vigorous measures in these directions which naturally involve action against landlord and/or trade monopoly interests, takes the easy path of increasing American PL-480 food-grain imports, which in the long run has only a deleterious effect on our agriculture and economy.

It requires to be stressed that PL-480 transactions represent a danger not only to our economy but also the independent development of our national policies which reactionary forces, fattening on the American presence in India, seek in various ways to subvert.

The difficulties in raising adequate resources for our development plans and the crisis of our foreign reserves, were looming large.

These difficulties were used by interested parties and vested interests to build up pressure to curtail the Fourth Five-Year Plan, to change the direction of economic development, viz., the accelerated building of basic industries in the public sector so essential for achieving the economic independence of the country.

Already the present scheme of development planning was solving the question of raising the resources not by mobilizing to the maximum the internal sources, nor by completing radical agrarian reforms and thus creating conditions of raising accumulations in agrarian sector, nor by taking over foreign monopoly concerns, the export-import trade and nationalizing banks and rapidly expanding the public sector so that its earning capacity increases.

The line is one of raising resources by increasing the tax burden on the common people and by drawing upon foreign loans and assistance. The heavy debt-service (repayment of interest) of these foreign loans, the inadequacies and deficits in our export trade, as well as the black-marketing of foreign currency by the monopolists and exporters—all this has led to a serious crisis of the foreign reserves.

The government is now trying to solve these difficulties, as has been already noted, by giving generous concessions to foreign monopoly capital in order to attract them to increase their investment in our country.

Given these concessions, the foreign, especially U.S., monopoly capital finds a favorable field for exploitation in developing India and wants to enter in a big way and even penetrate such strategic branches as oil production, petro-chemicals and fertilizers.

The government has been yielding to this pressure and is proceeding to give wide concessions to foreign monopoly capital.

If the growing collaboration with and penetration of foreign private capital is allowed on these terms, it will only facilitate the attacks of Indian and foreign monopoly on the public sector, hinder our march to economic independence and pave the way to a sell-out of foreign capital.

In this connection, it is to be particularly noted that the main trend of the Budget is to provide new opportunities to monopolists and big business for further increasing their wealth.

Thus, the difficulties and the crisis in the economic field, which arise out of the capitalist path of development which the ruling party is pursuing are sought to be overcome not by turning away from that path, not even by honestly implementing even the moderate measures put forward in their own Bhubaneswar resolution, but by ever more concessions and surrenders to Indian and foreign monopoly capital.

These dangerous trends and developments of the last few months, if not resisted and reversed, will instead of solving the difficulties, worsen, in the long run, the conditions of the masses and endanger even the gains our economy has made.

For instance, one of the positive achievements of our economic development so far has been the building of heavy and basic industries in the public sector and thus laying the foundation for the industrialization of the economy and of its economic independence.

The public sector has grown in magnitude and importance. In many respects, it matches and even surpasses the achievements of the private sector. Though state-capitalist in character, it has made some contributions to strengthen our national economy and loosen the grip of foreign monopoly capital in our country.

But side by side with this welcome growth, private monopoly capital has also grown and concentrated in its hand immense economic power.

The urgent need today is to warn and rouse public opinion against this dangerous trend and mobilize the working-class and democratic forces to reverse it.

In fact, the situation in the public sector is ripe for vigorously taking up the demand for nationalization of the coal mining industry, for further strengthening the public sector in oil. It is necessary to give a sharp rebuff to foreign oil companies in their effort to penetrate the public sector and to take effective and strong measures to clip their empire in the field of refining and distribution of oil products.

The situation is ripe for demanding the nationalization of banks and of export-import trade, as well as for organizing vigorous actions to improve the wage standards of public sector employees,

to protect their democratic rights and to demand workers' participation in the management and democratization of the public sector itself.

In short, the economic situation is one which urgently calls for orientation of government policies so that foreign and Indian monopolists and other exploiters are not in a position to take advantage of our present difficulties, with a view to distorting the rapid independent development of all branches of our economy.

The situation, in particular, underlines the supreme urgency of economic and other measures to improve the living conditions of the workers, peasants and other sections of the people.

IV

In this period, the unity and integrity of the country has suffered a heavy blow on account of certain developments connected with the introduction of Hindi as the official language of the Indian Union. Even though there is no flare-up now, a democratic lasting solution to this vital problem has yet to be found.

The failure of the central and state governments to take effective steps for the equal development of all regional languages and to ensure the complete replacement of all English by the regional languages for all educational, administrative and legal purposes in all the states; their failure to implement the 3-language formula in its real spirit, the bunglings and provocative steps of the central government in introducing Hindi as the official Union language in this background, all these have caused serious misgivings in the minds of large sections of the non-Hindi speaking people to the effect that their regional languages would be adversely affected and that Hindi would be imposed upon them to the detriment of their own future.

This led to a large-scale agitation which, in certain places, was taken advantage of by anti-social elements for indulging in acts of vandalism and destruction of public properties. This mass agitation was fully utilized by reactionary parties and vested interests to whip up chauvinist feelings on the language issue and seriously weaken and disrupt the forces of democratic unity.

Serious threats to democratic unity have come in this period not only from the language chauvinists, but also from the growing forces of casteism and communalism.

During the Kerala elections, both the official Congress as well as the Kerala Congress whipped up communal passions and communal hatred—particularly in the old Travancore—Cochin area—to such an extent as to affect even the mass base of the left parties.

In several states, rival Congress groups as well as right reactionary parties are more and more whipping up casteism and

communalism to serve their own ends. Even the leadership of certain left parties are falling victims to this.

All this has meant an increasing threat to the forces of class and democratic unity and weakening the rising forces of struggle of the working-class and the common peoples against the grip of feudalism and monopoly.

A serious new threat to India's parliamentary institutions and their operation and indeed to the very foundation of democracy has now arisen.

Instead of trying to solve the problems of the masses the government is taking increasing recourse to repressive measures, especially the notorious DIR, against the democratic movement. Authoritarian trends have grown in the recent months as never before. Emergency and the unbridled powers under it are used for purposes which have nothing to do with defense of the country. The democratic gains of the people are today in jeopardy.

In these conditions, only the reactionary forces who are out to undermine our independence and subvert parliamentary democracy can find encouragement and new opportunities for their machinations and evil designs.

All those who stand for strengthening of parliamentary democracy, for the rule of law, for the democratic rights of the citizens enshrined in the Constitution, must take a serious view of these developments.

The National Council of the Communist Party of India draws the urgent attention of all democrats to the above developments. which show conclusively that there have been significant departures from nationally accepted policies and marked weaknesses in their implementation.

The Seventh Congress of our Party meeting in Bombay at the end of 1964 had, after considerable discussion and a detailed examination of government policies, come to the following conclusions in its political resolution:

"The government has not made basic changes in the national policies. It carries forward both the positive, as well as the negative aspects of the policy in general."

At the same time, the resolution had correctly pointed out:

"But there has been a change in the internal structure for the worse. Under the mounting pressure of right reaction, both inside and outside the Congress, the government has made dangerous anti-popular concessions on issues of food and price policy, suppression of democratic rights, etc."

While pointing out that the democratic movement had, through mighty campaigns and struggles not only compelled the right to retreat on occasions but also forced the government to make concessions in favor of the people, the resolution warned:

"The situation may deteriorate further unless popular democratic forces are able to check and reverse it through determined struggles . . .

"In the new situation, the vigilance of the organized democratic movement and active intervention of the Communist Party and other progressive democratic forces have assumed new importance. The task of building up the unity of democratic forces for the defense of India's progressive policies and for a shift to the left can no longer be ignored, except at the peril of India's future."

Having examined the current developments since the Seventh Congress of our Party, the National Council is of the opinion that not only the reactionary policies pursued by the government have not been reversed, but some of them have, in fact, been further intensified. Although the basic positive policies have not been abandoned or reversed, certain very serious shifts have unfortunately taken place within the broad framework of these policies.

The vacillations in foreign policy have increased in recent months under the pressures of imperialism and the right reactionary forces, both inside and outside the government. In internal policies there has been a further yielding of concessions to foreign capital and the Indian monopolists.

The increasing attacks on the democratic rights and civil liberties for intimidating and weakening the mass movements are again another evidence of these anti-democratic shifts.

In the context of the increased imperialism and reactionary pressures on the government which relies more on conciliation with reaction than on the masses of the democratic movement, the danger of a general shift to the right is more real and more threatening than ever before.

The further deterioration in the situation, the increased menace of imperialist and reactionary pressures on government policies and the growing vacillations and weaknesses in these policies, as evidenced by the facts outlined above, must be seen in the background of the failure of the democratic forces to unite and to intervene actively through organized struggles in defense of the progressive policies and against the right reactionary offensive.

The warning given by the Seventh Congress regarding the urgent necessity for the unity of the democratic forces, for their vigilance, action and intervention, must be reiterated today with ever greater force. Today the danger of a shift to the right is more real and threatening than ever before.

The right reactionary forces have in this period consolidated and gone on the offensive in an organized and concerted manner, On the other hand, the democratic forces have remained divided and scattered, the striking power of some of them often frittered

away in actions which, instead of weakening the right, only strengthen it.

The National Council of the Communist Party of India appeals to all democratic parties, groups and individuals, who seek to halt the drift away from the country's basic progressive policies, to realize the gravity of the situation facing the country and sink their differences with a view to forging that national democratic unity which alone can carry the people forward towards national regeneration.

The pressures of imperialism and reactionaries within the country have further sharpened the social contradictions and enhanced the objective possibilities for isolating imperialism and reaction and developing the country's democratic movement on a broad basis. Given the correct approach and tactics, ever new sections of the people can be drawn into positions of struggle against imperialism and reaction, for defending the nationally accepted basic policies and for ensuring a shift to the left.

The recent months have seen increased mass actions in defense of their vital interests on the part of the working-class and other sections of the working people. In 1964 total man-days lost in working-class actions increased by 100 per cent as compared to 1963.

Big mass actions and struggles of the secondary school teachers, doctors, of state and central government employees, IAC pilots and other technical personnel and of bank employees for wage increases, for example, point to the possibilities before the democratic movement. This is further highlighted by the victories in the Ahmedabad and Calcutta civic polls.

What is necessary in the present situation is to mobilize the potentially far stronger forces of the masses into concrete mass actions in defense of the interests of the people of the country.

The Communist Party has placed before the people the urgent task of uniting the democratic forces to fight both the anti-popular policies of the Congress rulers and the right reactionary forces' efforts to subvert the basic policies and bring about a shift to the right. The Communist Party believes that the united national democratic forces can succeed not only in halting the right offensive but also in bringing about a shift to the left.

In carrying out this urgent task the democratic movement needs to be on guard against any unprincipled compromise in alliance with reactionary parties in the name of fighting the Congress rule. Such a course only offers opportunities for reaction to strengthen its position.

The National Council places before all democratic and socialist forces in the country the urgent task of building and consolidating their unity for the defeat of right reaction, reversing the anti-

popular policies of the government and for bringing about a shift to the left.

While once again drawing attention to the immediate platform of action put forward by the Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India and urging cooperation and joint campaigns on any or all items in this platform, the National Council invites all the left parties, all progressive forces and personalities, including democratic Congressmen to join together in campaigns and actions on the most urgent and immediate issues.

Struggle must be carried forward in defense of the living standards of the working class, for bonus and dearness allowance, led by the Sangram Samitis and the trade unions. Special attention must be given to the fight for the democratization of the public sector both as regards its management as well as the living and trade union rights of the working class. Such democratization has become an urgent necessity to fight back the growing attempts of monopoly cauital to infiltrate into the public sector in various forms and utilize it for its own aggrandisement.

Struggles must be organized on the most pressing problems facing the peasantry in each state: for effectively ensuring fair rents, security of tenure of the tenants, distribution of fallow lands to poor peasants and agricultural laborers, ensuring of fair prices to the agricultural producers and, on that basis, effective procurement.

The struggles against pro-monopoly economic policies call for united actions. The campaigns must be intensified for nationalization of banks, oil and coal and for state trading in food grains which have become a vital necessity particularly to combat the growing attacks of monopoly on these sectors of the economy. The fight against concessions to foreign private capital must be waged unitedly by all democratc, including Congressmen, who realize the danger of the country's independent development arising from these concessions.

Actions against the vacillations and weaknesses of the government of India, particularly on the urgent issues of U.S. aggression in Vietnam and in defense of the positive features of our foreign policy must be stepped up, jointly with other patriotic sections of our people and the peace bodies and mass organizations.

A united campaign on the language issue must be undertaken in each state for the introduction of the regional language to replace English as a medium of instruction and administration, and also for a democratic solution along the lines suggested in the CPI National Council resolution. Students and teachers, writers and artists, in particular, must be drawn into this campaign.

The struggle in defense of democracy, against the use of DIR, for the release of detenus, for the lifting of the emergency and

against the imposition of Presidential rule in Kerala must be organized jointly by all left parties and other democrats in cooperation with civil liberties and other organizations.

In each of these campaigns and struggles, the Communist Party will seek the cooperation of all democratic forces which are prepared to act together with the Party.

The National Council is fully aware that certain parties, groups and individuals, while willing to act on one issue, hold different views from that of the democratic movement on another.

However, a marked feature of this period has been the taking of a resolute stand against certain of government's pro-monopolist economic policies by a number of progressive Congressmen and even Congress committees. Certain congressmen have openly come out against the arbitrary imposition of President's rule in Kerala.

On the issue of foreign policy and particularly in regard to the opposition to U.S. aggression in Vietnam, a number of Congressmen have expressed themselves strongly and joined hands with other democratic sessions in demanding the withdrawal of U.S. forces from South Vietnam. But all these Congressmen may not be prepared to join the democratic movement on other issues.

The Communist Party will offer its cooperation on each issue to those sections of democratic opinion as are interested in that issue without demanding support on other issues, where it is not forthcoming.

V

Notwithstanding the maneuvers and pressures of imperialism and reaction, and the anti-democratic and anti-popular policies of the government, the last word, however, rests with the people.

The economic and political situation in the country today emphasizes the need for a vigorous unitd national mass action by all progressive and democratic forces. Only by developing such united mass actions and mass political activity in every city and throughout the country can the organized democratic movement effectively intervene in meeting the challenge of imperialism and domestic reaction.

Only thus is it possible to compel the government which is yielding to reactionary pressures to change its course and firmly stand by the nationally accepted positive policies and carry them forward. United political intervention on a national scale has become the supreme need of the hour for the defense of the vital interests of the working people.

The unleashing of such mass action in economic, political and other spheres of our public life will naturally have to be developed into a powerful nationwide movement in which all progressive and

democratic forces, through multiform activities, will play their rightful part.

With this perspective of mass actions and mass struggles in view, the National Council of the CPI appeals to all left parties, democratic mass organizations and progressive individuals to observe a special week beginning with May 10 for bringing about united mobilization:

—For demonstrating our national solidarity with the brave fighting people of South Vietnam in their struggle against U.S. imperialists and their puppet; for the withdrawal of the U.S. forces from Vietnam; against the U.S. arms aid to Pakistan and against imperialist machinations against India and other Afro-Asian countries;

—Against the arbitrary imposition of President's rule in Kerala in disregard of all principles of parliamentary democracy; against the use of DIR and other emergency powers for attacking and suppressing the country's democratic movement; for the release of all leaders and workers of the democratic opposition and the democratic movement who are now in detention without trial; for defense of civil liberties, democratic rights and the basic principles of parliamentary democracy and finally, for scrapping of the oppressive Defense of India Rules and emergency powers;

—For voicing the urgent economic and other demands of the workers, peasants and other sections of the people.

The National Council of the Communist Party of India solemnly declares that the Communist Party will do all in its power to make this week a success and thus open up a new phase of sustained democratic mass political activity and struggles throughout the country.

INDIA GOVERNMENT MUST ASK THE U.S.A. TO STOP ATTACKS ON VIETNAM*

The National Council of the Communist Party of India declares its complete solidarity with the heroic freedom struggle being waged today by the South Vietnamese people under the leadership of their Liberation Front, against the barbarous aggression of the U.S. imperialists.

In total violation of the Geneva agreements, repudiating all canons of international law and resorting to the most savage forms of warfare—the U.S. imperialists have sought desperately to crush

*New Age, April 18, 1965.

the liberation struggle of the people of South Vietnam.

But all their concentration camps and torture chambers, all their arson and murder campaigns, all their inhuman gas, napalm and phosphorous bombs have failed to crush the indomitable spirit of the people of South Vietnam.

Even the newspapers of the imperialists themselves admit that 75 to 80 percent of the territory of South Vietnam is controlled by the liberation movement.

Facing a complete debacle and rout in their diabolical efforts to crush the people of South Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists began a series of bombing attacks on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (North Vietnam) on February 7. These attacks which have not ceased since that date, constitute open and unashamed aggression against a sovereign country.

The number of U.S. military forces in South Vietnam has been rapidly increased during this period and is now openly admitted to be more than 30,000. U.S. officials have boasted that these U.S. troops may now even be used for ground fighting.

U.S. airmen are carrying out daily bombing attacks both on the positions occupied by the South Vietnamese Liberation Front and on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

The Communist Party of India vehemently condemns this deliberate aggression and its wanton escalation. By these acts, the U.S. imperialists have won for themselves the hatred and hostility of hundreds of millions all over the world, including large numbers of sane and peace-loving people in the U.S.A itself.

The U.S. imperialists, facing worldwide demands for a halt to their aggression and for the immediate withdrawal of all their forces from South Vietnam, are now attempting to maneuver with a view to deceive the millions who yearn for peace.

The much-trumpeted offer by President Johnson of "unconditional negotiations" must be seen in this light as an attempt to cool down the flames of anger against them, which are sweeping the world. But they have utterly failed in this effort.

Progressive mankind sees clearly that the U.S. imperialists have turned down the demand of all peace-loving people for a halt to their aggression.

On the contrary, the U.S. imperialists have intensified their bombing attacks, and fresh reinforcements for U.S. troops are pouring into South Vietnam.

Further, the U.S. imperialists refuse to allow any talks with the South Vietnam Liberation Front, which alone has the right to represent the fighting South Vietnamese people.

The Communist Party of India is amazed at the manner in which the Government of India has attempted to interpret President Johnson's appeal as a change for the better in U.S. policy.

The Indian people see no such change: on the contrary, the escalation of the bombings and the increase in the U.S. refusal to agree that the South Vietnam Liberation Front must be a participant in any talks for a lasting solution in Vietnam shows clearly that, whatever the words, U.S. imperialism is not only determined to continue its aggression, but also to increase its violence with every day.

This attitude of the Government of India is not accidental. Despite the repeated appeals of the democratic movement, the government has refused to condemn the U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

Even in regard to the horrible crime of gas warfare, the government's attitude was hesitant and wavering: the formal condemnation of gas warfare was considerably delayed and the manner in which it was made in Parliament appeared apologetic and vacillating.

What has been even worse and has blackened India's image still further has been the reported attitude of India's representative in the ambassadorial negotiations held at Belgrade last month for the drafting of a non-aligned governments' appeal for peace in Vietnam.

The Indian representative opposed any mention in the appeal of U.S. responsibility for the aggression in Vietnam despite the openly expressed view of the majority of the International Control Commission of which India is a chairman and despite the fact that India was party to this majority view. The Indian representatve at Belgrade went further to demand that "both sdes" be equally blamed.

The Communist Party of India demands that this weak and vacillating attitude of the Government of India which has done great damage to India's reputation in the world, be abandoned.

The government must reflect the strong feelings of the democratic masses on this urgent matter and demand on this urgent matter and demand an immediate halt to U.S. aggression and the withdrawal of all U.S. forces from South Vietnam.

The Communist Party calls on all Indians who desire peace in Asia and the world, all who stand against imperialism and for the national independence of peoples, to join hands in a ceaseless campaign for a halt to the U.S. aggression in Vietnam, demanding that all U.S. forces quit South Vietnam now.

Once the aggression is halted and the aggressors removed from South Vietnam, a Geneva-type conference should be called to ensure a lasting peace on the basis of full guarantees to the people of South Vietnam to decide their own future without imperialist intervention.

WITHDRAW PRESIDENT'S RULE IN KERALA*

The National Council of the Communist Party of India condemns

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*New Age, April 18, 1965.

the unconstitutional imposition of President's Rule on Kerala without allowing the newly-elected Assembly to function, by enabling the Party that secured the largest number of seats of any other party combination to explore the possibilities of forming a government.

Unable to form the government, the Congress Party not only prevented the Communists (Marxists) from forming the government but refused to release even those of them who were elected to the Assembly; nor did it allow any other party to form a government either. All this is actuated by purely partisan reasons and is a violation of all canons of parliamentary democracy of the Constitution itself.

All who cherish democratic rights and parliamentary democracy must take up this challenge and come together to rouse public opinion and people to action, and force the government to withdraw President's Rule and allow the democratic process to operate in order that an attempt can be made to form a government in Kerala and the elected Assembly allowed to function.

CAMPAIGN IN DEFENSE OF DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS*

The National Council of the Communist Party of India condemns the continued and increased resort to DIR and arrest of leaders of working-class and other democratic struggles as recently in Tripura, Madhya, Pradesh, Maharashtra and Assam and other states.

It condemns the continued detention of the leaders and cadres of the Communist Party (Marxist) who were arrested on December 30, 1964 and thereafter.

That all these arrests were necessitated by the needs of defense and security of the country is refuted by public opinion.

On the other hand, the detention of the rival Communists in Kerala was used by the ruling party to pursue its partisan interests in the recent Kerala Assembly elections.

The National Council of the Communist Party of India demands the immediate unconditional release of all these detenus. It demands the withdrawal of emergency and cancellation of DIR which have been a violation of the Constitution, by the highest judicial opinion in the country.

It also demands the withdrawal of the President's Rule in Kerala so that a chance is given to the democratic process to operate.

A campaign for these demands is a campaign for democratic liberties and for the defense of parliamentary democracy which must be organized jointly by all left parties and other democrats in cooperation with the proposed Civil Liberties Union and other organizations.

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*New Age, April 18, 1965.

The National Council resolves to initiate such a campaign in cooperation with all left and democratic forces which are prepared to act together with our Party.

POSITIVE CONTRIBUTION TO COMMUNIST UNITY*

NATIONAL COUNCIL WELCOMES MOSCOW MEET DECISIONS, OUTLINES TASKS FOR CPI

The National Council of the Communist Party of India in its meeting on April 5 adopted the following resolution on the consultative meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow.

The National Council of the Communist Party of India, having heard the report of the delegation of our Party, which participated in the consultative meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties held in Moscow from March 1 to 5, welcomes the two documents unanimously adopted by the meeting, viz., the Communique and the Statement on the Vietnam events, and approves of the work of its delegation.

The Party Congress in Bombay had successfully concluded the discussion that was organized throughout the Party on the ideological differences in the world Communist movement and on the ways of restoring unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and had laid down the Party's stand on both these issues in its resolution.

This resolution served as a guide for the work of our delegation at the consultative meeting.

The National Council is of the opinion that the holding and successful conclusion of this consultative meeting was an important and positive contribution to the task of achieving cohesion and unity in the world Communist movement though it faced certain difficulties due to opposition of the leadership of the Communist Party of China.

Of the utmost importance is the unanimous conclusion of the meeting that, despite "the differences relating to the political line and many important problems of theory and tactics" which exist in the world Communist movement, it is "quite possible and necessary to strive for unity of actions in the struggle against imperialism, in the cause of giving all manner of support for the liberation

*New Age, April 11, 1965.

movement of the peoples, in the struggle for world peace and peaceful coexistence of the states with different social systems. . . ."

The National Council warmly welcomes the call for international solidarity actions against mounting brutal aggression of U.S. imperialists in South and North Vietnam, and in support of the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people for the consolidation of their sovereignty and independence and the reunification of the country without foreign interference.

The National Council welcomes the fact that the consultative meeting has reiterated the objective of holding an international conference of all Communist and Workers' Parties and has put forward a three-point program of preparing for such a conference, both from the point of view of content and form, the organizational point of view, and for creating the favorable conditions for the participation of all parties in such a preparation.

The National Council fully endorses this three-point proposal for preparing for the international conference of Communist and Workers' parties.

—To stop open polemics which are in character unfriendly and degrading to fraternal Parties, while continuing discussion and exchange of views on important contemporary questions in friendly terms, without mutual attacks;

—Strict observance of the norms of relationship between parties as defined by the 1957 and 1960 meetings and no interference of any party in the internal affairs of another party;

—Bilateral and multilateral meetings of representatives of the fraternal parties, and other forms of party contacts for exchange of opinions on the common tasks of the world Communist movement and finally calling a preliminary consultative meeting of the representatives of 81 parties which took part in the meeting of 1960 to discuss the question of a new international meeting

But the leadership of the Communist Party of China has rejected the proposal of the conference to stop open polemics which are in character unfriendly and degrading and observe the norms of relationship between parties as defined by the 1960 meetings.

It is the opinion of the National Council of the Communist Party of India that the Communist and Workers' Parties must persist in their efforts to achieve unity of the world Communist movement by firmly implementing the principled stand and measures outlined by the Moscow consultative meeting.

It is only by persisting in developing joint initiatives for common action against imperalist aggression, for the support of national-liberation movements and for world peace, and by developing contacts, cooperation for exchange of opinion on common tasks between Communist and Workers' Parties that the cause of

world Communist unity will advance and succeed in overcoming splitting and disruptive tendencies.

The Moscow consultative meeting, which was held in the spirit of a strict observance of the democratic principles of independence and equality of all fraternal parties has rendered a service by charting out a positive and constructive path for achieving world Communist unity.

The Communist Party of India, in order to make its contribution to this common objective, will undertake the following tasks:

Educate the entire rank and file of the Party on the common tasks and problems of the world Communist movement and of its unity as laid down in our Congress resolution on "Ideological Controversies and the Unity of the International Communist movement."

Activize the Party ranks in the struggle to rally the masses for international solidarity actions, against imperialist aggression, for support to natonal liberation struggle in Asia, Africa and Latin America and for world peace.

To take initiative in holding bilateral and multilateral talks with brother parties for exchange of opinions and working out common tasks in the struggle for national liberation, democracy and world peace.

A NEW MASSACRE IN SULAIMANIYAH BY THE ARIF-YEHIYA CLIQUE

STATEMENT OF THE IRAQI COMMUNIST PARTY

The military clique ruling Iraq persists in ignoring the will of the Iraqi people and Arab and world public opinion. It has been intensifying hysterical propaganda against the Kurdish patriots and carrying on direct preparations for a renewal of the civil war. It has staged provocations against the peaceful Kurdish people and bloody clashes with them.

On the night of April 3, the clique ordered a barbaric massacre in Sulaimaniyah, without even taking the trouble to think up a "justification" for this crime, while official propaganda concealed the truth about it.

On the eve, some check-points on the outskirts of the city fired a few shots which were followed by a flood of fire in the main streets released by army and police units from the military center and police stations. The tanks, armored cars and troops surrounded the city and moved into its main streets and squares. The shooting lasted several hours, in the course of which the authorities raided the homes of more than 60 residents of Sershkam district. This operation, conducted without any pretext, was to demonstrate strength and intimidate the citizens.

Next morning tanks surrounded Khebat and Sershkam districts. House-combing was conducted in a violent way reminiscent of the rampages of the "National Guards." Many citizens were arrested.

At five o'clock the "blockade" of these two districts was lifted and the troops moved towards the center of the city where people usually spend their leisure in cafés, restaurants and shopping centers. Upon reaching the center the troops opened violent fire on unarmed passers-by, shoppers and people in cafés. The commander of the 19th Battalion admitted at a meeting of soldiers and policemen in the evening that the government troops had fired in the city 15,000 shots on that day and 10,000 shots the day before. This time it was not only a show of strength; more than 15 citizens, and Arab government employees among them, were killed and dozens wounded. The government forces failed to find on those killed or wounded any weapons that could be used as a formal pretext for opening fire on them.

When the shooting ceased the citizens were ordered to walk

home hands up, as prisoners-of-war. Many of them, fearing that they would not reach home safely, sought shelter in the houses of their acquaintances nearby.

During the shooting women—wives, sisters and mothers—rushed out into the streets in search of their relatives.

The owners of many cafés ran together with the others, leaving behind everything. The corpses were removed only on the next day.

After this new slaughter hundreds of families fled the city fearing persecutions and death. Among them were Egyptian teachers lecturing in the city. Throughout April 4 the streets remained deserted and the shops closed both out of fear and in protest.

In connection with this bloody drama the military commander of the region, General Fadhil Mohammed Ali, and the Governor of the Liwa Province, Mahammed Rashad el Ganabi, issued an official statement addressed to the residents of the city. In this statement, dated April 4, they declared the determination of the authorities "to safeguard order, security and the Constitution" and warned that the houses and even whole villages giving shelter to outlawed persons would be immediately and mercilessly razed to the ground.

On April 4 the commander of the armed forces of the region admitted at a meeting of soldiers and policemen that "those killed were unarmed and innocent people," that "there was an Arab official among them," that the army and police forces had suffered not a single casualty, and that "robbery and plunder" were one of the aims of the massacre. He was also compelled to admit that this crime against peaceful civilians was a violation of all moral and religious norms and, finally, that the shooting had actually begun against Kurdish patriots on the outskirts of the city.

Other sources reported that the military dictatorial clique had declared the region of Kurdistan "an area of military operations" already on April 5, that the army was conducting actual operations and that raids had been carried out in various districts. Abdul Rahman Arif was put in charge of the military operations in the north. According to the latest reports from Sulaimaniyah, yesterday the authorities organized a new massacre in that city.

Fellow-countrymen of different nationalities and political convictions!

Opponents of imperialism and tyranny throughout the Arab world!

Fighters for justice and truth the world over!

Raise high your voice of protest against this criminal carnage and resist the dictators, who are out to drown the country in a sea of blood and reduce the Kurdish towns and villages to ruins! Demand punishment of those responsible for the murder of innocent residents of Sulaimaniyah and Kurdistan!

The responsibility for the new crime in Sulaimaniyah rests with the Arif-Yehya clique, this chauvinist reactionary clique which

participated in the unjust war against the Kurdish people launched during the fascist Baath rule and continued throughout three months following the November 1964 coup. Today this clique, despite the lessons of history, is restarting this war.

Long live Arab-Kurdish brotherhood!

Long live the struggle of the Kurds for their legitimate national rights!

Glory to the immortal martyrs!

Long live a peaceful settlement of the Kurdish problem!

Iraqi Communist Party,
April 11,1965

FOR A PEACE-LOVING AND DEMOCRATIC FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY*

CPG PROGRAM FOR THE BUNDESTAG ELECTION OF SEPTEMBER 19, 1965

The CDU-CSU has been ruling in Bonn for fifteen years now. Throughout this time, the program of the Adenauer and Erhard governments has been dominated by the "positions of strength" policy. Pursuing this policy, they split Germany, made the FRG a member of NATO, the Western powers' military alliance, and re-armed West Germany. Their purpose in so doing was to gain a dominant position in Western Europe, bring the GDR "back" to the fold of the "Reich" and continue the old course—toward the frontiers of 1937, a pan-German Reich, and a "new order" in Europe. But they want to go even further. They want Bonn's sphere of influence to include the newly-established national states of the Middle East, Africa and Asia, which should be made easier, or so they think, by what they call development aid.

This political program was unrealistic from the outset. It was based on conceptions now fully shattered by actual developments, by changes both in Germany and in the rest of the world. The "positions of strength" policy, the arrogance of the ruling circles and their persistence in old plans for domination made nations in East and West distrustful of the FRG and led to an increasing isolation of our country. The failure of this policy became evident when Adenauer had to resign. But Erhard began to carry on the same policy, with the result that it finds itself in crisis.

Did the West German population want that policy? The electorate was never asked whether it was for or against the establishment of a West German state and, hence, for or against a split Germany, for or against armament and NATO membership, for or against nuclear armament and emergency legislation. Our Constitution states that the entire power belongs to the people. Nevertheless, the government has invariably confronted the people with a fait accompli.

Flick and Abs, Adenauer and Erhard, Strauss and Mende are all obsessed with the idea of reversing the course of history and of continuing it from where, twenty years ago, Hitler and his warlords were forced to stop. Unable, as usual, to make a proper evaluation of their strength and the strength of others, they are

*Abridged from **Neues Deutschland**, April 2, 1965.

banking on a weakening of the socialist world and on the divergences in the socialist community. They hope to succeed in isolating the GDR and in bringing it to its knees. But the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are gaining in strength, and their influence on history is growing. The GDR's peace policy and efforts to safeguard international security are supported by all the socialist countries. The treaties between the GDR and the Soviet Union, the decisions of the Warsaw Treaty countries, and statements by the Chinese People's Republic leave no room for doubt on this score. The prestige of the GDR, respect for it as a German state which pursues a policy of peace and has done away with a disastrous past, is growing as the Bonn regime forfeits the so strenuously restored credit of the German nation.

Uncompromised by the possession of colonies, the FRG had ample opportunities of establishing good relations with young national states. But Bonn did not realize that the peoples of Asia and Africa refused to put up any longer with colonialist methods, whether old or new. Bonn's attempt to reinforce Israel, that imperialist outpost in the Middle East, through secret arms deliveries and thus to exert pressure on the Arab states has failed completely. The defeat of the Hallstein doctrine* is obvious.

The peoples of the NATO countries have not forgotten the lessons of the Hitler war. They are perturbed and outraged by the rise of neo-Nazism in West Germany. They see the Federal government as an obstacle to international detente. They refuse to "burn their fingers" on Bonn's reckless adventures.

Anyone who sees the facts as they are is bound to come to the following conclusion:

The "positions of strength" policy, a policy of threats and military blackmail, holds no prospects for us. The political program of the CDU-CSU is doomed to failure. None of its aims can be attained—neither supremacy in Western Europe, the annexation of the GDR, the "rolling back" of the socialist world, nor the neocolonialist subjection of the newly-free national states.

The longer this policy is pursued, the more reckless it becomes. Its implementation threatens to become suicide. The issue of replacing this policy by a new one is now becoming one of "to be or not to be."

Erhard and the forces backing him resist necessary changes with might and main. Instead of drawing lessons from their setbacks, they persist in a rigid home and foreign policy "from positions of strength," demanding nuclear weapons and insisting on emergency legislation.

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*The Hallstein doctrine expresses Bonn's claim to the role of spokesman for the whole of Germany, and provides for the revision of relations with any country, giving de facto recognition to the GDR.—**Ed.**

The announcement of the plan for atom mine belts showed how very dangerous that policy is. It is a policy that will spell our ruin unless we end it. That policy is a component of the plan for turning the cold war into a fratricidal one, for seizing the GDR by force, without declaring war. As for the Soviet Union and the other allies of the GDR, they are to be blackmailed by threatening to escalate a "small war" to a worldwide nuclear conflagration.

Erhard and Mende, Hassel and Trettner call that an "undercover war." But such a war would mean nuclear suicide for the FRG. If the FRG were the one to attack, it would be reduced to ashes in a few hours. We must all join forces to prevent such an outcome.

Resistance to atomic armament should be the first commandment of German policy. The territory of the FRG should never become the breeding ground of a new war. A fratricidal war between Germans should never break out.

What the government parties have for fifteen years made out to be a "reunification" policy is a fraud. The arming of the FRG and its entry into NATO were bound to make, and did make, reunification less and less feasible. By signing the Paris agreements, the Federal government sold out to the Western powers our right to self-determination, and granted foreign troops the right to occupy the country till the year 2000 or later. The atomic "forward" strategy threatens to destroy our last chance. Germany cannot be reunified by means of atomic arms but can only be destroyed.

Reunification cannot be initiated unless the FRG revises its present ruinous policy of territorial encroachments, in favor of a new policy aimed at easing world tensions, disarmament and negotiations with the GDR.

The threat to freedom does not come from without but from within, from the top—the millionaires and their ministers and warlords. In the past they handed power to Hitler in an effort to retain their rule and their profits. Today they are implanting neo-Nazism in West Germany for the same reason. To achieve their aim, they need past masters of terrorism and persecution at the head of their business corporations and ministries, their justice and press. They want to discontinue the prosecution of Nazi war criminals by applying the statute of limitations, and to make us live in one society with murderers.

The meaning and purpose of emergency laws is to establish a regime of arbitrary rule and violence over the people, to stifle all opposition, to put the Federal Republic under martial law in peace time. In this manner the "powers that be" in our country want to remove the Constitution, to abolish the right of the trade unions to association and to strike, the powers of the Bundestag, freedom of the press, and all legal order in the state.

The people of the FRG must have greater freedom to safeguard

their vital interests. This is why we Communists are fighting shoulder to shoulder with all democrats against emergency laws and militarist rule, for adherence to the Constitution and for more extensive democratic rights.

Economic stability and social justice cannot exist where big business and its agents—proponents of the policy of atomic strategy—rule the roost. In West Germany, 99.7 percent of the population own less property than the other 0.3 percent, who appropriate the wealth created by the people. This wealth is stowed away in the vaults of the big banks, spent on armaments or a life of luxury for the few. Big business makes fabulous profits, which it boosts through rationalization and automation. As for the people, they are expected to moderate their requirements and make sacrifices.

Despite a high level of business activity and the growing proportion of employment, the working people's share in the social product has in late years been dwindling, while that of big business has been growing. New price increases threaten to outpace wages. The purchasing capacity of the mark is declining.

The Adenauer and Erhard governments have introduced a taxation system which affects millionaires less and the working people more than in any other industrial country. The state has enormous means at its disposal. Its arms expenditure knows no bounds. But as regards medical care and industrial safety, old age pensions, sick benefits, education and culture, the FRG is sinking more and more to the level of an underdeveloped country. This cannot go on. The finance and tax policy must no longer serve to augment the big capitalists' rule and their profits. Policy should be shaped in the interest of the people.

Whom to elect?

At meetings, in interviews and in the press, every candidate and every party should be asked the following three questions:

Do you advocate safeguarding peace by preventing the atomic armament of the Federal Republic in any form?

Do you advocate the necessity for the FRG taking the initiative on disarmament and on the use of the means to be saved in this way in the economic, social and cultural interests of the working people?

Do you uphold the Constitution? Are you for the extension of parliamentary democracy and, hence, against all emergency laws?

THE POLICY OF "COMMUNITY" AFFORDS NO ALTERNATIVE

We Communists assess a policy from the standpoint of the common interests of the workers, of all working men and women, of our people as a whole. We also assess it in terms of the interests we have in common with the members and supporters of the SDP.

Social Democrats and Communists work in identical conditions in industry. We are members of one trade union. In the sphere of social issues, we are facing the same associations of manufacturers, and in the political sphere, the same parties of the Bonn coalition. We have common goals—to defeat the CDU-CSU and their policies, restrict the power of the millionaires and militarists, make them take greater account of the interests of the working people, and provide conditions for subsequent peaceful construction under a free and just social system.

Unfortunately, the Social Democratic leaders of the Wehner-Erler group have not lived up to the expectations of many members and functionaries, of many supporters and voters. In following their policy of "community" with the CDU-CSU, they refuse to oppose an independent point of view to the bankrupt policy of the government. They are vying with the CDU-CSU in fomenting nationalism and anti-communism, thereby backing a policy directed against the relaxation of international tension. On the cardinal issues of foreign, military and home policy, they are going back more and more on the demands of their own party.

Brandt, the SDP candidate for Chancellor, promises a peace policy. But how is this promise to be reconciled with his own insistence on FRG participation in a NATO mutilateral nuclear force or with the relevant decision of his party's Karlsruhe congress? After all, such partipication would not prevent the atomic armament of the Bundeswehr. On the contrary, it would be a further step toward the acquisition of an unlimited right to possess atomic weapons.

The SDP electoral program promises that the party will vigorously tackle tasks of "social significance" in the fields of social security and medical care, schools and public education, transport and territorial planning. These are urgent tasks. But how are the vast sums needed for their accomplishment to be released since the SDP leaders want to continue spending at least as much on armaments as the Erhard government? How are the ideas of humanism and friendship among the peoples to become uppermost in the world outlook of our youth and our people as a whole if the spirit of militarism and a new crusade against the East is not abandoned?

Despite the stand taken by the trade unions and most of the SDP members and supporters, the Bundestag group of that party is ready, under pressure from Wehner and Erler, to agree to emergency legislation and to its early enactment. It claims that it wants to prevent something worse and to prevent the abuse of executive authority. But the emergency legislation would invest the government and the generals with dictatorial powers against the people, the trade union, the Bundestag and Land governments. This attack on the Constitution by the SDP leaders is a stab in the back of the

trade unions fighting for democracy in the FRG, for social rights and the people's participation in management.

In view of the foregoing, we state:

The SDP policy is out of keeping with the responsibility resting on that party. The line followed by its leaders today, the policy of "community," affords no alternative to the policy of the CDU-CSU. Their position, their policy and their actions have unfortunately not justified the hope of many SDP supporters that they would pursue a better policy.

A NEW POLICY REQUIRES SELF-DETERMINATION

The Federal Republic of Germany needs a legal Communist Party. The CPG differs from the parties now represented in the Bundestag in that its deeds are not at variance with its words. Anyone who pursues an atomic policy is going against the interests of the people and is therefore bound to mislead the electorate with false promises. We Communists want the people to know the truth. We can achieve our aims only in common with the majority of the working class and the people as a whole. If we, the workers, peasants, intellectuals, handicraftsmen and tradesmen decide to take the matter into our own hands, the strength of the people and the weakness of the policy of atomic war will become obvious.

We Communists believe in the strength of the working class. The entire history of the working class shows that this class receives no gifts from the ruling classes and can gain little so long as it is divided. But it becomes a mighty force and can achieve everything for itself and for the whole people when it is thinking of the interest of all and acting by the joint effort of its major organizations, the trade unions. This is why we Communists call on our SDP comrades to fight for their own demands, for the implementation of trade union resolutions against atomic armament and emergency legislation, for an active policy on wages and for co-management. We call on them to ensure that those resolutions also become a guideline for SDP policy. We say to them: Let us clasp hands and establish working-class unity of action! This is the key to changing the situation in our favor and to creating democratic conditions in the FRG.

We, the workers, peasants and intellectuals, constitute the overwhelming majority of the people. When asked about our attitude to the people's right to self-determination, we Communists answer: It is not for the minority but for the overwhelming majority of the people to make policy.

To establish a broad front of resistance to atomic armament and emergency laws means respecting the people's right to self-determination in solving problems of vital importance.

This is the main task at present, or the government will confront public opinion with a fait acompli even before the election. It is of decisive importance for the development of the FRG after the election. As a result, we will ensure that any future government finds itself, more than ever before, under the pressure of the workers and their unions, of the peasants and intellectuals, of the people's will. As a result the ground will be cleared for the formation of a government excluding those who pursue the policy of revenge and and a state of emergency, a government of Social Democrats, trade union functionaries and bourgeois peace supporters, which will reject the policy of the "last risk" and will be ready to take steps toward mutual understanding, a serious approach to the issue of relations wtih the GDR and of peaceful coexistence, will respect and uphold the constitutional rights of the people.

TOGETHER WITH THE CPG, FOR A POLICY OF NATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY

Our population does not need any *Lebensraum* in the East or elsewhere in the world to achieve well-being and gain prestige. Our future cannot be assured through the arms race and the claims to foreign territory. The prestige and importance of our country depend on its contribution to peace, on the achievements of our workers, peasants, technicians, scientists and artists.

The CPG is striving for democracy and freedom for the people. Freedom of the individual begins with the workers winning respect for themselves as individuals in industry, with the winning of the right to labor, to equal opportunities and social security.

In the interest of the democratic rights of the majority of the people, the trade unions as organizations of industrial and office workers representing the interests of 75 percent of the population should be fully entitled to participate in the decision on all questions in every establishment and in the economy as a whole, in the administrative apparatus and in the whole of society.

The Bundestag can fulfil its constitutional role provided monopoly power is restricted by co-management on the part of the working people and their trade unions.

Freedom of opinion and of the press, freedom of research and instruction, of science and art, implies freeing spiritual and cultural life from the pressure of psychological war hysteria and from the misrule of big business.

Granting freedom to the CPG would provide a powerful counterbalance to the arbitrary rule of the millionaires and militarists. The CPG recognizes all rights and obligations arising from the Constitution. A legal CPG would strengthen democracy and contribute to the pursuit of an independent policy by the Social Democratic

movement. It would bring a breath of fresh air into the stifling atmosphere of political and spiritual life.

The CPG is striving for social security and justice. These aims cannot be attained unless the workers and other working people fight together against the rule of injustice, the omnipotence of a handful of multi-millionaires and the reactionary policy of Bonn. Social security and justice imply:

—full implementation of the program of the Association of German Trade Unions;

—an active policy on wages, and a bigger share of wages in the social product at the expense of superprofits;

—trade union participation in the decision of all questions in industry and the economy as a whole, in the political and government sphere, with a view to preventing corruption and the arms race.

The CPG is striving for a sound peace economy. The arbitrary policy on prices, the stoppage of factory shops, lack of respect for the working man and destruction of his labor power, and the squandering of the national wealth on preparations for war and destruction show that the concentration of economic might in the hands of a small group of multi-milionaires is a social and political evil. The CPG bases its national policy on the fact that there exist two German states: the capitalist Federal Republic of Germany and the socialist German Democratic Republic. Their governments should recognize this and negotiate with each other.

Who in the Federal Republic can usher in this policy of common sense and goodwill? The working class—provided it approaches the solution of the German problem with due regard to its own peaceful, democratic and social interests. As far as the workers and their unions are concerned, to follow a national policy means:

—greatly increasing resistance to the atomic armament of the FRG in any form and to the policy of strength and revenge;

—providing conditions for the reunification of Germany by establishing mutual understanding between the working-class organizations of the two German states;

—establishing a broad militant front in collaboration with every segment of the population, and removing the opponents of mutual understanding between Germans from the levers of government.

That is what the people's initiative should be in deciding the German question, an initiative needed today. It would eliminate the danger of a fratricidal war and create an atmosphere of detente between the two German states.

The government parties say: "We are all in the same boat." The SDP leaders, for their part, recommend to the people the policy of "community." Community with whom and to what end? In order to follow Flick and Erhard, Hassel and Trettner over the precipice?

Had not the people better unite and, using the combined strength of the workers, peasants, intellectuals, the realistic-minded members of the bourgeoisie, and the younger generation, remove Flick and Erhard, Hassel and Trettner from their key posts in the economy, the government and the armed forces and replace them and their policy by sensible people and a sensible policy?

We Communists want *this* kind of community. Only this community can defeat the past and bring a better reality and a secure future. This community is a force capable of ensuring that a new policy is embarked on in Bonn, that the FRG becomes a socially just and democratic state, that the unification of Germany takes place in a peaceful and free atmosphere.

DOCUMENTS* OF THE CC, PORTUGUESE COMMUNIST PARTY

DRAFT PROGRAM OF THE PARTY. COMMUNIQUE OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

1. The objective of the Program of the Portuguese Communist Party is scientifically to define the tasks of the Party at the present historical stage on the basis of the docrine of Marx, Engels and Lenin. By drafting the Program and submitting it to the whole Party for appraisal and discussion, the Central Committee is carrying out its task, which is to offer the Party a Program.

The draft Program is based on an analysis of the present economic, social and political situation in Portugal. It defines the fascist government as a government of the monopolies linked with foreign imperialism and of the latifundists, and shows that the policy of the fascist government is directed against the interests of the proletariat (industrial and agricultural workers), the peasantry (small and middle cultivators), the urban petty bourgeoisie, certain sections of the middle bourgeoisie, and the intellectuals. It stresses that the people in the Portuguese colonies are exploited and dominated by the Portuguese colonialists and that the Portuguese people are exploited and dominated by the foreign imperialists. It describes the national struggle against the fascist dictatorship as an anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist struggle. And it defines the present stage of the revolution as democratic and national.

2. The democratic tasks of the revolution are to end fascist tyranny, establish political freedom, abolish the power of the monopolies and latifundists, and effect a series of deep-going reforms that will benefit the overwhelming majority of the Portuguese population.

The national taks of the revolution are to end the imperialist domination of Portugal and Portugal's colonial domination of other peoples, promote the growth of the national wealth, and guarantee the sovereignty, territorial integrity and genuine independence of the country.

The draft Program lists eight fundamental objectives of the democratic and national revolution.

—to abolish the fascist state and to establish a democratic system;

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*Hoante, Feb. 1965.

—to eliminate monopoly power and to promote the general economic development of the country;

—to carry out an agrarian reform giving the land to those who till it;

—to improve the living standard of the working classes and the people as a whole;

—to democratize education and culture;

—to free Portugal from imperialism;

—to recognize and safeguard the right of the people in the Portuguese colonies to immediate independence;

—to pursue a policy of peace and friendship with all the peoples.

The draft carries further, specifies and systematizes the reforms to be sought and the measures needed to achieve the above objectives. It stresses that the democratic and national revolution has to attain all these objectives, and maintains that their attainment depends in decisive measure on the unity and struggle of the working class and the masses generally.

3. The draft Program justifies the need to unite the non-monopolistic classes and strata in a vast anti-fascist front to be based above all on the unity of the working class (particularly the industrial and rural proletariat) and on the alliance of the working class and the peasantry. It also stresses the importance of the urban petty bourgeoisie and, outside the social forces of Portugal, of the alliance with the people of the Portuguese colonies. Saying that one of the cardinal tasks of the proletarian party is to unite the anti-fascist, democratic and patriotic forces, the draft underlines that only the proletariat, led by the Communist Pary, can promote the unity of all the anti-monopoly classes and strata, organizing them and inspiring them with revolutionary enthusiasm, lead them to victory over the dictatorship, and fight — consistently and to the finish — for all the fundamental objectives of the democratic and national revolution.

The draft Program says that as matters stand in Portugal today, the prospect of overthrowing the fascist dictatorship lies in a national rising, an armed popular insurrection. It specifies the main conditions in which this can take place and indicates the fundamental tasks of the Party in leading the working class and the masses to victory. The draft insists that only the struggle of the masses can lead to a victorious popular insurrection. It emphasizes the role of the masses, of organization and the use of different forms of struggle, and gives an estimation of their relative importance.

4. The draft Program points out that the first and most important step of the democratic and national revolution when it has overthrown the fascist dictatorship will be to put power in the hands of a Provisional Government whose chief task should be to

establish democratic liberties and hold free elections to a Constituent Assembly. It speaks of the necessity and conditions for the Communist Party going into the Provincial Government, and outlines the immediate and urgent measures that the Government will have to take in order to consolidate the victory and be able to hold free elections.

5. The draft Program stresses that the revolutionary process is not limited to the democratic and national revolution and that the Portuguese Communist Party, vanguard of the proletariat, a Marxist-Leninist party, sees the fight for the democratic and national revolution as a component of the fight for socialism. It gives the main general characteristics of the proletarian revolution and of the construction of a socialist society, and shows that in order to go over from capitalism to socialism, it is indispensable to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, which may take the most varied and distinctive forms.

Concerning the issues of the socialist revolution in Portugal, the draft affirms that when the fascist dictatorship has been overthrown, accomplishment of the democratic and national revolution will provide favorable conditions for the proletariat winning power without a fresh insurrection, and says that the path to take will in the end be determined by the actual conditions.

6. The draft Program describes the main features of communist society, the experience and example of the October Revolution, the U.S.S.R. and the socialist community as a whole. Thereupon it sums up the organizational principles of the PCP, speaks of the Party's role and fight, and stresses that the Party is a contingent of the world Communist movement in which all the parties are independent, equal and sovereign. It calls on the working class and other working people, the intellectuals and the youth to make the Party Program their own program and to fight for its realization.

7. The Central Committee is submitting the draft Program to the whole Party for discussion.

The draft outlines the revolutionary perspective of the day-by-day struggles of the Party and the working classes and its discussion should be linked with the discussion of the immediate tasks of the Party. Its discussion will contribute to the ideological and political unity of the whole Party, to the unity of action of all the Party organizations and members in properly implementing the political and tactical line of the Party.

Based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, the draft Program is a valuable weapon in the fight against all deviations. Its discussion by the entire Party will contribute in important measure, not only toward fighting against and defeating every manifestation of Right-wing opportunism, but also toward fighting against and defeating the sectarian, Leftist and anarchist tendencies of petty

bourgeois radicalism, which at present constitute the main danger.

When it has been discussed and approved, the draft Program of the PCP will become a basic document of decisive importance for the entire activity of the Party and for the struggle of the working class, the masses, the people generally. It will become a guide in the fight to overthrow fascism and to accomplish the democratic and national revolution.

The working class and other working people, led and inspired by the Program of the PCP, will fight under the banner of the Party and advance to freedom, democracy, national independence, peace and socialism.

CC. PCP

IN DEFENSE OF WORLD COMMUNIST UNITY

REPORTED BY SERGIO VILARIGUES

"The fact that differences arose within the world Communist movement years ago has had a highly negative effect on the progress of the struggle of the working class and other working people for their economic demands, peace, democracy and socialism. Also, it greatly prejudices the development of the national-liberation struggles of the peoples who are still under the tyranny of imperialism and colonialism, and the consolidation of the independence of those countries which gained it recently.

This is how S. Vilarigues, member of the CC Secretariat, began his report, in which he then outlined the method of overcoming present difficulties.

"This reality makes it the duty of all the Communist and Workers' parties to search for a solution to their differences."

THE MEETING: ROAD TO UNITY AND COHESION

S. Vilarigues next set forth the position which the CC, PCP had adhered to since January 1963 by declaring for patient and friendly talks between fraternal parties and for the preparation of a meeting of all the Communist and Workers' parties. He spoke in critical terms of the various obstacles raised by some fraternal parties to the holding of such a meeting. But even the new problems that have arisen during the past four years would be ample justification for "a collective analysis and a common decision on them."

"The fact that the imperialists are gleefully rubbing their hands in view of the serious differences which have arisen in the Commun-

ist movement is no reason for this alram. What is alarming is that the Communist and Workers' parties should not have done everything to end their differences and to prevent a split at all costs. Holding the meeting would be the best way to block this split.

"As we know, the coming meeting is not intended to impose anything on any party. It is aimed at analyzing present-day problems in a fraternal spirit and at finding solutions to them on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and the general line established by the meetings of 1957 and 1960.

"Naturally, should any party choose to stay away from the meeting despite efforts by all the other parties to convince it to cooperate, it will be free to do so. We do not, however, think it has a right to try to prevent the meeting on the plea of lack of unanimity.

"Meanwhile preparations for the meeting should consist entirely in bringing the points of view of the different parties closer together and in revealing in a constructive spirit all the common elements that should unite them. The cohesion of the world Communist movement and the unity of the socialist camp are a necessary condition for reinforcing and extending the anti-imperialist world front. This is why our Party was agreeable to the Drafting Committee meeting at a later date, March 1965."

FIGHT AGAINST SPLIT

Speaking of the importance of working-class unity, S. Vilarigues stressed that history "shows that the working-class movement tends to unite and that the Communists and the more class-conscious workers have always fought for working-class unity, on both a national and an international scale.

"Only the bourgeoisie has a stake in a split of the Communist and working-class movement. It therefore uses every means and sticks at nothing to obstruct and prevent unification of the proletariat, to prevent the growth and materialization of the workers' desire for unity."

As far as the PCP is concerned, the problem of the existence of a single party in Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Japan and other countries "is as clear as daylight."

"Our Party will accept no declaration nor agree to any political talks with whoever has been expelled from his party for his refusal to carry out the decisions of higher Party bodies, even if we were to think he was right."

S. Vilarigues underlined that "the PCP takes guidance in its entire work" from the thesis of the 1957 Moscow Declaration, which condemns the activity of groups undermining the unity of the Communist parties.

He next spoke of the disruptive activities going on in the world Communist movement and of its manifestations in Portuguese life:

"There is room in the Party for disagreement on this or that point of orientation but none for several lines or orientations, for groups undermining its cohesion on any pretext whatever."

With reference to the favorable opportunities which fascism usually provides for anti-party groups, S. Vilarigues said:

"All that the fascist camarilla of Salazar and his police want is to combat and destroy those who consistently strive to end the reign of terror, exploitation and oppression. The facts daily show at whom the brunt of repression is aimed and who are the men, women and young people who suffer most as a result. Many leaders of the Party are in Salazar's prisons after sustaining the worst tortures. Dauntless fighters for Party unity, they are as devoted to their Party as ever."

THE POLICY OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE, AN IMPERATIVE NECESSITY OF OUR TIME

S. Vilarigues stressed that the Party line on peace is based on Leninist principles and adheres to the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement. "Either the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems, or a destructive war—this is how the question is posed today."

"Peaceful coexistence does not reject the class struggle," but makes it easier.

The struggle of the oppressed peoples for independence is not merely a right. It is a need—irrespective of whether or not it leads to a cruel national-liberation war.

Thus "the PCP has declared for the right of the people in the Portuguese colonies to take up arms against their oppressors. Moreover, it has supported the armed struggle of the people in Angola, Guinea and Mozambique, and has signified its solidarity with this struggle."

"Peaceful coexistence," S. Vilarigues added, "is a higher form of the class struggle on a large scale, imposed on imperialism and undesirable to it." In these circumstances "we are really in a position to prevent the imperialists now from dragging the world into a new war, which could be nothing but a destructive thermonuclear war."

S. Vilarigues analyzed the latest gains in the struggle of the international working class, the national-liberation movement and all the peace-loving peoples against the military plans of the imperialists headed by the U.S. imperialists—gains which are due to the steadfast policy of peace **which the Soviet Union, the main bulwark**

of socialism and world peace, and the other socialist countries have been pursuing.

In conclusion S. Vilarigues said: "Rallying their forces in order to lend their defense of peace greater vigor and scope is one of the major tasks facing the Communist and Workers' parties. This is a new and strong argument that, while by no means justifying an early convening of a new meeting makes it nevertheless imperative."

POLITICAL ENLIGHTENMENT AND PRACTICAL ACTION

S. Vilarigues dealt with some ideological issues.

"We cannot and must not," he said, "disregard the fundamental thing which concerns our own country, that is, the tasks facing our Party inside the country in view of the situation in the world Communist movement."

"Only through sustained political enlightenment and organizing work always linked with practical action is it possible to defeat both Left sectarian trends and Right opportunist deviations," to uphold the unity and political line of the Party, to rouse the membership to "enthusiastic action," and to mass struggle.

"Only concerted mass struggles can make all that is sound and progressive in Portugal a palpable reality, a force strong enough to lead the Portuguese people to a national rising against the fascist dictatorship."

"All the Communists should work among the masses, primarily the working class, for they are the force giving us a firm foothold on earth and they can move mountains. It is they who give us all the wealth of the revolution, a strong will, constantly regenerating confidence and energy for revolutionary action for democracy, peace, social progress, socialism and communism."

PLENARY MEETING OF THE CC, CP OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

On April 22 and 23 last, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia discussed the question of drafting the fourth five-year plan of ecoomic development for 1966-70. The meeting was attended by the first secretaries of the district committees of the CPC, the chairmen of the regional National Committees, and representatives of the National Front organizations. The CC approved guidelines for the further activities of the government, economic, Party and other public bodies and organizations in completing the draft plan. The report on this question was presented by O. Cernik.

The CC examined the progress made in drafting the fourth five-year plan in terms of fulfilment of the tasks set by the Twelfth Congress with a view to furthering the development of socialist society. The Twelfth Congress called for promoting the national economy on the basis of the levels attained in production, science and technology, eliminating imbalances between the levels of the productive forces in industry and agriculture, achieving harmony between production and consumption, and continuing, in step with economic progress and the growth of public wealth, to improve the people's standard of living through consistent implementation of the principle of material incentive. The CC resolved that in accomplishing these tasks the emphasis should be on readjusting the economy from quantitative to qualitative indices so as to ensure its advancement.

Political and organizing work in every economic field, and the devoted effort and the initiative of the working people following the January 1964 plenary meeting of the CC, CPC, led to the removal of the major imbalances of previous years, the resumption of the smooth operation of the national economy, and a better supply of consumer goods. The favorable results achieved lately make it possible to continue strengthening the economy and to set about promoting it. The progress made in the first quarter of this year is particularly indicative of favorable opportunities of accomplishing the tasks set by the Twelfth Congress. This progress is a concrete expression of the Party's active policy in ensuring fulfilment of the tasks approved by the CC, CPC last year.

The guidelines for the draft of the economic development plan for 1966-70 are the point of departure for further active work on

*Abridge from Rudé Právo, April 24, 1965.

the all-round development of production and for more efficient economic management.

The guidelines, which proceed from the fundamental tasks set by the Twelfth Congress, show why the development of social production will be more progressive and technically more complex than in the previous period. They provide for greater emphasis on the productivity of social labor in ensuring this development. Thereby they afford opportunities of building up the national income at a high rate and doing away with a situation in which the national income is used faster than it is built up. They envisage a stable correspondence between the level of personal and public consumption and the level of social production, and determine for the next few years the more economically expedient proportion of accumulation in the national income. Engineering remains the branch determining the main trend of economic development.

The guidelines provide for the further development of Slovakia and the evening up of the economic and cultural standards of the two regions of the country as a prime political and economic objective. They enable the new system of management and planning to help effectively in reducing production outlays, using fixed funds, steadily raising labor productivity and releasing labor power employed inexpediently.

Thus the guidelines constitute a draft plan for economic development designed to reduce the effect of existing adverse trends to a minimum, putting economic progress on a solid basis and laying the groundwork for the steady intensification of the economy. Being based as they are on the available knowledge of the present-day potentialities of the national economy, the guidelines aim at optimum utilization of all the resources and ensure observance of the requirements of proportional economic development in the course of reproduction. They accordingly determine the volume and pattern of supply on a national scale.

In drafting the fourth five-year plan, special importance is attached to gradual modernization of the economy and to the introduction of structural changes, primarily on the following lines: hastening agricultural progress, above all by using industrial methods more extensively and by increasing the share of industry in the provision of the material and technical facilities for agriculture; expediting the technical reconstruction of the economy through the priority development of engineering, which is the material base of mechanization and automation, and the chemical industry, which is the material base for the chemicalization of the entire economy. The share of the industries producing consumer goods, specifically the food industries, will also be increased through their gradual modernization with the aim of improving the standard of living and of supplying the needs of foreign trade.

In providing the growing national economy with labor power, it should be borne in mind that since the degree of employment of the population is high, growth of the national wealth will depend on increased labor productivity. Every enterprise is faced with the ensuring greater output while keeping the increase in labor power difficult tasks of using every opportunity to raise labor productivity, to a minimum, and making progress as planned while gradually reducing working hours. The CC stresses the need to muster all the reserves in order to achieve an early increase in labor productivity particularly by using available capacities and by organizing labor more effectively. Furthermore, the principle of using raw materials and power judiciously should be consistently enforced in every branch of the economy.

With regard to further economic progress, the CC maintains that more effective capital construction and competent use of basic funds in every field of economic and public activity are among the decisive factors. Hence the distribution of industrial investments under the future five-year plan is aimed at considerably stepping up investment in the chemical industry, at providing an adequate material base for agricultural production, and at strengthening, reconstructing and modernizing the food industry and the consumer goods industries generally. Aimed at the speedy removal of imbalances which in the past hampered steady economic growth, the allocations will be mainly channeled into the power industry and the transport system. In the non-production fields, investments will go into comprehensive housing construction, education and culture, the health services and social security. In the production sphere, larger investments are to be made in new capacities and plant, in improving workers' conditions.

The rapid advance of science and technology, and the more effective use of their achievements are a major condition for more effective capital construction according to higher standards and for the solution of problems of the higher productivity of social labor. Research and experimental work should therefore be geared primarily to problems whose solution will help in gradually introducing structural changes, improving the use of fuels, power and raw materials, hastening the growth of progressive lines—chemicalization, electronics and computing techniques, mechanization and automation in the production and non-production fields, rationalization of production, the introduction of progressive technologies in the processing industries, agriculture and building. Engineering and chemicals are to receive the greatest attention in research and experimental work.

The CC holds that up to 1970 improvements in the standard of living should proceed along the following main lines:

—guaranteeing a stable market while providing the working people with material incentives;

—making the most effective use of public consumption funds, which should be used thriftily;

—paving the way for the gradual termination of stagnation in the expansion of paid public services;

—striving for a maximum in housing construction;

—carrying out the program for shorter working hours in keeping with the decisions of the Twelfth Congress of the CPC by gradually introducing a five-day week.

The CC stresses that as far as foreign economic relations are concerned, greater participation by the CSSR in international socialist division of labor is the fundamental method of promoting the Czechoslovak economy.

The CC notes that the guidelines also afford opportunities for rapid economic progress also after 1970. Planners should proceed from the actual potentialities. They should be careful not to overrate these, especially as regards investment and greater employment, and should strive for a dynamic, viable draft plan for economic development, whose fulfilment at the relevant stages would be guaranteed by the availability of adequate reserves.

The tasks set by the Twelfth Congress, which are gradually being carried out by the Party CC will underlie the further development of our socialist society. Their accomplishment will make for the further economic growth of Czechoslovakia, better satisfaction of the requirements of the people, and the promotion of their political and ideological unity. Realization of the guidelines for the economic development plan for 1966-70 plus introduction of the new system of economic planning will appreciably benefit our socialist society economically as well as politically and culturally.

Thousands of working people—researchers and designers, staff members of ministries and economic departments, economists, engineers, technologists and scientists—will take part in drafting the plan during the months ahead. This work should be tackled according to a well-considered program, such as will lead to higher standards of production, better management, more consistent intensification of production, the elimination of imbalances, and more effective economic growth.

An indispensable task of the period ahead is to make way for all that will benefit society, to rely on those who are capable of furthering social progress, contributing to the development of the country's productive forces and the improvement of social relations. The Party will continue to insist that its members, while extending their political horizons, improve their professional skills, and tackle the problems of economic and social relations thoughtfully and from a scientific standpoint.

RESOLUTION OF THE CC, CPC

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, which at its plenary meeting on April 22-23, 1965 heard a report by Comrade V. Koucky, discussed the present situation in the world Communist and working-class movement. It also discussed the results of the Consultative Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties held in Moscow from March 1-5, 1965. The CC, CPC welcomed the Meeting as an important step toward strengthening the unity and promoting the militancy of the world Communist movement against imperialism, for peace, national liberation, democracy and socialism. The CC, CPC agrees with the documents adopted by the Meeting and approves of the activity of the CPC delegation.

The CC, CPC fully supports the appeal of the Moscow Meeting for joint actions against imperialism, which is using every means, including aggression, to deprive the peoples of the right to independent development, freedom and progress and to hold back the process of revolutionary change taking place in the world, the motive force of which is the commonwealth of socialist countries, the powerful national-liberation movement and the struggle of the working class in the capitalist countries.

The CC, CPC emphatically condemns the barbarous U.S. raids on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the U.S. intervention in South Vietnam. World opinion rightly insists that the United States stop its dangerous acts of aggression, which are a threat to peace, unconditionally withdraw all its armed forces from South Vietnam, and respect the Vietnamese people's right to decide their own affairs without foreign interference.

In keeping with the internationalist sentiments of the working people of the CSSR, the CC, CPC will continue to give full support and assistance to the Vietnamese people in the just struggle. The Central Committee approves the actions and measures which its Presidium and the Government of the CSSR are taking to render the required aid.

The West German militarists' plans of revenge and their attempts to increase international tension, to abuse the position of West Berlin for this purpose, and to gain access to arms of massive destruction are inseparable from imperialist actions against the CC, CPC re-emphasizes its unshakable resolve to cooperate with the security of the peoples and the policy of peaceful coexistence. The other socialist countries and all the peace-loving peoples in foiling these dangerous designs, which jeopardize peace in Europe and all over the world.

The socialist community, which is supported by millions of progressive people throughout the world, is strong enough today to

uphold the cause of peace and progress. It is able to do so thanks primarily to the Soviet Union, which consistently implements the Leninist general line of the CPSU, purposefully contributes by its firm and at the same time prudent policy of ensuring a healthy international climate and the normalization of relations between countries, and is the most solid bulwark of the peoples fighting for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

At a time when imperialist aggression in various parts of the world must be counteracted, it is highly important to strengthen the unity of the anti-imperialist front and to heighten its militancy. The main responsibility for this rests with the Communist and Workers' parties. This is why the CC, CPC fully shares the views stated by the fraternal parties at the Moscow Consultative Meeting, that everything should be done to overcome the differences existing in the world Communist movement, to strengthen its cohesion on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism and the line laid down in the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement.

The CC, CPC hails the joint conclusions and proposals aimed at fostering the unity of the movement. It will actively carry them into practice. In this connection it approves of the specific measures that were proposed with an eye to extending and deepening bilateral and multilateral relations between the CPC and fraternal parties, which will make it possible to hold fruitful exchanges of views and clear up questions of cooperation and broader problems of the world Communist movement. The CC, CPC sees the organization of joint actions by the Communist and Workers' parties as the most effective way of promoting their unity and solidarity, and will take an active part in them.

The CC, CPC declares once again for an end to hostile polemics in the Communist movement, and deplores the fact that certain parties are continuing it. At the same time it considers that it would be useful to continue constructive discussions of current problems of the joint struggle against the common enemy and of the ways of building socialist and communist society, in keeping with the Leninist standards of relations between fraternal parties .

All these steps would gradually create favorable conditions for a new world conference of the Communist and Workers' parties. This conference, to be called after adequate preparations and comprehensive exchanges of opinions, would unquestionably make a noteworthy contribution to the restoration of the Marxist-Leninist unity of our movement and to the establishment of a common line of strategic and tactical action by our parties. Hence the CC, CPC also supports the idea of a preliminary, preparatory meeting of representatives of the 81 fraternal parties which signed the Moscow Statement of 1960.

The CC, CPC regrets to state that the leadership of the Communist Party of China, the Albanian Party of Labor and certain other parties disapproved of the Moscow Meeting and proposals for closer unity of the international revolutionary movement.

The CC, CPC, proceeding from the essence of the entire Communist movement and from the need systematically to foster awareness of the international allegiance of the Czechoslovak Communists and the whole of our people to the revolutionary struggle of the international working class and progressive forces of the world, instructs all the Party bodies and organizations steadfastly to educate the working people in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and socialist patriotism, and to see to it that the Party membership is regularly and promptly informed on matters concerning the international situation and the Communist movement.

Our Party, which in its activity has always maintained the unity of national and international interests, will continue to do all in its power in order—together with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and other fraternal parties—to make the most effective contribution to new victories for communism and peace on earth.

NIAN DAN EDITORIAL*

The Standing Committee of the National Assembly of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam has received the declaration of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, dated April 29, 1965, as an ardent response to the DRV National Assembly's appeal to the national assemblies of various countries of the world. The appeal calls their attention and the attention of the peoples of their countries to the grave situation created by the U.S. imperialists in Vietnam, and asks them to support the just objective of our people and to help end the acts of aggression and war provocation being committed by the United States against Vietnam.

The declaration of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR stresses: "On behalf of the whole Soviet people, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR declares that the Soviet people will always and in everything be on the side of the heroic Vietnamese people, who are waging a just struggle for the freedom and independence of their country."

The declaration expresses the Supreme Soviet's unqualified approval of the position of the National Assembly and the Government of the DRV regarding settlement of the Vietnamese problem. It notes that the U.S. imperialists' policy of aggression was the direct and only cause of the present tension in Vietnam and Southeast Asia generally. It insists that the United States respect the Geneva agreement of 1954 on Vietnam, withdraw all its troops and military personnel from South Vietnam, remove its arms and other war supplies, end its policy of intervention and aggression in South Vietnam, stop its acts of war against North Vietnam and all encroachment on DRV territory and leave it to the South Vietnamese people to settle their affairs in keeping with the program of the National Liberation Front, their only genuine and lawful spokesman. The people in both parts of Vietnam should be afforded the opportunity to decide for themselves the issue of peaceful reunification of their country without foreign interference.

The declaration of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR also expresses indignation of the whole Soviet people at the barbarous acts of the U.S. imperialists in Vietnam. It confirms that the Soviet Government is taking all the measures required for safeguarding the security and sovereignty of the DRV and that the USSR will—when necessary and in compliance with the request of the DRV Government—send volunteers to help the Vietnamese people in expelling the U.S. aggressor.

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*May 6, 1965.

In waging their revolutionary struggle, the Vietnamese people have always had the great support of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. In the past, in the trying years of revolutionary activity, Vietnamese Communists were sincerely supported by the Communist Party and the people of the Soviet Union. The remarkable victory of the Soviet Union over the German fascists and the Japanese militarists in World War II created favorable conditions for the Vietnamese people that enabled them to achieve victory in the August Revolution and to found the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. During the war, while resisting the French colonialist aggressor, the Vietnamese people also had the active support of the Soviet Union, China and other fraternal countries. That support was an important factor which helped our people to defeat the French aggressor and to free the North.

During the past eleven years the Soviet Union, like China and other fraternal countries, has been actively helping the Vietnamese people to heal their war wounds, to rehabilitate and advance their economy and culture, to build the material and technical base for socialism in North Vietnam. The brilliant success achieved by our people in national development owes much to the great assistance rendered by the Soviet Union, China and other socialist countries.

The U.S. imperialists have thrown the Geneva agreements of 1954 overboard and invaded South Vietnam. They are planning to occupy the region, turn it into a colony of a new type and into a U.S. war base, and perpetuate the division of Vietnam. As it had been sustaining one bad reverse after another from the South Vietnamese people, the United States in the recent past tried to come out of the impasse by stepping up and expanding the war, intensifying aggression against South Vietnam and carrying out furious air raids on DRV territory. The people of Vietnam are resolved to push the U.S. aggressor back, defend the North and free the South with a view to reunifying the country on peaceful lines.

The Soviet Union, China and other socialist countries, the peace- and freedom-loving peoples of the whole world, are on our side. They actively support our just struggle.

Soviet Party and Government leaders have repeatedly made clear that the Soviet Union resolutely supports the struggle of the Vietnamese people against the U.S. imperialist aggressor and his puppets.

At the beginning of February our country was visited by a Soviet delegation led by A. Kosygin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers. It stated that the more than 200 million strong fraternal Soviet people are at one with our embattled people. In the

joint declaration signed in Hanoi on February 10, 1965, the Vietnamese and Soviet delegations defined the position of the Soviet people as follows: unity with the Vietnamese people in the fight against U.S. imperialism, support for the struggle of the North Vietnamese people to build socialism and defend the North, support for our Southern compatriots' fight for liberation from the U.S. aggressor and his hangers-on.

The joint Vietnamese-Soviet declaration, signed in Moscow on April 17, 1965, by the Vietnamese Party and Government delegation led by Le Duan, and by the leaders of the Party and Government of the Soviet Union led by L. Brezhnev, is plain evidence of the unity of views of our two parties, which condemned the U.S. imperialists' acts of military aggression in Vietnam and refuted President Johnson's recent lying assertion about so-called peaceful settlement. This declaration by the two parties confirmed Soviet support for the Vietnamese people's struggle against the U.S. aggressor. It upheld the position of the National Assembly and the DRV Government, as well as the position of the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front, concerning settlement of the Vietnamese problem.

Lately the movement in support of the Vietnamese people, against U.S. imperialism, has been growing in scale among the various sections of the population in almost every part of the Soviet Union. Workers, collective farmers, officers and men of the Armed Forces, the socialist intelligentsia and the scientists of the Soviet Union have held a series of meetings condemning the U.S. aggressor, voicing their solidarity with the struggle of the Vietnamese people and demanding that the U.S. imperialists get out of Vietnam. Many Soviet citizens have volunteered to go to Vietnam and help our people to fight the U.S .imperialists. The Soviet people have by their noble conduct set a splendid example of socialist solidarity, proletarian internationalism and determination to resist imperialism, the class enemy of the entire socialist community.

The Declaration of the Supreme Soviet again points out that the Soviet people resolutely support the struggle of our people against the U.S. imperialist aggressor. Soviet assistance and support inspire the fighting men and the people of our whole country, who are stepping up their fight against the U.S. aggressor, striking him increasingly powerful blows in order to frustrate the U.S. policy of aggression against South Vietnam and to end the bombings of North Vietnam.

The Vietnamese people express their sincere gratitude to the Communist Party, the Supreme Soviet, the Government, and the fraternal people of the Soviet Union for their valuable help and support.

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OF THE SOVIET PEOPLE
L. I. Brezhnev

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WALTER ULBRICHT

SPEECH BY
FIDEL CASTRO

FILE COPY

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THE GREAT VICTORY OF THE SOVIET PEOPLE

Report* by L. I. Brezhnev

Comrades! Friends!

Twenty years have passed since the last shots of the Great Patriotic War resounded over an earth ravaged by bombs and shells. At the hour when night turns to day the long-awaited news swept like lightning across our boundless country. "The war is over! Victory is ours! The enemy has capitulated!" Those who witnessed what took place that day in the streets of the towns and villages of our country will never forget the infinite joy, the pride in our glorious and heroic army, in our native land, in our great Soviet people!

The day of victory over Hitler Germany will always remain one of the most radiant and unforgettable days in the history of our socialist state, the history of our struggle for communism.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of the USSR, congratulate the people of our country and our glorious Armed Forces on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of that historic victory.

Delegations from fraternal socialist countries and from Communist Parties have arrived to celebrate Victory Day. We tender our heartiest greetings to the delegations present in this hall:

—the delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, headed by comrade B. Velchev;

—of the Chinese People's Republic, headed by Comrade Lin Fing;

—of the Republic of Cuba, headed by Comrade Manuel Lusardo Garcia;

—of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, headed by Comrade Z. Firlinger;

—of the German Democratic Republic, headed by Comrade W. Stoff;

—of the Hungarian People's Republic, headed by Comrade M. Aitai;

—of the Korean People's Democratic Republic, headed by Comrade So Cher;

*Pravda, May 9, 1965.

—of the Mongolian People's Republic, headed by Comrade Ts. Dugersuren;

—of the Polish People's Republic, headed by Comrade Stszelecki;

—of the Rumanian People's Republic, headed by Comrade E. Bodneras;

—of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, headed by Comrade Ngyem Suan Yem;

—of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia, headed by Comrade L. Kolishevski;

—of the Algerian People's Democratic Republic — the government delegation headed by Comrade H. Bumedyen and the Party delegation of the National Liberation Front headed by Comrade Ben Mahjub!

With us here tonight is Comrade Georgy Traikov, President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. We cordially greet this distinguished representative of the fraternal Bulgarian people!

We warmly greet delegations and individuals who have arrived from abroad, representatives of the international Communist and national-liberation movements, leaders of trade union, women's, youth and other public organizations.

We also tender our heartiest greetings to the military delegations from the fraternal socialist countries and the friendly countries of Asia and Africa who have arrived for the celebrations.

We are happy to tender our cordial greetings to the war veterans who have come to Moscow from the socialist countries and from France, Britain, the USA and many other countries to join in our victory celebrations.

Comrades, the fate of our country, the future of the whole world were decided in the war against bestial fascism. What would have been in store for our country, for the Soviet people and the other peoples of the world if we had not countered the evil forces of fascism? Tens and hundreds of millions of people would have been enslaved and annihilated, whole states would have perished and civilization would have been destroyed. The dark night of fascist obscurantism would have descended upon many countries and continents.

Those monstrous schemes, however, were not destined to be carried out. Forces were found in the world that were able to defeat fascism. The Soviet people, their glorious and heroic army, led by the Leninist Party of Communists, played the decisive role in defeating mankind's worst enemy. We greatly appreciate the contribution made by other nations in the war of liberation against Hitler Germany, the services rendered by our allies in the anti-Hitler coalition. But the fact remains that the brunt of the war was borne by the peoples of the Soviet Union.

The whole world was filled with admiration for the valour, courage and might of our gallant Red Army. Progressive people everywhere felt at once that in the great land of socialism the mighty forces of revolutionary people had risen to defend not only their own lives, honor and liberty, but also the liberty and independence of all people. Hope of liberation was kindled in the hearts of the millions who had been enslaved by fascism.

The defeat of Hitler Germany meant the victory of progress over reaction, of humanism over barbarism, the victory of socialism over the obscurantism of imperialism. This victory paved the way for an upsurge of the revolutionary struggle of the working class, for a national liberation movement of unprecedented dimensions and for the collapse of the disgraceful colonial system.

Today, when we are celebrating the anniversary of victory in the Patriotic War we bow our heads in tribute to the everlasting memory of the dauntless sons and daughters of our people who fell in battle for the liberty and independence of our country, for the triumph of a just cause. May their deeds ever be an example to future generations!

Eternal glory to our fallen heroes!

Let us rise, comrades to honor their memory.

THE HEROIC EXPLOIT OF THE SOVIET PEOPLE WILL LIVE THROUGH THE CENTURIES

Comrades, the farther back in history the war years recede, the fuller and more clearly is manifested the heroic exploit of the Soviet people who dauntlessly defended our country and the gains of socialism in a struggle of unparalled ferocity against fascism.

Soviet people will never forget June 22, 1941, the day when the peaceful labor of our people was interrupted by the treacherous attack of the Nazi invaders. A mortal danger hung over our country.

By that time the flames of the Second World War started by fascist Germany had already enveloped many countries.

Hitler and his clique had seized power in Germany, abolished the democratic rights and liberties of the German people, suppressed working-class and other mass organizations and established a regime of bloody terror. Under the rule of the Nazis, who openly proclaimed their policy to be the achievement of world supremacy, Germany became a hotbed of war provocation and military gambles.

The Communists warned the peoples of the danger which Nazism spelled for all nations. They stressed that fascism was the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic elements of imperialism whose aim was the enslavement

of the working people and the preparation of a predatory imperialist war.

Our Party and the Soviet people well remembered the warning given by Vladimir Ilyich Lenin to the effect that imperialism at any moment might launch another series of wars against the Soviet Union, and they took steps to build up the economic might and defense potential of the country.

Fascism, striving for world domination, made the struggle against communism, against the world's first socialist state, the main object of its politics. Hitler realized that the Soviet Union, the bulwark of all revolutionary forces, the most consistent and implacable enemy of fascism, was the chief obstacle to his criminal schemes.

The anti-Soviet line of Hitler's policy was actively supported by reactionary circles in the West. The imperialists of the United States, Britain and France did more than a little to resurrect German militarism after the First World War and direct it against the Soviet Union. And when Hitler came to power with the help of the German monopolies and openly proclaimed his policy of war, the Western Powers adopted a policy of "appeasing" the aggressor. They threw more and more victims at Hitler's feet, in the fond hope that he would move his hordes Eastward against the land of socialism. The Munich deal which surrendered Czechoslovakia to fascist Germany was the most disgraceful manifestation of the imperialists' treacherous schemes.

History severely punished the "appeasers" who rejected all the proposals of the Soviet Government for a collective rebuff to the fascist aggressor. Contrary to the prophecies and the hopes fostered in London, Paris and Washington, fascist Germany began the Second World War not by invading the USSR but by attacking the capitalist countries of Europe. The Nazis took advantage of the favorable situation and seized Austria, Poland, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Norway, Yugoslavia, Greece and other countries. Under the flag of alliance they actually occupied Hungary and Rumania. They defeated France and threatened Britain with invasion.

The Nazis trampled the independence of the occupied countries underfoot, introduced their "new order" with the aid of the bullet and the rope, and plundered or destroyed national riches. The people learned from their own experience what a vicious and implacable enemy fascism was, and they launched a resolute struggle against the occupants. Theirs was a just, anti-fascist struggle of liberation.

The invasion of the Soviet Union by Nazi Germany ushered in a new phase in the Second World War. For the Soviet people this was the beginning of the Great Patriotic War against the fascist invaders.

It will be remembered that the first stage of the war took place

under conditions that were unfavorable for us and favorable for the enemy. Long before the war began, Hitler Germany had put all her economy on a war footing. At the time of the attack on the USSR, Hitler had at his disposal the resources of almost the whole of Western Europe as well as the troops of his satellites.

The German fascist troops had been mobilized, deployed for attack and moved right up to the frontiers of our country. A tremendous force, armed to the teeth, was hurled against us, a force such as no country and no alliance had ever, at any time in history, hurled against another country. The factor of surprise was on the side of the fascists, who made a cunning and treacherous attack.

The enemy made use of his temporary superiority to drive a deep wedge into our country. Despite the heroic resistance of our troops, by the end of November 1941 the Nazis had occupied the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Moldavia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, and a number of the western regions of the Russian Federation.

In the early days of the war the Soviet people had to drink the bitter cup of defeat and failure. But they never lost their firm faith in victory. They were inspired by the ideas of Lenin who said of the heroes of the October Revolution: ". . . we shall vow to follow in their footsteps, to emulate their fearlessness and heroism. Let their slogan be our slogan. That slogan is 'Victory or death!'." Faith in victory inspired the soldiers at the battle front, the partisans in the occupied territories and the Soviet people working in the rear. Our Party and our people stood fast. We overcame all the difficulties of that initial period and brought about a radical change in the course of the war.

In this crucial situation the Party and the Soviet people exerted a titanic, truly heroic effort to strengthen the army and recast the economy on war lines, to convert the country into one big armed camp. The State Committee for Defense, headed by J. V. Stalin, General Secretary of the CPSU(B) was organized to direct all efforts toward the defeat of the enemy. The Communist Party, its Central Committee and the State Committee for Defense carried out the tremendous task of mobilizing all the resources of our country. "Everything for the front, everything for victory!" — these slogans became a banner in the struggle against the fascist invaders.

From the first day of the fighting it was obvious that the outcome of the Second World War would be decided on the Soviet-German front. The Government of Great Britain, faced with the threat of invasion, the Government of the USA, disturbed by the growing strength of fascist Germany and militarist Japan, declared their readiness to fight together with the Soviet Union. The anti-Hitler coalition which united peoples and states for the common struggle against the fascist invaders came into being.

This coalition was not born of the diplomatic agreements of the

Great Powers alone. It had its roots in the struggle against fascism that had been started by the Communists, the advanced workers and members of the intelligentsia, the best sons of all peoples even before the war. This struggle grew in scope, embracing more and more millions of people and developing into a world mass movement. It became a great political force which could not be ignored by those far from ideas of progress and communism, people who had never sympathized with the Soviet Union.

Already in the initial stages of the Great Patriotic War, our army upset the basic strategic plan of the Nazi command — their blitzkrieg policy.

The defense of Leningrad, Odessa, Sevastopol and Kiev demonstrated the unwavering staunchness of the Soviet people, their readiness to defend with their lives every inch of their native soil. These epic battles were of tremendous significance for the entire course of the war. Huge Nazi forces were wiped out under the walls of these cities.

The heroes of Sevastopol, soldiers and sailors, defended the city for 250 days. For 900 days the fighting on the Neva continued day and night. Neither the furious attacks of the enemy nor the hunger and privations of the blockade could break the will and determination of the Leningrad people, the heroic defenders of the City of Lenin.

The Nazi command placed high stakes on the capture of Moscow, the capital of our country. The main body of the German army and picked SS divisions, commanded by the most experienced generals, were concentrated on the approaches to Moscow. They reported to Hitler that they could already see the Kremlin towers through their field glasses. The fascist leaders made preparations for a triumphant parade on Red Square.

The maniac Hitler never saw our Red Square. The Soviet army foiled all his plans.

"Russia is vast, but there is nowhere to retreat to — Moscow is behind us." These words spoken by Political Instructor Klochkov expressed the thoughts and feelings of all the defenders of Moscow. The capital of our country was turned into an impregnable fortress. Encircled by a ring of anti-tank defenses, Moscow carried on with its work; Moscow forged victory. The country's political headquarters, the Central Committee of the Party, remained at its post in the capital. Tens of thousands of Muscovites joined the People's Militia in defending their native city. Many of them died the death of heroes.

The workers of Moscow's factories labored tirelessly for the front. The great city girded its loins to meet the approaching danger. The city made a titanic effort to hold back the enemy at all costs, not to allow him to tread the streets and squares of the city that had

been drenched in the blood of the heroes of three revolutions. The defense of Moscow became the sacred cause of the entire Soviet people.

You will remember, comrades, that on November 7, 1941, the troops that had arrived for the defense of the city, including the famous Siberian divisions, marched straight from the parade on Red Square to front-line positions to stop the enemy advance.

In December 1941, the Soviet army, after wearing down the enemy in fierce defensive battles, hurled Hitler's hordes back from the walls of the capital and drove them Westward. The defeat of the fascist army at Moscow destroyed the legend of its invincibility. The historic victory at Moscow inspired Soviet people to fresh exploits, and strengthened their confidence in the ultimate defeat of the enemy.

Comrades, it gives me great pleasure to inform you that the Central Committee of our Party, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Soviet Government, have adopted a decision to award Moscow the honorable title of "Hero City," the Order of Lenin and the Gold Star Medal for the outstanding services rendered to the country by the working people of our capital and for their heroism, courage and steadfastness in the Great Patriotic War. Allow me to congratulate you, dear Muscovites, from the bottom of my heart, on this lofty and well-deserved award!

Comrades, when we recall the decisive events of the Great Patriotic War, the famous Battle of Stalingrad, the heavy fighting in the spring and autumn of 1942, come to mind. In that battle the Red Army displayed heroism and military skill that have no equal in the history of wars and won a brilliant victory. It was the battle that turned the tide of the Second World War. The defeat on the Volga shook the fascist empire to its foundations. For three days the funeral knell sounded over a Nazi Germany wearing mourning for the 330,000 picked troops that had been routed.

News of the victory of the Soviet forces spread throughout occupied Europe. It penetrated into the dungeons of Hitler's prisons and behind the barbed wire of the death camps. It inspired faith in the inevitable defeat of fascism and called for resistance and struggle.

The gigantic battle of the Orel-Kursk Bulge in the summer of 1943 broke the backbone of Hitler Germany and destroyed its armoured shock troops. The superiority of our army in the art of warfare, in arms and in strategic leadership became clear to the whole world.

It is impossible to list all the operations of that great war. But can we possibly forget such remarkable exploits as the forcing of the Dnieper, the heroic defense of the beachhead known as "Little Land" near Novorossiisk, the landing of troops in the Crimea, the

Korsun-Shevchenkovsky and Jassy-Kishenev operations ending in the encirclement and destruction of large enemy forces? Who can forget the heroism and gallantry of our famous sailors, whose exploits in the Black and Baltic Seas, in the icy waters of the Arctic Ocean and in the expanses of the Pacific have inscribed some unforgettable pages in the history of the Great Patriotic War? Tribute to the fearlessness and courage of our sailors, the skill of our Soviet admirals has been paid in the decisions just adopted by the Party and the Government awarding decorations to the Baltic, Black Sea, Northern and Pacific Fleets for operations during the war.

In 1944 the Soviet Armed Forces stepped up their offensive and dealt the enemy a number of crushing blows, cleared our territory completely of the fascist scum and carried the hostilities beyond the frontiers of our country.

At this time our allies in the anti-Hitler coalition opened the Second Front by landing their troops in France. Until then the Soviet Union had actually been fighting single-handed against the main forces of fascist Germany.

Under the blows of the Armed Forces of the Soviet Union and of other participants in the anti-Hitler coalition, Germany's allies one after another laid down their arms. The bloc of fascist states fell to pieces and Hitler Germany was completely isolated.

The gigantic battle of Berlin was the grand finale of the war. A ring of fire literally crushed the remnants of the once powerful army of the Third Reich. The Nazis resisted with the desperation of the doomed. But the enemy was routed and destroyed, the Soviet flag, the red banner of victory, was hoisted over the fascist lair.

The Soviet army reached the Austrian Alps, the banks of the Elbe, and the Baltic coast east of Hamburg. Utterly defeated, Germany signed the act of unconditional surrender. The peoples of the Soviet Union had awaited this historic moment for almost one thousand five hundred days. And the moment came:

Our people's victory was no easy one. No other people has ever experienced such a cruel war as that fought by the Soviet Union. The war claimed the lives of 20 million Soviet people. It left tens of millions of orphans, widows, and invalids. An ocean of human suffering and sorrow is hidden behind these figures! There is hardly a family in our country on which the war has not left its tragic imprint. The loss of Soviet people is our greatest loss. Not a single drop of the blood shed by Soviet people for our country, for its liberty and happiness shall ever be forgotten.

One cannot recall without wrath and pain the atrocities committed by the Nazis in our country and in other countries. The fascist occupation was a tragedy for entire nations. Is it possible to forget the monstrous crimes of the Nazis in the Soviet Union, Poland, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and other European countries, the hu-

man pyres, the gas wagons and the death camps? Is it possible to forget the millions of men, women and children burned in the crematoriums of Oswiecim, killed in the gas chambers of Maidanek, tortured to death in Mauthausen? The knell of Buchenwald still echoes in the hearts of people, arousing their hatred for fascism and racism and demanding the punishment of those guilty of crimes against humanity.

Comrades, the historic victory of the Soviet people, who smashed fascism, is, first and foremost, convincing evidence of the mighty vital force of our socialist system.

". . . That people can never be defeated," said our great Lenin, "the majority of whose workers and peasants have realized, felt and seen that they are defending their own Soviet power, the power of the working people, that they are defending the cause whose victory will ensure them and their children the possibility of enjoying all the benefits of culture, everything that has been created by human labor." (*Collected Works*, Russ. ed., Vol. 29).

The social system of socialism, its economic and organizational possibilities, the ideological and political unity of Soviet society, Soviet patriotism and proletarian internationalism, the friendship of the peoples of the USSR rallied around the Communist Party, the incomparable heroism and valour of the Soviet Army — these are the chief factors that ensured the Soviet people's victory in the Great Patriotic War.

The great leader, organizer and strategist of the Soviet people in that war was our glorious Communist Party. All its organizational genius, all the strength of the mighty community of Soviet peoples, all the energy, persistence, endurance and tremendous will of the people accumulated in the course of years were directed by our Party to a single goal, the defeat of fascism.

Everybody knows the stern school of revolution in which our Leninist Communists were trained. They had against them the mighty machine of tsarism with its army, police, gendarmes, prisons and penal colonies. Every step in the struggle cost blood and countless victims. But the Communists learned to look danger fearlessly in the face and to disregard death. Under the blows of a powerful enemy, they learned in the Leninist way to muster the masses for a stubborn, difficult struggle, and to inspire the masses more and more with confidence in victory. And we are proud that our Party learned to fight splendidly and to conquer in unequal battle.

The best forces of the Party were despatched to the most dangerous and important areas of the struggle. About one third of the Central Committee of our Party served at the fronts of the Great Pariotic War. Secretaries of district, city, regional and are committees, and of the Central Committees of the Parties of the Union Re-

publics were sent into the army at the front or behind the enemy's lines.

By the end of 1941 there were 1,300,000 Communists in the Red Army. The slogan "Communists, Forward!" became the supreme guiding rule, the keynote of the life and endeavors of every member of the Party. The Party lost three million of its sons at the front, and five million Soviet people reinforced its ranks during the war years. Thousands of Soviet soldiers, as they made reply to go into battle, applied for membership in the Party, and their probationary period was a test of courage.

The Soviet people, led by the Party, exerted every effort to make our Armed Forces invincible. And our Soviet forces, our soldiers and sailors, NCOs and petty officers, officers, general and admirals fully justified the hopes and trust of our people!

Many of the heroes who distinguished themselves at the fronts of the Great Patriotic War or in the hinterland are known to the whole world. Others are known only to those with whom they served and to their fellow-countrymen. And there are millions — both those who fell in battle and those who are still living and working — whose names are not widely known. Unassuming, modest people who displayed unparalleled courage, valour, ingenuity, resourcefulness, an indomitable will to victory and contempt of death. The highest tribute that can be paid to the finest qualities of man is due to the Soviet man — the soldier, the patriot, the participant in the Great Patriotic war!

Seven million Soviet soldiers were awarded orders and medals of the Soviet Union for bravery and heroism in the battles against fascism; 11,000 were awarded the title of Hero of the Soviet Union.

We shall never forget the immortal exploits of Alexander Matrosov, Nikolai Gastello, Yuri Smirnov, Vasily Zaitsev, Alexander Pokryshkin, Ivan Kozhedub, Alexei Maresyev and many, many others. Everyone knows the names of Mikhail Yegorov, Melitan Kantariya and Konstantin Samsonov who hoisted the flag of victory over the Reichstag. The names of General Dmitry Mikhailovich Karbyshev, the poet Musa Jalil, the heroes of the anti-fascist struggle in other countries — Fyodor Poletayev, Vasily Porik and Mehta Husein-zade will always be a symbol of the unbending will and determination of a Soviet man.

The heroic Fortress of Brest, besieged far to the rear of the advancing enemy, continued to fight for weeks. Its defense was a magnificent demonstration of mass heroism, fortitude and courage which showed the whole world the titanic strength of the Soviet soldier. In commemoration of that outstanding exploit it has been decided to award the Fortress of Brest the title of "Hero Fortress," the Order of Lenin and the Gold Star Medal.

Our heartiest congratulations to the surviving participants in the

defense of the Fortress of Brest! May the memory of those of its defenders who fell in battle never die!

The selfless struggle of the heroes is the living embodiment of the lofty morale and patriotism of Soviet people. Honor and glory to them, comrades!

All arms of the service displayed equal valour in the Great Patriotic War—our glorious infantry, sailors, airmen, tankmen, artillerymen, engineers, the signal corps, reconnaissance units — all of them fought with boundless courage and skill. The Soviet Guards units, who earned the right to that lofty title in battle, were born in the crucible of war.

In the war years tens of thousands of skilled and experienced officers grew up in the ranks of the Soviet Armed Forces. Commanders of platoons and companies, of squadrons and batteries, of battalions, regiments, brigades and divisions showed themselves to be true architects of victory.

The Communist Party gave the country a large group of splendid generals. Widely known are the names of such outstanding commanders as Comrades I. K. Bagramyan, I. D. Chernyakhovsky, V. I. Chuikov, A. G. Golovko, S. G. Gorshkov, L. A. Govorov, A. A. Grechko, I. S. Isakov, I.S. Konev, N. I. Krylov, N. G. Kuznetsov, R. Y. Malinovsky, K. A. Meretskov, K. S. Moskalenko, A. A. Novikov, F. S. Oktyabrsky, I. Y. Petrov, M. M. Popov, K. K. Rokossovsky, V. D. Sokolovsky, B. M. Shaposhnikov, F. I. Tolbukhin, V. F. Tributs, A. M. Vasilevsky, N. F. Vatutin, K. A. Vershiniin, N. N. Voronov, A. I. Yeremenko, I. S. Yumashov, M. V. Zakharov, G. K. Zhukov and many others. Such representatives of the "Old Guard" as S. M. Budyonny, S. K. Timoshenko and K. Y. Voroshilov, whose names were known from the time of the Civil War, took an active part in organizing the repulsing of the enemy.

The encirclement and rout of huge enemy armies, deep pincer movements and raids behind the enemy's lines, the skilful co-ordination and interaction of various arms of the service in the course of the Patriotic War offered evidence of the unsurpassed military skill of our renowned marshals, generals and admirals.

The political instructors were the soul of the Soviet Armed Forces. They brought to our troops the word of the Party and inspired them to heroic and selfless struggle. All of them, from political instructor to Member of the Military Council, were to be found where things were hardest. They fortified the faith of the troops in the triumph of our just cause, inspired them with courage and helped to steel their will.

The firm conviction that victory would be ours fired the hearts of our fighting men in the most difficult days of war. Our Red Army carried the banner of victory from Volga to the Elbe. The Soviet Armed Forces upheld the honor and independence of our country,

and saved the peoples from the fascist yoke. Their exploit is immortal.

Glory to the victorious Soviet soldier!

Glory to our heroic Soviet Army!

The mass partisan movement which spread throughout enemy-occupied territory was a magnificent expression of Soviet patriotism. Over a million active fighters took part in the partisan groups, units and underground organizations. In many of the regions of the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Mildavia, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, and in the Smolensk, Bryansk, Orel, Leningrad, Kalinin and other regions of the Russian Federation, famous partisan units carried on a heroic struggle.

The Patriotic War of 1941-45 resurrected the fame of the partisans of the Patriotic War of 1812 and inscribed the names of Sidor Kovpak, Konstantin Zaslonov, Nikolai Kuznetsov, Vera Khoruzhaya and hundreds of other underground workers, commanders of partisan columns and men of Soviet reconnaissance groups beside those of Denis Davydov and Vasilisa Kozhina in the history of our country.

The now legendary names of the partisan commanders T. P. Bumazhkov, A. F. Fyodorov, A. V. German, M. A. Guryanov, V. Z. Korzh, V. I. Kozlov, I. A. Kozlov, M. I. Naumov, S. V. Rudnev, A. N. Saburov, and M. F. Shmiryev and many other heroes of the peoples' resistance to the Nazis will never be forgotten.

The battle cry, "Let the earth burn under the feet of the German invaders!" was translated into reality in their deeds.

Never will it be forgotten that side by side with the Soviet soldier in his helmet and greatcoat stood the heroic partisan, dressed in ordinary civilian clothes and wearing a red ribbon on his cap — the man who far behind the enemy's lines, hundreds and even thousands of kilometers from the front, struck fear and terror into the Nazis.

Glory to the people's heroes, our partisans, both men and women!

Comrades, victory over fascism at the front was forged by the unflagging labor of millions of Soviet workers, peasants and intellectuals in the rear. The outcome of the struggle was decided not only on the battlefield, but in the great battle for metal, munitions and bread throughout the country.

The economy had to be geared to defense with utmost speed. This had to be done under the most difficult conditions, at a time when the Nazi hordes had already invaded the country. Today, 20 years after, one cannot but admire the exploit of the Soviet workers, engineers, industrial executives and railwaymen who evacuated hundreds of huge factories and more than ten million people to the East. In effect a whole industrial country was shifted thousands of kilometers. There, in uninhabited localities, often in the open air, machines were unloaded from railway trucks and started work on the spot.

Our people will always recall with boundless gratitude the great labor effort of the workers, engineers and technicians of the Urals, the Volga area, Siberia and the Far East. Throughout our vast country, from border to border, Soviet people worked untiringly to ensure victory over the enemy. The coal essential for victory was extracted in the mines of the Kuznetsk Basin and Karaganda, and the steel needed to crush the hated enemy poured from the furnaces of the Urals.

The heroic labor of the people of the Urals, Siberia and the Far East merged with that of their brothers in Kazakhstan, the Republics of Central Asia and the Transcaucasus, who made an important contribution to victory.

In the course of the war we produced almost twice as much war material as the Nazis. In four war years our industry turned out nearly 490,000 guns, over 102,000 tanks and self-propelled guns and about 137,000 military aircraft.

These are dry and, it would seem, passionless figures. But how much they tell! All this was done with the hands of millions of workers, technicians and engineers, who sometimes did not leave the factories for months on end, who slept and ate at the bench, who worked without any days off. Only people who in the hour of danger realized their patriotic duty and saw in their labor the purpose of their lives could work like this. Of great importance in mobilizing the people of our country for the rout of the enemy were the efforts of Soviet trade unions. The heroic labor of the working class in the war years is and will continue to be an example to all working people of our country. Honor and glory to our valiant working class!

The collective-farm peasantry worked side by side with the working class. The enemy captured some of our rich and fertile lands. He counted on wearing our people down by hunger. That did not happen. The credit for this is due entirely to the labor of the men and women of the collective and state farms, to the Party organizations in the villages. Under difficult war conditions, when there was an acute shortage of workers, tractors and farm machinery, they disrupted the enemy's plans and supplied the army and the country generally with food.

All honor and praise to our farmers!

Our intelligentsia made a big contribution to the victory over fascism. Intellectuals fought in the ranks of the Armed Forces and in partisan columns, and worked at the most important jobs on the home front.

The Soviet scientists and designing engineers, Comrades V. A. Degtyarov, V. G. Grabin, S. V. Ilyushin, I. I. Ivanov, Z. Y. Kotin, S. A. Lvochkin, A. I. Mikoyan, A. A. Morozov, V. W. Petlyakov, F. F. Petrov, G. S. Shpagin, F. V. Tokarev, A. N. Tupolev, A. S. Ya-

kovlev created improved types of weapons and other military equipment. As a result Soviet troops were equipped with tanks superior to the vaunted Panthers and Tigers, aircraft that enabled our airmen to achieve air supremacy, excellent fire-arms and guns of all calibres that ensured the success of our infantry and artillery. Those who participated in the war will remember the terror the fire and thunder of the famous Katyushas inspired in the Nazis.

Soviet cultural workers earned the recognition of the people in the war years. From the first days of the invasion, writers, journalists, artists, musicians, actors and cinema workers regarded themselves as mobilized and called to the colors. The inspiring patriotic articles of Alexei Tolstoy, Mikhail Sholokhov and Alexander Fadeyev, the incisive writings of Ilya Ehrenburg, the moving essays of Nikolai Tikhonov from beleaguered Leningrad, the plays of Alexander Korneichuk, the books by Wanda Wasilewska, Leonid Leonov, Boris Gorbatov, Leonid Sobolev and Arkady Gaidar, the verses of Konstantin Simonov, Jambul Jabayev, Maxim Rylsky, Petrus Brovka, Alexei Surkov, Vasily Lebedev-Kumach, Solomeya Neris and Samed Vurgun, and the work of many other writers and poets of the peoples of the Soviet Union, the pointed cartoons by the Kukryniksi, Shostakovich's symphonies, the songs of Alexandrov, Dunayevsky and Solovyov-Sedoy, all the productions of hundreds and thousands of workers in the field of the culture aroused the flames of hatred towards the invaders, imbued people with courage and strengthened the will to fight. The pen of the Soviet writer, to use Mayakovsky's expression, was equated to the bayonet. Suffice it to recall, for instance, Alexander Tvardovsky's Guardsman Vasily Tyorkin who stepped out of the poem to traverse the arduous roads of war to victory, sustaining the spirits of our fighting men with a joke and a quip, serving as a model of staunch morale and wisdom, the embodiment of the resourcefulness and strength of the people.

Glory to our Soviet intelligentsia!

We pay tribute to the Soviet women, whose courage never failed them despite the grim trials of war. Never were the indomitable spirit and strength of will of our Soviet women, their devotion, loyalty, love of country, their boundless tenacity in labor and their heroism in battle so forcefully displayed as during the war. The memory of women with rifles in their hands, women at the controls of a plane, nurses, women medical orderlies and women surgeons in uniform will be with us forever as an inspiring example of devotion and patriotism.

Or take the women's contribution to victory behind the firing lines. They did their own bit, and the work of those who had gone to the front. And were there a balance on which to weigh the front-line performance of our troops against the labor exploits of the Soviet women, the scales would probably stand even, just as in

those grim days of war the heroic Soviet women stood firm and unflinching besides their husbands and their sons.

Dear comrades, I am happy to inform you that in recognition of the Soviet women's vast contribution to the building of communism and to the defense of our country during the Great Patriotic War, in recognition of their selfless heroism on the battlefronts and in the rear, and also of their outstanding contribution to strengthening friendship among the peoples and to the struggle for peace, the Central Committee of our Party, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of the USSR have proclaimed International Women's Day, March 8, a public holiday.

Allow me to extend the warmest wishes of health, happiness and fresh accomplishments to our Soviet women, our dear mothers, wives, sisters and daughters.

Our young men and women, our Komsomols, displayed exemplary courage and heroism in defending the socialist motherland. The Leninist Komsomol produced millions upon millions of staunch fighters for the country in those days. They accepted death bravely in defending their land. Such heroic names as those of Zoya Kosmodemyanskaya, Liza Chaikina, the Young Guards of Krasnodon, Sasha Chekalin, Manshuk Mametova, Maria Melnikaite and many others will forever be symbols of devotion to the Soviet motherland.

Comrades, if there was a chief hero of the Great Patriotic War, that deathless hero was the entire close-knit family of the peoples of our country, welded together by indestructible bonds of fraternity. The Russians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Uzbeks, Kazaks, Georgians, Azerbaijanians, Lithuanians, Moldavians, Latvians, the Kirghiz, Tajiks, Armenians, Turkmenians and Estonians — in a word, the sons of all the peoples of the Soviet Union—rose as one man to defend their country. The Leninist national policy of the Party withstood the test of the war. Fascism failed to drive a wedge between the socialist nations. Their fraternal union proved strong and viable and was one of the main sources of victory over the fascist aggressors. May the indestructible friendship of our peoples live, grow and flourish forever!

Comrades, the other peoples and countries of the anti-fascist coalition also made a big contribution to Victory.

The Czechoslovak units under Ludvik Svoboda and Bohumir Lomsky, and the Polish troops under Mikhail Rola-Zimlersky, Sigmunt Berling and Marian Spychalski fought shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet soldiers. We remember well the help we received from fraternal socialist Mongolia. The successful operation of the French Normandie-Niemen air force unit under Louis Delfino was a model of the war solidarity of the peoples of the USSR and France.

The famous Slovak uprising and the rising in Prague, the uprising in Warsaw, and the risings in Bulgaria and Rumania inscribed

glorious chapters into the annals of the anti-fascist struggle. The names of such outstanding leaders of Communist Parties as Comrades Wladyslaw Gomulka, Antonin Novotny, Todor Zhivkov, Janos Kadar and Gheorgiu-Dej are associated closely with the heroic liberation struggle waged by the peoples of Eastern Europe.

The People's Liberation Army of Yugoslavia headed by Comrade Joseph Broz Tito fought heroically against the occupation army all through the war. The partisan armies in Albania and Greece battled fiercely against the Hitlerites.

The Bulgarian, Rumanian, Hungarian and Finnish troops, too, did their part for the final defeat of fascism.

The Resistance movement in France, Italy, Norway, Denmark, Belgium and the other Nazi-occupied countries of Western Europe was important. It was a broad democratic movement in which the Communists brought together the anti-fascist patrioic forces and played a leading part. Within Germany itself, the finest sons of the German nation fought a staunch underground struggle against the Hitlerites under the leadership of Communists in conditions of brutal terror.

In Nazi-occupied territories, in the Resistance movement, in fascist prisons and concentration camps, the Communists set the example in self-sacrifice, tenacity and heroism. The peoples know well the names of such leaders of the anti-fascist struggle as Comrades Jacques Duclos, Waldeck Rochet, Luigi Longo, Ernest Thaelman, Max Reimann and many others.

A big part was played in the organization of the struggle against fascism by the prominent leaders of the world communist movement, Comrades Georgi Dimitrov, Palmiro Togliatti, Maurich Thorez, Wilhelm Pieck, Walter Ulbricht, Dolores Ibarruri and Johann Kopplenig.

The defeat of the bloc of aggressors, crowned by the surrender of militarist Japan on September 2, 1945, created favorable conditions for an upsurge of the revolutionary movement of the peoples of Asia. The defeat of the elite Japanese Kwantung Army at the hands of the Soviet Armed Forces had a strong bearing on this.

A truly people's war against the invaders was waged in China under the leadership of the Communist Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung. The soldiers of the Mongolian People's Republic under Comrade Choibalsan and Comrade Tsedenbal fought actively against the Japanese aggressors. The peoples of Vietnam and Korea, headed by the Communists of those countries, battled heroically for their freedom and independence. The name of Comrade Ho Chi Minh and Comrade Kim Il-sung, the prominent leaders of the liberation movement, are closely associated with this struggle.

The patriots of Indonesia, the Philippines, Malaya and Burma

waged a stubborn struggle against the imperialists and colonialists for many years.

We recall with warmth the war effort of the peoples of the United States, Britain, France and our other allies in the anti-Hitler coalition.

We give their due to those who stood at the head of the governments of the allied countries in the years of our joint anti-fascist war—President Franklin Roosevelt of the United States, Prime Minister Winston Churchill of Britain and the head of the government of Fighting France, General de Gaulle.

Comrades, the Soviet people and their Armed forces performed their great mission of liberation with honor. They rendered fraternal assistance to the peoples of Europe and Asia in their struggle for freedom and national independence, and helped the people of Germany as well to free themselves from fascism.

Today, on this 20th anniversary of the victory over fascism, we can say with legitimate pride that the Soviet people withstood the grim ordeal of war with honor. The enemy was defeated and brought to his knees. Our splendid people, this nation of heroes, raised aloft over our planet the glorious Leninist banner, the banner of the Great October Revolution, the banner of socialism, and carried it victoriously through the flames of war.

The glory of the victory of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War will never fade. It will live through the centuries.

II

THE HISTORIC CHANGES OF THE POST-WAR YEARS

Comrades, the Soviet Union went through a difficult and long war. Huge areas of the country lay in ruins and ashes. The fascist barbarians burned and otherwise destroyed more than 70,000 cities, towns, settlements and villages. Minsk, Smolensk, Sevastopol, Voronezh, Novorossiisk, Kharkov, Poltava and many other cities were razed to the ground. Tens of thousands of factories and collective or state farms were plundered and destroyed. The project of the early five-year plans, the pride of our people, such as the Dnieper Hydroelectric Power Station, the Azovstal and Zaporozhstal Steel Works, and the Rostov Farm Machinery Plant, were laid waste. The industry of the South was, in effect, destroyed.

No statistics could give an accurate idea of the actual extent of the damage inflicted on the Soviet people during the war. Surely it is impossible to calculate and express in figures the vast amount of work, thought and talent which many generations of our people put into the immense material and spiritual values destroyed by the fascists.

Our country was confronted with tasks of unprecedented complexity. It had to remove the grim aftermath of a devastating war, feed, clothe and house millions of people, reconvert the economy to peacetime production, restore the economic relationships, and marshal resources for further economic and cultural development. Nothing could be put off. We had to cope with many difficulties. Our wartime allies did not mind taking advantage of our difficulties to promote their political ends. After coming out of a hot war, we found ourselves in a cold war started by the imperialists. The anti-Soviet campaign launched by the Western powers left the Party and the people no choice but to solve major economic tasks in the shortest time and compelled us to spend huge sums on defense instead of on peaceful construction.

The enemies of socialism thought the Soviet Union would be unable to cope with post-war rehabilitation for a long time to come. Many bourgeois politicians and economists estimated that it would take decades. They predicted that due to the colossal destruction wrought by the war, the USSR was likely to become one of the weakest countries and be struck off the list of great powers.

The imperialist powers did their utmost to increase and aggravate the economic difficulties of the USSR. They proclaimed their positions of strength policy, embarked on an arms race, obstructed trade with our country, and used blackmail and provocation against the Soviet Union. Their plan was simple—they imagined the USSR would not withstand the post-war economic strain, and would kneel before imperialism.

But the imperialists miscalculated once again. They overlooked the important thing—the nature of the Soviet state, the inner strength of the socialist system, and the great and noble spirit of the Soviet people, a people devoted to the ideals of communism.

The war was still on, but on the heels of the soldier came the worker, the tiller and the builder. Led by the Communist Party, the Soviet people put their shoulder to the wheel on the labor front with the same courage and devotion as they had shown in the years of the war trials.

In a matter of a few years the Soviet economy was essentially rehabilitated. The pre-war level of industrial production was reached in 1948. To be sure, this did not mean that all the effects of the war had been removed. But the Soviet people had made important progress and created the prerequisites for further advancement on a scale greatly surpassing the pre-war scale.

The Soviet Union had been a mighty industrial power also before the war. But its share in the world industrial output was then less than one-tenth. The output of Soviet indusry has increased 630 percent over the pre-war level. Today, the USSR accounts for nearly

20 percent of the world industrial product, or more than Britain, France and the Federal Republic of Germany combined.

Output of the key industrial items has increased many times over. The Soviet Union produced 14,900,000 tons of pig iron in 1940 and 62,400,000 tons in 1964. Steel output was 18,300,000 tons before the war and 85,000,000 tons last year. Iron ore production has increased fivefold over the same period, that of coal 230 percent, and of oil 600 percent. Production of synthetic materials has assumed a large scale. Practically no natural gas was extracted before the war. Last year we extracted 110,000 million cubic meters of it.

The pattern of industrial production has changed considerably. There is a sharp increase in the share of the industries that ensure the progress of the economy as a whole. Electronic computers, remote and automatic control systems and automatic adjustment of production operations are being introduced in industry. Our entire socialist economy is being vigorously re-equipped from the technical point of view.

Giant power stations have been built in the Soviet Union after the war. At present we produce almost ten times as much electric power as in 1940. Just five stations—the two Volga stations, the Bratsk station, the Pridneprovskaya and the Lugansk stations—generate more power than all the power stations did before the war. The USSR has become the birth-place of nuclear power stations.

All of us remember the difficult state of agriculture after the war. The Party and the Government did much to equip agriculture all over again with the requisite machinery, to restore the war-ravaged collective farms, state farms and machine-and-tractor stations, to increase the crop areas and the production of grain and other items. The collective farmers and the workers of the state farms put in a great deal of work to advance crop farming and animal husbandry.

Our achievements in the fields of science and culture are great. This is recognized by everyone today. More than 11,000,000 specialists with a higher or specialized secondary education, and more than 600,000 research workers are employed in the economy. Soviet science solves the most complicated problems. It is in the lead in many decisive fields of modern science and technology. Only a short time was needed to end the atomic monopoly of the United States, and to build a powerful nuclear industry.

The heroic feat of Soviet science in space exploration will go down the ages. The first man in the world to emerge into outer space was a Soviet citizen. Recently, the world saw a man step out into space and float freely in the boundless expanse of the Universe. This man, too, was a Soviet citizen.

Economic growth enabled the Party and the Government to tackle the main task of socialist production—improvement of the people's standard of living—on a new basis. Output of consumer goods exceeded the pre-war amount more than four times over. Vast resources were spent on higher wages and salaries, on free education, pensions for all categories, and the building of children's establishments.

The worst problem of post-war living was the housing shortage. Twenty-five million people had been left homeless in the occupied areas and in those adjoining the front line. We are still short of housing. But very much has been done over the past years. Never before have so many dwellings been built in our country as now. Since the war about 900 million square meters of housing have been built in the towns and industrial settlements. This is more than double the urban housing available in the country before the war. More than ten million houses have been built in the countryside. All in all, Soviet people have been provided with 33,000,000 new flats in towns and countryside. The Central Committee of the Party believes that the rate of house-building should continue to increase.

In the 20 years since the war our social and political system has gained in strength and has made further progress. The unity of workers, peasants and intellectuals, and the friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union have grown. The mass organizations—the Soviets, the trade unions and the Komsomol—now play a greater role in economic and political development. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, the people have created material, political and ideological conditions for the construction of a communist society.

Post-war rehabilitation and the country's further social development was a complex process. It confronted the Communist Party with formidable tasks. The leading role of the Party and the Party's responsibility for the future of socialism and communism increased in these conditions. Reality put to a thorough test the policies of the Party and its ability to find and advance the right political slogans in time, to generalize the experience of the masses in terms of theory, to see and correct mistakes.

In October and November 1964 the Central Committee of our Party firmly condemned the subjective approach in politics and economic management, and denounced conceit and boasting. The Central Committee is concentrating the efforts of the Party and the people on promoting steady progress in industry, agriculture, science and culture, and the living standard of workers, collective farmers, and other working people. The economically justified measures of the further development of our agriculture which the

CC CPSU approved last March have an important bearing on the solution of these problems.

The maturity and far-sightedness of the Party, its fidelity to principle, its vast experience and its political line, which accords with the basic interests of the people, have enhanced its prestige and rallied the masses still more closely under its banner.

Comrades, the victory over fascism showed that no force in the world can turn back the powerful torrent of revolutionary change started by the Great October Socialist Revolution. The defeat of fascist Germany, that bulwark of imperialism, largely predetermined postwar development. That victory became the point of departure for a new powerful revolutionary upsurge which toppled capitalism in a number of Western and Eastern countries. It initiated far-reaching changes in world politics and economy, in ideology, in the minds of millions of people.

The postwar period has witnessed the rise of the socialist world system, the growth of the international working class and Communist movement, an upswing of the national liberation revolution, active popular struggles for peace against the danger of a world nuclear war.

The war against fascism and its defeat gave rise to a mighty wave of socialist revolutions. Socialism, which only two countries—the USSR and the Mongolian People's Republic—were building before the war, pushed its horizons far apart. The purifying storm of liberation swept reactionary regimes off the face of the earth and led to the victory of socialism in many countries. The working people of Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, and Yugoslavia shut the door on capitalism once and for all. The socialist revolution shook Asia—great China cast off the shackles of centuries-long social and national oppression, and is now engaged in socialist construction. The peoples of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Korean People's Democratic Republic are building socialism in difficult conditions. The heroic people of Cuba are establishing a new, socialist society on their soil with immense enthusiasm. Our class brothers, our comrades in arms, are holding aloft the banner of socialism.

Bourgeois ideologists entertain illusions that socialism is a chance visitor on earth. But history has disposed differently. The socialist system is asserting itself as master, as a law-governed result of social development.

The socialist world system is exercising an increasingly profound influence on the development of the working people's liberation struggle the world over, and on international relations. It is the

chief obstacle to imperialist plans for starting a new world war and enslaving the peoples.

In 20 years, the working class in the capitalist countries has registered considerable gains. Powerful class battles and the widespread strike movement in Western Europe, North America and Japan have compelled the imperialists to make a number of concessions to the masses, and are creating conditions for a further offensive against imperialism and for the foiling of imperialist plans of aggression.

The national-liberation struggle has spread to every continent. Its present scale and rate are unmatched in the history of the revolutionary struggle of the working people. The crushing blows of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America have made slightly colonial empires crumble. The peoples still ruled by colonialists are waging a courageous, fearless struggle against their oppressors to win freedom and independence. More than 60 new sovereign states have emerged from the anti-imperialist struggle. Socialist ideas are winning the minds of the liberated peoples to an increasing extent. Many African and Asian countries are embarking on socialist changes. Their peoples have realized that nothing but socialism will deliver them from poverty, hunger and exploitation.

The Communists constitute the vanguard of revolutionary struggle and social progress. They are the inspirers and organizers of the historic victories achieved by the working class and other working people. They are the most determined and selfless champions of the oppressed masses. The Communist parties have won high esteem by their courageous struggle against imperialism, for the rights of the working people, for peace.

The great army of nearly 50 million Communists has its contingents in the vast majority of countries. Many Communist parties have become mass parties and have a following of millions. We Soviet Communists are proud to be members of the worldwide army of Communists, the most revolutionary and most progressive movement of our time.

The fidelity of the Communist movement to the great banner of Marxism-Leninism makes it strong and invincible. It is the sacred duty of every Communist to hold this battle standard aloft, and to safeguard and strengthen the cohesion of the world Communist movement, the unity of all the revolutionary forces. This is what Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the leader of the world proletariat and the founder of our Party, taught and bequeathed us.

Today Communism is the most influential political force. It brings the people true freedom and equality, fraternity and peace. There can be no modern world, no progress, no onward movement, without Communists. The future belongs to communism.

III

THE LESSONS OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR AND THE PRESENT INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

Comrades, as the Soviet people and the peoples of all countries celebrate the 20th anniversary of the great victory over fascism, they again review the events and lessons of the past war.

Everyone is naturally, concerned about the question: What has to be done to prevent a similar or still more terrible tragedy?

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, its Central Committee and the Soviet Government say responsibly that we have done and are doing our utmost to prevent a new world war. True to the memory of those who fell for the freedom of our socialist country, and conscious of our responsibility for the life and happiness of the present and future generations, we are steadily building up the might of our country and working for the unity of all the revolutionary, democratic and peace-loving forces in the struggle against imperialism and war, for peace and the security of the peoples.

Our foreign policy is clear. Its purpose is to provide—in common with the other socialist countries—peace conditions for the construction of socialism and communism in our countries, to safeguard peace and progress. We are doing, and will continue to do, everything to strengthen the unity and cohesion of the socialist countries, to promote their friendship and fraternity. We have actively supported the liberation and revolutionary movements, and will continue to do so. We promote, and will continue to promote, all-round cooperation with the newly-free countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. We consistently uphold the principles of the peaceful coexistence of countries with different socio-political systems. We will do our utmost to frustrate the plans of the imperialist aggressors and to deliver mankind from a new world war.

It is true that certain people misconstrue the policy of peaceful coexistence. But then the United States grossly flouts this principle ticians sound as if they were willing to admit the need for peaceful coexistence. But then the Untied States grossly flouts this principle in its relations with other countries by interfering in their affairs and committing acts of undisguised aggression. It is a point on which American politicians obviously contradict themselves.

We favor better and more extensive relations with the United States. But we will never agree to the idea of peaceful coexistence being applied to relations between two countries only. There are more than 120 countries on our planet and it is the sacred right of each that others should respect its sovereignty, independence

and territorial integrity, and should not interfere in its internal affairs.

Those are the lofty and noble aims of our foreign policy. This policy of our Party and Government expresses the basic interests of the Soviet people, and all Soviet citizens give it their hearty approval and active support.

Our Party and the Soviet Government will continue to pursue this policy, bequeathed by the great Lenin, consistently and vigorously. We are doing it in the name of peace and the happiness of our people, in the name of peace and happiness of all the peoples of the world.

Comrades, the lessons of the Second World War show, above all, that the peoples must be vigilant with respect to imperialist plans of aggression. The important tasks in the struggle for the maintenance and promotion of peace is not to appease aggressors, but to expose and foil their plans, to counter their dangerous acts and to strengthen the anti-imperialist forces.

Time can change many things. But the impression is that the chief culprits of the last war, the German militarists, exist outside time, and that their devastating defeat has been lost on them. They probably think that history follows the one cycle of war—defeat—marshalling of forces—new war.

It took Germany more than fifteen years after Versailles to build up the nucleus of its armed forces. The modern German militarists did it in nine years, with the active support of the imperialists of the United States and other NATO countries. Today they have the Bundeswehr, whose strength totals half a million, and a cadre of officers designed to build up a mass army.

The strategic plans, formation and training of the West German armed forces are based on the assumption that they will have nuclear-rocket weapons. What the political and military leaders of the FRG want is to obtain such weapons and to try with their help to revise the results of the Second World War.

To be sure, the Federal Republic of Germany is not populated by militarists and revenge-seekers alone. It has sound, peace-loving forces. The German people have suffered a crushing national disaster, and do not want it to recur. But, unfortunately, FRG policies today are not shaped by the interests of the German people. The levers of power are controlled by big monopoly capital, the reactionary force which in the past reared fascism.

Many Bonn leaders would seem to be hypnotized by the political map of the Europe of 1937. They are yearning for a return to the former frontiers. Here is a recent example. When the Soviet-Polish Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance was signed, the FRG Government hastened to announce its "objections." It resented the mention in the Treaty of the Oder-Neisse line as

Poland's frontier. Bonn rejects the very existence of the German Democratic Republic. Are not 16 years enough for it to see the actual state of affairs and learn to distinguish illusions from realities?

Europe is no longer conceivable without the German Democratic Republic. The GDR is paving the way to a peaceful and happy future for the whole German nation.

The German Democratic Republic has currently published its Manifesto on the national mission of the German people. From the bottom of our hearts we wish our German friends success in their noble effort to prevent war from ever again starting from German soil. We fully support the policy of the German Democratic Republic, a policy aimed at a peaceful, democratic solution of the problems preoccupying the German nation.

Those who hope to solve these problems through revenge and war are very much mistaken. The millions of Soviet people, Poles, Yugoslavs, Czechs, Frenchmen, Englishmen and sons of other peoples did not give their lives merely to enable Hitlerite left-overs again to upset the peaceful life of the peoples.

That shall never be!

Comrades, the establishment of the anti-Hitler coalition during the Second World War was an example of successful cooperation between countries with different social systems fighting in common against the aggressor. What happened to the coalition in later years?

With the titanic battle at an end and the enemy defeated, the chief members of the anti-Hitler coalition did not follow a common road of building a durable peace but took different roads. The ink, one may say, was not yet dry on the Declaration of Hitler Germany's defeat, signed in Berlin by delegates of the USSR, USA, Britain and France, when our former allies began to sever the ties which had linked the chief partners in the war against German fascism.

Soon after fascism was defeated there emerged a new imperialist striking force led by the United States, which openly claimed "world leadership." The U.S. imperialists had evidently learned nothing from the fate of the German fascist pretenders to world domination.

The entire course of international events in recent times confirms the conclusion drawn by the Communist parties of the world that U.S. imperialism is the main force of war and aggression in our time.

The U.S. ruling group, which has assumed the role of bulwark of world reaction, arrogantly interferes in the internal affairs of other countries and peoples, opposes relaxation of international tension and creates more and more seats of conflict.

No sooner does the people of a country—whether in Latin America, Asia or Africa—rise to fight for its freedom and independence than the international gendarme—U.S. imperialism with its warships, its air force or its marines—appears on the scene. That is what happened in the Congo. That is what is happening today in the Dominican Republic, where U.S. troops are suppressing the people's will for freedom and independence by force of arms.

Provocations against heroic Cuba continue.

The events in Vietnam are the most striking manifestation of the gendarme policy of U.S. imperialism.

The U.S. intervention in Vietnam has roused anger and indignation all over the world. The U.S. militarists are dealing with the patriots of South Vietnam, who are fighting for the freedom and independence of their country under the leadership of the National Liberation Front, with the cool indifference of professional executioners. For several months now the U.S. imperialists have been committing acts of aggression against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, raiding its towns and villages from the air and engaging its navy in piratical operations in DRV territorial waters.

In the circumstances, it is a mission of honor and the internationalist duty of the socialist countries to render effective support to the fraternal country attacked by the imperialists.

The Soviet Union is helping the Democratic Republic of Vietnam to defend itself against aggression. If necessary, this help will increase. The Soviet Union and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam have identical views concerning the measures that have to be taken to repel the imperialist invaders. Our country will perform its internationalist duty without fail.

By its actions, aimed at suppressing the liberation struggle of the people of Vietnam, U.S. imperialism has flung an open challenge to the national-liberation movement of the peoples of the world. This is why it is a matter of honor and a matter involving the vital interests of all the peoples defending their freedom and independence to support the people of Vietnam, who are fighting against the U.S. imperialist aggression. All who cherish the cause of peace on earth have a stake in this.

All peace-loving mankind is resolutely demanding a stop to the U.S. imperialist aggression against the heroic people of Vietnam. And this demand must be fulfilled. The people of Vietnam are fighting for a just cause, and they will win.

It will be recalled that Lyndon Johnson, the present U.S. President, went to the elections a little over six months ago with slogans of allegiance to peace and fidelity to the traditions of Franklin D. Roosevelt. The people of the United States gave their votes to Johnson and defeated Goldwater, a spokesman of the pro-fascist groups. Conscious of the disastrous consequences a world war

would have for the United States in the present conditions, the electors put their trust in the politician who in his election speeches had come out for peace and for a realistic approach to international problems.

But the deeds of the present U.S. Government indicate that it has embarked on an entirely different course. The ruling circles of the United States seem to want to arrogate — on unknown grounds—the role of supreme arbiter with regard to other peoples. They want to lay down the law to the peoples of other countries, to tell them what sort of order they should have in their house, and try to crush by armed force those who refuse to bow to their will.

The universally accepted standards of international law are nothing to the makers of this policy. They unhesitatingly flout the solemn undertakings recorded in the UN Charter and other international documents signed, among others, by the United States. It is a policy of violence and arbitrary action, a policy of aggression. And no pseudo-doctrines invented in Washington will ever disguise this obvious fact. The policy of suppressing the national-liberation movement of the peoples by means of reckless military adventures and by diktat will earn the United States neither glory nor respect. It is a policy doomed to ignominious failure, for it conflicts with the will of the peoples seeking freedom, independence and social progress.

Lately there has been more and more talk in the United States about that country's alleged superiority in nuclear-rocket weapons. Every day some high-placed American or other stresses, in threatening tones that the USA has so-and-so-many nuclear bombs, rockets, strategic bombers and atomic submarines. Painstaking estimates are made of how many hundreds of millions of people would be killed in a thermonuclear war.

What can one say about that?

No one will ever succeed in scaring the Soviet people, the peoples of the socialist countries. We know our strength and march confidently on along our chosen path.

The Soviet Union has never intended, nor does it intend, to attack anyone. Our country is preoccupied with peaceful labor, as everyone knows. We are building factories, homes, schools and hospitals, and are doing everything we can to improve the living conditions of the Soviet people. But let no one try to mistake our fervent desire to safeguard peace on earth for helpless pacifism. We do not deny that a considerable proportion of our national budget is spent on enhancing the combat power of our Armed Forces. The Soviet people know very well that this expenditure is indispensable and fully support the measures which the Party and the Government take to strengthen the defense potential of our country.

We do not want to rattle the sabre. We have never been in the habit of doing so, and it is not our policy. But today, on this noteworthy anniversary of the Great Victory, we speak with legitimate pride of the combat might of our Armed Forces, which are equipped with everything they may need to give a worthy rebuff to any aggressor.

Fortunately, the new generation of Soviet people has not had to experience the hardships of a world war. Those who are twenty today have never heard the wail of air raid alarms, bomb bursts and the thunder of shelling. But the young men and women of our country take inspiration in the same ideas for which their fathers and elder brothers fought in the past war. If need be, the Soviet youth will live up to the fighting traditions of the heroes of the Great Patriotic War. It will stint no effort nor shrink from any sacrifice to defend its country and the gains of the October Revolution, in the name of the victory of communism.

We solemnly declare that we do not want war. Peace, freedom and independence for all the peoples—this is the policy of our Party and the Soviet Government, this is what we call on every country and every people to work for.

We are working and will continue to work for peace, for general and complete disarmament, with the same energy as we devote to the strengthening of our defenses. We have no doubts on this score, and will never have any. The advocates of the arms race must be made step by step to cede ground. We favor the prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons. We will continue to cooperate with the peoples of all the socialist countries and other peace-loving states to solve this problem, which preoccupies the whole of mankind. We are sure that the pressure of the peace-loving peoples will sooner or later burst the dam that the imperialist militarist groups are putting up to block disarmament and the destruction of nuclear weapons.

The lessons of history show that it is essential to promote the unity of all the social forces in the struggle for peace. The peace front in our time consists of the socialist countries, the dozens of young national states, the Communist and Workers' parties and the numerous progressive mass organizations in the capitalist countries. The masses in every country, the principal imperialist powers included, are striving for peace.

The socialist countries have a special role to play in the struggle to avert a new world war. The present situation imperatively demands joint action by the socialist countries against imperialist plans of aggression. The Warsaw Treaty, that fighting alliance of the European socialist countries, will celebrate its tenth anniversary in a few days. This alliance is a fine example of fraternal coopera-

tion by the socialist countries in safeguarding their security and promoting world peace.

The struggle against imperialism and colonialism, for national liberation, for peace, democracy and socialism requires greater fraternal solidarity of all the Communist and Workers' parties. The Communists cannot and must not wait for the time when the flames of a new world war flare up. It is the duty of the Communists of the world to avert such a development, to prevent the imperialists from starting a new war, and to do whatever is necessary to strengthen the unity of the world Communist movement.

Our Party regards it as it sacred duty to work steadfastly for the unity of the socialist countries, to promote the cohesion of the Communists of the world, to seek a durable alliance of all the forces opposing imperialism and war. We will work for it consistently and untiringly.

Comrades, every new generation of people owes its strength, in particular, to the experience and achievements of previous generations on which it draws. Today, as we look back on what the Soviet people have accomplished in the 20 postwar years, we think with pride and veneration of the men and women whose unexampled heroism decided the outcome of the great battle against fascism. The fallen cannot be brought back to life. But the cause they fought for is immortal.

Our Party, the Soviet people as a whole, are marching on with firm step, setting and accomplishing new, increasingly difficult tasks. We are consistently carrying out the general line laid down in the decisions of the 20th and 22nd congresses and in the Program of the CPSU. At present we are setting further targets for the development of our economy and the improvement of the living standard of the Soviet people. The Party is marching to its 23rd Congress. It is beyond question that our Communists and the Soviet people as a whole will come to the congress with new achievements in labor, science and culture.

Dear comrades,

On this happy day, when we celebrate the twentieth anniversary of the great victory, allow me once more to warmly congratulate the Soviet people and to wish all Soviet men and women further success in communist construction and new gains in the struggle to safeguard and strengthen peace.

On this happy day, when we celebrate the 20th anniversary fraternal peoples of the socialist countries and to all those who contributed to the glorious victory over fascism.

Eternal glory to the heroes who defended the freedom and independence of our socialist country and saved the world from fascist enslavement!

Long live the gallant Soviet Armed Forces, staunch guardians of the gains of socialism!

Long live the Soviet people, who are building communism!

Long live our glorious Communist Party, the inspirer and organizer of great victories!

Long live world peace!

NATIONAL MISSION OF THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC AND CREATIVE ENDEAVOR IN OUR STATE

WALTER ULBRICHT'S REPORT* TO THE 9th PLENARY MEETING OF THE CC, SOCIALIST PARTY OF GERMANY

We are holding our plenary meeting on the eve of the 20th anniversary of the liberation of Germany from Hitler fascism, which was for the eastern part of Germany also the beginning of final liberation from imperialism and militarism.

My task here is to outline the theoretical foundations of our policy and sum up its practical results achieved in the 20 years since liberation. The Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the parties and organizations of the National Front and all our citizens can be proud of their achievements.

On this anniversary we not only sum up the results and generalize the lessons of the struggle between socialism and imperialism in Germany, between the peace policy of the GDR and the imperialist policy of atomic armament pursued by West Germany. We also explain why liberation by the forces of the people is a national and social necessity in West Germany as well. We are entering the third decade since the overthrow of Hitlerite rule. Therefore we are duty bound to say to the GDR citizens, and above all to the West Germans living under the rule of millionaires and militarists, that the national interests and the ensuring of peace and disarmament demand action by every German.

It is a fact of history that the German people were drawn into the war by a shameful fraud. But now again a still bigger fraud is used to prepare the West Germans for military gambles. Bonn's revanchist policy is the same revanchist policy as Hitler's. It is our duty, on the 20th anniversary of liberation, to tear down the screen of lies and open the West Germans' eyes to the attempts to harness them again to the war chariot of West German imperialism with the help of nationalist propaganda and social demagogy.

May 8, 1945, was a turning point in German and European history. The destruction of Hitlerite rule by the peoples of the Soviet Union and the anti-Hitler coalition provided the entire German people with a great opportunity for uprooting imperialism and militarism once and for all, and for building a new Germany.

*Abridged from **Neues Deutschland**, April 28, 1965.

THE DUTY TO GIVE AN ACCOUNT

On this anniversary day the governments of the German states and all the Germans are duty bound to account to the German nation and above all to the peoples of the Soviet Union and the anti-Hitler coalition, who made tremendous sacrifices in the struggle to wipe out fascist barbarity. It is also our duty to give an account of what we have done to carry out the behests of our comrades who gave their lives in the struggle against fascism.

In assessing the defeat of Hitler fascism we proceed from Lenin's proposition that imperialism is the highest stage of capitalism. It is clear from this that the unconditional surrender of Hitler's military command in 1945 was an expression not only of the military defeat of Hitlerism, but also of the defeat of German imperialism. German imperialism's policy of conquest and domination of other countries in order to seize their raw material resources and other riches was bound, in this historical epoch, to lead to the defeat of German militarism and monopoly capitalism.

The historic victory of the Soviet Union, the world's first socialist country, over the biggest military power in Europe and over the barbaric rule of German imperialism was conditioned by the objective laws governing world development. It played the decisive role in saving the culture of the European peoples and paved the way for the victory of humanist ideas in European countries.

The German people owe an eternal debt of gratitude to the glorious Soviet people and their heroic army. The battles fought by the Soviet Army show vividly that no sacrifices are too big for a people combating an imperialist aggressor. And it is our duty to be ready to defend, in case of a provocation by the West German revenge-seekers, our country, the free German Democratic Republic, and jointly with our allies to destroy the imperialist aggressors.

Characteristically, in Germany the 20th anniversary of liberation is celebrated only in the German Democratic Republic and by the anti-fascists in West Germany.

The Bonn government and the parties of the Bundestag have refused to observe May 8 as the liberation day and to sum up the results of the past twenty years. They consider themselves heirs to the "Third Reich" and want to pursue its imperialist policy without Hitler's party, by modified methods. Many of them lament that Hitler Germany was defeated in its war of conquest. Celebrating the liberation day in West Germany would call for an open admission that a pressing task of the peace forces in West Germany is to free the country from militarism, neo-Nazism and the power of war monopolies. This is a national task of prime importance,

for only in this way can the division of Germany be ended and the future of the nation assured.

Being aware of the responsibility of the GDR and of the democratic forces in West Germany for safeguarding peace, we propose to the parties of the Front that on the 20th anniversary of liberation the People's Chamber address the German people and governments of all the states of the world with a Manifesto.

The Central Committee submits a draft Manifesto. It contains a realistic appraisal of the present situation and outlines the immediate tasks of the GDR and the peace forces in West Germany. The Manifesto is an indictment of those responsible for the division of Germany. German unity was threatened neither by the defeat of Hitler Germany nor the Potsdam Agreement, which was to help the German people embark, at long last, on a peaceful democratic road.

German unity was destroyed when the Western imperialist powers renounced the Potsdam Agreement and began to violate its principles.

The Manifesto states the historical truth that three imperialist powers—the United States, Great Britain and France—have restored, with the help of the most reactionary forces, the power of capitalist monopolies and German imperialism first in their occupation zones and then throughout West Germany. They have done this without consulting the people, contrary to the will of the people. They have done this with the help of three coups.

The first coup was the refusal to form an all-German provisional government and the unification of the western occupation zones first into Bizonia and then into Trizonia. The second coup was the establishment of separate currency for the three western zones, the elaboration of a separatist constitution and the formation of a provisional West German government. The third was the separation, under the Paris agreement, of West Germany from the German state union and its inclusion into NATO. The time has come to stigmatize the actions of the imperialists with the help of which they divided Germany.

The national interests of the German people were sacrificed to the imperialist interests of the three Western powers, the U.S. in the first place, and the West German monopolists, the chief architects of the aggressive policy of Hitler Germany.

The draft Manifesto stresses the *main lesson* the German people and the peoples of the former anti-Hitler coalition should draw from World War II: *never again should war originate on German soil.* Never again should Germany threaten world peace. For this, the barbaric imperialist traditions should be eradicated in Germany itself, so that the talent and capabilities of our great nation could be fully devoted to peaceful labor, social progress, humanist cul-

tural and creative endeavor and friendship with all the peace-loving peoples.

On the 20th anniversary of liberation, when we sum up the results of the first two postwar decades, we should put on record the following:

Twenty years after the devastating World War II, only the German Democratic Republic and the anti-fascist and peace-loving forces in West Germany advocate vitally important interests of the nation.

These interests are opposed by the West German state, whose leaders have rejected a policy of peace and rely solely on collaboration with the U.S. imperialists. This state is dominated by munitions monopolies, militarists and revenge-seekers. As they say themselves, the West German state is a successor to Hitler's state, although the methods of rule have changed.

The West German rulers employ the same tactics with the help of which the power of imperialism was restored after World War I and a large part of the population was poisoned with the venom of revanchism. They blame this on the victor powers and whip up revanchist sentiment in order to divert the attention of the working people from the enemy in their own country and use them for criminal ends, for satisfying the expansionist claims of the big monopolies.

As is generally known, after World War I Hitler acted likewise.

On the 20th anniversary of liberation the West German population and the peoples of all the world are asking us, representatives of peace-loving Germany, how the German problem can be solved peacefully. We are showing them how.

However, much of the responsibility rests also with the West German population. Therefore the People's Chamber, the Council of State and the National Front address themselves to the West Germans with a request to do away, at long last, with the past, prevent the atomic armament of West Germany, secure an end to the propaganda of revenge and to militarization and emergency legislation in order to embark on the only realistic and at once shortest road to reunification, namely, the road of negotiations and agreements between the governments of the two German states.

For it is easy to see that the atomic armament of West Germany and the policy of revenge block all steps towards reunification. This is admitted even by Bonn's closest NATO allies.

Our proposals on a pass agreement between the GDR government and the West Berlin Senate showed that official contacts can help settle disputed issues even in the present conditions. It goes without saying that concrete wishes were expressed in connection with the pass government, as, for instance, that hostile activities

on the GDR border and revanchist subversion from West Berlin should cease.

The pass agreement is a confirmation of the fact that West Berlin is a special territory not belonging to the Federal Republic. It follows from this that, according to the four-power agreements, neither the West German Bundestag nor the West German Federal Government may have any functions in West Berlin.

Needless to say, West Berlin is entitled to maintain normal economic relations with all states, but it should not be forgotten that West Berlin is an independent political entity existing deep in GDR territory. It is still occupied by troops of the three Western powers, which shoulder, by virtue of their presence there, the responsibility for internal order in West Berlin and its international representation.

It is a disgrace for West Germany that shortly before the 20th anniversary of liberation the Bonn revenge-seekers chose West Berlin as the venue of provocation to demonstrate the "positions-of-strength" policy, the policy of *Drang nach Osten*. They staged this provocation in Berlin, which the Soviet troops liberated, at the cost of tremendous sacrifice, 20 years ago.

At that time the anti-fascist forces set up an anti-fascist democratic administration in the whole of Berlin. This mechanism was destroyed by the Western occupation powers aided by Christian Democrats and Right-wing Social Democrats.

And today, 20 years later, the once-beaten imperialists and authors of the German split arrive in West Berlin to make their revanchist demands for the restoration of the borders of 1937 and even of 1939. These "forward strategists" are preparing an undercover war and would like, as von Guttenberg has blurted out, to try in Germany the maneuver undertaken in Budapest in 1956.

Moreover, they have the temerity to demand that we prove our desire for relaxation by yielding to West German revenge-seekers. But relaxation will only be possible when an end is put to the cold war. The point of departure in attaining relaxation should be recognition of the status quo in accordance with the Potsdam Agreement.

The leaders of the ruling Christian-Democratic Union declared openly at their party congress that they want to change the status quo of Germany and above all of West Berlin. This means that, in keeping with their "forward strategy," they want to turn West Berlin into the first springboard for the West German policy of revenge. But West Berlin is not part of the Federal Republic. It is a special area the responsibility for which is borne by the three Western powers in view of the presence of their occupation troops there. As far back as 1961 our Central Committee declared at its 13th plenary meeting that the government of the western zone in

Bonn had no rights to West Berlin. In this connection it should be repeated that those who want to use our territory should, in accordance with the universally accepted practice, conclude agreements with the government of the GDR. When the GDR government grants rights, it honors them unfailingly. Conversely, we resolutely reject imperialist arbitrary practices and attempts to vest the government of the western zone with any functions impinging on the rights of the GDR.

In connection with the provocation in West Berlin the limits of the Bonn government were made clear to the Bundestag and the West German revenge-seekers.

These limitations are stipulated in the Potsdam Agreement. The power of the Bonn government extends no further than the western state border of the GDR.

The limits of the powers of the Bonn revenge-seekers are determined by the resistance of the opponents of atomic armament in West Germany and the peoples fighting against Bonn's claim to a say in the use of nuclear weapons.

The limits of the powers of the Bonn government are determined by the popular movement against neo-Nazism, against the vindication of Nazi criminals and their accomplices in West Germany. This movement of protest is supported by all the peoples of Europe and America.

The limits of the powers of the Bonn government are demonstrated by the collapse of the Hallstein doctrine and by the struggle of the Arab nations and the African peoples against West German military bases in the Middle East and on the African continent.

The limits of the power of the Bonn government are determined by the actual correlation of forces in the world.

The draft Manifesto points to the West German militarists as the chief obstacle to a peaceful settlement of the German problem. *We want such national unity of the two German states as would help ensure peace, and not lead to a new world war.* Thus, before speaking of reunification it is necessary to create guarantees of peaceful development in West Germany. And this means that the people should overpower the rule of the militarist revenge-seekers and war monopolies.

As they launch their election campaign the Bundestag parties are talking much about "initiative in the German problem." But they should first appraise the situation realistically.

An "initiative in the German problem"—as the words themselves indicate—should come from the Germans. The People's Chamber and the GDR government remain, so far, the only German bodies which have made realistic proposals on a peaceful German settlement.

All-round constructive proposals are contained in the Soviet government's draft Peace Treaty. As for the Bonn government, it has transferred the powers to make proposals to some obscure committee in Washington for coordinating the activities of Western ambassadors. This is hardly a sign of national consciousness and sovereignty. The Bonn gentlemen's palaver about "initiative in the German problem" is evidently nothing more than a pre-election stunt, and a rather feeble one at that, for even U.S. Secretary of State Rusk has deplored it.

Insisting on atomic armament and a say in the use of nuclear weapons and refusing to negotiate with the GDR government on the establishment of normal relations between the two German states, the Bonn government blocks all steps to a peaceful settlement of the German problem.

Therefore we appeal, in the draft Manifesto of the People's Chamber, to the citizens of West Germany and first and foremost to the Social Democrats and trade unionists, as well as to all the peoples. European peace and security can only be guaranteed by the efforts of the West German population and by the struggle of the peoples for peace.

Only when the peoples compel the Bonn government to renounce atomic armament, revanchism and the Hallstein doctrine will serious steps towards a secure peace become possible. As long as atomic armament is conducted and an undercover war prepared in West Germany, peaceful life side by side is out of the question. The German people will be able to live in peace and the future of the nation will be ensured only when the efforts of the West German population create the possibility for disarmament and normal relations between the two German governments.

The Erhard government would be unable to pursue a policy of aggression had it not allies in the SDP leadership. Wehner and Erler are championing the "policy of community" so zealously that they have forgotten completely about the need to defend the interests of the working people in their party. This was vividly demonstrated by their support of the multilateral nuclear force plan, the emergency laws and the imperialist provocations against the Vietnamese and Congolese peoples and against the unity of the Arab peoples, and by their counter-revolutionary policy against the GDR. The Social-Democratic leadership should also decide whether it wants peace or revanchist gambles; whether it wants mutual understanding with the GDR and reunification or perpetuation of the division of Germany whether it recognizes proceeding from the situation that has developed after the war, the borders in Europe, including the western border of the GDR; whether it recognizes the principles of the Potsdam Agreement and the need for disarmament in both German states and for a Warsaw Treaty-NATO non-

aggression pact; whether it favors a reduction of the occupation troops in West Berlin and a treaty with the GDR and the Soviet Union on ways of access to West Berlin, or whether it holds, as before, that it is worth while continuing to rend the air with revanchist demands and stage revanchist demonstrations.

Doesn't the SDP leadership see that the policy of the CDU-CSU government discredits the Germans before the whole world? That the West European peoples shall not, after two world wars, allow the rule of German imperialism to be reimposed on them? The policy of the eternal violators of the peace pursued by the CDU-CSU runs counter to the will of the peoples. Nor are the newly-free national states happy about Bonn interfering in their affairs and trying to impose obligations on them.

Twenty years after liberation, it is abundantly clear that the policy of the Bonn rulers, who after splitting Germany and launching rearmament, want to reunify Germany by annexing the GDR, is in a blind alley.

What is the underlying cause of the contradictions of Bonn's internal policy and of its foreign-policy crisis?

German imperialism was restored at a time when a socialist world system was already in existence and the liberation struggle of the Asian and African peoples developed rapidly. For this reason the expansionist trends of German monopoly capital were first expressed in efforts to win domination in West Europe. At the same time Bonn has been trying, with the support of the United States, to oust France and Great Britain from their imperialist positions and markets in the world. But despite its economic might West Germany has failed to assume a position of dominance, for neither France, Italy nor Great Britain want to submit to the interests of West German finance capital.

In its U.S.-supported efforts to win, while posing as a country with no colonial possessions, its imperialist positions in the Arab countries, in the national state of Asia and Africa prevent their democratic and national development and meet with ever greater resistance on the part of the peoples and governments of these countries. Bonn's comedown in the Middle East has revealed how profoundly contradictory its policy is. It talks about assistance to the Arab countries, but in reality it collaborates in the establishment of an imperialist military base of the U.S. and West Germany in Israel designed to undermine the peace of the Arab peoples. Assistance in development is a smokescreen behind which it seeks to bolster the capitalist forces and prevent socialist construction in these countries. Regrettably, the Social-Democratic leadership supports this policy, hoping that something will come its way too.

Let the International Fair in Leipzig and the state visit to the United Arab Republic serve as a lesson to the West Germans: the

name "German" is honored in the world only when it symbolizes a policy of peace, progress and friendship among nations. That is precisely why the German Democratic Republic has earned in Leipzig high esteem among the foreign visitors. That is precisely why I, a representative of peace-loving Germany, of the German Democratic Republic, was cordially welcomed as a friend by President Gamal Abdel Nasser, the UAR government, the workers, peasants and all the citizens of the UAR, and a joint statement was signed by President Nasser and myself which is of fundamental significance for Germany's policy towards the Arab countries.

Bonn complained that in the UAR I acted as a spokesman for the whole of Germany. But I could not act otherwise. For there is no *German policy* other than the peace policy pursued by the GDR!

Every aggressive step made by the Bonn rulers is a step toward isolation. Isolation is inevitable, for every aggressive step infringes international law or the rights of the GDR or other states. By vindicating Nazi criminals the reactionary circles in Bonn violate the most elementary principles of humanity, the Potsdam Agreement, and international law. By presenting revanchist demands they violate international law. By adhering to the Hallstein doctrine they violate the rights of other peoples. *Bonn's every step in the pursuit of its policy of revenge and expansion exposes it as a champion of injustice.* And this injustice becomes particularly manifest in view of the existence in present-day Germany of a force which personifies for the entire German people the cause of peace, progress and international friendship.

We are fully conscious of our national responsibility. We stand for peace and mutual understanding. But in reply to provocations and attempts to change the situation in favor of the West-German militarists with the help of "small steps," we take appropriate counter-measures, as we did, for instance, in the period between April 7 and 12, 1965.

We favor steps towards a secure peace, and we do not rule out compromises. But we are against such "small steps" as would clear the way for the imperialist "forward strategists" to big crimes, to a military provocation.

The Bonn government resorts to provocations in the hope of taking advantage of our differences with the People's Republic of China and the not always identical national interests of some People's Democracies. Bonn thinks that economic contacts between the Warsaw Treaty countries and the Federal Republic might cause the former to back out in case of a provocation against the GDR. That it is sadly mistaken has been proved by the latest Warsaw Treaty meeting, which has shown clearly the limits of Bonn's power. And the statements of the People's Republic of China also

demonstrate that the Bonn government has again indulged in idle speculation.

Some Western diplomats, realizing that Bonn's foreign policy is at a dead end, are trying to capitalize on the question of the Oder-Neisse border. But they are backing the wrong horse, as was made clear by the renewal of the Soviet-Polish mutual assistance pact.

What I mean is that 20 years after the German imperialists lost the regions east of the Order and Neisse as a result of the war unleashed by Hitler, even the best diplomats cannot bargain anything for them.

In this connection, some Western diplomats should be told: questions pertaining to disarmament in both Germanies can be negotiated by the four powers and the two German states. But reunification is a subject for talks only between the two Germanies.

All Western diplomats should be told: those who want relaxation should remember that while normalization of relations with the GDR is essential for relaxation of tension, it also encourages those forces in West Germany who want mutual understanding and peace.

Today much is being said in the Western press about "German initiative," but nothing about what kind of initiative is wanted. An initiative in the German problem should be taken with due regard for the interests of the German people, i.e., it should help ensure peace. This initiative could be based on the following proposals:

—renunciation by both German states of atomic armament and any participation in such armament;

—establishment of a nuclear-free zone in Europe;

—establishment of normal relations with the GDR government;

—recognition of all existing borders in Europe;

—conclusion of a non-aggression pact between the NATO and Warsaw Treaty countries;

—elimination of the vestiges of World War II;

—steps to broaden cooperation between European states.

On the 20th anniversary of liberation we can put on record that the German Democratic Republic enjoys high respect among the peace-loving peoples.

It is clear already that the road to a stable peace in Europe lies, in a way, through peaceful agreement with the GDR and establishment of relations with it conforming to international law.

The draft Manifesto describes the national mission of the GDR. Aware of our national responsibility, we display, on the 20th anniversary of liberation, a genuine initiative in the German problem and urge the West German citizens to do all in their power for West Germany to become a peace-loving state without nuclear weapons, free from revanchism and militarism. This would also pave the way for ending the division and settling the German problem along peaceful lines.

There is much talk in West Germany about public discontent. Even the capitalist press admits that family frigidaires do not solve the vital problems of the people, who find it ever harder to breathe the stifling air of West Germany. Indeed, what spiritual values have been created in West Germany which could help overcome Nazi ideology, capitalist immorality and the militarist mentality? Even the bourgeois newspapers warn that storms are brewing in West Germany, that it is heading for a time of trials. This should induce every working man in West Germany to join forces with others, to ensure that the storm should vent its fury only on the ruling circles, on those who profit by armament, on the militarists. The tragedy of the West German population is that the millionaire munition-makers hold sway over millions of people, that these profit- and power-seeking imperialists do not leave the people alone.

And when the Social-Democratic leaders speak about initiative in the German problem, we reply: *this initiative should be aimed at freeing West Germany from the rule of eternal violators of the peace, from the rule of the war-industry barons and Hitler generals. This is the sort of initiative needed primarily for West Germany itself.*

CREATIVE ENDEAVOR IN THE PERIOD OF FULL-SCALE SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION

The Sixth Congress was able to adopt a new Party Program because by that time we had secured the victory of socialist relations of production in the GDR. A new program was an objective necessity, for new tasks in the development of the economic basis and the political superstructure had to be defined. A period of intense collective work ensued in the course of which pressing problems were studied and solved. That was a period of fruitful and constructive work for our Party. Our fight against dogmatism led us to consistent application of dialectical materialism in solving vital problems of socialist development in our industrialized state which is compelled, in the conditions of a divided country, to wage a hard struggle against West German state-monopoly capitalism.

It is a salient feature of our Program that decisive tasks for the period of full-scale construction of socialism derive from the laws of social development, from the economic laws of socialism.

The Program contains an indirect answer to the question why we do not regard the triumph of socialist production relations as the triumph of socialism. The reason lies in the level of development of both the basis and the superstructure. We do not speak of the victory of socialism because, among other things, the productive forces are not yet fully developed. This is expressed in an insufficiently high labor productivity. In addition, there exist dif-

ferent forms of ownership of the means of production in industry, agriculture and trade. Finally, successful building of socialism demands continued improvement of superstructural institutions, and government bodies in particular.

In the first place, it was necessary to organize socialist production relations in such a way as to ensure their further consolidation and the optimal growth of the productive forces. To accomplish this task,we worked out and gradually effected a new system of economic planning and management, proceeding from the decision of the 2nd Party conference and the results of theoretical research done after the 21st plenary meeting of the CC in 1954, and drawing on our experience.

THE NEW ECONOMIC SYSTEM—A RESULT OF OUR PARTY'S CREATIVE WORK

After introducing the new system of planning and management we have continued our overall advance from capitalism to socialism, relying on our material and spiritual gains, on increased labor productivity, which has always been our aim, on the triumph of socialist production relations in our country, on the greater political and ideological maturity and professional skill of our citizens.

Our policy has not only helped to create material prerequisites for introducing the new economic system. At the same time people have grown spiritually richer, new ideas have been advanced, and an atmosphere conducive to creative work provided. This has led to the appearance of many good traditions which form part of the new economic system and promote its implementation.

We can now make the most of the economic laws of socialism because in 1961-62 we did succeed in ensuring the triumph of socialist relations of production. This enabled us to reach a qualitatively new stage in the development of our society and give full scope to the operation of the economic laws of socialism and to the comprehensive development of the productive forces. Our previous policy was, of necessity, aimed at merely expanding the sphere of the socialist sector. That we *at all* succeeded in carrying out this task in conditions of an open border and frantic attacks by West German imperialism should be regarded as an outstanding achievement. The high level of class consciousness of the working people and their oneness with the worker-peasant state may be seen from the fact that in 1961 the workers readily undertook to produce more without change in working hours and pay. In 1962 labor productivity grew by some 7 percent while the wage fund increased by one percent. As a result, the economy was stabilized.

We succeeded in ensuring the triumph of socialist production relations—in agriculture in the first place—with what I would call

minimum "friction losses," with remarkably low outlays. That was the result—not only of the high efficiency of our industry, but also of the *tried and tested policy of enlisting the cooperation of all members of society in building socialism.*

What can be said about the market economy?

It should be stressed that our trade is determined by a long-range plan for the development of the productive forces, which thereby considerably influences the market. This plan is drawn up to serve the interests of the people. Conscientious application of the economic laws of socialism, the law of value included, imparts the necessary flexibility and dynamics to our long-range and annual plans. Thus, if correctly applied, these plans are highly instrumental in subordinating the market to the interests of long-range development of the productive forces of socialist society.

Our industrial executives should develop a new approach and overcome some old practices. They should study the marketability of output on the basis of world standards and its competitive value on the world market.

Competitive value of output on the world market is decisive for planning as far as export is concerned. Hence the need for advanced research and designing which is only possible if the plan provides room for changes on the market to be followed by the re-gearing of production.

The new economic system exemplifies creative application of Marxism-Leninism. It takes the wind out of both dogmatism and revisionism. It greatly stimulates spiritual, scientific and cultural development.

Some comrades believed that what was needed was to ensure the triumph of socialist relations of production, i.e., conformity of relations of production with the productive forces. But no matter how important this achievement is, this problem should not be approached schematically. These comrades overlooked the fact that present-day socialist society needs a much higher level of development and faster growth of the productive forces than was often believed to be necessary before. This applies to production relations as well. They should be developed in such a way as to stimulate to the utmost the growth of the productive forces. As has been pointed out, this conclusion led to the elaboration of the new system of economic planning and management in the GDR.

Some people think that conformity between the producive forces and relations of production and the implementation of the new economic system will, like the magic wand, remove all contradictions. But they forget that what we inherited was a capitalist economy. It took us much time to eliminate the aftermath of war. We have been building new modern plants and reconstructing old ones. Nevertheless, there still exists disparity between the big

leading enterprises and supplier enterprises, which, naturally, affects the quality of output and the efficiency of many enterprises of national importance. There is, furthermore, a serious contradiction between the levels of development of the productive forces and material supply. Nor is there conformity between the growing requirements of the population and the needs for accumulation.

Our economy is influenced not only by the positive aspects of cooperation with the USSR and other member-countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid, but also by the contradictions which exist in these countries and which, naturally, affect bilateral and multilateral cooperation. For instance, the slow development of agriculture in socialist countries has serious consequences for the GDR as well.

The new economic system enables us to bring economic planning and management into line with the requirements of the technological revolution and remove or lessen old and new contradictions and disproportions. We should constantly bear in mind that we are still in the stage of full-scale construction of socialism. With the victory of socialism the contradictions and disproportions will certainly become much less significant.

VITAL PROBLEMS: SCIENCE AS A PRODUCTIVE FORCE AND THE TECHNOLOGICAL REVOLUTION

In our economic policy and planning we proceed from the realization that science has become a direct productive force and that its development and swift application of its results are decisive for carrying out the technological revolution, raising living standards and increasing the might of socialist society. It was no accident that we determined the main targets of the long-range plan for 1970-1980 even before the drafting of the new SUPG Program.

First guidelines for the development of science and production in 1970-80 were determined, providing the basis for setting the tasks for the nearest future. This demonstrated a more thorough approach to planning the development of the productive forces, to overcoming certain elements of amateurism and schematism.

Prevision of future development of the productive forces makes it possible to coordinate scientific research and gear it to the key branches of the national economy.

Being a modern socialist industrial state, the GDR *can* accomplish the technological revolution independently, provided there is close friendly cooperation with the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries. It *must* accomplish it in order to remain a modern industrial state, to make further progress and compare favorably in the economic competition with imperialism. Therefore we orientate the entire social life of the republic on this vital task. It is for this

reason, for instance, that we have radically changed the educational system.

We have taken note of the fact that scientific and technological development has assumed a new quality. We have in mind the technological revolution when a cardinal change is taking place in entire branches of production, when computerization transforms and greatly increases the effectiveness of economic management, production control and administrative activity, when modern production becomes unthinkable without automation, cybernetics, chemicalization and nuclear power.

The recent conference of philosophers came to a unanimous conclusion on the essence of the technological revolution: development of technology is directly determined by science. Science acts as a direct productive force, which finds expression in the new quality of production. Thus, the question at issue is not technical progress in general, but a new phenomenon characterized by automation, by application of cybernetics in management and planning, in transport and industry. This technological revolution is a qualitatively new phenomenon. It changes the position of man in production. Man is now the creator and master of machines. He is no longer a cog in the wheel, but the organizer and master of the production process. This is of great importance for the development of the individual and especially for raising educational standards.

The basic economic law and the economic law of constant growth of labor productivity demand of us, in present-day conditions, consistent implementation of the technological revolution. The working people in the GDR are vitally interested in this, for they know that this is the way to improve their standard of living. This is a great motive force.

Allocation of the tremendous financial and material means needed for the realization of the technological revolution calls for an all-out effort to increase labor productivity. The accumulation fund acquires increasing importance. For instance, big modern chemical plants are to be built today twice as fast than, say, five years ago. This can be done if capital investments are realized with the maximum effect. Hence the need for comprehensive standardization, consistent rationalization and a system of management that would ensure planning and scientific and technical guidance of entire branches of industry and the manufacture of complete sets of heavy industrial plant.

We have now learned fairly well to apply economic laws in current production, but things are not so good in capital construction. Mismanagement, poor coordination and other shortcomings result in considerable losses and burden future production capacities with unduly high outlays. We have not yet fully mastered modern methods of managing major development projects. I want to stress

the pressing need for economic executives to learn to invest rationally, to carry on extended reproduction with the maximum effect. This, along with priority development of science projected to future production, is their prime duty. Only in this way shall we be able to cope with the contradictions and difficulties arising as a result of the imperialists' economic cold war against the GDR.

ENSURE PRIORITY DEVELOPMENT OF SCIENCE

With science a direct productive force, rapid application of the results of research and invention is indispensable for carrying out the technological revolution. A qualitatively new stage faces us in all our research and development work. Therefore special responsibility devolves on every scientist and engineer for ensuring, within reasonable limits, priority development of science.

We understand priority or advanced development of science, not as a methodological aspect of research and development, but as an urgent task whose realization will eventually give us the edge in the economic competition. The concept of priority development of science implies only such results of research and development which are advanced compared with what already exists, which project into the future. This applies to all stages, from fundamental research in the natural sciences to the practical application of the results of research in launching new lines of output and organizing highly effective production processes.

The chief task of natural-scientific and industrial research in the period covered by the long-range plan is, generally speaking, to ensure priority development of science for the sake of production; above all in key branches of the economy.

Utilizing all the possibilities and advantages presented by socialist production relations, we should concentrate, in accordance with a special plan, on such lines of research in the field of the natural sciences as would conform to the prospects and requirements of our economic development. Research plans should be determined by the dynamics of the development of the object of investigation, and not by the administrative imposition of rigid basic indicators. Therefore the plan should be drawn up with due account for the process of intrinsic development, change, expansion and renovation in achieving the aim set.

Genuine research in the natural sciences means invasion of the unknown, discovery of new laws of nature and the character of their operation, and study of the new possibilities for mastering and utilizing the already known laws. Every partial result of research opens up possibilities for further steps, indicates new ways or refutes the old. This movement forward involves certain risks, like any scientific work worthy of being called creative. These risks,

however, will be the lesser the better use is made of the advantages of socialist forms of collective work and scientific comparison of views.

INFORMATION AND DOCUMENTATION

In conditions of the technological revolution questions of information and documentation assume decisive importance both for planning and management and for direct research. All government and scientific institutions should devote to the establishment of a modern well-functioning system of information and documentation and to its effective application as much attention as to questions of planning and research.

This system should be rational from the viewpoint of modern organization and technology, for the old methods fall far short of the new demands.

At present, however, it is perhaps even more important that fuller use be made of the available information by both industrial executives and people directly engaged in research and invention.

For instance, study of the results of the Leipzig fair should lead to the manufacture of goods which would conform to world standards and have a good market.

TECHNOLOGICAL REVOLUTION, RAISING OF PROFESSIONAL SKILLS, AND SOCIALIST COLLECTIVE LABOR

The technological revolution also changes conditions for the development of the individual. The growing complexity of production tasks requires higher professional qualification. At modern widely automated enterprises, where man is in direct control of production processes, the union of science and production is particularly evident. The worker there becomes a real master of machinery, his thorough training enabling him not only to solve particular problems, but also to comprehend deep-lying technological interconnections. It should be added that the rapid development of technology, which makes results of research and new products obsolete within a few years, demands that the worker and the engineer should be able rapidly to adapt themselves to new tasks.

The technological revolution and the new economic system are connected with the further development of socialist democracy. Modern production processes demand strict order and high discipline. At the same time, the working people of a socialist state take a direct hand in drafting production plans and carrying them out. The need for strict observance of production rules comes to coincide more and more with the common concern of the workers for the optimal operation of their factory. This presupposes a

creative attitude on the part of the workers. Hence the growing importance of production conferences, production committees, and socialist emulation. The art of organizing a production process consists, among other things, of the ability to combine the workers' conviction in the importance of their work for themselves and for society with the movement of socialist labor teams, with socialist emulation, and with the application of various forms of economic incentive. This will also provide the basis for raising professional skills.

Having effected, in the last two years, many partial measures in line with the general concept of the new economic system, we have reached a level enabling us to go over to a comprehensive development of the entire system in the next two years. Every step in this direction adds to the theoretical wealth and practical experience of our Party, the administration and the entire population. While putting the new economic system into effect we provide ever greater scope for the display of the spiritual and creative abilities of our people and the potentialities of our social system.

ELIMINATE MISTAKES IN RATE-SETTING

The technological revolution demands precise organization of production processes. Smooth operation of industry can be ensured only given strict observance of technologically sound quantitative and qualitative norms of labor. Hence the growing importance of the workers' participation in discussing new production targets and of planning skill improvement. Help in this should be forthcoming from production committees and trade union organizations.

As far as rate-setting is concerned, recent months have witnessed frequent serious mistakes in implementing the "new technologies —new rates" directive. Many workers, especially in textiles and engineering, fail to fulfil their quotas. This is true for one out of every four workers in the socialist sector covered by the TSR (technologically substantiated rates) systems. In some branches the share of such workers exceeds 50 percent.

Many of the so-called technologically substantiated rates resulted from recalculation made on paper. Previously established time rates were often ignored, or applied schematically, without regard for the concrete conditions. These, of course, are far from being technologically substantiated rates.

The workers are justly discontented with this bureaucratic approach—and not only for material reasons. Their professional pride is injured when they are said never to fulfil their quotas.

Many Party and trade union committees tolerate this state of things. Some economic executives even ascribe failure to fulfil quotas by a considerable number of workers to the high quality

of their labor. They are wrong. The main reason, as we see it, is that the proper conclusions were not drawn from the problems posed by the technological revolution and the new economic system and pertaining to rate-setting, the wages policy and the demand for higher professional skills. It should be added that such principles of scientifically-grounded management as check-ups on the measures proposed and assessment of their effects for the working people are not observed strictly enough and sometimes ignored altogether. The union committees do not pay due attention to these problems either.

Such an important and complicated matter as the implementation of the "new technologies—new rates" directive should be discussed at meetings of Party and trade union activists. It is necessary to prepare decisions theoretically and in conformity with the concrete conditions of the given industry, and to hold public discussions of measures designed to carry them out. This has to be done jointly with the trade unions.

Merely changing the rates will not ensure fulfilment of quotas. The task is to work out, in strict accordance with the "new technologies—new rates" directive, genuinely technologically-substantiated rates and create prerequisites for fulfilling quotas through appropriate organization of labor, elimination of time losses and the raising of the workers' skills.

DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALIST AGRICULTURE

After the establishment of agricultural producers' cooperatives (APC) and the initial steps in organizing collective labor, steady development of the cooperatives into modern socialist specialized enterprises employing modern methods of farming has become the hub of full-scale socialist construction in agriculture. The striving of the cooperative farmers to achieve, with the help of development investments, maximum output and labor productivity at minimum production costs leads to ever closer cooperation between APC. The various forms of division of labor and cooperation gradually create better conditions for the application of achievements of science, machines and industrial methods. Ever more APC of the lower type turn into cooperatives of the medium and higher type. Big and economically strong cooperatives of the higher type have ample opportunities to apply achievements of modern agricultural science and technology and methods of collective labor.

The new economic system is to play the decisive role in the further socialist transformation and intensification of our agriculture. The combination of scientific methods of management, long-range planning and the system of economic levers ever more closely links the personal interests of the cooperative farmers with the interests of society.

Another principle gaining ground in agriculture is that what benefits society should benefit every socialist agricultural cooperative and every individual worker in agriculture.

The establishment of agricultural councils, the new principles of work of purchasing organizations, district farm machinery agencies and the agricultural bank branches, as well as promotion of contractual relations with the APC have facilitated broader application of scientific methods of management. The new methods of planning enable the APC to make wider use of the local conditions and the economic potentialities of the farms. The system of economic levers has become more effective. Elements of the new system of planning and management begin to be used on an increasingly wide scale in the APC and associations of purchasing cooperatives.

Further progress in agriculture calls for the systematic development of the new economic system and of cooperative forms of farming. This will be taking place gradually, chiefly through more comprehensive division of labor and cooperation between APC, the construction of auxiliary and inter-cooperative enterprises and greater supply of the means of production. Administrative measures, still necessary at present, will be more and more replaced by economic methods of management which stimulate the use of modern, industrial methods of farming.

IMPROVEMENT OF SOCIALIST PRODUCTION RELATIONS THROUGH DEVELOPMENT OF SUPERSTRUCTURAL ORGANS AND SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

I have said already that in the period of full-scale socialist construction the new economic system stimulates rapid development of the productive forces. At the same time it helps much to improve socialist production relations. The technological revolution induces us to develop planning and management in keeping with the new conditions, utilizing the most up-to-date technical means. Specialization and cooperation in industry poses new problems pertaining to the promotion and guidance of collective forms of labor. Enterprises with different forms of ownership, such as mixed enterprises, producers' cooperatives and private enterprises, are interested in establishing new relations with the publicly-owned industrial amalgamations. Only in cooperation with the latter can they raise production to a higher scientific and technological level, which would also conform to the personal interests of their owners.

THE ROLE OF THE WORKING CLASS

Our working class, whom the monopoly right of the bourgeoisie to education deprived of an opportunity to develop its creative abilities, has become the leading force of society. It is scaling the

heights of science, technology and culture. Our working class can take pride in these successes.

It has won great prestige and produced many of those who today manage enterprises, act as recognized and capable partners of economic experts of other countries, or pursue with dignity the policy of the GDR in the international arena.

In the process of socialist construction, in the struggle for higher labor productivity the working class and other sections of the working people have developed a new attitude to labor—indeed, a new mentality. In the persistent struggle against old habits there has developed a new man, member of socialist society, who forgoes egotism and moves to collectivism, who lives by standards of socialist morality.

Socialist collective labor, responsible for the outstanding scientific and technical achievements which a few weeks ago were demonstrated at the Leipzig jubilee fair, is at the same time an expression of a new creative atmosphere and of the spiritual values which have been created under the leadership of the working class. It is an important result of spiritual and cultural endeavor in the GDR that the working class has produced a body of young intellectuals from whom we expect major scientific and technical achievements and who cope successfully with problems of the technological revolution.

SOCIALIST CONSCIOUSNESS AND SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

Man with his requirements is the prime concern of our Party. The Party will continue to cultivate socialist consciousness, showing to the working people that the satisfaction of their personal interests depends above all on social progress in full-scale socialist construction. We can take note of a considerable enlivening of spiritual and creative life in our republic, especially in the past two years. It is expressed in big successes of collective labor in industry and scientific establishments, in the greater participation of people in public activities and in fulfilment of tasks set by the state. To stimulate this process, it has been decided to draft a labor code, a socialist economic code and a code of laws regulating the activities of the APC.

Promotion of socialist democracy, in particular the adoption of such laws as the law on a single socialist system of education, is the chief prerequisite for success in full-scale socialist construction. These laws are essential for swift scientific progress and for accomplishing the technological revolution. Summing up, we can say that a process of development of socialist society with the all-round participation of the people is under way, guided by the working class and the Socialist Unity Party of Germany in alliance

with the cooperative peasantry, the intelligentsia and the handicraftsmen.

A NEW MAJOR TASK: DEVELOP A SCIENCE GUIDING SOCIALIST SOCIETY, THE STATE AND THE ECONOMY

We hold that the victory of socialist production relations provides the basis for the further development of socialist democracy. In the period of full-scale socialist construction elaboration of a science of guiding society is a necessity. We have good experience in electing, in a democratic way, state organs and leaders of public organizations. But a deeper study should be made of questions of the work of elected organs, of combining correct scientific methods of guidance with the participation of the working people, and promoting their initiative.

We have long since set out elaborating a science of guiding the economy and the state, for experience shows that the new complex tasks cannot be accomplished with the help of old forms and methods of government. We were confronted with the need for a change in this field when we tackled economic problems. It takes a whole science to bring the interests of enterprises, their personnel and individual workers into full conformity with the interests of society. Formerly, when the situation was even more complicated because the results of collective labor were less conspicuous, we did not fully grasp the importance of this problem. Now we see that it cannot be solved by the old means. Having made a critical analysis of the theory of managing capitalist enterprises, we intend to develop a theory of managing socialist industrial enterprises and amalgamations. The basic ideas, as you know, were set forth at the 5th plenary meeting of the CC. This theory will make it possible fully to utilize all advantages of the socialist system. It will comprise modern methods of management, decision-making and realization of decisions.

In this connection I want to stress once again that the matter concerns first and foremost cooperation of people, guidance of labor collectives, and that guidance of things comes second. The new science deals, for instance, with important decision of department heads in the economic councils of directors of amalgamations pertaining to the prospects of work in their respective fields, including long-range planning.

But we will not limit ourselves to the theory of socialist industrial management. Acting in Lenin's way, we want to work out the basic ideas of collective labor under socialism and apply them to all aspects of administrative activity as well as to work in the Party and in public organizations.

As has been noted above, the people in the GDR have changed.

Our citizens, working people in particular, have become more mature politically, more experienced and independent. They now have a higher sense of dignity. They feel responsible for everything done. Indeed, they demand this, for they realize that it will be in their own interests if the tasks facing society are carried out correctly. Collective bodies of workers consisting of such people cannot be guided by the old methods. All political and ideological work among them should be raised to a higher level, for a contradiction may appear if political and ideological work remains unchanged at a time when people go on developing and their spiritual requirements, while remaining common as far as the general tasks are concerned, become more and more diversified. Hence the new form of dialectical relationship between society as a whole and a body of the working people or the individual workers, between centralism and democracy, between leaders and those who are led, between discipline and independence, between the assignment of duties and personal responsibility. Further development of socialist democracy not only in economics but in all spheres of social life is on the order of the day.

Sometimes it is argued that extension of socialist democracy signifies a lessened authority of leadership. That is not so. The Party and the state are guided collectively. The complicated problems of full-scale socialist construction and the technological revolution cannot be solved without the high authority of leadership. On the other hand, it should be clear that the high authority of leadership does not signify tutelage, negation of personal responsibility and of independent thinking. The effectiveness of leadership depends on the ability to apply Marxist-Leninist theory creatively and take decisions collectively, while retaining personal responsibility and initiative, on the knowledge of the laws of social progress, the political problems of our day, the modern level of world science and technology, and on close links with the people. Thus, in our time the authority of leadership is strengthened first and foremost due to its ability to raise and solve correctly cardinal problems of social development, to give people a clear orientation, to mobilize and coordinate their efforts. Such leadership does not give rise to contradictions with the people and does not lead to a waste of effort on internal friction, which is the case under imperialism.

Modern large-scale socialist production demands scientific management based on carefully balanced plans and giving, with the help of economic levers, the maximum effect of economic activity. Therefore scientifically grounded management is assigned first place in the new economic system. Some economic executives, especially in the central bodies, have understood this in an entirely wrong way. As a result, the realization of our planned assignments is greatly hampered by continued resort to formal-administrative

methods, by an increasing waste of time and effort on correspondence and accounting. Paperwork weighs particularly heavy on industrial amalgamations and individual enterprises, affecting efficiency in many fields.

Elimination of dogmatic forms of economic management and bureaucratic impediments is indispensable if we are to carry out the technological revolution.

It is perfectly clear that much remains to be studied, including the problem of selecting and training cadres, in order to create a science of socialist government.

We attach great importance to the education of executives. Education with the help of the collective plays an important part, of course. But we should not underestimate the importance of theoretical and practical training.

Successful performance is the main but not the only criterion for assessing the work of a leader. We should also know the motives guiding him. Some people, despite their successes, are not ripe for executive work yet, for they are motivated by ambition, by craving for power and other self-seeking interests. The success of such leaders often prove short-lived, for they are not backed up by the effort of a close-knit collective.

STRENGTHEN INTERNATIONALISM

Our Party has always endeavored to act in the spirit of socialist internationalism. This is testified to by the consolidation of friendship with the Soviet people, by the efforts to contribute to the fraternal cooperation of the states and peoples of the socialist world system, by our support to the anti-imperialist liberation movement of the peoples, by solidarity with the working people in the capitalist countries in their fight for peace, against the dictatorship of capitalist monopolies.

The U.S. imperialists have launched a barbaric attack on the people of Vietnam and its People's Republic. To support the liberation struggle of the Vietnamese people is the duty of all friends of peace and freedom. The outrageous aggression of U.S. imperialism against Vietnam has evoked the indignation of peace-loving and upright people the world over. President Johnson shows contempt for the Vietnamese people by declaring that he stands for unconditional negotiations while making all negotiations impossible by brutal bombings of peaceful Vietnamese towns. The peoples should resolutely declare to the U.S. government that the withdrawal of the U.S. troops is the only means of guaranteeing the Vietnamese people's right to self-determination and preserving peace. It is a disgrace for West Germany that the Bonn government supports the U.S. aggression and that Social-Democratic leaders

Wehner, Erler and Brandt have sided with the flunkeys of the U.S. imperialists. We hail the agreement between the CPSU and the Party of Working People of Vietnam on active support. The common interest of the Communist and Workers' parties of all countries in repulsing the U.S. armed aggression demands that the fraternal parties should rally and discontinue open discussion of differences. The imperialists should be deprived of the opportunity to capitalize on the disagreements between the Communist Party of China and other Communist parties. We are convinced that Communist unity can be cemented precisely in the struggle against the U.S. aggression. As regards the differences of opinion, these should be smoothed out in a businesslike way in talks and in journals.

Consolidation of the unity of the socialist countries has a direct bearing on their rapid economic progress and the overcoming of national exclusiveness. Internationalism presupposes the ability of every party to make its contribution to the consolidation of the socialist world system by rapidly developing the productive forces, increasing labor productivity and promoting economic cooperation.

Not only we in our coutry ponder over the fact why industrial development in the socialist countries slowed down and their lead over the capitalist countries in industrial growth rates diminished in recent years. This and some other phenomena are indicative of a loss of tempo in the economic competition with capitalism. (I spoke about that in my concluding remarks at the 7th CC meeting). The present situation is such: people see more or less clearly the forms in which time is lost and pay more and more serious attention to this, but the causes of the loss of time are often determined superficially and even incorrectly. This has so far prevented uprooting the evil by joint effort.

It is necessary that we should state our viewpoint, the viewpoint of the CC SPUG and the GDR government. It would be simplifying things to search for the cause of the insufficiently fast development of agriculture and scientific and technical progress in the difference in the industrial levels and living standards of the socialist countries. In our opinion, all Mutual Economic Aid Council (CMEA) countries have built a solid national foundation of socialist industry, and now they are all faced with the task of attaining a considerable increase in labor productivity, reaching the highest scientific and technical level, and accomplishing the technological revolution.

To prevent further loss of time and make up for lost ground, we should fully realize the importance of the technological revolution and do everything to carry it out to ensure the maximum effectiveness of the cooperation of the socialist countries and to use this cooperation to our benefit.

A correct policy in agriculture aimed at substantially raising agricultural output is of primary importance for all the socialist coun-

tries. Emphasis should be laid on intensification of production through increasing soil fertility and applying achievements of agrobiology and technology, mineral fertilizers and other chemicals, and employing industrial methods of farming.

It is important to promote such mutually advantageous economic relations between socialist countries which would be most conducive to the technological revolution. This calls for consistent effort to reach the world technological level and gain a say on determining it. Hence the importance of ideological work. It is small wonder that labor productivity is low where estrangement is preached.

Specialization also plays an important role. It is not sufficiently effective today because of the absence of commitments as regards the time limits of delivery, quality and price. Specialization will become truly effective only when standardization and cooperation are carried out, enabling the socialist countries to turn out finished equipment by joint effort.

The national economic interests should be thoroughly dovetailed, for the technological revolution and, with it, success in the economic competition with capitalism should be of maximum benefit both to each socialist country and to the socialist community and the world Communist movement as a whole.

In their economic cooperation, the CMEA countries need such economic levers as would encourage each of them to work vigorously for achieving the highest scientific and technical level, promote rating, typification and standardizing of output and carry out, on this basis, specialization and cooperation in production — always with an eye to manufacturing goods conforming to the higest scientific and technical standards. This necessitates a reappraisal of some old solutions.

RELATIONS OF THE GDR WITH NEWLY-FREE NATIONAL STATES

Along with maintaining good relations with the USSR and the socialist states, our Party and government constantly broaden economic, political and cultural contacts with the non-aligned states, especially with those national states that have freed themselves from the colonial yoke.

We have many interests in common with the national-liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America, which have in the last two decades led to the emergence of a large number of national and democratic states. We all want lasting peace, pursue the policy of friendship among the nations, and fight against imperialism, for the freedom and independence of all the countries and peoples exploited by colonialism and neocolonialism.

We attach special importance to economic, scientific and tech-

nical cooperation with the national states. In contrast to the Bonn state, which continues the colonial policy of the German Reich in a neocolonialist guise, we stand for economic cooperation on the basis of complete equality, mutual benefifit, and non-interference in domestic affairs.

One of the main problems confronting the national states is that of economic development, i.e., construction of a national industry, establishment of a powerful state sector in industry, and formation of a skilled working class measuring up to the demands of its historical mission. Industrialization helps these states ensure political independence economically. They expect from us special assistance in the form of long-term economic agreements enabling them to plan a stable and long-term economic basis free from any discrimination. They need industrial plant for processing local products, with a well-organized repair and maintenance service. They want mutually advantageous trade, with imports paid for with local goods, raw materials and increasing amounts of semi-manufactures and finished articles. They also want to draw more on the results of scientific research conducted in industrialized states. They expect us to set up, jointly with them, training centres and mixed companies, design offices and service facilities.

These national states show increasing interest in our experience in scientific planning and management of the national economy, which they want to apply in keeping with their specific conditions. The German Democratic Republic is ready to meet these wishes and share its experience of 20 years of economic and social development. We have drawn all strata of the people, all types of property, including semi-state, cooperative and private property, into democratic and socialist construction, and opened up a genuine prospect before all sections of the population representing these types of property. We have elaborated, in the shape of the new economic system, a scientific method of planning and managing a modern national economy. Some of our experience in this field can certainly be useful to the national states. We have not been free from shortcomings and setbacks in the past 20 years, but we have studied them thoroughly and drawn lessons from them.

We are prepared to pass over, in sincere exchange of experience and free from any political strings, this knowledge to the peoples and states fighting for their political and economic independence.

For this, it is necessary that our specialists knowing foreign languages make a deep study of the problems confronting these countries. This will enable them to carry out with greater competence the various wishes regarding cooperation.

During our visit to the UAR we adopted, together with President Gamal Abdel Nasser and the UAR government, a number of decisions on the participation of the GDR in the industrialization of the

UAR within the framework of the second five-year plan. We signed, for this purpose, an agreement on mutually advantageous cooperation. A joint economic committee, a joint scientific council and other agencies are being set up to carry the agreement into effect. By signing this agreement the GDR has undertaken important obligations. We see it as our duty to do everything in our power to assist in the economic development of the United Arab Republic, to support the cause of Arab and African unity.

Our organs responsible for economic and foreign policy should work out measures to extend cooperation with the national states.

In developing this cooperation we shall proceed from the following:

In these countries we have allies in our struggle against imperialism, for world peace and social progress. Their economic development is a guarantee of victory in the hard struggle for peaceful coexistence, against the imperialist expansionist policy, for the establishment of atom-free zones.

MORAL AND POLITICAL SUPERIORITY OF THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OVER THE WEST GERMAN FEDERAL REPUBLIC

The transformation of a part of the German people and its development in a new, socialist German state is a fact of tremendous importance in German history which will bear also on the future of Europe and the whole world.

To carry out this task, which could be done only under socialism, was our intention. By carrying it out we have made a vital contribution to the compensaion for the harm done to the peoples, and partially atoned for the crime into which the German imperialists drew our people. At the same time this is a bid to leadership of the nation which we make on behalf of the working class and all progressive forces.

In the 20 years since liberation the GDR has become a modern socialist state with a highly developed industry and an agriculture which is on a new upgrade after the peasants have united in cooperatives. Important problems still have to be solved, but it is clear already now that our state is living up to the demands of the time, that it is a state where vital social problems of the 20th century are being tackled, where the working people, the creators of material and spiritual values, have political power and are therefore free from oppression and exploitation. It is a state which is doing everything to promote research in the natural and social sciences in order to multiply the national wealth and place the benefits of culture and knowledge at the service of the members of socialist society. Guided by the humane aim of creating conditions for every man to

exercise his right to improve his professional skill and cultural level, the German Democratic Republic has established a system of education catering for the entire people.

We appreciate the results of the efforts of the West German population in as much as they serve the cause of peace and the well-being of the people. But what is the use of refrigerators and cars if people allow the ruling party to pursue the the suicidal policy of atomic armament and "forward strategy."

Let every working man in West Germany stop if only for a moment to think how greatly he has benefited by the existence of the GDR and the struggle waged by the GDR citizens; how many Nazi criminals have had to be removed from the Bonn state apparatus thanks to the efforts of the National Front of Democratic Germany; how the atomic armament of West Germany and the establishment of the multilateral nuclear forces have been impeded as a result of the struggle of the Warsaw Treaty states; what improvements in their standard of living the West German workers have been able to gain — due, in no small measure, to the Bonn government's hope of thus neutralizing the influence of socialism emanating from the GDR; what effect our educational system, the law on the youth and the law on the rights of women are having in West Germany.

Our political, social and moral successes compel the ruling circles in West Germany to make many concessions to the working people.

The old slanderous anti-communism is of no help any longer. We have not been free from difficulties in socialist construction. In Stalin's time there were mistakes and shortcomings, now removed, which were taken advantage of by capitalist propaganda.

Today, on the 20th anniversary of liberation, our Party and the National Front pridefully report to the people on the results of socialist construction, on the successes in the struggle for peace. The German Democratic Republic enjoys the respect of peace-loving people the world over. Its authority is growing, for its policy serves the cause of peace and international friendship. On the contrary, the Bonn government is treated with mistrust, as a violator of peace, and the Federal Republic, as a country which has failed to bury its aggressive militarist past.

We have built socialist democracy based on the principles: everything by the people, together with the people, for the people.

We ask the citizens of West Germany:

Would it be bad for you if you were under the protection of a law on peace?

If there were workers, peasants and scientists in your government?

If your trade unions had the right to take part in managing the economy, mines and factories?

If the Springer concern were to be expropriated for its war propaganda and put under the control of opponents of atomic war?

If part of the property was used by the state to make accumulation of property more fair?

If the basic rights of the younger generation, the equality of women and the right to education were ensured for all citizens, as was done in the GDR 15 years ago?

Only those can act on behalf of the German people who are against atomic armament, for disarmament, for normal relations between the two German states, for an atom-free zone in Europe.

People in all countries are rediscovering the German Democratic Republic for themselves as a bastion of peace in Germany, for its citizens have done away with the past and destroyed the pernicious spirit of militarism and Nazism.

The time has come for the citizens of West Germany as well to become convinced of the reality of the successes of the GDR. This will be to their benefit, to the benefit of the German nation.

The GDR enjoys moral and political superiority, for it has eliminated everything Nazi and reactionary that was in Germany's past, safeguarded the humanistic heritage of the German people by elevating protection of this heritage to the level of a supreme state law, liquidated the dictatorship of big monopolies and thus ensured the essential condition for genuine democratic development.

The GDR owes its moral and political superiority over the Federal Republic to its policy of friendship with all peoples. It has shaped a new foreign policy based on respect for the sovereignty of other states and equal relations with them. The elimination of the vestiges of the imperialist foreign policy and its struggle against neocolonialism have won the GDR the respect of all national democratic states.

On the 20th anniversary of liberation the population of the German Democratic Republic may take pride in the fact that the policy of their country has created the basis for the struggle for German reunification.

Those who refuse to have talks with the GDR and to come to agreement with it are against peace and against reunification.

GDR territory is a bulwark of peace; everything here is decided by the will of the people; Germany is here.

RESOLUTION* OF THE 9th PLENARY MEETING OF THE CC SUPG

The 9th plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, which has heard the report and approved the activities of its delegation to the Consultative Meeting

*Neues Deutschland, April 27, 1965.

of 19 Communist and Workers' parties, declares its full agreement with the documents adopted at the Meeting—the Communique and the Appeal for Solidarity with Vietnam.

The CC, SUPG regards the Consultative Meeting as a step forward in strengthening the unity of the world Communist movement. The course of the Meeting, the atmosphere in which it proceeded and the documents adopted by it map out a constructive way to increasing the might and cementing the cohesion of the world Communist movement.

The Moscow Meeting has shown that the divergencies that have arisen in the world Communist movement are not inherent in it. What is much more characteristic of it is its loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and hence its ability to overcome the difficulties in its ranks and achieve cohesion. The Meeting was indicative of a firm will for greater unity of action of all the Communist and Workers' parties, for mutual understanding and unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, and for patient and business-like work to overcome the differences of opinion.

The CC is in full agreement with the important thesis, contained in the Communique of the Consultative Meeting, that the decisive prerequisites for consolidating the unity of our movement are as follows: each Communist Party should display a higher sense of international responsibility and take an active part in the common fight against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism, for peace, national liberation, democracy, socialism and communism.

In view of this the SUPG resolutely supports the unanimous demand of the Consultative Meeting participants for a powerful worldwide movement against the aggressive actions of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam. The CC, SUPG expresses the firm conviction of the GDR population when it declares that the socialist states bear, in common, special responsibility for effective defense of a fraternal state, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, which has become victim to a piratic attack of the U.S. imperialists. Specifically, the socialist states have the common duty to give every support to the USSR, which is rendering fraternal assistance in the defense of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The facts show that the Soviet Government displays socialist internationalism not only in statements and demonstrations, but also in resolute practical actions. The CC approves the measures of solidarity with the DRV undertaken by the CC Political Bureau and the GDR Council of Ministers.

Of great importance for promoting joint actions by the Communist parties is the approval and reaffirmation by the Consultative Meeting participants of the decisions of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee aimed at barring the West German militarists' access to any nuclear weapons and guaranteeing peace and security in Europe.

Faced with the new aggressive actions of U.S. and West German imperialism, all the Marxist-Leninist parties should agree with the conclusion, contained in the Communique of the Consultative Meeting, on the special need, in the present situation, for the appropriate measures to surmount the difficulties in the Communist movement and strengthen its cohesion. The SUPG not only agrees with the proposals of the Consultative Meeting for consolidating Communist unity, but, in effect, carries out, on the international plane, such measures as joint militant actions by fraternal parties, combined efforts to develop and improve relations between parties, and multilateral and bilateral meetings of fraternal parties. Specifically, the SUPG considers international seminars and colloquiums on topical problems of the world working-class movement to be useful and in the interest of unity.

In line with the viewpoint substantiated at our Sixth Congress, the CC supports the opinion, expressed at the Consultative Meeting, regarding the need for an end to public polemic, which is unfriendly and uncomradely in character. The SUPG holds that in view of the need for joint struggle against imperialism, it is more important to achieve at least some community of views and actions of all the Communist parties on issues of vital importance for the peoples, than to indulge in unrestrained public polemic between fraternal parties.

The CC reiterates its conviction that thorough preparations for and the holding of an international conference of representatives of the Communist annd Workers' parties would be highly conductive to the fight for peace, to a world-wide struggle against imperialism, and to the collective theoretical and practical solution of the new outstanding problems of development of the socialist world system, the national-liberation movement, and the working-class movement in the capitalist states.

The meeting notes with profound satisfaction that the participants in the Consultative Meeting took great pains to canvass the opinions of all the Communist and Workers' parties and displayed a new approach to the question of finding the most expedient ways of preparing an international conference of the world Communist movement. The proposal to convene a preparatory consultative meeting of the 81 Communist and Workers' parties to discuss problems pertaining to the convening of a new international conference creates favorable conditions for the participation of all the fraternal parties in preparing the new international conference. The SUPG considers this proposal of the Moscow Meeting to be genuinely constructive and democratic, for it presupposes active joint efforts, mutual consultations and collective agreements between parties.

The CC will take all measures to help hold the preparatory consultative meeting of the 81 parties.

In conformity with the Program of Socialism approved by the Sixth Party Congress and with the fundamental proposition of the documents of the world Communist movement jointly adopted in 1957 and 1960, the SUPG will in the future as well strive to creatively apply Marxist-Leninist principles in the course of the full-scale socialist construction, in the struggle for the relaxation of tension and for peaceful coexistence, against aggressive West German imperialism. Together with the other Communist parties, the SUPG will consistently and determinedly work for stronger friendship and cooperation of the states of the socialist community, for the unity of all the Communist parties and all the revolutionary forces of the world.

SPEECH* BY FIDEL CASTRO AT MAY DAY MEETING IN HAVANA

As we once again celebrate the International Day of Working People in our homeland, the Free Territory of America, some of the finest, most glorious pages in the history of the Dominican people are being written and the most barbaric, criminal and infamous acts of the century are being perpetrated on the soil of the fraternal Dominican Republic.

We all know what is happening in Santo Domingo. There is no need to repeat the facts. But we must draw the necessary conclusions from them.

Rarely have the cynicism and criminality of U.S. imperialism been manifested so openly; rarely have the people said "Death to U.S. imperialism!" with greater hate and indignation.

Infamies are being perpetrated in defiance of world public opinion, international laws and agreements, and not only in defiance of laws binding on all states, but also of agreements the U.S. government concluded with its own allies and even more than allies—with its accomplices in foul deeds, the servile oligarchies with which the U.S. imperialists signed the Bogota and Rio de Janeiro treaties and pan-American agreements—and who knows how many other agreements. They have unhesitatingly scrapped even the agreements they concluded with governments which have been following in the wake of their reactionary policy.

The perfidy of U.S. policy has been demonstrated more glaringly than ever before. Sometimes the USA does its utmost to camouflage its actions, but this it did not, or could not, do so. At a time when the whole world is deeply alarmed by its aggressive actions in Southeast Asia, by its barbaric and criminal attacks on the people of North Vietnam, by their criminal war against the people of South Vietnam which they are waging with the help of South Korean, Australian and other mercenaries in the hope of internationalizing it, there arises the issue of Santo Domingo. There, in Southeast Asia, the U.S. imperialists claim that all their outrages are committed in defense of the sovereignty of South Vietnam, this fictitious republic of their own making. Here they send their marines to a sovereign and free state, destroy its sovereignty and trample upon the rights of its people. And what is the pretext this time? Nothing more nor less than "defense of the life and property of American citizens"!

*Abridged.

Some Latin American governments, which, with a few exceptions, have been very soft-spoken, too soft-spoken and timid in their protests, speak of humanitarian motives. What humanitarian motives can there be? The U.S. imperialists are landing marines on the territory of the Dominican Republic for the same allegedly humanitarian motives they invoked only a few months ago when, aided and abetted by their Belgian allies, they sent in paratroopers to the Congo.

But let us examine this pretext.

To begin with, not a single U.S. citizen has lost his life in the civil war in the Dominican Republic, in which, needless to say, hundreds of Dominicans have perished. But, besides this, what right has any country—if it is not the "right" of its guns, warships and warplanes, the "right" of armed force—to send troops to another country under the pretext of protecting the life and property of its citizens? By this token not a single weak country can remain sovereign and independent, not a single small people anywhere in the world can enjoy sovereignty. For the same pretext could be used by other countries for sending in their own troops—by Britain, France, Spain, Italy or Japan. In short, any strong, any big country could arrogate to itself the right to send troops to any small country where its subjects reside or own property.

If one were to go by this philosophy, this interpretation of law, this criterion—what security, what guarantee can there be for any small people, what law and order, what peace can exist in the world? Yet it was this feeble pretext, unjustifiable from the moral, legal or human viewpoint, that was used for invading, in the second half of the 20th century, an independent American state.

It was also a false pretext, because the real purpose of the landing was to save the reactionary Dominican "gorillas," to save the agents of U.S. imperialism at a moment when the Dominican people decided to settle accounts with them once and for all.

Against what was this action taken? Against a socialist revolution? By no means. Or perhaps against what we might call a national-liberation revolution? No! What they wanted was no more and no less than to suppress a constitutionalist movement, a movement which demanded the return of a President elected in accordance with a bourgeois Constitution, within the framework of the "representative democracy" extolled by the imperialists, who were ousted two years ago. They wanted to suppress a movement launched by army officers disagreeing with the regime, a movement similar to the movement which could have developed in our country on March 10 had the people been able to obtain arms and which emerged in other Latin American countries.

Was it a socialist revolution? No, it was not! A Communist revolution? No! It was a constitutionalist movement based on the

same ideology, the same concepts which the U.S. imperialists claim to uphold. Therefore the actions of the U.S. government run counter not only to elementary standards of law, but also to the very creed the imperialists purportedly profess. And all this is being done in order to protect out-and-out reactionaries, extreme rightists, "gorillas," and outspoken followers of Trujillo.

The constitutionalist movement is demanding the return of the man whom the country constitutionally elected President: Juan Bosch. Perhaps Bosch is, or used to be, a Communist? Never! Juan Bosch has no need to explain that he is not a Communist, because no one has ever taken Juan Bosch for a Communist. He is giving such explanations to the imperialists, of course. Well, let him. But we know that Bosch never was and probably never will be a Communist. We say "probably" because some time in the future, after everything he has experienced, he may begin to think differently.

Who are the officers heading the movement? The name of one, Colonel Caamano, we had never heard before. Another, Miguel Angel Ramirez, was called the head of the constitutionalists. Ramirez has never been a Communist. He even fought for Figueres in the armed struggle in Costa Rica which brought Figueres to power. Is it not the same Miguel Angel Ramirez who fought together with Figueres? And who can say that Jose Figueres is a Communist?

It is quite logical, however, that the imperialists should try to paint the constitutionalist movement red. They had absolutely no grounds, not the least pretext for this, of course. But as soon as these events in Santo Domingo took place, as soon as they realized that the "gorillas" headed by the puppet Colonel—or General Elias Wessin were being overpowered by the constitutionalists supported by the people, the U.S. news agencies, the mouthpiece of the United States, began, in their usual style, in their well-known manner, to repeat and disseminate rumors that the constitutionalist movement was a Communist movement, a Left movement, that chaos and cruelty reigned in Santo Domingo, that embassies were being attacked. It is interesting that while they kept reporting attacks on embassies, that of Ecuador included, the Ecuadoran government refuted these rumors and declared that its embassy had never been attacked. So did other countries whose embassies were alleged to have been attacked by the revolutionaries.

The resistance of the Dominican people, their staunchness, their patriotism made the situation increasingly difficult for the U.S. imperialists, who tried to give a semblance of legality to their actions. They convened the Organization of American States. And what did they propose? That the intervention be internationalized, legalized. In this way their intervention would cease to be unilateral and their troops in the Dominican Republic would become troops of the OAS.

In other words, the U.S. government is trying to force the Latin American governments into sharing the responsibility for its crime, to stain them with the bloodshed as a result of its crime, to legalize its crime.

In the meantime, unable to suppress the people, they are maneuvering. Some cease-fire talks are reported to have been held, and now the U.S. government maintains that the only authority they recognize is that of the San Isidro base, that is to say, the power of General Wessin.

But when launching its aggression the United States declared that there was no government in Santo Domingo. Thus, already in the course of the cease-fire talks, they have tried to prepare the ground for the victory of the "gorillas."

They will probably attempt to disarm the people. They will probably attempt to have the people lay down arms during the cease-fire. But *Prensa Latina* reports that the constitutionalist leaders are making a cease-fire conditional on the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Dominican territory.

This demand does honor to the constitutionalist leaders; it enhances their prestige in the eyes of the whole world. And it should be said that yesterday and today, when U.S. troops with tanks and Wessin's forces sought to cross the Duarte Bridge, the constitutionalist troops and civilian fighters met them with resolute resistance and heavy fire. According to reports, three U.S. marines and two paratroopers have been killed and more than 15 wounded in Santo Domingo. Thus, the people of the Dominican Republic have proved what has been proved already by Sandino and by the heroic Vietnamese people: that the U.S. marines are mortals, that they are not bullet-proof, that they cannot escape a dog's death when fired upon wherever they may be committing their crimes.

Honor and glory to the people and fighters of the Dominican Republic for showing once again that the mercenaries of imperialism are not invulnerable and that having come to kill they fully deserve to die!

Confronted with this situation, the imperialists have landed fresh troops in Santo Domingo, but the Dominican people have already exposed their plans; they have forced them to discard their mask; the people have seen the imperialists' real intentions and branded them as enemies of the peoples and defenders and allies of reaction, for they have come to defend the same Wessin whose planes strafed the city, killing hundreds of peaceful citizens, hundreds of women and children, and filling the hospitals with founded. The people have seen that when they rise to square accounts with this Wessin, the same empire, the same U.S. soldiers who installed Trujillo and his government during their previous intervention and who, supported by warships, prevented the development of the

revolution of the Dominican people after Trujillo's fall, the same marines poured in to defend the butchers who are bombing cities and killing civilians, killing Dominican workers, peasants and students.

The imperialists' slander and lies will not fool or mislead anyone. Johnson declared, with characteristic cynicism, that "men trained abroad" tried to assume control of the situation. Yes, it is men trained by the imperialists in Fort Bragg and in Panama, the "gorillas" and their U.S. advisers, who are trying to control the situation, to suppress the Dominican revolution. They are the only foreign agents operating in the Dominican Republic.

Now they are looking for Communists among the thousands of fighters and say they have found some among the constitutionalists.

It would be strange if they claimed there are Communists among the "gorillas," among the defenders of imperialism, among the defenders of Wessin.

We do not know how many Communists there are. Perhaps their number is small. But there is no doubt that in this fight no Communist will side with the imperialists, with the "gorillas." He will fight, as his revolutionary duty commands him, for the Constitution, for the party upholding the Constitution even if this party declares itself to be "non-Communist," even if this party swears that it does not wish to have anything in common with the Communists.

And now they are busy trying to track down prominent Dominican Communists. But this is the most ridiculous and absurd pretext. We do not know whether there were Communists in Ethiopia when Mussolini attacked it, but if there were, they certainly did not fight for Mussolini. We do not know where the Communists were in other countries subjected to attacks, but the duty of every Communist is to fight on the side of the popular movement even when the Communists are a minority, even when they number only a dozen. Wherever the people are fighting against their traditional enemies, the Communists should fight together with the people.

What do these actions of the U.S. imperialists show? They show that the imperialists are stricken by fear, that their nerves are on edge.

There was a revolution also in Venezuela. The Communist Party took part in this revolution which overthrew Perez Jimenez. It was a much better organized, much more numerous and much more experienced party than the Communist Party of the Dominican Republic. It took an active part in the struggle. Anti-imperialist sentiment in Venezuela was perhaps much stronger than in the Dominican Republic. I say "perhaps," for this is a mere supposition. But the imperialists did not resort to intervention. They used other methods and means. They engineered a split among the people, employing for the purpose one of the political parties and its leader,

the notorious Romulo Betancourt, who, naturally, does not open his mouth today to utter a word against the U.S. intervention in the Dominican Republic.

They divided the people, whipped up anti-communism and—for the time being, at least—impeded the revolution in Venezuela.

The fact that the imperialists had to make haste, the fact that they did not use the same tactics as in Venezuela but resorted to military occupation in reply to a civilian and military, constitutionalist, not Communist, uprising in behalf of Juan Bosch, who has sworn a thousand times that he is not a Communist and who really has nothing to do with Communists—these facts show that they feel nervous, that they have lost self-control, that they have lost confidence in their traditional tactics.

But they have embarked on a dangerous gamble in which they stand to lose rather than to win, because, first and foremost, they are discrediting all those bourgeois governments which have been looking for a fig leaf to conceal their complicity witl. the imperialists. These government, which believed in the policy of the "good neighbor" and in the Alliance for Progress, which believed that the epoch of the "big stick" and marine landings was a thing of past, and which truly trusted this wolf disguised as the Little Red Riding Hood—these governments have been taught a good lesson; they have been sadly disappointed and have found themselves in a very embarassing position vis-a-vis their own peoples, because what is at issue is no longer communism or anti-communism, or socialism, or bourgeois-democratic revolution, but the independence and sovereignty of the peoples of the continent.

To accept the U.S. intervention in the Dominican Republic calmly and silently means to renounce the right of the Latin American people to independence, to recognize the right of the United States to send its marines to any Latin American country whenever it chooses to do so. Such is the dilemma facing all the Latin American governments vis-a-vis their peoples: to recognize or to deny the right of the United States to intervene, to renounce or to uphold their sovereignty, for there are U.S. citizens in all the Latin American countries (with the exception of Cuba, where there are only a few, and they are friends of Cuba.

To recognize the right of the United States to intervene in the Dominican Republic on the plea of defense of the life and property of U.S. citizens means to recognize its right to intervene in any Latin American country, because there are U.S. citizens and U.S. property in each of these countries. It is a grave dilemma; it would be worse still to legalize this crime, to internationalize this intervention.

Some governments have protested, in a rather delicate form, against the intervention. But it must be noted that only one govern-

ment has demanded the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from the Dominican Republic. It is not a socialist government; it is neither a friend nor an enemy of ours; it is very far from being Marxist-Leninist. But it should be admitted that this government formulated its demand in no uncertain terms. It is the government of Chile.

The Chilean government has demanded the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Santo Domingo. And this is the only correct stand. There can be no other stand, no other formula, because no government will be forgiven by the peoples for justifying and legalizing this crime. The imperialists must be forced to withdraw their marines from the Dominican Republic! The imperialists must be forced to stop their armed intervention, their interference in the civil war, their war against the people, against the Dominican patriots! And this must be done not only by the peoples of Latin America, but by the peoples of the whole world.

In the Dominican Republic, the Latin American governments and one of the Latin American peoples are reaping the bitter fruit of the stupid, criminal, irresponsible policy pursued in relation to our country. They are reaping the fruit of complicity with the imperialists' actions against Cuba; the fruit of agreements signed in Costa Rica, Punta del Este and Washington; the fruit of the support given to U.S. actions against Cuba, of abetting the United States' piratic actions against Cuba, of tolerance of and complicity with the aggression against our country, the Playa Giron attack, the economic blockade, the piratic raids, the breaking of diplomatic relations with our country.

Today the American continent can appreciate the fact that Cuba has been defending, like no one else, the right to non-interference; that Cuba has been defending, like no one else, the right of the Latin American peoples to independence; that it was Cuba that—not through concessions to the imperialists, but by affirming its dignity and relying on the revolutionary spirit of our people—has been holding the U.S. imperialists in check and defending the right of the peoples of America to sovereignty. Cuba alone came out against the imperialists, against cowardly governments, against these accomplices, against the yellow trade unions which assist the State Department in maintaining the blockade and sabotage the unloading of ships flying the flag of countries trading with Cuba. Now the American peoples can see their real face, the face of traitors bartering their countries, scoundrels who have sold out to the U.S. imperialists, enemies of the peoples of America, enemies of the sovereignty of the peoples of America!

Cuba alone put up resistance and carried high the banner of its independence and sovereignty. Cuba alone, by defending its rights, defended the rights of the other peoples as well.

Today America can see who is really interfering in the domestic affairs of other peoples and trampling upon their sovereignty. The imperialists' cynical statements cannot mislead anyone. Their own press and their own legislators have declared that their chief aim in the Dominican Republic was to prevent "another Cuba."

To begin with, this is a lie. It was not a revolution of the Cuban type, it was not a Communist revolution. But even if it were a Cuban-type revolution, a Communist revolution, what right have the imperialists to prevent the peoples from carrying out revolutions they want? It is the sovereign historical right of every people to establish, build and develop within their frontiers the type of society they find necessary, to set it up by their own methods—by legal methods, if they so wish, or by revolutionary methods, as we have done.

No country or group of countries has the right to prevent any people from accomplishing the type of revolution they deem necessary. If the people want a bourgeois-democratic revolution, let them accomplish a bourgeois-democratic revolution. If they want a socialist revolution, let them accomplish a socialist revolution. If they want Christian-democratic reforms, let them effect these reforms. Let every people do, within their frontiers, whatever they think is best for their happiness, for their future!

The revolution, the revolutionary struggle in the Dominican Republic, is not of a socialist or Marxist-Leninist character. But even if it were a socialist or Communist revolution the U.S. imperialists would have no right to send their marines all the same. And although they are not Communists we salute the heroes, the valiant fighters of the Dominican Republic!

To be a Communist one must be politically conscious, one must have strong philosophical, historical and social convictions, a thorough understanding of the problems of society and history. The possibility of becoming a Communist in this sense has appeared only in our day.

But wherever the people fight more or less conscioúsly, with a more or less clear understanding of the causes of their misery, poverty and hunger, wherever the people fight against oppressors, they are sure to enjoy in any epoch, in any historical period, the admiration of other peoples.

That is why we admire the heroic fighters of the Dominican Republic and pay homage to the memory of those who have fallen defending their people, defending their cause, fighting against the "gorillas" and the U.S. invader. That is why we respect and admire them so much. And we are convinced that the imperialist intervention is a gamble doomed to failure which will merely aggravate the contradictions of imperialism and engender contempt for it.

The revolutionary movement is castigated for its Left trend. But

it is the U.S. intervention that imparts a Left character to it. The Dominicans are propelled to the Left by the perfidious U.S. aggression, by the U.S. imperialists' complicity with the butchers of the Dominican people, with the secret police agents who hunt down and kill the sons of the people, with reactionaries, with criminals, with those who in cold blood machine-gun and bomb peaceful citizens, with those who slaughter and maim hundreds and even thousands of innocent people. All this makes an indelible impression, leaves an ineradicable imprint.

The imperialists will probably resort to their "food for peace" and their medicaments to wash off the blood and allay the hatred. But nothing, absolutely nothing will help them allay the wrath, loathing, and indignation of the Dominican people. And nothing can stop the Dominicans' struggle, for these heroic patriots, who braved tanks and destroyed them, who stormed the Ozama Fortress despite the invasion, will never retreat or cease fighting. They are fighting, just as the Vietnamese are fighting, just as Sandino fought, as the Venezuelans are fighting, as the Colombians are fighting. They will continue their struggle, for nothing and nobody can suppress the will and heroic militancy of the peoples.

Public opinion the world over should be roused. The government of Cuba has exposed in the United Nations the United States' criminal aggression in the Dominican Republic. The Soviet Union has demanded a Security Council session to discuss the question. And we are confident that the cause of the Dominican people will be supported not only by the Socialist states, but also by all nonaligned states, by the majority of the peoples of the world, for no people can remain indifferent to such shameless and criminal actions. It is necessary to rouse world public opinion. It is necessary to demand the withdrawal of the imperialist troops from the sovereign and independent Dominican Republic.

The imperialists are brazenly aggressive. I have made the point that desperation and fear are their counsellors. But we know that the imperialists are blackmailers by their nature. We know them well, even too well. We have learned to know them gradually, step by step.

In Vietnam, there was, at first, an alleged torpedo-boat attack, followed by counter attacks and then systematic attacks no longer of a retaliatory nature. Then troops sent to the South. Then aircraft went into action.

Here, in the Dominican Republic, there was, at first, a small group of marines and several ships "to protect the life and property of U.S. citizens." Then more marines disembarked, followed by an airborne division and the setting up of a neutralized zone under the pretext of maintaining order. This pattern is methodically employed by the U.S. imperialists in every gamble, in every crime.

It is only natural that the aggressive policy of the imperialists should alarm all the peoples. The past several months have witnessed a succession of interventions in the Congo, Vietnam, and the Dominican Republic. And all this in less than a year. These are irresponsible, reckless, dangerous actions. Fearing revolutions, afraid of the inevitable changes taking place in the world, the imperialists are vainly trying to halt the march of history in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Their aggressiveness must be countered.

Problems of peace agitate all of us. Only irrational, irresponsible people fail to realize the importance of peace. We all realize it, but the defense of peace should not be passive. While acting in defense of peace we should not preach humility. There can be no "peace at any price!" Ever since the October crisis we have been advocating peace with dignity.

The concern of the peoples for peace should under no circumstances imply allowing the imperialists to kill people and expand aggression with impunity. Merely to say that peace should be fought for and that all the peoples should shoulder the responsibility for it is not enough. We are convinced that this is not enough to ensure genuine peace, for we are confronted with a blackmailing, calculating and self-seeking mentality, a Yankee mentality, the mentality of the Yankee rulers.

In the first place, Johnson is an accomplished hypocrite. During his election campaign against Goldwater, who advanced the most aggressive slogans of imperialism, he posed as a champion of peace, as an advocate of peaceful solutions, as an opponent of military gambles, seeking to capitalize on the anxiety of the American people, who voted not so much for Johnson as against Goldwater. The events have shown that we were right when we said during the U.S. elections that between two evils it's not worth choosing.

Johnson has deceived the U.S. public. Many newspapers in Europe hailed Johnson's victory over Goldwater. But Johnson, with his irresponsible, adventuristic, neurotic policy, has embarked on an extremely perilous road in Vietnam and in the Dominican Republic, and who knows what part of the world he will choose for similar action in the future.

As President, Johnson is continuing the policy of the Pentagon "gorillas," of the most reactionary circles in the United States. But it is clearly a policy of blackmail. Yankee mentality is based on the theory of nuclear equilibrium. They consider that this equilibrium makes nuclear war impossible, that therefore they have wide opportunities for criminal acts such as a limited war, subversion, intervention and air raids, and that the growing destructive power of nuclear weapons plays into their hands, enabling them to perpetrate every kind of outrage.

We hold that the imperialists must be made to abandon this way of thinking. They must be made to realize that they are playing with fire.

Judging by the facts, the danger of war will go on growing unless the imperialists abandon this way of thinking, unless they see that this is a dangerous road and realize that they cannot continue this policy. Only then will genuine relaxation begin. Only then will the situation begin to change.

All of us, all the peoples of the socialist countries, all the peoples of the world, should take pains to bring this home to the imperialists. We should face the reality, we should face the dangers with which history and our epoch confront us. The imperialists have to be rapped on the knuckles somewhere, in Vietnam or some other place!

In Vietnam they are trying to prepare the ground for internationalizing the war and strangling the liberation movement. Their air raids on North Vietnam are conducted for the express purpose of intimidation. They threaten certain countries with attack. Their aim is to create conditions for internationalizing the war through direct involvement of their own air and land forces as well as New Zealand and Canadian troops. No, not Canadian troops — I beg the Canadians to forgive me, may they never do what the Australians are doing! Yes, involving Australian and South Korean troops, bombing the South from hundreds of planes, using toxic gas and incendiary bombs in order to suppress the revolutionary movement in the South. In the same way they are trying to create conditions for this in the North.

In the first place, an end must be put to their air raids on North Vietnam. It is necessary to foil these plans, to make North Vietnam a graveyard of U.S. planes. This should be achieved by all means, with anti-aircraft weapons and planes, with the help and participation of the entire socialist camp.

This is not the place and time to go into these problems, but we consider that efforts should be pooled to turn North Vietnam into a graveyard for U.S. planes. But this will not be enough. The U.S. imperialists should be warned that internationalizing the war in South Vietnam would mean internationalizing the war in Southeast Asia. They should be warned that the presence of U.S. and Korean troops — no, South Korean troops, let the real Koreans forgive me — the presence of South Korean and Australian troops entitle the socialist countries to send their volunteers to fight in South Vietnam.

In short, we consider that the imperialists should be rapped on the knuckles somewhere, that their backbone should be broken somewhere, that the risk should be taken somewhere, and we want the imperialists to know that we are prepared for this. And I am confident — for we all know very well that they are bluffers — that

then they will begin having second thoughts, whereas now they attack without thinking, drop bombs without thinking and shoot and kill without thinking first.

Nobody wants war, and nobody can want war. The peoples want peace, they strive to live in peace, to work and develop in peace. They want to build their happiness, but this happiness has to be won in a sensible way.

A difficult, complicated situation has been created in the world by U.S. imperialism, whose mentality is moulded by FBI tales and cowboy, Tom Mix and Tarzan films. In the final count, a certain role is played here by the habit of simplifying things, by a superficial approach to reality, by the abysmal ignorance — above all political ignorance — which exists alongside a highly developed technology.

A politically mature people cannot calmly accept the argument that a sovereign country is invaded for the protection of two or three thousand Yankees who tour the Dominican Republic or do business in Santo Domingo, and that two or three thousand Yankees — most of them drunkards, exploiters, brothel habitués and playboys — mean more than the rights of a country, of a sovereign nation, the rights of the millions of citizens of that country, the rights of all countries which cannot remain indifferent towards this violence.

That is why I say that the situation in the world is complicated and difficult. We have to fight a formidable enemy. But we have to know this formidable enemy, to know how to deal with him. And this formidable enemy has to be rapped on the knuckles somewhere. He has to be shown that he is really playing with fire.

We are only a part, an insignificant part of this world. Our possibilities are limited. We confine ourselves to stating our opinion, our views. But we believe that the imperialists' deeds will ever more vividly confirm the correctness of our words.

Counter their aggressive and interventionist policy with the strategy of assisting the revolution everywhere and on all fronts! Counter their aggressive and interventionist strategy with the revolutionary strategy of the peoples, of the revolutionary movements, of he Communist parties of all the world! Counter the interventionist strategy of the gringos, the aggressiveness of the gringos, with a revolutionary offensive on all fronts, with assistance to the revolution on all fronts.

We are striving for peace, but we shall not beg for peace, we shall not pray for peace, we shall not make humble pleas for peace. Nobody can accuse us of warmongering, for to incite war is one thing and to resist imperialist blackmail, quite another. It is one thing to be a warmonger and quite another to open the eyes of peaple to the true value of phenomena. And if peace is rated very high-

ly in the human scale of values, there are values which are rated even higher. We all want to enjoy peace. We cannot conceive of peace for some people and of war for others. How can we enjoy peace at a time when phosphorus and napalm bombs are being dropped on the Vietnamese?

No, this concept of peace is inacceptable to us. We want peace for all, we want all people to live in peace. Only then shall we have the right and be free to enjoy peace.

The dangerous enemy must be combated. It must be countered intelligently and resolutely. For this enemy is like a tiger. If you show your back to it, it will attack you from behind. But if you stare it in the eyes, it will not attack.

The U.S. millionaires, the U.S. monopolists, want to enjoy life and do not want to die. The people whom the U.S. millionaires oppress and exploit will probably be more ready to die than the Yankee monopolists. The millionaires want to save their skins and do not want to die. So long as they believe that nothing threatens their skins they do whatever they choose. But when they realize that they can be incinerated, despite all their power, they will begin thinking differently.

What conclusions can we draw from the events in the Dominican Republic? We must be prepared. Paraphrasing the proverb we may say, "When your neighbor's house is on fire, prepare your weapons."

We have to prepare weapons, and prepare them well, in order to ensure — if these madmen, if this blockhead Johnson makes a mistake — that he should not be able to say again what he said on the day of the first landing in Santo Domingo, "The marines have landed safely," but would have to count the casualties by thousands, by tens of thousands, by hundreds of thousands and, if need be, by millions.

Our task is to prepare well, to arm ourselves still better, to strengthen our defenses in every way, so that this blackmailer should know what is in store for him, that our enemies should know that if they came here the war would not end with the landing. The war would not end so long as even one of us remained alive or even one gringo remained alive in our land!

Our people do not want to die. Nobody wants to die. Everybody thinks enthusiastically of the future, of his prospects. But we must be sure of our future. And on what can this confidence rest? We shall fight for our future without anxiety and fear — this is the reason for our staunchness, for our calmness. Nobody wants to die but everybody is ready to die! Nobody wants to die, but if our enemies compel us to fight, they will see what it means to fight.

When the enemies begin to kill our citizens, they will see what bullets and weapons mean! If attacked, we shall fight with courage and intelligence.

The imperialists know that we keep our powder dry, for we are aware of their habit of striking treacherously and suddenly. The imperialists know that they cannot destroy our weapons in a surprise attack. They will have to deal with people who will turn against them every rifle, every tank, every gun.

Nobody can say that our people are militarist-minded and want war. We are a gay and peaceful people. Precisely because of this they would better leave us in peace! Precisely because of this let them reckon with us. They probably do not even know what kind of people we are!

Hatred, loathing, scorn for the Yankees — there is enough of this in our country because of the way they have been treating us and other peoples. Our hatred for them grows not only because of their acts of aggression against Cuba. Our hatred for our enemies, the imperialists, grows because of their aggression against Vietnam, against the Congo, against the Dominican Republic, against any country! And we are building up our defenses.

Were it not for this state of things, we would be concerned with other questions, other themes on May Day: the exceptional enthusiasm of the people in work, in harvesting the sugar cane crop, the growth of the revolutionary consciousness of our people.

Our attention would be concentrated on the economic victoriesof the revolution. For instance, one of our tasks was to produce 5,100,000 tons of sugar before May Day. By 7 a.m. today, 5,159,266.4 tons had already been produced in our country! The task, which was really difficult, has been overfulfilled by almost 60,000 tons thanks to the enthusiasm and efforts of our people.

What has helped us to produce over five million tons of sugar (although all the factories I have told you about still exist: many people work at construction projects; the small farmers, formerly driven by hunger to sugar cane plantations, today remain on their plots; there is no unemployment, and we have to utilize big manpower resources for defense purposes)? We have achieved this largely due to better organization and above all due to mechanization. Cane loaders have begun to play the decisive role in saving manpower. As regards cane harvesters, we already have hundreds of them.

It should be stressed that the successes achieved by the people in harvesting this year's crop are due not only to enthusiasm and better organization, but also to more machines. Credit should be given to the efforts of the Soviet people, who have given us thousands of cane loaders, thousands of trailers, thousands of trucks, hundreds of cane harvesters.

While summing up our economic achievements today, we should, in all fairness, express our gratitude to the people who have contributed much to these victories by their technical assistance and

their machines. We should continue to work hard. We shall have to go on promoting mechanization, because we shall be compelled to keep large numbers of people in the defense system, and because there will be no unemployment in the future as well. Our need for machines will continue to grow. We shall need machines for cane sowing, harvesting and transportation, for modernizing sugar refineries.

The delegation which visited the Soviet Union was greatly impressed with the opportunities for acquiring equipment and machines needed for the development of our industry. For now, parallel with increasing the area under cane, we shall have to increase the capacities for processing it.

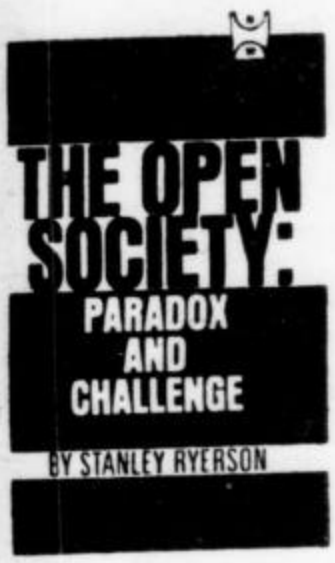
Prospects brighter than ever before open up before us on this May Day. Never before has the revolutionary consciousness of our people been so high. Never before have people worked with such enthusiasm. Never before have they believed in their future so firmly.

This could be seen even before this May Day from the activity of the masses during the Playa Giron victory week, from the optimism of the masses, from their enthusiasm displayed literally in everything: in work, in studies, in revolutionary aspirations, in expressions of solidarity with other peoples, in manifestations of internationalism. This is evident from all the achievements scored over these years by our indefatigable, determined and united peopl, a people always on the alert, people who have withstood all difficulties and who will withstand them in the future too! A victorious people who cannot be defeated!

THE OPEN SOCIETY

Paradox and Challenge

By Stanley Ryerson



A lucid discussion of the nature of freedom, in the light of claims usually made for the "open society" of the West. The paradox arises from the inability of the "Free World" to fulfill the promise of its democratic institutions. The challenge consists in the need to change society if the full potential of democracy is to be realized. In the conditions of the United States and Canada the author believes, socialism will enrich both democracy and the individual.

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K. H. HERMANSSON
Chairman, CP of Sweden

FOR LEBANON'S
PROGRESSIVE DEVELOPMENT

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FOR LEBANON'S PROGRESSIVE DEVELOPMENT

STATEMENT* OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF LEBANON

Never since the winning of political independence in 1943 have problems of the future of Lebanon been debated so heatedly as in recent years, especially since 1964.

I. THE PRESENT POLITICAL SITUATION

Despite the numerous steps that have been made in 21 years to strengthen national sovereignty, it remains a task for our Party to fight to consolidate independence and defend it against imperialist encroachments. The continued hesitancy of our government in foreign policy, its permanent gravitation towards the big imperialist countries and the West generally, and the contradictory stand it takes in inter-Arab relations, make it clear that the winning of political independence by no means signifies complete national political liberation. Although slogans of non-alignment continued to figure in recent official statements and reports, the feverish activity of the domestic reactionaries creates favorable conditions for imperialist interference and pressure.

The present "democratic" regime serves as a screen for the domination of the big capitalists, feudals and landowners and facilitates neo-colonialist penetration. It has not abandoned the methods of government and parliamentary representation and the laws it inherited from the imperialists.

The slight modification of the legislative and executive apparatus, especially in recent years, has not provided a reliable basis for for civil freedoms, nor has it ensured their effective exercise by the masses. The present laws and methods of government restrict, as before, the freedom of the press, of assembly and trade union activity. The freedom of the workers, peasants and other toilers is particularly limited. These laws are aimed chiefly against the forces fighting for the progress of Lebanon. The imperialists and reactionaries are still using the different religious communities existing in Lebanon as a weapon in the struggle against democratic reforms and for splitting the masses.

A most vivid example of falsified democracy is furnished by the parliamentary election law, which benefits the reactionaries by dividing the country into electoral areas in accordance with the

existing closed religious communities. By obliging a candidate to make a large guarantee payment, the law limits the chances of workers and peasants. In addition, it does not protect the people's freedom of choice against falsification.

The people suffer from the corruption and red tape of the officialdom, who will not meet their vital demands. Controlled by the ruling groups, it serves only the interests of its architects, a handful of big businessmen, financiers, merchants and feudals, who use its weaknesses in attacking the state sector and demand that this sector and the state projects be handed over to private businessmen and companies.

II. DETERIORATION OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

The situation in the country is characterized by the struggle (including strikes) of the working class and its organizations, the peasants, small farmers, office employees and other working people against the high cost of living resulting from the arbitrary inflation of the prices of foodstuffs and consumer goods by the monopolies, for a 15 percent wage-increase, for a minimum wage of 175 Lebanese pounds, and for other vital demands.

At first, isolated, actions of the working people against the high cost of living and for higher real wages contributed to the growth of the working-class and trade union movement as a whole and influenced the attitude of the government and parliament. Large-scale struggles followed a series of strikes in some occupations such as strikes of the teachers and the workers and office employees of the oil companies for higher wages and better conditions.

The fraudulent law on "raising the wages" caused the indignation of the working people, prompting them to continue the fight for higher real wages and fixed minimum wages for women workers. Mention should be made of the strike of the electrical workers last March and the two-week strike of 4,000 Régie des tabacas employees.

The increasing support rendered by the people to the workers' struggle was due, among other things, to the instability of the situation, the monopolists' attempt to raise the prices of bread, the discovery of huge stocks of rotten flour, the swindle in the sugar industry and the artificial crisis engineered by the sugar-importing monopolies. To this should be added the scandalous affair with American wheat, which exposed the millionaires' plan to take in colossal profits from a deal with the state, and the resistance of the gas companies to the government's decision to reduce the tariffs on gas.

The tobacco-growers were incensed by the government's arbitrary postponement of the payment for the tobacco they had been forced

to grow on an additional area in order to make up for last year's losses allegedly due to a plant disease but in reality caused by Régie. Apple and citrus fruit growing being an important source of the national income, the setbacks of the last year and the crisis caused by them show how greatly agriculture will be endangered if the state refuses to help it.

People with small incomes, who constitute the majority of the population, live in constant fear of the future. The masses are protesting against the inordinately high prices of medicines and medical assistance and the colossal profits the importers of medicines are making at the expense of peoples' health and lives. The housing crisis is growing, especially in the capital, which accounts for more than one-third of the country's population. Although large-scale housing construction has been carried on in recent years, most of the allocations are spent on building large apartment houses which only well-to-do people can afford, whereas less and less houses within the reach of factory and office workers are being built, although they have to pay more than 40 percent of their wages in rent. As regards the government's plans of housing construction for the working people, much is said about them officially but nothing has been done to carry them out.

The educational system is in the grip of a crisis which reaches apex at the beginning of every school year. The shortage of schools and the inability of the existing state-run schools to enroll constantly growing numbers of school-age children doom tens of thousands of children to ignorance. As admitted by the Ministry of Education, more than 109,000 school-age children were unable to enter school this year, but their actual number exceeds 150,000.

The problem of university education is even acuter. A dominant position is still occupied by foreign universities, whose practically unlimited privileges make them uncontrollable by the state and society. The Lebanese University, set up 20 years ago as a result of a sustained effort of the students and lecturers, has not seen any extension or improvement, this being resisted by the highly influential foreign missions.

The state of things is not better in other fields of culture, science and art, which are all but neglected by the state.

According to official statistics, 18 percent of the Lebanese population receive 60 percent of the national income, i.e., 1,200 million Lebanese pounds out of a total of 2,000 million, and four percent of these get 32 percent, or one-third, of the national income.

At the other pole stand scores of thousands of workers, shopkeepers, office employees and hundreds of thousands of landless peasants, agricultural laborers and poor and middle peasants, whose physical and mental labor creates the national wealth but is rewarded with only a small fraction of it. Overwhelmed by

hardships and suffering from the high prices, most of them eke out a wretched existence. According to a recent survey, half of the Lebanese live in poverty and misery, getting only 18 percent of the national income. Such a distribution of the national income cannot be found in any other country with similar conditions.

There are extensive regions in the north and south of the country, especially in el-Bika, where no features of modern civilization are in evidence. They have no good roads, pure water and electricity, to say nothing of schools, hospitals and medical assistance.

The adoption of the law on social security and collective agreements and the decision on universal primary education was the result of many years of struggle of the workers and their trade unions, of the strike movement growing in scope because of the aggravation of social contradictions due to class inequality. The government was compelled to effect partial social reforms in order to satisfy some of the demands of the working people, who are following with ever greater interest the achievements of the socialist countries, those of the Soviet Union in particular, and the social changes in the UAR and Algeria.

The Lebanese working class is growing both numerically and in social importance, and becoming more and more aware of its rights and needs. Hence the urgency of overcoming the split in the trade union movement. The striving of the organized and unorganized working people for unity is stronger today than ever before. More and more united actions are fought by workers belonging to different unions. The last five years witnessed hundreds of strikes by workers allied professionally or territorially, which were invariably supported by the entire working class.

In the course of the struggle the workers begin to realize what hampers the growth of the trade union movement and prevents it from performing the role it is called upon to play in the struggle for social progress. It is interference by the imperialists and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, whose agents have entrenched themselves in the leadership of some unions, and by the Ministry of Social Affairs and some other government institutions, which resort to most undemocratic measures and encourage the splitters. The majority of the unions are thus weakened, for the interference in their affairs prevents workers from joining them by breeding disbelief in the trade union leadership controlled by the authorities or foreign imperialists.

III. CRIPPLING ONE-SIDEDNESS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Far from weakening, the imperialists' grip on the Lebanese economy has grown even stronger since the proclamation of political

independence. The U.S. and British imperialists have seized new positions and expanded their influence in different economic fields. The collaboration of a handful of Lebanese financiers, share-holders and merchants has facilitated infiltration by monopoly and imperialist capital considerably, enabling it to influence the trend of economic development. The more than 50 banks belonging to imperialist states control export, import, credit and all other financial operations. Representing the finance imperialist circles of the United States, Britain, West Germany and other states as well as the local rulers, these banks use the powerful financial, material and moral means at their disposal to develop those branches which ensure colossal and quick profits to the imperialist monopolies at minimum outlays. Seeking to retain their domination over goods transportation, the stock exchange and banking, they encourage investing into the non-productive branches and retard the development of the productive sector, i.e., industry and agriculture, by preventing its financing and modernization, the growth of production and wider assortment.

Imperialist monopoly capital, its agents and companies in Lebanon have always striven to prevent our country from developing its productive forces, exploiting its rich natural resources and building a genuinely independent economy, strong and prospering, based on coordinated, diversified and guaranteed production both in industry and agriculture. Industrialization, then, remains a burning national problem. National production, especially in industry, which is subordinated to the interests of merchant-banking capital, is experiencing great difficulties as regards financing, supplies and marketing and plays only a secondary role in the general economic development of the country.

Official statistics put the share of industry and agriculture in the national income at no more than 32 percent, whereas invisible incomes account for about 30 percent, the rest being provided by trade, banking and other branches. The majority of the Lebanese are engaged in agriculture and industry. According to the data of the manufacturers' association, there are about 6,000 firms in Lebanon, one-third of them big and medium. They employ 60,000 workers and their invested capital totals some 700 million Lebanese pounds.

The "free enterprise" motto has been used as a cover for the penetration of imperialist capital and companies which, with the help of their shareholders, the local circles connected with them and sharing in their profits, and their collaborators in the government, have gained the decisive say on Lebanese policy and economic life.

Under the pretext of defending "economic freedoms" and "private initiative," attracting foreign capital and encouraging investments,

the banks have been granted privileges and rights which free them from control by the state. Among these laws are the ten-year old law on the secrecy of bank accounts and joint deposits and the law on the secrecy of stock-holdings. Contrary to what the champions of "free enterprise" claim, the activities of the more than 90 foreign, national and mixed banks in Lebanon do not promote the well-being of the people. By denying long-term credits to big industrial and agricultural undertakings, the banks prevent economic growth and hence an improvement in the living standards. Their parasitic activity in the field of retail trade and instalment-buying and their mortgage and real-estate operations ruin thousands of small and middle shopkeepers.

The real nature of "free enterprise" is disgustingly revealed by the reactionary fiscal system, which is based chiefly on indirect taxes and surcharges on consumer goods weighing heavily upon the masses. The annual receipts from indirect taxes approach 300,000 million Lebanese pounds, making up more than half of all treasury revenues. Even direct taxes, such as the income tax, are raised chiefly from ordinary people — clerks, low-paid officials, shop-keepers, small and middle farmers and merchants with limited incomes — who pay 26 million pounds out of the total income tax of 38 million collected by the state. But not only the banks are guilty of tax evasions. The existing laws on taxes and the machinery to enforce them provide big capital with ample opportunities to evade payment of taxes on its fabulous profits.

The trend to rely, in the 1965 fiscal year, on foreign loans claiming depletion of the reserve funds and the need to finance big projects, has caused anxiety in the country. Loans from the imperialists states, demanded by the finance groups, will impose a heavy financial burden on our country, entangle it in imperialist chains, destroy our sovereignty and retard the establishment of an independent national economy. The aim of the exponents of this trend is to avoid the introduction of democratic reforms which would infringe on the interests of big finance capital, stimulate the mobilization of internal financial resources, and enable us to receive the economic and technical assistance which the socialist states provide on highly favorable terms, without any political strings attached.

The grievous consequences of the "free enterprise" system and the grave danger with which it is fraught are manifested especially vividly in the field of foreign economic and commercial relations. The "economic freedoms" signify nothing else but the freedom of unrestricted import. Big merchants and importers insist that Lebanon should be a predominantly importing country. This trend accords with the aims of the imperialist states, which are interested in selling their goods in Lebanon or with the help of Lebanon,

strengthening the dependence of our economy on the capitalist world market, maintaining the growth of our national production. This trend has resulted in a constantly growing deficit of our trade which has reached dangerous proportions testifying to great imbalance in our economy.

The deficit already exceeds 1,000 million Lebanese pounds, which is equivalent to more than half of the entire national income, and begins to affect the value and purchasing capacity of our currency. What fate awaits the country if the inflation is not stopped?

Contrary to official assurances, the agreement with the European Common Market will not improve but worsen the situation, for it is based on the same principles of unequal relations which exist between the Western members of the Common Market. The very content of the agreement is demonstrative of the striving of the imperialist monopolies and local big financiers and businessmen to preserve Lebanon, in the name of "free enterprise," as a base used by the world finance oligarchy and imperialism against the free Arab states and the economic and social changes taking place in them. That our leaders stubbornly refuse to join the Arab Common Market shows how little they are concerned for Lebanon's economic interests both in trade and in production, for the consolidation of the natural traditional relations with the Arab states, and for the future development of the Arab world. The Arab market is the major importer of our national goods, and promotion of relations with it depends chiefly on Lebanon.

On the other hand, the trade agreements with the Soviet Union and other socialist states, based on the principles of equality and mutual benefit, have already greatly benefited Lebanon, the fact admitted by our economic experts and high ranking officials. But these agreements are of a limited nature, and trade conducted under them in no way conforms to the existing possibilities. Moreover, the Lebanese leaders have failed to respond to the repeated proposals of the socialist countries to assist in our economic development projects and sell us machines and equipment in exchange for our manufactured and agricultural goods. Clearly the rejection of these proposals does harm to Lebanon and in the first place to its economy. This cannot be described otherwise than a retreat of our government in the face of the imperialist states and the local importers and merchants closely linked with them.

The negative influence of the "free enterprise" system is especially fully revealed in the industrial sphere. The private sector embraces all branches of industry with the exception of electric power production, which is beginning to be concentrated in the hands of the state. This limits the possibilities for increasing the output of manufactured goods, foodstuffs, textiles, leather articles, footwear, building materials and domestic appliances.

IV. STRENGTHEN INDEPENDENCE, ENSURE PROGRESS AND DEMOCRACY

An analysis of the Lebanese scene shows that the contradictions between the interests of the country and the interests and plans of the imperialists and reactionaries are being constantly aggravated, that the social forces opposing the rule of the imperialists and reactionaries in defense of their vital interests are growing numerically and maturing politically, that these forces are determined to achieve progress. The history-making successes of the revolutionary and progressive forces the world over, especially in the UAR and Algeria, do not leave the slightest doubt as to the necessity and inevitability of Lebanon embarking on the road of progressive development.

Our people know from the experience of many years what the capitalist road of development, disguised as "free enterprise," means, and they have had enough of it. They are resolved more firmly than ever before to abandon this road and to free themselves from the plight and crisis of capitalist exploitation. The revolutionary and progressive forces of Lebanon, including Communists, are fighting for the transition of our country to the non-capitalist road of development. In the last five years this road has been taken by many newly-free Asian and African countries, which have become convinced of the bankruptcy of capitalism and its inability to cope with the pressing economic, social and political tasks facing them. They are rapidly advancing to complete political independence, building an independent national economy, and promoting social progress.

Lebanon's transition to the non-capitalist road demands many preparatory and radical measures, in particular such as:

1) adoption of a policy of resolute struggle against imperialism and neocolonialism, a policy of peace, peaceful coexistence and genuine non-alignment;

2) ending the rule of monopoly capital, nationalization of the property of the imperialist monopolies, confiscation of the banks, insurance companies and big export-import concerns, elimination of the political positions of the partners and agents of monopoly capital;

3) elaboration and pursuit of a policy of industrialization through the development of the state sector and advancement of those industries which the country needs most;

4) a radical solution to the agrarian problem, liquidation of the vestiges of feudalism, and satisfaction of the needs of the peasants, who make up the majority of the population;

5) establishment of a genuinely democratic national state which would ensure the freedom of political and professional organization

of the people, especially the workers and peasants, and their active participation in effecting economic and social changes and in governing the country;

6) consolidation of fraternal ties and solidarity with all the Arab peoples on the basis of joint struggle against imperialism and Zionism, for independence, democracy and progress; extensive cooperation with the newly-free Arab countries, specifically with the UAR, which has embarked on the road of non-capitalist development, the People's Democratic Algerian Republic building socialism, and the Syrian Arab Republic, which is implementing progressive economic and social reforms;

7) promotion of relations of friendship and fruitful cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, and establishment of diplomatic relations with those socialist countries with which Lebanon does not have them yet.

Lebanon's progress makes adoption of the non-capitalist road inevitable. This road will ensure development in the interests of the broad masses and the creation of a state of national democracy on a progressive economic and social basis. If followed consistently, this road may lead to peaceful transition to the building of socialism, under which the means of production are public property, exploitation of man by man is abolished, and power belongs to the working class, the peasantry, the revolutionary intelligentsia, and all workers by hand and brain.

The Lebanese Communists are fighting for the non-capitalist road and for the building of socialism, their chief and ultimate aim. But they consider that the national and progressive forces would lose no time in urging the most essential progressive economic, social, political and administrative reforms.

The refusal of the government to intervene and promote the country's economic development and above all industrialization and its subservience to "free enterprise" cannot be tolerated any longer.

It is high time for the state to pay special attention to the state sector and concentrate on consolidating and expanding it. The state sector should play the leading and not secondary role (as is the case now) in the national economy. For this, it is essential that, in addition to the electric power companies, railway lines, the Beirut international airport and the merchant marine, the state sector should include other branches and enterprises. The state should also immediately take over the Lebanese Tobacco Monopoly and include it into the state sector. More licences should be issued for tobacco-growing, and the maximum land areas per farmer should be limited to 25 dönums. Licences should be given primarily to the poor farmers and those whose plots do not exceeded 10 dönums. It is also necessary to increase the purchasing prices of

tobacco. Such enterprises as Beirut Port, Radio Orient and the TV companies should be nationalized and placed under direct management by the state.

There are many possibilities for doubling budgetary revenues and providing the state with the means enabling it to improve management and increase production in the branches which have been or are to be included into the state sector, to launch planned construction projects or complete those that have been started, and also to build new mining and processing enterprises, without resort to loans from the imperialist states.

The need for constantly enlarging financial possibilities of the state calls for a revision of the entire fiscal system to introduce a sliding scale of taxation and eliminate the indirect taxes on consumer goods. Tax revenues should consist chiefly of direct taxes, which should be levied on the profits of all banks and foreign companies without exception and the big import and export companies. Small producers, shop-keepers and persons with low income should be exempted. This presupposes, naturally, liquidation of the secrecy of bank accounts, joint deposits and stock-holding, which will prevent big finance and merchant capital from evading payment of taxes in accordance with their real profits.

There exists in Lebanon big national capital which is seeking spheres of application, with some of its representatives trying to invest abroad. If the state takes radical measures to concentrate this capital in the State Central Bank or resorts to national loans, it will obtain considerable resources for internal financing.

The Central Bank was set up at the insistence of the national forces, who hoped it would become an effective instrument in the hands of the state for restricting the domination of foreign banks and private finance capital as well as for guiding the national economy, improving its organization and coordinating its development. But the Central Bank is resisted by the private banks, with which it has been in conflict since its founding. These banks persist in refusing to comply with the law on money and loans, which provided the basis for the establishment of the Central Bank and which determines its tasks and aims. Hence the need to remove all the obstacles to the activity of this big national financial institution which is called upon to play the principal role in strengthening and expanding the state sector, to concentrate in its hands all the resources of this sector, and to determine the spheres of application of capital.

One of the most vital demands is to establish state import and export organizations, the former to purchase equipment, raw materials, industrial semi-manufactures, medicines, fertilizer, farm machinery and consumer and household goods, and the latter to sell in the Arab and international markets our manufactures, such as

textiles, fibre, etc., as well as apples, citrus fruit and other agricultural goods.

On the international plane, we should establish and strengthen economic and commercial relations with friendly countries which are prepared to buv our products, maintain relations of equality and mutual benefit with us, and assist us in industrialization. The best example of such relations is provided by the equal agreements with socialist countries and the economic and commercial proposals which these countries made to us but which our statesmen rejected. Broader economic relations with the developing Arab market and a degree of economic coordination with the Arab states, specifically those which have achieved considerable successes in the field of conomic and social progress, are indispensable for solving the problem of marketing our goods. This makes it imperative that Lebanon should join the Arab Common Market and share in its consolidation and development.

The road to fundamental changes and decisive progress in agriculture and in the life of the rural population lies through an agrarian reform in the interests of the peasant masses, which would eliminate the vestiges of feudalism, establish limits on land property, and help to reclaim the disused state-owned lands. This reform should give land to the landless peasants, supply them with water and enable them to till state-owned land collectively and by modern farming methods.

Such an agrarian reform will multiply agricultural production, ensure progress in the countryside, save the peasants from misery, ignorance and ruthless exploitation, and put an end to the migration of manpower which does colossal harm to many regions of Lebanon.

The Lebanese people are demanding a genuinely democratic regime which would ensure their active participation in shaping and controlling the policy of the country. Therefore, among other democratic tasks, priority should be given to improving the system of parliamentary representation and introducing progressive democratic reforms enabling the people to elect a parliament truly representative of their interests.

The new electoral law should be free from all reactionary financial and religious trammels and conditions which benefit the banking and finance groups and prevent the people being represented in the supreme legislative and excutive bodies of the country.

The municipal councils could become the field of activity of the masses if the workers, peasants and other popular and national forces were represented in them.

An urgent democratic demand of the people is that the government officially recognize all the patriotic parties, movements and organizations which stand for stronger national independence and

a better life for the people, that an end be put to anti-communism and to the persecution of progressives. It is also necessary to modify the law on the press and above all abolish the clauses which enable a few individuals and companies to monopolize the press.

The working class demands regular changes in the laws on social security and collective agreements to be made in conformity with the demands of the workers and their unions. It is particularly important that support should be given to the state security fund and that the workers should be democratically represented in the adminisrative organs of this fund through direct elections. All articles restricting trade union freedoms and depriving the employees of private enterprises of the right to strike should be removed from the law on collective agreements. The labor code should be amended to apply to workers beginning with the age of 18 and not 21, as is the case now. The operation of this code should be extended to all wage and salary workers without exception, including state employees, household servants and especially agricultural laborers, who number tens of thousands. It should be supplemented with clauses guaranteeing women equal rights to work and equal wages, the same minimum wages as are paid to men, and protecting trade unionists against victimization and persecution. The state should have a say on the prices of essential goods and foodstuffs and adopt laws establishing the level of wages and salaries and providing for wage increases in proportion to the growth of the cost of living.

The Communists urge all honest trade unionists and all progressives to unite in the effort to overcome the split in the trade union movement, combat the dangerous interference of the monopoly circles and the government in trade union affairs, and purge the Ministry of Social Affairs of men whose conduct and bureaucratic practices harm the interests of the trade union movement and prevent its unity and development.

Drastic measures should be taken to overcome the crisis threatening the urban middle classes, such as small and middle producers, businessmen and shopkeepers. Their most important demand is that the State Bank give them long-term credits and loans and that the taxes and rents should be reduced, ending their dependence on the banks and big finance companies and monopolies.

Of paramount importance is the demand of the overwhelming majority of the people for lower housing and land rents, cheaper electricity, water and medical assistance, for measures to check the growing cost of the services. There is the urgent need to carry out without delay the housing construction programs, build more state-maintained hospitals and out-patient clinics, provide them with better facilities, and staff them with qualified personnel, so that more and more factory and office workers, peasants and persons with low incomes could enjoy free medical assistance.

The conditions of the Lebanese women present one of the most important social problems calling for a democratic solution. Special measures are needed to raise their social and cultural level and turn them into an active social force. It is necessary to establish a system of mother- and child-care, specifically an extensive network of creches in all regions.

Important changes are urgently needed in the sphere of education and culture, such as the introduction of universal compulsory primary schooling, unification of the secondary schools and their study programs, establishment of state control over all schools, including foreign colleges and universities, and considerable reduction of tuition fees and the prices of study aids.

The state should also expedite the establishment of research centers and take effective measures to protect Lebanese Arab culture against the dangerous influence of imperialist ideology and revive the Lebanese Arab cultural traditions.

It is a disgrace that can no longer be tolerated that Lebanon is the only independent Arab country having no cultural agreements with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, which receive every year dozens of Lebanese students for free education.

Cultural and scientific exchanges with these countries would benefit above all Lebanon itself, which would enjoy selfless assistance in the training of hundreds of specialists needed for the national development of our country.

The Lebanese Communists are convinced that the reforms and measures proposed by them and all their demands fully conform to the aims of the other national and progressive forces of Lebanon. They are also convinced that these demands conform to the interests and aspirations of the overwhelming majority of the Lebanese people — workers, peasants, artisans, office employees, intellectuals, students, women, small and middle producers, farmers, small and middle shopkeepers and the national bourgeoisie. The realization of these reforms fully depends on the struggle and unity of all the national progressive forces striving for complete freedom and progress.

The situation in the world and in the Arab countries is more favorable than ever before for the struggle of the Lebanese people and its national and progressive forces to achieve stronger national independence, peace, democracy and social progress.

Recent international developments bear out once again the great importance of the unity of the main revolutionary forces of our epoch — the socialist world system, the national-liberation movement and the revolutionary movement of the working class in the struggle against the aggressive plans of the imperialists, for peace, democracy and socialism. They show that the socialist world sys-

tem plays the decisive role in solving vital international problems in the interests of the peoples.

The situation in the Arab East is marked by a new rise of the national-liberation movement in all the Arab countries. Evidence of this is provided by the victories scored by the newly-free fraternal countries in the struggle against the vestiges of imperialist rule and for peace, by the consolidation of national independence, social progress, the greater solidarity of the Arab countries and their determination jointly to resist the pressure and machinations of imperialism and Zionism.

In the recent years Arab-Soviet friendship has withstood many tests and foiled all the intrigues of the imperialists and reactionaries. It is growing stronger owing to the Soviet Union's support of all the Arab peoples in their struggle against the imperialists and their conspiracies, to its assistance in equipping the most important Arab armies with the latest weapons and in the construction of dams, factories and dozens of other projects in the biggest free Arab country.

The revolutionary struggle and liberation movement of the Arab peoples and the policy of the free Arab states are weakening the positions of imperialism and the forces of aggression and strengthening the front of the forces of peace, freedom, democracy and socialism.

The Lebanese Communists hailed the resolutions of the conference of representatives of the Communists of the Arab countries held in December 1964. They support the correct appraisal by this conference of the changes that have taken place in the Arab countries, the new upsurge of the Arab revolutionary movement and the tasks facing the revolutionary and progressive forces of both the eastern and western Arab countries.

The rise of the revolutionary movement in the Arab countries and the prospects of development towards socialism that have opened up in some of them confront all the revolutionaries, Communists and non-Communists alike, with new tasks and enhance their responsibility to their peoples. It is their duty to do everything to build and strengthen the unity of all revolutionaries and display constructive initiative to this end. The revolutionaries should realize that the unity of all the revolutionary forces in each Arab state calls for joint efforts to eliminate the vestiges of old disagreements which have been exploited and fomented by the imperialists and reactionaries; that an end must be put to the mutual distrust among these forces which is due, in particular, to anti-Communist and sectarian trends. Therefore the provision of democratic freedoms, the freedom of speech, the press and association to all the national progressive forces, the release of all political prisoners — Communists and other democrats — in Iraq, Jordan, Morocco and Saudi Arabia

are indispensable for the unity and victory of the Arab national progressive movement.

These democratic measures will be vastly instrumental in foiling the imperialist intrigues and conspiracies, for isolating the reactionary bourgeoisie and the enemies of socialism. They will greatly contribute to the struggle of Arab anti-imperialist unity based on the principles of democracy, social progress and friendship with the socialist countries. At the same time they will strengthen the solidarity of the Arab countries in the struggle for the liberation of the south of the Arabian Peninsula from imperialism, for the rights of the Palestinian Arabs, for the return of oil and other natural riches seized by the imperialist companies.

The imperialists and reactionaries will be sure to put up frenzied resistance. They will resort to all means to prevent cooperation and closer relations between progressive parties, organizations and movements both in the Arab East as a whole and in each Arab country. They will try to use new, camouflaged anti-Communist methods in order to prevent the unity of all the fighters for progress and socialism.

But the Arab masses know from their own experience that anti-Communism and the struggle against socialism are one and the same thing, for it is impossible to build socialism while fighting against communism.

Therefore it is necessary that all genuine revolutionaries and fighters for socialism persistently search for new ways of establishing cooperation, of rallying the ranks of all the revolutionary forces in the struggle for common aims. Experience shows that the revolutionary forces in each Arab country should try to find such organizational forms of joint struggle as would best conform to the present stage of development of a particular country, to its conditions, peculiarities and traditions.

The Lebanese Communists will sincerely and loyally devote every effort to building the unity of all the national and progressive forces and finding the best solutions to the various political, social and economic problems which face the Lebanese people today.

NEW TASKS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF LUXEMBOURG*

D. Urbany

CHAIRMAN OF THE CPL

A year has passed since our last congress. The congress was held after the communal elections, with elections to the Chamber of Deputies still ahead. We drew on the lessons of the communal elections to work out a specific program and determine the tactics we had to follow in the next electoral campaign.

The communal elections had revealed a certain growth of our influence. Besides our Party, the Workers' Party had won a large number of seats with the result that there was a shift to the left.

Our success in the communal elections, especially in the capital, was followed by a still greater success in the general election. We now hold five seats in the Chamber of Deputies as against the former three. Our success had a stunning effect on our opponents. The growth of Communist influence in the "Eldorado of Western well-being," the capital of the European Iron and Steel Community, the focal point of European illusions, caused reverberations far outside our country. It alarmed the enemies of the working class, while the champions of peace and freedom hailed it as an indication of new trends.

Compared with the 1959 elections, the number of seats won by us increased by 11.3 percent in the southern electoral area, 123 percent in the central area (where we polled twice as many votes), 51 percent in the northern area and 70 percent in the eastern area.

It would be wrong to give all the credit for this to our Party. Communist influence is growing and the reactionary forces are retreating in many countries, such as in Italy, where the fraternal party wins more votes and seats with every election, in Belgium, where our friends are steadily increasing their influence and gaining strength, or in France, where the Communists achieved big successes in the communal elections. Special mention should be made of the fruitful cooperation of the Communists, the Socialists and other progressive forces.

The working-class movement has made further progress since the Moscow conferences of the Communist and Workers' parties

*CC Report to the 18th Congress. Abridged from **Zeitung vum Letzeburger Vollek**, April 21-24, 1965.

and the 20th and 22nd congresses of the fraternal Communist Party of the Soviet Union, since the overwhelming majority of the Communist parties corrected the mistakes of the period of the Stalin cult and returned to the road of genuine Marxism-Leninism.

Credit is due to our Party for promptly utilizing the conclusions of the Moscow meetings and making them the basis of its practical activity. The results of last year's elections show that we are on the right road.

Our Party was not the only one to achieve notable results in those elections. The Workers' Party also won new votes and seats. Judging by the number of votes it polled, it has become the most influential party, although it has one deputy less than the Social-Christian Party (SCP) — due to our electoral law, which gives priority to the SCP, especially in the northern and eastern electoral areas. This law also infringes the rights of our Party. The number of ballots cast for us should have brought us at least six seats.

However, the firm course followed by our Party, and above all its sensational success in the central electoral area, the capital, was the salient feature of the election. We emerged from the elections as a party of the masses, a party of almost 20,000 factory and office workers, railwaymen and intellectuals, a party which cannot be ignored any longer. It has won recognition throughout the country and is respected by both the masses and our enemies—as a party of the working people opposed to reaction and injustice, as a dynamic force opposed to the reactionary official policy.

The success of our Party and the general shift to the Left created a new political situation in the country. But the SCP, the party of the ruling class, of big capital, which emerged from the election struggle considerably battered, has again succeeded in reaching a coalition agreement with the Workers' Party leadership.

Our electoral success imposes greater responsibility on us. It also provides us with greater opportunities for closer links with the masses and for more achievements in uniting all the progressives against the reactionaries, in rallying the Communists and Socialists and all the Left forces.

We have said that a new government coalition was formed following the elections. The SCP and the Socialists are said to have united on an equal footing—a glaring deception of public opinion and self-deception of the Socialists, who sincerely believe in the coalition. While the two parties have an equal number of ministers, real power is shared anything but equally.

Some Socialists imagine they can realize certain points of their program by holding cabinet posts and seats in the Chamber of Deputies. We do not doubt their good intentions in this respect. These intentions have a definite significance. If, with the cooperation of all the Left forces — including the communists — the masses are

mobilized against the schemes and maneuvers of the reactionaries, the Socialist Ministers who work in good faith and who place the interests of the working people above their own concern for the ministerial posts they hold, they will gain support strong enough to force the government into satisfying social and democratic demands. Those Socialists who strive for this will have the full support of our Party.

The situation in this respect is no longer what it was in 1951, when the cold war was at its height and the rank and file of the electorate unreservedly accepted much of what was suggested from above — the twelve-month conscription, the European army, the European Coal and Steel Community, the Common Market, and so on.

Today, many Socialist workers, functionaries and intellectuals are beginning to see through the maneuvers of the reactionaries. They are no longer enthusiastic about the coalition with the clericals. Nor are they hostile to cooperation with the Communists as they were earlier. The idea of a Left front is slowly but surely gaining ground, among them.

That is why we cannot merely reject the new clerical-Socialist coalition as a repetition or imitation of the coalition of 1951. We must distinguish between it and a government of clericals and democrats. It is not long since the situation changed and there are new possibilities and prospects opening up.

At the moment, however, there is no indication that the Socialist Ministers have any new ideas different from those of their clerical partners. This year's budget and the activities of the government, including those of the Socialist Ministers, reproduce the budget and activities of the previous government.

We are ready to support the Workers' Party whenever it tries to impose at least part of its election program on the clericals. But we cannot endorse the present activities of the government, those of the Socialist Ministers included.

Some supporters of the Workers' Party ingenously, and often quite sincerely, suggest that we dissolve our Party, join their party and support the government. The need for a Communist party in Luxembourg has never been so great as today. The last elections have shown that more and more Luxembourgers are beginning to realize that the activities of our Party and its struggle against the reactionaries are a real guarantee of effective defense of the interests and rights of the working people, of their future.

The struggle for better conditions for the working people, who should get a bigger share of the national income, is an inevitable product of the capitalist system under which we live. It is the duty of the Communists to lead this struggle and devote all their energy to it. We have always done so and must do even better in the future.

Our actions in support of the workers' demands have never been useless, not even when the employers and the government made "voluntary" concessions. They have invariably been compelled to make them for fear of growing Communist influence. They admit this by declaring that they propose to overcome the influence of Communist ideas with the help of social reforms. Unfortunately almost all of their social reforms remain a dead letter.

We should always remember that the forced concessions made by capitalism to the working class in our countries are largely due to the successes and victories of socialism over a vast area of the globe.

The struggle for the material and social rights and demands of the working class is one of the primary tasks of the trade unions. Rallying all the workers in a single trade union is not an absolute condition for the success of their struggle, which can also be fruitfully waged in the conditions of a split, as experience shows. But a single big organization would greatly increase the workers' strength and facilitate their struggle.

Talks are under way to merge the Federation of Free Trade Unions and the Association of Trade Unions. This is something entirely new in our working-class movement. Should the merger, materialize, it would greatly promote a trade union movement in our country. It would certainly be hailed by tens of thousands of workers in town and country, followers of both the Socialist and the Communist parties. True, it would not mean establishing a single trade union of all the workers, for the leadership of the Christian unions is opposed to a merger, being more hostile to socialism than to capitalism. But the very fact of the merger of the two organizations, the FFTU and the ATU, would make the amalgamated union and its appeal so strong that the resistance of the leadership of the Christian trade unions would be overcome and unity achieved sooner or later.

We Communists are duty bound to do everything in our power to remove the obstacles to this unity.

It is our great goal to secure the cooperation of all the progressive forces of the country, and especially Socialist-Communist unity of action against the reactionaries and big capital, for freedom, progress and peace.

We are convinced that certain other parties, or at least many of their members and supporters share our desire to win greater rights and freedoms for the working class and other working people.

The point at issue is to restrict and then to abolish the power of big capital in the interests of the people. To many socialism is no longer a bogey. The need to take the socialist road is realized, among others, by the masses supporting the Workers' Party. Many

followers of the Social-Christian Party are also awakening to the harm big capital is doing to the country.

We Communists stand for a peaceful reorganization of the political and economic system in Luxembourg on democratic lines. We have never advocated the use of force. Civil wars have always been a result of violence on the part of the reactionaries.

The introduction to the Rules of our Party adopted at last year's congress in Differdingen points out:

"Considering the important democratic and parliamentary traditions of our people, a democratic parliamentary reform of the state could provide the basis for our working class coming to power and building socialism."

This is not to say that we can look forward to a smooth effortless transition to socialism. The struggle for social progress, for greater democracy, for isolating big capital is made up of grim political, economic and ideological battles with the reactionary forces, which are more determined than ever to retain their privileges and profits at all costs. Our struggle for a better life for the working people, for the extension of our democratic institutions, for guaranteed rights and freedoms for the working class, for the transformation of the present social system, goes hand in hand with the peoples' struggle for peace .We have always regarded it as a duty of our people and our Party to contribute to this struggle. Peace is indispensable to our independence, our freedom, our future. It is a matter of life and death for our country. We must stress over and over again that a new war would lead to the complete destruction of our people.

Had our statesmen in the government been more concerned with the interests of the people and less with the profits of the iron and steel magnates, they could now renounce our country's military commitments to NATO and secure for it the special status of non-armed neutrality which determined its position for many decades in the past and which can be perfectly justified—as in the past—if only by the fact that ours is a small country. This would meet the interests of peace and of our people.

It would be a wise policy beneficial to our people. In the years of the cold war the Communist slogans of neutrality and abolition of the armed forces had little support. Today they are supported by many people, and even by some parties. The very fact that the War Minister had to speak on these questions in the Chamber of Deputies and to make attempts at justifying the government's attitude to them is ample evidence of this.

The struggle to preserve and promote peace is the chief task for us Communists, for war is not out of the question yet, although the possibilities and prospects of preserving peace are growing. The reign of terror established by the U.S. occupation troops in South

Vietnam, their use of poison gas and napalm against civilians, and the U.S. air raids on North Vietnam all show that the war menace is still there and even increases, sometimes in one area of the globe, sometimes in another. We know that local war, be it in Southeast Asia, the Congo or some other place, can spread to whole continents. We voice our solidarity with the liberation struggle of the people of South Vietnam and join all the fair-minded people of the world in demanding that the United States stop its barbarous war, withdraw its troops from all foreign countries, and enable the peoples to shape their own destinies.

Peace in Europe is constantly endangered by the plans and activities of the West German revenge-seekers and militarists, who still hold key posts or are active behind the scenes. The Drach* affair and the fuss in the Bundestag around the statute of limitations show that former Nazis still wield great influence in West Germany. The provocative session of the Bundestag in West Berlin was new proof of the Bonn revenge-seekers' readiness to continue poisoning the international atmosphere by every means at their command.

We are serving world peace and our vital national interests when we rally the people against Bonn's provocations, oppose all friendship with overt and covert warmongers from Bonn, and demand recognition of the GDR.

Our struggle against the Bonn revanchists and against our government's friendship with them has nothing in common with thick-headed hostility to the German people. We are at one with the GDR, an important factor of peace and the nucleus of a new, democratic and peace-loving Germany. We are also solidly with the masses of West German workers and intellectuals, who are striving for peace in defiance of the policy of their government. We are particularly united with the Communist Party of Germany, which is waging, in conditions of illegality, a courageous struggle for the transformation of its country in the spirit of progress, democracy and peace.

Our position in the fight for peace is clear. We oppose the policy of so-called European integration, which straps our country to the Western military bloc and undermines our independence. We stand for international detente, for peaceful coexistence, for friendship with all the peoples, for disarmament on a national and world scale. We should redouble our efforts in explaining our policy to our people in order to win them over to our side.

Big and decisive successes in the fight for social and economic progress, for the extension and further development of democracy, for peace, cannot be achieved unless the masses take part in this fight. In the present conditions, this means cooperation of all the

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*A war criminal condemned in Luxembourg and rehabilitated in the FRG.—**Ed.**

parties, organizations and individuals cherishing these ideals. Communist-Socialist unity of action is particularly necessary. We should fully realize that socialism in our country will not be a matter for our Party alone but for many other parties and organizations which already regard socialism as their goal or are coming to regard it as such.

It is no easy matter to achieve unity of the progressive parties, organizations and other forces. Difficulties arise not only due to ideological differences, but also because the particular interests of the various sections of the people—the workers, office employees, the middle strata, the peasants and the intellecutals—often clash, not without the instigation of big capital, which has a stake in it.

There are many points on which we differ with say, the Workers' Party. We do not share its illusions as to cooperation with the SCP in the government, or social "partnership" of the workers and employers. We do not always agree with the Socialists on who is our chief enemy. Some Socialists think it is the Church, others the peasants, and still others, the Liberals, the associations of foreign workers, or even we Communists. We consider that our chief enemy is big capital and the reactionary forces behind it, which are not necessarily represented in the SCP alone. One often comes upon friends and enemies of our people in one and the same party. All disputed issues are resolved in ideological struggle, in day-to-day battles for the vital interests of our people; they are resolved by practice.

We strive for a concrete and serious discussion of various issues in an atmosphere of mutual respect. We consider that Socialist cooperation with the SCP in the government is not an insurmountable obstacle to our unity of action and by no means signifies Socialist-clerical "unity of action."

What can unite us is much more important and essential than that which disunites us. It is the struggle for democracy, for peace, for social and economic progress. We should not see the situation at home and elsewhere, or the positions of particular organizations and parties as invariable. We should always remember that everything is developing and changing.

More and more people are beginning to realize the need for a new, progressive policy, for the cooperation of all the progressive forces against the reactionaries and the capitalist monopolies. This, in turn, increasingly influences the views prevailing in parties and organizations. We should not be overawed by the difficulties involved.

We have long since ceased to advocate a one-party system. Undoubtedly, the Workers' Party will also overcome this malady some day. Many of its members, especially young ones, are aware

of the need for Left unity and proceed accordingly, although their effort is still inadequate.

When coming out in defense of the material interests of the working class and other working people, against price increases affecting wages, incomes and pensions, against higher tariffs and taxes, for the extension of democracy and in defense of the rights and freedoms of our people, against Franco fascism and West German militarism, for peaceful coexistence and peace, we invariably act openly and sincerely, pursuing no selfish aims. We are always ready to cooperate with all who stand for freedom, democracy, the prosperity of our people and the independence of our country.

The policy of our Party and all our activities are based on the tenets of scientific socialism—Marxism-Leninism. Marxism-Leninism is not a dogma nor a new religion, but a science which takes account of contemporary development and conditions. It calls for a study of the actual situation as a condition for shaping our policies. We know full well that we owe the new possibilities we have to the changed balance of world forces, to the growth, consolidation and successes of the system of socialist countries, primarily the Soviet Union, to the powerful national-liberation movement in the colonies and semi-colonies.

We express our solidarity with the peoples and the Communist and Workers' parties of the socialist countries and with the national-liberation movements in the dependent and oppressed countries. We regard their successes in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism as our own. Our task is to find more effective forms of expressing internationalist solidarity with these countries and to bring home to the people the significance of the processes taking place in the world.

Our struggle for better conditions for the working class, for democracy, freedom and socialism is closely connected with the liberation movement of the peoples and the world-wide movement for peace. That is why we, like the other fraternal parties, are greatly concerned with the problem of world Communist unity. This unity is particularly necessary today, for, as the events in Vietnam show, a critical situation may develop at any moment, requiring the mobilization and activity of every single contingent of the world Communist movement.

As you know, 19 Communist and Workers' parties met in Moscow on March 1-5 to discuss effective ways of cementing world Communist unity against imperialism and colonialism, for the independence of the peoples, for freedom, democracy, peace and socialism.

The communiques of the meeting states that constant consolidation of the socialist camp, upsurge of the national-liberation and working-class movements, and growth of the forces of peace constitute the decisive factor of our time. It also points out that reaction,

primarily U.S. imperialism, is trying hard to aggravate the situation in different countries, undermine peaceful development, and organize military provocations against the socialist countries and the national-liberation movement in the countries still oppressed. It stresses in conclusion that unity of the world Communist movement, a powerful force in itself, is more necessary today than ever before. Quarrels in and between Communist parties can only harm the struggle for peace, the national-liberation movement, and socialism.

Therefore, the Moscow consultative meeting rightly reminded all the Communist parties of their internationalist responsibility, and urged them to join forces in the struggle against the chief common enemy—imperialism.

The Moscow meeting laid special emphasis on the need for the active solidarity of the Communist parties with the Vietnamese people and their Party, for a common struggle against the U.S. imperialist aggression. Particular differences between parties must not prevent cooperation of all the Communist parties in the fight against the common enemy. Joint actions will enable the parties to overcome their differences.

The Moscow meeting pointed out that open polemic between parties, conducted in an unfriendly and hostile form and going beyond the bounds of comradely exchanges of opinions, can hamper the rallying of the Communist movement. We are of the same opinion. We also consider that any factional activities in parties, and interference by some parties in the internal life and activities of other parties can only cause harm and should therefore stop. In this respect, we Communists of Luxembourg abide by the propositions jointly formulated at the Moscow conferences of 1957 and 1960.

Certain recent polemical attacks by some parties are obviously and quite unjustifiably directed against the great fraternal Communist Party of the Soviet Union. We therefore think it necessary to express our complete confidence in and solidarity with the fraternal Soviet Party.

The 19 Workers' parties which met in Moscow came to the conclusion that a new international conference of all the parties would fully meet the interests of the world Communist movement. The international situation has changed since 1960. New experience has been gained. A new world Communist conference would make it possible to examine all the new problems, discuss them in a comradely way and come to agreed conclusions based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, of proletarian internationalism, of the propositions of the conferences of 1957 and 1960. To ensure more thorough preparation of the conference, the 19-party consultative meeting proposed convening a preliminary conference of 81 parties. We fully accept the proposal and are ready to contribute all our modest forces to the cause of rallying the world Communist movement.

In view of the need for the cooperation of the Communist parties, we hailed the initiative of the fraternal French Party, which proposed holding a conference of the Communist parties of the capitalist countries, and offered our help.

Our Party made certain progress last year. It gained greater influence and new positions. It enjoys the confidence of a large number of Luxembourgers, which increases our responsibility in that we must exert greater effort both in the struggle for better conditions and guaranteed democratic rights and freedoms for the working people and in the struggle for peace. We must also strengthen the Party itself and improve its working methods, adapting them to the new situation.

Our main difficulty is shortage of Party workers. Our activists complain, with good reason, of overwork. Worse still, our membership is small, which, in fact, explains why we have few activists. We have won over thousands of new supporters and voters. But the numerical growth of the Party lags far behind the growth of our influence and is in evidence only in a few localities.

Party building is an important and permanent task of our Party groups. We should conduct large-scale explanatory work, defeat all sectarian views and organize the open admission of supporters and friends of our Party into its ranks. Recruitment of new members is a criterion of the work of our Party groups and individual Communists.

We should respect and consistently implement the principle according to which no one in our Party is exempt from criticism. We have comrades who readily criticize others but whose reaction to criticism of themselves is painful and rude. Frank and open criticism and self-criticism are essential for a healthy democratic atmosphere in our Party.

A task not to be underestimated is to uphold the interests of the urban middle strata and to take the right approach to the intellectuals, to professors, scientists, engineers, technicians, artists and writers, who resent more and more the fetters with which imperialism shackles freedom of thought and creative endeavor and who therefore join up with us in the struggle for democracy. They are drawn to our progressive program. The rapid progress in science and culture being made in the socialist world shows them that socialism alone can guarantee all-round progress in science, technology and art. We should put an end to the notorious "playing the worker" practised by some Right-wing Socialist trade union leaders for selfish purposes. We are by nature a party of the working class, but our program is a program of the whole working people, of all the true progressives and democrats of our country, the intellectuals included.

Comrades, we are faced with a powerful adversary—the owners

of big joint-stock companies and banks and the reactionary forces backing them. Ours is not an easy struggle. Nevertheless, we have achieved certain successes. We have learned something during the past year, and we continue to learn. We should be confident of our forces. We should believe in our working people, in our working class.

COMMUNIQUE ON THE MEETING OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES OF THE NORDIC COUNTRIES

Acting within the framework of cooperation between the Communists of the Nordic Countries of Europe, representatives of the Communist Parties of Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden met in Copenhagen on May 4 and 5. A representative of the United Socialist Party of Iceland attended the meeting as an observer.

It was stressed at the meeting that the forthcoming 20th anniversary of the end of World War II is a reminder to all the peoples of the world that all possibilities should be used before it is too late to avert, the terrible catastrophe which a new war can bring.

This question acquires special urgency today, when the United States is stepping up its infamous war in Vietnam, this war of oppressors, when its aggression gravely endangers world peace. The rude suppression by U.S. armed forces of the democratic aspirations of the people of the Dominican Republic is a new step towards affirming lawlessness in the international arena.

All the participants in the meeting stressed the need for mobilizing all efforts, both in every individual country and on a world scale, in order to express solidarity with the Vietnamese people, stigmatize the U.S. aggression and offer resistance to it. In this respect the governments of the Nordic countries should display an initiative conforming to the insistent demands of the people.

The 20th anniversary of the end of World War II is also a reminder that the Nazi aggressors managed to unleash it because a collective security system had not been set up in Europe in good time. The meeting participants declared resolutely that this should never be allowed to happen again.

The bigger danger to European peace is presented today by West-German imperialism, which, with the backing of its U.S. partner, uses NATO for the realization of its aims, openly demanding a revision of the borders and presenting territorial claims. In this connection the meeting participants pointed out that they would welcome any new initiative aimed at ending the present division of Europe into blocs and establishing, instead, on the principles of peaceful coexistence, a general European security system conducive to a detente. The conversion of the entire North into a neutral atom-free and disarmed zone would constitute a major contribution to the cause of preserving peace and easing the tension.

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*Land oig Foilk, May 6, 1965.

The representatives of the parties voiced the opinion that the peoples of the Faroes and Greenland should be recognized as equal participants in the cooperation of the Nordic countries.

The parties represented at the meeting declared in favor of cooperation in realizing the aspirations for more vigorous political development in the interest of peace, progress and extension of democracy both in each individual country and in the North of Europe as a whole. The parties are unanimous in their striving for cooperation and unity of action with all the democratic and progressive forces in their countries.

VORWAERTS INTERVIEWS K. H. HERMANSSON*

CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF SWEDEN

Q. At the last Party congress you were elected Chairman of the Party instead of Comrade Hagberg. Does this mean a change in policy? What are the political and organizational changes?

A. The changes are not of a fundamental nature. But our Party is in a process of development. Political parties change, modifying their methods and policy depending on conditions.

Today we emphasize some problems more than before. Our motto is a socialist renovation of Swedish policy. The socialist aims must become the lodestar for the entire Swedish working-class movement. On the other hand, we point to the possibility of solving such pressing problems as the housing shortage; the need for changing the legislation on building plots; rational distribution of industry, and democracy in the factory. These problems, which the Social Democrats regard superficially, call for a more consistent policy.

The policy of social reforms should be continued, but this policy alone is not enough. We have to effect structural reforms which will change the existing property relations and the balance of political forces.

The demand for a socialist renovation concerns our Party as well. We should break with dogmas. The Party should be more receptive to everything that takes place in our time.

Our stand has also changed in the direction of a more differentiated approach to the relations with the socialist states. We share the great solidarity with all the forces fighting for socialism and peace, but we cannot equate our line with their policy. It is necessary to take into consideration the specific features of the historical development of our country and of the Swedish labor movement.

Speaking of organizational principles, Communist parties cannot be exclusive organizations; they should be open to the entire working-class movement, to all the popular movements and to society as a whole.

For instance, today one can become a full-fledged Party member, or a friend of the Party. The latter means to pay lesser membership fees and have the right to attend party meetings. Friends of the Party also have a voice, but no vote. This is a method of establish-

*Vorwaerts, April 29, 1965.

ing contact with our new friends and voters who cast their ballots for us in the last election.

Q. Is your new program of action a concession to the tastes of the public at large or does it present further development of progressive socialism?

A. We have not the slightest intention of capitalizing on the tastes of the public. The issue is one of ensuring progressive development based on an analysis of the conditions in our country and of the question of the demands our Party should present. If a party wants to develop it should take into consideration the new social practices and trends. Above all, it should take stock of the views of the younger generation. The attitude of young people to party policy is in many ways different from that of the older generation. They do not want to commit themselves so much, but at the same time they are, in my opinion, more alert politically than the young people of twenty or thirty years ago. Their attitude to the parties is more critical, and they often pose questions in a new way. This should be borne in mind when determining the party line.

Q. In the last elections the Communists were the only party to gain a considerable increase of the vote. Social-Democratic newspapers tried to attribute this success to your personality in your television appearances during the election campaign. Is that so? Or was the voters' positive response due to the new Communist policy?

A. A party's progress or regress is determined, naturally, by its policy. Individuals play a secondary part.

Q. What were the most important political demands that contributed to the electoral success?

A. The decisive role was played by our persistent demand for a socialist renovation. Besides, we were the only party which raised a number of topical problems of interest to many wage- and salary-earners, such as how to put a brake on the growth of prices, how to check the rapid rent rise, and what tax policy to pursue. Other parties paid insufficient attention to these questions. Evidently we raised them correctly and owing to this received bigger support.

Q. Swiss newspapers asserted at one time that the Communist Party of Sweden was split into three groups. Is that true?

A. The whole thing is but a concoction. Perhaps these rumors are due to the fact that one member of the CPS wrote a book criticizing the line of the Party and upholding the same views as Chinese Communist propaganda expounds. This attack was made very much of by the press.

Q. Is it true that the Communist Party of Sweden wants to change its name?

A. We adopted no decision regarding changing the Party's name. There have only been some discussions on the name—mostly outside the Party. One of the arguments is that sympathizers turn

away from a party calling itself Communist. To my mind, however, the most important thing is the policy of a party, not its name. Besides, the experience of other parties shows that the question of the name is of no fundamental importance.

Q. Can the Communists exert any influence on the Social Democrats in the Riksdag? On what occasions do they succeed in this?

A. The Communists can influence the Social Democrats in the Riksdag, and they did so on several occasions recently. For instance, the Social Democrats and the bourgeois parties submitted a reactionary draft law on taxes. The draft was strongly criticized not only by us but also by the trade union federations In the end the Social Democrats had to somewhat improve their draft.

We also proposed higher taxes on the profits of shareholders. At present a government commission is examining a corresponding draft. Furthermore, we demanded measures to combat the growth of prices; the government undertook a study of this question. On these three issues the government reckons with our demands. The important thing was not that we raised these questions in the Riksdag, but that there was pressure from "below," from workplaces, from the trade unions and from Social Democrats themselves. All this, plus our activity, played an important part. We have not been able yet to influence the Social Democrats as regards cardinal issues, such as purposeful struggle to break the power of big finance capital and to socialize industry.

Q. Would you explain the origin of the fundamental differences between the two working-class parties?

A. The Social Democrats are wont to say that the difference between the two parties is that the Social Democrats stand for democracy while the Communists favor dictatorship. That is not true. The decisive cause of the difference is as follows. Initially the Socialist working-class movement set itself the aim of building a socialist society, with public ownership of the basic means of production. We, just as many Social Democrats, regard this as our aim now as well. But the government and the Social-Democratic leadership have abandoned this demand. They would be content with what they call "mixed society," with a Social-Democratic government but the large enterprises owned by big capital. This is where we basically disagree with the Social Democrats.

Q. But doesn't the party program of the Social Democrats demand nationalization of heavy industry? Are there other discrepancies between the program and policy of the Social-Democratic Party?

A. The Social-Democratic program contains a clause demanding nationalization, but its wording lends itself to different interpretations. For one, it is stated there that the proportion of property to be made public should be precisely such as to ensure rational or-

ganization of the economy. Clearly, this demand can be interpreted in different ways. At present the share of public property in the Swedish economy does not exceed five percent. Another discrepancy is the lack of desire to carry into effect the demand for a republic.

Q. What do the Communists propose for ending the housing shortage?

A. The main thing is to build more and at lower costs. In the postwar housing construction has been conducted on a large scale, with a record 64,000 flats built last year. Despite this, the number of people in need of housing, especially in Stockholm and other cities, is growing.

Our proposal on combating the housing shortage contains the following three points:

1. Society itself should build houses and manufacture building materials, competing with private business.

2. Society should interfere in the policy on building plots. In the future we shall demand that all leased plots and housing should be made public property. As an immediate measure, the communities should be granted priority rights to the purchase of land. A fund should be set up to subsidize the communities for the purchase of land at low fixed interest rates.

3. The entire capital designed for housing construction should be placed at the disposal of society, also at a low fixed rate which should not vary depending on the bank rate. If the state bank changes its rate this should be no reason for increasing the cost of housing construction.

Q. In the last election campaign the Communists advocated a new method of controlling prices. How would this method work?

A. We did not demand the re-introduction of the war-time control of all prices. The situation has changed. But we want greater control over the movement of prices. Just as the wage-and salary-earners and the employers negotiated wages, so the producers and the consumers should negotiate prices. This would give the wage-earners a greater say in price formation.

Q. Sweden is a neutral country. What is the Communists attitude to her defense policy?

A. We consider that Sweden should have a neutral army and that the army should be cheaper to maintain than now. The military expenditure amounts to 5,000 million kronor, i.e., five percent of gross national product. Considering the size of the country, we think this too large a figure.

Some members of our Party want Sweden to disarm regardless of whether the other countries do the same, since defense has no sense in the nuclear weapons age. This opinion is particularly current among young people.

Q. There are Polish, Finnish and Swedish proposals on the establishment of atom-free zones (the Rapacki, Kekkonen, Unden plans). What is the Communists' stand on this question?

A. It is entirely positive. We have also proposed, in the Riksdag, that the government take the initiative in the United States on the establishment of disarmament zones, including one in Northern Europe. This proposal envisages a stage-by-stage disarmament of states within specified time-limits. It supplements the proposal on atom-free zones.

Q. What are the interests of Swedish capital in the developing countries for the Swedish national economy? Does the use of foreign manpower help raise the standard of living in Sweden? Does the Communist Party conduct explanatory work in this respect?

A. We do not have exact data on the interests of Swedish capital in the developing countries. But the matter concerns thousands of millions of kronor. Big investments have been made in iron ore mining in Liberia; various big firms have also been investing in South Africa. This is of some importance for the Swedish economy and involves exploitation of foreign manpower, which influences the standard of living in Sweden. What is more important, however, is the disparity between the prices of foreign raw materials and Swedish manufactured goods. It signifies additional exploitation of developing countries by Swedish big finance capital. We have proposed abolishing the duties on all goods from the developing countries and demanded substantial assistance to them. We regard the rupture of diplomatic relations with South Africa as an accomplished fact.

Q. A peculiar situation has developed in the Riksdag, with the ruling Social-Democratic Party having the absolute majority only thanks to the Communist votes. Do you support the government against the bourgeois opposition even when its proposals are absolutely incompatible with your concepts? What would be the moral and political implications of this?

A. The Social-Democratic government is better than a bourgeois government. It pursues, generally, a more positive domestic policy. The same is true of foreign policy. Under a bourgeois government there would exist the danger of Sweden joining NATO and the EEC and acquiring nuclear weapons.

The bourgeois parties are not likely to adopt a more progressive stand on decisive issues than the Social Democrats. When our proposals are not accepted in the Riksdag, we often find ourselves faced with a choice between bourgeois and Social-Democratic proposals. Although the proposals of the Social Democrats do not conform to our views, in most cases they are better than those of the bourgeois parties. Therefore we, on the whole, support the Social Democrats against the bourgeois parties.

Q. What is your attitude to the movement against nuclear weapons and other such movements? Is there a possibility for participants in these movements to campaign within the Communist Party?

A. We consider that the opponents of nuclear weapons are very active, and we support them in every way. They certainly can champion their cause in the Communist Party. Ours is the only party which has resolutely opposed the proposals on the development of Swedish nuclear weapons.

The pacifists also can campaign in our Party for partial disarmament or other measures. We do not think their activities contradict the Party Program.

Q. What do you think are the most important tasks of world Communism today?

A. It will be recalled that there is no world-wide Communist organization today. Different parties hold different views on certain cardinal issues. Some parties consider peaceful coexistence to be impossible and maintain that there are no conditions for peaceful progress to socialism. We in our Party have a different view on these problems. In the light of this, it is hard to speak of world communism today. In our opinion, all the Communist parties should come out for easing world tension and for peaceful coexistence. We regard the struggle for these aims as the paramount international task, and we hope that all the Communist parties will fight for these aims.

STATEMENT* OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU, CC, COMMUNIST PARTY OF GERMANY

Having heard the report of the CC delegation on the Consultative Meeting of representatives of Communist and Workers' parties, held in Moscow on March 1-5, 1965, the Political Bureau of the CC CPG approved the report and expressed its gratitude to the members of the delegation for their work. The Political Bureau fully agrees with the Communique adopted by the 19 Communist and Workers' parties and hails it as a considerable step towards rallying the world Communist movement.

The CPG has invariably striven to contribute to the unity of the world Communist movement. It has always been in favor of fraternal friendly relations between all the Communist and Workers' parties. Such relations, based on the principles of proletarian internationalism, have been and remain an earnest of the successes of each fraternal party and of the movement as a whole.

The Political Bureau stresses the importance of the proposition, contained in the Communique, that what unites the fraternal parties outweighs that which still disunites us. The signal successes of the socialist camp and the world Communist movement would be even more impressive given unity of action of the Communist and Workers' parties in the struggle against imperialism, for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. We cannot allow the existing disagreements to be used against us by the imperialist enemies. In the face of the intensified aggressive activity of the U.S. and West German imperialists all the Communist and Workers' parties shoulder great responsibility for the rallying of our forces in the fight against the common enemy.

The Political Bureau supports the ways of overcoming the differences and strengthening the cooperation of the Communist and Workers' parties as outlined by the Meeting. It is convinced that the proposal on convening a consultative meeting of the 81 parties that were represented at the Moscow Conference of 1960 provides the most democratic and effective way of ensuring the active and equal participation of all the fraternal parties in preparations for a new international conference. Our Party also supports the proposal on bilateral and multilateral meetings and other forms of cooperation which can help overcome the differences. We consider that all debasing polemic and interference in the affairs of other fraternal

*Freies Volk, April 1965.

parties should be discontinued. This will help create a comradely atmosphere in the world Communist movement.

Our Party, which is fighting in the difficult conditions of illegality against the dangerous imperialist enemy, appreciates the highly effective support which the anti-imperialist policy of the CC, CPSU and the solidarity of other fraternal parties are giving to the struggle of the peace-loving forces in the Federal Republic of Germany. The West German imperialists are trying to utilize the differences that have arisen in our ranks for their revanchist aims directed against the GDR and other socialist countries. The decisions of the member-states of the Warsaw Treaty regarding the need to combat West German revanchism and militarism, and the results of the Moscow Consultative Meeting show that speculations of this sort are doomed to failure. This is borne out also by the great successes of the GDR which have become evident to the whole world thanks to the Leipzig Fair and the visit of Walter Ulbricht, Chairman of the State Council, to the UAR.

Our Party considers that its contribution to strengthening the unity of the world Communist movement should consist in redoubling, on the basis of the national and democratic alternative worked out by the 4th plenary meeting of the CC, CPG, its efforts in the struggle against the militarist and revanchist policy of the Bonn rulers, for the victory of the policy of peace, disarmament and mutual understanding with the German Democratic Republic.

JOINT COMMUNIQUE*

OF THE FRENCH AND PORTUGUESE COMMUNIST PARTIES

A delegation of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party consisting of Waldeck Rochet, General Secretary, Raymond Guyot, member of the Political Bureau, and Jean Burles, member of the CC, and a delegation of the Portuguese Communist Party consisting of Alvaro Cunhal, General Secretary, and Sergio Vilarigues, member of the CC Secretariat, had at the beginning of May a cordial exchange of opinions and information. Their talks have reaffirmed and strengthened the traditional bonds of fraternity and cooperation between the two parties.

Portugal is ruled by a fascist regime headed by a government which represents the interests of the monopolies connected with foreign imperialism, and of big landowners. The policy of this government sacrifices the interests of the working class, the peasantry and the petty and middle bourgeoisie. Democrats, especially Communists, are being brutally persecuted. The Portuguese Communist Party, the main national organized force of the opposition, pursues a policy of broad alliance of all the democratic and patriotic forces in order to stamp out the fascist tyranny and establish a democratic regime.

The Portuguese Communist Party is fighting for an end to the domination of foreign imperialism in Portugal and to the rule of the Portuguese colonialists over other peoples. It supports the national liberation movement of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea and other Portuguese colonies, who are fighting for self-determination, for immediate and complete independence. The Portuguese Communist Party is devoting all its efforts to building a powerful mass movement in order to rouse the nation and organize an armed popular rebellion.

The delegation of the French Communist Party highly appreciates the valiant struggle the heroic Portuguese Communist Party is waging in the difficult conditions of illegality, braving ruthless repressions. It particularly rejoices over the considerable successes in developing a mass movement and uniting anti-fascists in the Patriotic Front of National Liberation.

Both delegations stress the great importance of international solidarity with the Portuguese people and express the wish that this solidarity should increase.

For its part, the French Communist Party will continue to work

*L'Humanité, May 12, 1965.

for the release of the political prisoners, against the crimes of the political police (PIDE), for active solidarity with the Portuguese anti-fascist forces. It voices fraternal solidarity with all Communists, with all imprisoned democrats and their families. The French Communists will act in the spirit of proletarian internationalism to ensure that the Portuguese emigrés in France enjoy the same rights as all hired workers.

The delegation of the French Communist Party informed the Portuguese Communists about the present situation in France. The influence of the Gaullist regime on the masses has weakened, despite the powerful means at its disposal. The victims of one-man rule are ever more actively opposing the policy pursued in the interests of the monopolies, as is demonstrated by the numerous examples of the struggle developing in the country.

The French Communist Party is working for the establishment of genuine democracy, for a policy of social progress, peace and national independence, for agreement between all the democratic parties on the basis of a common program.

The Portuguese Communist Party highly appreciates the struggle of the French Communist Party in defense of the interests of the working class and all working people, for genuine democracy and peace, and the support it is giving to the national-liberation movement against imperialism and colonialism.

Both parties express active solidarity with the peoples suffering from imperialism and colonialism. An extensive movement of protest should be organized against the aggression of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam and Santo Domingo. Both parties call upon the peoples of their countries to act vigorously for an immediate discontinuation of U.S. raids on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, for the observance of the Geneva agreements, for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Vietnam, and for the sovereign right of the people of South Vietnam to decide their own destiny.

Guided by the principles worked out at the international conferences of the Communist and Workers' parties in 1957 and 1960 and striving for stronger unity of the world Communist movement on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, both parties stress their full agreement with the Communique adopted by the 19 fraternal parties in Moscow last March. They consider that a new international conference of the parties would conform to the interests of the world Communist movement, and approve the proposals on the preparation of such a conference made by the 19 fraternal parties.

The delegations of both parties express confidence in the successful outcome of the struggle in t. r countries, which is developing in conditions of the general growth of the forces of socialism, national liberation, democracy and peace. *May 1965*

STATEMENT

OF THE BUREAU OF THE CC, PEOPLE'S PARTY OF IRAN, ON THE MOSOW CONSULTATIVE MEETING

The Bureau of the CC of the People's Party of Iran (Tudeh) has thoroughly examined and discussed the Communique of the Consultative Meeting of representatives of Communist and Workers' parties, held in Moscow March 1-5, 1965, on the ways of overcoming the differences and strengthening the unity of the world Communist and working-class movement.

The Bureau of the CC expresses satisfaction over the unanimity of views of the participants in the Consultative Meeting, and considers this Meeting to be an important step towards restoring the unity of the world Communist and working-class movement and cementing the cohesion of its ranks.

Consolidation of the positions of socialism, the upsurge of the national-liberation and international working-class movement, and the growth of the forces advocating peace remain the basic trend in present-day world development. At the same time world reaction headed by U.S. imperialism is seeking to stem the development of the world revolution and preserve, by force and fraud, its sinister rule in the countries still under the yoke of reaction and imperialism.

The protest which the participants in the Moscow 19-party Meeting voiced against the barbaric aggression of U.S. imperialism in South Vietnam and against the spread of this aggression to North Vietnam, their solidarity with the heroic Vietnamese people reflect, without doubt, the stand of the entire Communist and working-class movement and of all the forces of the national-liberation movement, of all the champions of peace and progress the world over.

The Bureau of the CC, PPI (Tudeh) registers, on behalf of the CC, all Party members and the entire Iranian people, wrathful protest against the aggressive actions of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam. Our Party urges the peoples of Iran to launch a struggle against imperialism and especially against U.S. imperialism, this world gendarme seeking to check by force the national-liberation movement of the peoples by supporting the reactionary circles and their rule over the masses.

Recent world events show that the existence and exacerbation of differences in the world Communist and working-class movement encourages the aggressive trends of world reaction and imperialism. Precisely therefore consolidation of the unity and solidarity of the

world Communist and working-class movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and the line defined in the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement has become a still more urgent historical task for all the Communist and Workers' parties. Delay in, the implementation of this pressing task is undeniably causing tremendous harm to the entire process of the world revolution. Every effort should be exerted to overcome all obstacles to the realization of this task.

What unites the Communist and Workers' parties far outweighs that which disunites them at present. Therefore the differences in the world Communist and working-class movement should not hamper joint struggle of the socialist countries and the Communist and Workers' parties against imperialism and the aggressive actions of the reactionaries. All the socialist countries and Communist and Workers' parties, despite the existence of disagreements, can already now unite their efforts in supporting the national-liberation movement, strengthening the solidarity of the world forces of peace and progress, and promoting the fight for the ideals of socialism and communism. This will greatly help restore unity in the world Communist and working-class movement.

The best and most reliable method of achieving mutual understanding and community of views and overcoming differences in the world Communist movement is to convene a conference of the Communist and Workers' parties. There is no doubt that, in view of the existing difficulties, maximum attention should be paid to the preparation of the conference and to securing the participation of all the parties. This will facilitate achievement of a community of views and unity of the world Communist and working-class movement, which is the chief purpose of the proposed conference.

In view of the above, the Bureau of the CC, PPI (Tudeh) declares its agreement with the proposal of the participants in the 19-party Meeting on convening a preliminary consultative meeting of the 81 parties that took part in the 1960 Conference. It believes that such a preliminary meeting of all the parties will be the best way of preparing the future conference.

The Bureau of the CC, PPI (Tudeh) supports the view, expressed by the participants in the Moscow Consultative Meeting, that open polemic, which is in character unfriendly and degrading to fraternal parties, should be discontinued. It considers that this is essential for the successful preparation of the future conference of the Communist and Workers' parties. The Bureau of the CC, PPI believes also that strict observance of the standards governing relations between parties, laid down by the 1957 and 1960 conferences and aimed against splitting activities and interference of some parties in the internal affairs of other parties, is indispensable

for establishing mutual understanding and cementing the unity and solidarity of the world Communist and working-class movement.

For its part, the Bureau of the CC, PPI (Tudeh) will exert every effort to carry out the concrete proposals made by the participants in the Moscow Meeting of the 19 Communist and Workers' parties.

April 4, 1965

THROW OFF THE YOKE OF THE OLIGARCHY

RESOLUTIONS* OF THE 31st PLENARY MEETING, CC, CP OF COLOMBIA

THE GREED OF THE MONOPOLIES

The economic policy of the ruling oligarchy, aimed solely at enriching the big local and foreign monopolies, is hitting ever harder at the interests of the working people, steadily widening the gulf between the exploiters and the exploited.

Inflation, which has become the gravest economic problem in the country, is making inroads in the real wages, incomes and savings of the working people, enriching the speculators and sustaining an inordinately swollen state budget used mainly for financing repressive measures, the upkeep of the bureaucratic machine and the payment of foreign debts.

The growing cost of living is accompanied by increasing unemployment. The real wages of factory and office workers are declining. The monopoly on credit, available only to the major foreign investors and the local oligarchy, has created a critical situation for thousands of small and medium-sized owners whose businesses are closing down or are verging on bankruptcy.

The government is introducing ever new taxes, the burden of which is mainly borne by the working people. The latest is the turnover tax, opposed by the overwhelming majority of the population. But the greed of the ruling circles and the oligarchy behind them is so great that they are planning to impose, with the support of the leaders of the Labor Confederation and the Labor Union, new and still heavier taxes.

The price of coffee, on which practically all Colombian peasants depend, is falling as a result of the machinations of the U.S. companies monopolizing the coffee market. But the government refuses to search for new markets by normalizing relations with the socialist countries.

The constantly worsening economic condition of the people makes it more imperative than ever to fight actively for an overall increase in wages and a higher minimum wage; for work for the unemployed and new job opportunities; for cheaper credit to the small and medium-sized owners; for cuts in spending on the machinery of coercion and the bureaucracy nobody wants, and use of the means

*Voz Proletaria, April 8, 1965.

thus released to improve the conditions of the teachers and civil servants; for stable prices of farm produce profitable to the small farmers; for the right of the toiling peasants to own the unused lands.

IMPERIALISM AND NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY

Under the guise of aid, the U.S. investors and finance organizations are strengthening their stranglehold on the national economy.

The finance corporations dominated by U.S. capital are seeking to monopolize a number of industries. The International Association of Development, the International Bank and other instruments of imperialist policy control important state-owned enterprises and force them to raise public service charges to the detriment of the country and the people.

The Alliance for Progress actually serves only the Yankees, who brazenly interfere in state plans, such as the housing plan for working people, in trade union affairs and in other, less important aspects of our national life.

The rapidly growing import of U.S. "agricultural surpluses" is damaging Colombian agriculture. It only enriches big U.S. capitalists.

The foreign oil monopolies have launched an offensive against the national interests and the rights of the workers, who are being deprived of work in ever greater numbers. They are blackmailing the country, threatening to wind up operations if all their claims are not satisfied. Hence the need for the popular and nationalist forces to display active solidarity with the oil workers and to carry out large-scale patriotic actions to consolidate the state oil company, Empresa Colombiana de Petroleos, and to bring about the nationalization of the whole oil industry.

Conciliators from among the bourgeoisie and the reactionaries have gone as far in their betrayal of national sovereignty as to openly demand U.S. armed interference to suppress the guerrilla movement and other manifestations of the growing discontent of the people.

This policy of conciliation and national betrayal is giving added impetus to the growth of anti-imperialist and nationalist sentiments among the broad sections of the population.

The nationalist aspirations are playing a positive role in the struggle against the U.S. colonialists and should be supported by revolutionaries. However, these aspirations should be expressed in concrete actions, such as campaigns for the nationalization of the oil industry, for driving the U.S. spies and military missions out of the country, for the establishment of equal relations with all countries and the restoration of normal relations with the fraternal people of Cuba.

A NEW ONSLAUGHT ON THE PEOPLE'S RIGHTS

The oligarchy and its U.S. patrons clearly aim to set up an open anti-popular dictatorship. The big bourgeoisie is out to implement a series of anti-democratic and repressive measures to bolster its class rule while trying to preserve a semblance of "representative democracy."

Although the danger of a military coup has diminished somewhat, the influence of the military is growing. There are different trends in the army, but its command is dominated by out-and-out reactionary groups which, pursuing a policy of terror, send troops to occupy peasant regions and constantly seek to stamp out the most elementary civil rights.

Out to realize its anti-popular aims in full and make repressions a permanent feature of everyday life, the government is whipping up anti-communist hysteria in order to obtain new emergency powers from Congress or to proclaim a state of siege. Freedoms and constitutional guarantees do not exist for a considerable part of the peasants. The armed forces pass death sentences summarily, without any process of law.

Moreover, under the pretext of resisting sequestration and other arbitrary phenomena characteristic of the disintegration of the oligarchic system, the bourgeoisie is setting up an armed organization disguised as "civil committees."

Civil freedoms are being abolished chiefly with the agency of the so-called "primary courts" set up by organizations such as the Association Against Delinquency and Defense against Crime, which hold their sessions in army and police barracks. This is a new violation of the legal and prison reforms.

Even the freedom of the press, one of the most important gains of May 1957, is in danger. Frequent recourse is taken to arbitrary sanctions against pressmen and radio workers. *Voz Proletaria* is threatened with a ban and its editors with prosecution for truthful coverage of official violence and the policy of national betrayal and oligarchic exploitation.

The number of political prisoners, who are subjected to torture and other maltreatment, is growing. The campaign for their release should be intensified both in the country and internationally.

It is necessary to step up the struggle for democratic freedoms and civil and human rights, to expose the repressive plans and prevent their realization through powerful campaigns in defense of the freedom of the press, assembly and demonstrations and the right to establish organizations of the people, for the abolition of all laws restricting democratic rights.

RESISTANCE TO THE GOVERNMENT'S AGGRESSION

The growing official violence creates conditions for the development of armed resistance.

"Operation Marquetallia" was followed up by punitive operations by airborne troops, as was the case in the "El Pato" region, and preparations for attacking other peasant areas, with the most active participation of the U.S. military missions.

These events show that a new stage is setting in in the guerrilla struggle, which is growing and erupting in ever new regions and acquiring increasing importance as a factor shaping the national political perspective.

In the regions where the government is carrying out brutal reprisals under the pretext of combating imaginary "independent republic," the guerrilla movement has become the main form of the peasant mass struggle. But the prospects of the guerrilla movement are closely connected with the general political situation, with the mounting of the mass struggle in the cities, proletarian centers and villages.

The Communist Party declares once again that it regards as correct the armed form of the struggle of the peasants and the entire people against the government's aggression. This struggle will continue to grow if the masses support it and if its internal unity and the unity of the popular forces are strengthened in every way.

Evidence of the profoundly revolutionary nature of the struggle of the peasants and guerrillas against the government's aggression is provided by its vitality and by its inspiring program the chief targets of which are a genuinely democratic reform, national liberation, real freedoms for the toiling masses, and power for the people.

The peasants' armed resistance, which cannot be instigated from outside, is only one of the forms of the mass movement which will win out if all forms of revolutionary struggle, peaceful and legal ones included, are correctly applied and combined.

We counter the government's threat to intensify the repressions with a policy of popular self-defense, which remains a major aspect of our work among the masses. The guerrilla movement needs the most extensive solidarity of the people, not only moral but in all other forms. It is the duty of the popular forces to organize this solidarity movement, to build up its unity and raise its political level.

CANDIDATES AND THE CRISIS OF THE OLIGARCHY

The big liberal and conservative bourgeoisie have pooled efforts to preserve the anti-democratic parity system as the best safeguard for their interests at present.

Trying to prevent the crisis extending to the entire system, the

ruling classes are preparing a series of political maneuvers which may culminate in a collusion at the top, and at the same time building a powerful electoral machinery to ensure the election of their candidates with the help of all the means at the disposal of the state.

The official quarters support the candidature of Lleras Restrepo, who advocates the preservation of the present system. Other candidates have also been nominated, for instance, ex-General Ruiz Novoa. Their election would merely mean replacing one ruling group by another, without bringing about such essential changes as the liquidation of the political monopoly of the two traditional parties, the transfer of the land to the toiling peasants, or the adoption of a policy of genuine national independence.

The nomination of candidates for the 1966 Presidential and parliamentary elections is not a question of primary importance for the Colombian people. Within the framework of the parity system with its anti-democratic alternation of presidents and denial of the rights to the political trends opposing the traditional camarilla, elections cannot provide effective solutions to the ever sharper problems facing the country and the people. The sole useful purpose such elections can serve is to accelerate the disintegration of the system, and this is, for the Communists, a question of tactics to be decided in conformity with the concrete conditions.

The most urgent task in this field is to build a united front of democratic opposition and ensure mutual understanding among all the popular forces, whose solid unity will help find a genuinely democratic way out of the profound national crisis.

FOR PROLETARIAN UNITY OF ACTION

The chief task of the revolutionary movement is to promote in every way working-class unity of action.

The general strike early this year demonstrated the importance and potential strength of a closely united working class.

The extensive movement of protest against the turnover tax and against the entire economic policy of the government failed to produce results because of the treachery of the agents of imperialism and the big bourgeoisie in the Labor Confederation leadership and the deal entered into at the crucial moment by the leaders of the Labor Union.

But the proletariat and the people generally are impelled as before towards mass actions of a similar nature, for none of the problems have been solved.

As before, the working class can and must play the decisive role in defending the interests of the entire people and effecting real political changes.

It is, therefore, the most pressing task of the revolutionary forces

to mobilize and organize the proletariat, to promote its revolutionary consciousness and unity of action.

Unless this task is accomplished, there can be no question of a genuinely popular and democratic solution in the immediate future.

Let every Communist take part in the realization of this great task, in the struggle of the masses in all its forms, in the working-class and peasant movement, in the mounting struggle of the students, young people and women!

Let every Communist be at the same time an organizer of the struggle of the people, showing by his deeds and his initiative that the Communists are fighting for the interests of the people, for the realization of their profound striving for genuine democracy, for the revolutionary transformation of the anti-popular system of oppression established by the oligarchy.

FOR THE UNITY OF THE WORLD COMMUNIST AND WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT

The 31st plenary meeting of the CC, CPC approves the activities of the CPC delegation to the conference of the Communist and Workers' parties of Latin America held at the end of 1964, and supports all the decisions of this historical conference, which constituted an important step forward in the entire revolutionary movement of Latin America. To carry out the recommendations of this conference is an essential part of our aims, the duty of the Colombian Communists.

The 31st plenary meeting of the CC, CPC considers that in the present conditions a positive role has been played by the recent meeting of representatives of 19 Communist and Workers' parties participating in the commission charged with preparing conferences of the world Communist movement.

The plenary meeting fully endorses the documents adopted at the meeting of the 19 parties, where the Latin American Communists were represented by the delegations of the United Party of the Socialist Revolution of Cuba, the Communist Party of Argentina and the Brazilian Communist Party.

The CC considers that restoration of the unity of the world Communist movement should be achieved along the lines proposed by the conference of the Latin American Communist and Workers' parties, on the basis of the following principles:

a) defense of the unity of every Communist party as an essential condition for the development of the revolutionary process in every country, and categorical repudiation of any splitting activity;

b) effective steps to end the public polemic on the differences in the world Communist movement, which essentially plays into

the hands of the U.S. imperialists and their partners, the reactionaries and opportunists in different countries;

c) active support of all conferences and meetings of representatives of Communist and Workers' parties found necessary to convene.

In the present conditions a new international Communist conference must be preceded by consultative meetings, including a meeting of the 81 Communist and Workers' parties which took part in the 1960 Meeting and adhere to the fundamental principles of the Statement adopted at that Meeting.

March 31, 1965

FOR A UNITED FRONT AGAINST IMPERIALISM AND NEO-COLONIALISM

At the end of the friendly visit to Ghana of a delegation of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany led by Paul Wehrner, member of the Political Bureau of the CC, a communique was issued on behalf of the SUPG and the Convention People's Party of Ghana, summing up the results of the visit and outlining measures for the promotion of cooperation and contacts between the two countries.

A highly cordial and friendly reception was given to the SUPG delegation by representatives of the party, the government and all sections of the population of Ghana, the communique points out. The SUPG delegation shared impressions of its visits to important industrial centers and agricultural enterprises.

The delegation had friendly cordial talks with Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, General Secretary of the CC, CPP and President of the Republic of Ghana. It also met with leading functionaries of the Central Committee and the Party committees in areas and regions. It had an opportunity of speaking at meetings of workers, peasants and intellectuals about the policy of the SUPG and the joint struggle waged by our parties, and thoroughly familiarizing itself with the policy of the CPP, the considerable progress made by the people of Ghana in building their national economy and promoting public education and science, and with other progressive achievements of the country.

The SUPG delegation, for its part, provided information on the policy of the SUPG in building socialism in the German Democratic Republic, the struggle between the forces of socialism and imperialism in Germany, the fight for peace and for the solution of the German national problem, and regarding GDR-Ghana relations. Like the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, the German Democratic Republic supports the struggle of the African peoples against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

The talks, which proceeded in a cordial atmosphere, revealed identity of views on all major problems. The Convention People's Party and the Socialist Unity Party put on record that their joint efforts are aimed at the further consolidation of the common front of struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. Imperialism is the chief cause of international tension. The imperialists are interfering in the internal affairs of the peoples. One such example is the aggression against the Vietnamese people. The

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*Neues Deutschland, April 25, 1965.

struggle for peace is also connected with the struggle against West German imperialism. Both parties resolutely oppose a multilateral nuclear force in any form and the proliferation of nuclear weapons. They stand for general and complete disarmament and the establishment of atom-free zones.

Both parties demand complete liquidation of colonialism and fight resolutely against all forms of neo-colonialism. They vigorously denounce the imperialists' defiance of the decisions of the United Nations Organization and the Organization of African Unity demanding independence for the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, South Rhodesia, South-West Africa and "Portuguese" Guinea. The struggle of the African peoples for independence is gravely threatened by the machinations of NATO states acting in collusion with the splitter Tshombe, the racist regime of Verwoerd in South Africa, and other forces.

The SUPG and the Convention People's Party of Ghana support all measures aimed at strengthening the anti-imperialist forces and weakening the positions of imperialism. The Socialist Unity Party of Germany supports the efforts of the Convention People's Party to cement African unity, an effective instrument in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. Both parties agreed that a peaceful settlement of the German problem is possible through negotiations between the sides concerned. Both parties are convinced of the need for promoting their cooperation and friendly relations between our countries, which will certainly help strengthen friendship and cooperation between our peoples.

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SOME PRESSING IDEOLOGICAL TASKS

THESES* OF THE CC, HUNGARIAN SOCIALIST WORKERS' PARTY

I

The Conditions of Ideological Work

The socialist remoulding of people's social consciouness, the dissemination of Marxist ideas in various fields of science and culture, and their cultivation among the masses are an indispensable component of the complete construction of socialism. Socialist development calls for more efficient ideological work by the Party, for an analysis of the conditions in which the battle of ideas is going on and of the factors promoting or hampering it.

Today the Central Committee concerns itself primarily with those ideological questions and tasks which have a direct bearing on the pressing problems of socialist construction and claim the attention of the masses and whose political importance is evident.

Theoretical or ideological work is not an end in itself. It can develop only in close connection with social practice. Theoretical work draws on practice; it generalizes practical experience and serves practical purposes. On the other hand, a profound examination of outstanding problems is essential for the success of practical work. There is a need for a further study of such cardinal problems as peaceful coexistence, the economic competition of the two world systems, its connection with the international revolutionary process, the development of the world socialist system, socialist economic development, and progress in the system of its management, exercise of their leading role in changing conditions by the working class and the Party, questions relating to the world Communist movement.

Socialist Construction and the Results of Ideological Work

The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party is the revolutionary party of the working class, a party basing its entire activity on the ideas of creative Marxism-Leninism. This was greatly promoted by the 20th Congress of the CPSU, which carried forward Marxist theory in a creative spirit.

The socialist consciousness of the working people has increased in recent years. They now have a better understanding of the main

objectives of socialist construction and actively support the general political line of the Party.

The working people's higher sense of responsibility expresses itself, among other things, in the fact that they take an increasingly keen interest in public affairs and soundly criticize mistakes and shortcomings.

The documents of the Seventh and Eighth congresses of the HSWP, and Party decisions on the socialist reorganization of agriculture, economic policy, the reform of education and other socio-political matters of prime importance had a tangible impact on our spiritual life.

The spiritual and cultural progress made is evident from new achievements in science and the arts, from the variety and activity of creative endeavor. There appear more and more original and noteworthy works raising new problems. We have public discussions of important social problems and problems never discussed before. Interest in experiments and criticism has clearly become livelier.

Despite its unquestionable achievements, ideological work and the development of socialist consciousness and morality are lagging behind the growing requirements of socialist construction. Furthermore, there are certain unwelcome, negative developments in ideological life that in some spheres become unhealthy trends.

The Political Conditions of Ideological Work

The main factor in ideological work is that we have laid the foundations for socialism and that socialist relations of production are developing on a sound basis in every economic field. Nevertheless, our socio-political and ideological life still has noticeable elements of a non-socialist nature. The socialist development of material relations does not automatically give rise to socialist consciousness.

In our country there still are hostile if disunited forces which concentrate on economic and ideological matters. The survivals of bourgeois ideology and education, which the intensified bourgeois propaganda of the West persistently fosters, supporting them with "modernized" ideological concepts, still make themselves felt. We have abolished the exploiting classes and the antagonisms bred by exploitation, but there are still considerable distinctions and contradictions between different sections of society, between their direct interests, traditions, way of thinking and moral concepts.

The evils of the personality cult, revisionist treachery, the disputes that have arisen in the international working-class movement in

late years, and other adverse developments tell on the ideological countenance of society.

The ideological struggle is also complicated by the fact that the various internal anti-Marxist trends do not always manifest themselves in their traditional forms but take other, more intricate forms, adapt themselves to the new conditions, and use more covert methods.

A correct policy and active ideological work by the Party are the most important factor for the ideological development of our society. The Party bases its policies on a realistic appraisal of the actual state of affairs and sets ideological tasks accordingly. It does not treat political unity and ideological disagreement as antitheses but strives to promote the political unity achieved on the fundamental issues of socialism as the ideological battle goes on. It takes account of the transitional state of our society, the differences in thinking and world outlook existing between the various classes and sections of society, and contradictions which cannot be removed overnight but require a long and persevering ideological struggle. This view is based on deep faith in the power of Marxism-Leninism, on the conviction that anti-Marxist ideological trends can be defeated in open combat.

Accordingly, the Party rejects the substitutions of intolerance and injunction for ideological struggle. It also provides a platform for trends that do not conflict with the socialist system from the political point of view but are foreign to it ideologically. In the past, the harmful practice of the personality cult merely ignored these trends instead of combating them. This is why they manifested themselves with great force as soon as they had an opportunity for open expression. The Party considers that we need open discussion from the standpoint of principle if we want to critically analyze and really overcome these trends, refute erroneous views and convince their exponents of the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist point of view.

The HSWP has developed its political and ideological position in the struggle on two fronts, and upholds and carries it forward in the same way. We have not yet fully eliminated the influence of dogmatism and revisionism.

Dogmatism manifests itself in different forms, all of which we must combat. First of all, we question the view whose adherents judge the political problems of the complete construction of socialism from the standpoint of the unhistorical concept of the nature of classes, or of the political struggle of the classes, which is alleged to become aggravated continuously and necessarily, and do not realize that economic development and the ideological fight are the main sphere of the class struggle at the present stage,

with leadership, organization and education as its most important methods.

Secondly, we are opposed to the notion that the peaceful competition of the two world systems represents revisionism.

Thirdly, we are against dogmatic thinking even when it does not take the form of political opposition, of an erroneous concept, but manifests itself as something divorced from life and practice, as ideological timidity, theoretical indolence, indifference to new problems, conservatism, or a primitive view on things.

The forms, arguments and tactical means of revisionism have become modified, but their nature is unchanged. The revisionists no longer resort to public criticism but prefer to falsify and misinterpret the policies of the HSWP and the guidelines of the 20th Congress of the CPSU. They deny that the contradiction between capitalism and socialism is the chief contradiction of our time, and construe peaceful coexistence as surrender. In the theoretical field, revisionism assails the fundamental tenets and the content of Marxism, arguing that the situation is changing, effacing the antithesis between Marxism and bourgeois ideology, and demands the right to existence for many varieties of Marxism. The revisionists distort in an opportunist spirit the principles of the Party's policy of unity, trying to nullify the leading role of the working class and the Party. They interpret socialist democracy in a liberal vein, and try to combine socialism with bourgeois and petty-bourgeois democracy.

In contrast to dogmatic and vulgarizing trends which scorn the study of new problems, the revisionists claim that they have given new answers to new questions and reject the tested theory and method of Marxism-Leninism advocating bourgeois ideological propositions instead.

The principle of fighting on two fronts should be implemented discriminately, with due regard to the differences in the situation in the various sectors of the ideological front. Right revisionist bourgeois and petty-bourgeois trends have lately become more active in ideological and cultural life.

The class struggle puts forward new and even more difficult tasks in the ideological field, not only at home but all over the world. Imperialism, which has in increasing measure to take account of the relations of peaceful coexistence, assigns the ideological struggle a big role in its new tactics. Its purpose is the same as ever—now as in the past, the imperialists want to overthrow socialism and restore capitalism.

The tactic of "loosening up" has become an essential component of the official foreign policy of the leading imperialist powers. It is aimed at dissociating the socialist countries from one another

and from the socialist community, but first and foremost from the Soviet Union, the pioneer state of the socialist world system, at reducing the development of socialist democracy to "liberalization," "peacefully transforming" the socialist system, and restoring capitalism.

The imperialists have far-reaching aims in view when trying to use the disputes within the Communist movement and the difficulties which the world socialist system and individual socialist countries encounter. They pin their hopes on the survivals of petty-bourgeois and bourgeois views, primarily nationalism, and last but not least, on a revival of revisionist views. To achieve their ends, they use every means at their command: radio, the press, expanding cultural and economic relations, diplomatic channels, travel.

Western propaganda has switched to new means and methods in an effort to undermine people's faith in socialist ideas, spread pessimism among the peoples building socialism, and make out modern capitalism to be better than it is. We must be vigilant toward enemy intrigues.

The dispute going on in the world Communist movement confronts us with new tasks in our political and ideological work. Today socialism has triumphed in 14 countries situated on three continents. Socialist construction is taking place in conditions that differ substantially. The various contingents of the international working-class movement, while fighting for common goals in different social conditions and in different parts of the world, are at the same time fighting for different immediate aims. Naturally, the distinctions between them are great in terms of their historical past, the level of their social development and their national characteristics, as well as in terms of the nature of their economies, revolutionary traditions and experience. In these circumstances, while the fundamental interests, objectives and ideology are identical, certain divergences in the estimation of specific questions are unavoidable. This is why exchanges of experience and opinions are necessary and useful.

As regards the debate on the fundamental aims and principles of the international working-class movement, our Party stands firm on its Marxist-Leninist position, and follows the line developed by the 20th Congress and approved by the Moscow meetings in 1957 and 1960. We need comradely, constructive discussions that will help us solve our problems, but it is harmful to engage in a dispute that hampers the development of a common Marxist-Leninist position and shakes the unity of the Communist parties and is conducted in tones insulting to fraternal parties.

The period since 1960 has witnessed changes in the socialist world and in the relations of our epoch. It is necessary to analyze

them and to formulate a common position with due regard to them. Our Party will, in keeping with its historical experience and the interests of our people, do everything to promote the reunification of the international working-class movement, and will support every effort to settle the dispute. It will search for ways of restoring the unity of the countries building socialism and of the Communist countries of the whole world, above all in attaining the basic goals: preservation of world peace, defense of the socialist commonwealth, progress in socialist construction, support for the revolutionary and liberation movements and for the struggle for the victory of socialism, against imperialism, in general.

Improve Ideological Work

In these conditions, the Party must engage in vigorous ideological activity and concrete theoretical work, must maintain the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, if it is to accomplish its manifold ideological tasks. Our ideological work still falls short of these requirements.

Marxism is not a hard-and-fast doctrine but a living and developing science. To expound and uphold it means giving constructive answers to new questions. We are living at a time of rapid development and deep-going changes. Today many of the questions which Marxism-Leninism has answered in the past pose themselves in a new way.

II

SOME URGENT PROBLEMS OF DEVELOPMENT OF OUR SOCIETY, ECONOMICS AND IDEOLOGY

The laying of the foundations for socialism, the tasks facing us in the continuing socialist construction, and the peaceful competition between the two systems have made economic development the main task. This means that the interconnection and interaction of the economy and ideology have come to the fore.

The accelerated progress of our country calls for greater efficiency in both the economic and the ideological fields.

Production is the key to advancement of our society, to the material and cultural progress of our people. This is why we are concentrating on the promotion of labor productivity. We must bring it home to people that this is the only way to improve the standard of living.

A higher standard of living has a beneficial effect on people's psychology. It is an important factor in inducing the masses to accept our ideas. Our Party condemns the ascetic, pseudo-revolu-

tionary view that the well-being the socialist countries are engaged in creating is a capitalist outgrowth and leads to a "petty-bourgeois" outlook and to moral degeneration. To accept this view would mean declaring the fight for socialism, which is aimed at providing greater affluence for everyone, to be pointless.

On the other hand, the Party condemns the opposite and equally erroneous view that an improved standard of living automatically fosters people's socialist consciousness. This view is at variance with reality. Experience shows that in some cases steady improvement of the living standard may even accentuate negative qualities, such as self-seeking, greed and selfishness. An important ideological task is to explain that a psychology which impels people to see gain as the important thing in life is wrong and harmful.

The actual implementation of the principle of remuneration according to the work done, and the proper application of material incentives are a major factor transforming people's psychology. We should not censure personal interest when it is shown by hard-working people. We must see to it, however, that people receive various benefits and rights only according to their contribution in terms of labor.

Material interest does not in itself make people's consciousness socialist. It is also necessary that those who work well should receive widespread public recognition. By using moral, ideological inducements expressing respect for efficient work, we invoke people's enthusiasm and conscientious and at the same time combat money-grubbing. In addition to various public measures, such as rewards and the popularization of outstanding workers, an important role is assigned in this respect to the right approach to socialist labor: competent organization, a well-considered system, the granting to every working man or woman of the guaranteed right to take part in the decision of various questions, and the provision of conditions in which no one, whatever his job, has a feeling that all he does is to carry out instructions. All this encourages those who work with devotion, and serves as an incentive and a positive factor also in the remoulding of people's mentality.

The vast majority of the working people, having come to realize the great significance of the changes that have come about in our society, work in a new way, and accomplish their assignments in good faith. The socialist teams furnish a striking example of conscientious, devoted labor. They unite the more politically conscious and ideologically mature working people, who work in more organized fashion than others and have a clearer idea of the purpose and meaning of their labor. They work less and less for money alone. Responding to the call of their socialist consciousness and striving to increase public wealth, they do far more for the common good than they are expected to.

The recognition to which efficient workers are entitled should not, however, blot out the fact that labor discipline in some factories is often unsatisfactory and, indeed, falls short of the standard achieved under the capitalist system. We still have people who put their personal interests before the public interest. On the other hand, the disciplining factors which in the past enabled the capitalist to impose his will have completely disappeared in our country. The scourge of starvation is gone and so is economic insecurity. Yet we have so far been unable to make socialist labor discipline effective enough, and this shortcoming prevents us from overcoming individualistic tendencies. It is a contradictory situation, in which some people occasionally show lack of discipline with greater ease than in the past, under capitalism, despite the fact that socialist society has provided more favorable conditions for the working people than capitalism.

The fundamental position of our Party is unshakable. The Party makes no concessions on matters of principle either to Left sectarian or to Right liberal views.

The proponents of the former regard ruthless severity, a "firm" policy, as a panacea, and are trying to impose it on the Party. Our experience shows that intimidation and coercion never yield beneficial results in the production sphere. We are opposed, in every sphere and more firmly than before, to manifestations of laxity, but we will not change the style we have followed in our work so far.

The proponents of the latter, who speak from the right and assert that the social consciousness of the masses cannot keep pace with development, would like to slacken the rate of our advance. They are also wrong. The task is not to slow down development but to step up the moulding of socialist consciousness.

Socialist Democracy

Following the defeat of the counter-revolution our Party saw one of its major tasks in fully promoting and vigorously implementing socialist democracy. It put an end to violations and abuses of the law and ensured the actual enjoyment of democratic liberties. Our state provides anyone who supports our system with the opportunity of engaging in public activity and developing his creative ability.

We consider the demand for fuller democracy to be legitimate only in combination with the demand for better organization on more rigid principles and for more effective centralism.

In the new conditions created by the laying of the foundations for socialism, the practical implementation of democracy does

not meet the demand for it. It is therefore particularly opportune now to analyze what hampers and what promotes the more effective extension of socialist democracy. Three important problems pose themselves: (a) the work of the institutions ensuring the exercise of democratic rights; (b) the coordination of different interests on socialist principles; (c) ensuring direct and more effective participation in government by the masses. Needless to say, these factors are inseparable and constitute a single whole.

(a) In the present conditions, such institutions as Parliament and the Councils are in need of modernization from many points of view. One of the major tasks is to determine more specifically the role and functions of various institutions and agencies and to formulate appropriate fundamental principles. Not until this is done can the tasks whose purpose is to extend the content of the work of these institutions and agencies in some measure be put on the order of the day. It is also worthwhile to study the problem of improving the electoral system since it has to play an important role in extending democracy and increasing the activity of the masses.

Democracy should be extended by increasing the activity of the masses and making it more effective.

(b) Under socialism the basic interests of all the working people coincide—they are identical. Thanks to the principle of democratic centralism, in a situation in which the main common interests receive priority, common and local interests, as well as the special interests of individual working classes and groups, are harmoniously combined. Socialist democracy cannot develop unless interests are combined in this way. Today survivals of the one-time erroneous view which saw socialism as nothing but centralization manifest themselves first and foremost in a scornful attitude to local opinion. In contrast to this concept and practice, we should promote local autonomy. We should stress that socialist democracy cannot exist if specifically local interests are ignored, without an autonomy making it possible to uphold them and hence defining the functions and powers of local agencies from the legal point of view as well.

The opposite view, which is just as wrong, underrates the importance of centralization and tends to uphold local interests to the detriment of common ones.

Local interests and the interests of society as a whole do not necessarily and automatically coincide. The interests of the whole of society should be the point of departure in coordinating different trends and interests. These interests are represented by the Party, the workers' power, the state of the working of people. The leading role of the Party means, among other things, realizing the genuine

interests of the people which is the paramount requirement of socialist democracy.

(c) Greater participation in the management of public affairs is an important aspect of extended democrcay.

The capitalists debarred the masses from government, whereas the construction of the *new* society is becoming the cause of the masses. In this case, Lenin said, it is desirable and necessary that everyone should be versed in the affairs of the whole state and should participate in managing them. This is the best and speediest way for the working people to assimilate the policy of our Party, and their social consciousness is moulded as they gain experience in this matter.

We must invite and encourage the activity of the masses. This can be facilitated by more effective control over elected leaders, by their rendering account for their work, and by furnishing the masses with adequate information—by word of mouth as well as through the press and radio.

Democracy in our country today is not limited to political institutions. It plays an increasing role in economic life, in industry, the producer cooperatives and elsewhere.

The Leading Role of the Working Class

(a) The working class is the chief social force capable of ensuring the complete construction of socialism. It is essential that the working class fully exercise its leading role in every sphere of construction. This fundamental tenet of Marxism is borne out by the decades-long experience of Communist parties. In our society, which is building socialism, the leading role of the working class is steadily growing. Leadership by the Party, a correct policy, and the socialist state, which upholds and realizes the interests of the working class and its rule, the interests of the working people, are the main condition for this growth. The exercise of its leading role by the working class in our society is also guaranteed by the fact that there are many sons and daughters of the working class holding key posts, and that the workers are taking an increasing part in the discussion and decision of important questions posed by our socialist construction and in the exercise of control over public affairs.

There has lately been a great deal of debate on the leading role of the working class. We will encounter attempts to deny this role, except that the form and the arguments have been refurbished.

Has the leading role of the working class increased or declined as against the past The important criterion in answering this question is: Is the policy of the working class today being imple-

mented more effectively than before? Does it now produce more results than before? From this point of view, the only answer is: the role of the working class as the leader of society has undoubtedly grown whether we take as the basis for comparison the situation as it was twenty years ago or before the counter-revolutionary rising. It has grown strikingly in comparison with the period of the personality cult, when the mistakes made weakened the alliance of the workers and peasants, and hence decreased the leading role of the working class.

(b) The leading role of the working class is influenced by: (1) the strength and composition of the working class and its ideological and political maturity; (2) those other classes which the working class has to lead; (3) historical, economic and international conditions, the directions in which the situation changes. Worthy of greater attention than before are the manifold and complicated processes which during the past twenty years have taken place in every class, particularly the working class, and which have undoubtedly affected its leading role.

The tremendous strengthening of the working class is the most striking change. Compared with the pre-war period, the numerical strength of the working class has almost doubled, and its educational standard and social consciousness have grown. In the course of socialist construction the working class has gained valuable experience which no doubt has strengthened its position and enhanced its role in society. Requirements with regard to education and competence have grown. Members of the working class, and leaders who have risen from its ranks, are meeting these requirements in increasing measure. Through devoted labor and strenuous effort, they have mastered or are mastering the art of leadership. The requirement of competence is linked with that of devotion to socialism. Members of the old and new intelligentsia are building socialism shoulder to shoulder with leaders risen from the ranks of the working class. This unity is evidence of the power of socialism and the working class. Once the working class strove to win the support of bourgeois intellectuals. Today it promotes increasing members of socialist-minded intellectuals from its own ranks.

(c) The face of our country has changed during the past 20 years —we have laid the foundations for socialism. Every class and social group has undergone radical changes. The capitalist class had disappeared, the peasants have taken the socialist road, and the intellectuals—most of whom rise from the ranks of the working class and the peasantry—have become transformed.

The working class changes the character of all its allies and of society as a whole, bringing it close to its own. The socialist reorganization of agriculture, mechanized farming and the transfor-

mation of agricultural production into large-scale production have raised the alliance of the workers and peasants to a higher plane. The new peasantry, associated in producer cooperatives, is a far more "developed" ally than it was at the time of small-commodity production. Thanks to the place it holds in production, to its psychology, and above all to the fact that it applies socialist principles, the socialist peasant class that is in the making has drawn considerably closer to the working class. The same is true of other sections of society.

The working class, which is the ruling class, should take these highly important changes into consideration. In developing its policy of alliance, it should use one set of methods when fighting for the acceptance of its fundamental aims, and another when it has consolidated its power and when the principles of its ideology have been accepted by the whole people. What is needed today is not "capture by storming," and coercion is no longer the primary function of the proletarian dictatorship. At present the battlefield of the socialist revolution is shifting into the sphere of more efficient and more consistent policy, that is, the sphere of more profound, systematic, thorough, thoughtful and judicious work. Today it is these everyday things that will promote the cause of the revolution.

We must combat the tendency to forget that our country is still in the transitional stage and that socialist construction has not been completed. The fundamental interests of the working class, the peasants and the petty bourgeoisie coincide, but they also inevitably diverge on many points. The working class should uphold its interests also in the policy it has devised in common with its allies. It should do so because its interests basically coincide with those of the majority of the people. This is why the policy of alliance is alliance and struggle and class struggle.

The fact that the working class in fighting for its objectives—chiefly in the economic and ideological spheres—combats tendencies displayed by its allies and running counter to its own interests is a popular form of the class struggle.

The experience which the working class has gained, the lessons it has drawn from its past, and its future prospects, which are determined by the laws of socio-economic development, unquestionably make the working class the foremost champion of communism. It therefore remains the leading class of society also in the case of the state of the whole people, after the complete construction of socialism — until communism is built and class distinctions wear off.

The leading role of the working class will grow in adequate measure provided it is exercised in the ideological sphere as well. The entire course of our development will be influenced by the

promptness and effectiveness with which the working class succeeds in having the masses adopt its world outlook also as regards particulars.

III

OUR STRUGGLE AGAINST THE LEGACY OF THE HARMFUL IDEAS OF CAPITALISM

In the present conditions, the ideological legacy of capitalism manifests itself chiefly in the influence exerted by petty-bourgeois ideology, which has deep roots and "infects" a wide range of people.

This ideology is distinguished, now as in the past, by seeming indifference to the big problems of social development. It either accepts the changes that occur and the new economic and political system of our society, or passively takes cognizance of it. At the same time it continues to make reservations about necessary elements of the revolutionary process: the dictatorship of the proletariat, the leading role of the working class and the Party, the collectivization of agriculture. It is important to bear in mind that this ideology interprets the present realities of our society in petty-bourgeois fashion, that it tries to introduce into socialism its own way of life and thinking, and with this aim in view seeks "liberalization" of the economic and social system.

Vestiges and survivals of the economic conditions inherent in the petty-bourgeois way of life still persist, although we have in effect abolished private ownership of the means of production and our laws protect public wealth from thieves and parasites. Individualism and parasitism do not disappear by themselves. They cling to the present contradictions of our society. The fundamental condition for combating petty-bourgeois mentality effectively is to improve socialist relations. However, we must also use ideological weapons.

We would merely delude ourselves if we were to underestimate the tenacity of petty-bourgeois views and habits, established over a long period. The situation is complicated and the task made more difficult by the fact that petty-bourgeois psychology was also fostered, directly or indirectly, by the zigzagging development of the fifties: "Left" and Right deviations, the wave of revisionism and nationalism whipped up by the counter-revolution. The policy of our Party realistically bears in mind that large sections of society have to travel a long and arduous road from petty-bourgeois ideals to the conscious acceptance of socialism. We should be tolerant and considerate to all who have taken this road. But we must never compromise with the petty-bourgeoisie views which they carry with them as a sort of luggage.

Our state is willing to continue cooperating with the Church in many social fields. Within the framework of socialist national unity, Communists and non-Party materialists cooperate with religious people. In our government agencies and social organizations and institutions we cooperate with clergymen. But we continue to criticize the political positions and activities of churchmen whenever they reflect trends contrary to our policy, which expresses the interests of the whole people. It is important that the Communists, in carrying on political cooperation, should also know how to consistently advocate and spread the scientific world outlook, all the more since the Church, while carrying on political cooperation, spreads *its own* world outlook, which is only natural.

Religiousness can be defeated only by showing all-round concern for the social and private life of people, by society displaying readiness to help them, by drawing them into the socialist community, into socialist construction, into social activities.

Foster Socialist Patriotism and Internationalism

Since the Second World War the problems of national movements and nationalist ideology have come out in socio-political and ideological battles in increasingly complex forms, and have in many respects taken a new form.

Socialism has become a worldwide system. Thereby the formation and development of relations of a new type, of internationalist cooperation between independent socialist countries, have become a practical task for the first time in history. Hundreds of millions of people have joined in the national-liberation, anti-imperialist struggles involving Asia, Africa and Latin America. Imperialist colonial powers are succeeded by sovereign states, which fight stubbornly to strengthen their independence and ensure the progress of their peoples. Imperialism encounters the anti-imperialist nationalism of one-time colonial and dependent countries; on the other hand, it pins its hopes on nationalism, which it expects will help weaken the socialist countries and the world socialist community.

It follows that national movements and nationalist ideology are complex developments whose role and significance depend on the historical conditions of the struggle, on changing social and class relations, on the political situation, on the international situation. The role which they play in the fight for social progress, in class battles, is the chief criterion in assessing them. This also determines the attitude of Marxism and the Communist parties to them. The world Communist movement, and the steadily developing theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism reveal the dialectics of the fight

for national-democratic, anti-imperialist and socialist goals, reveal their interrelations in the world revolutionary process.

The socialist transformation of our country has in the main deprived nationalism of its social base. We have abolished the bourgeoisie. The greater part of the petty bourgeoisie has taken the socialist road. But this is far from eliminating the influence of nationalist ideology, which occasionally becomes more active and manifests itself again and again, taking diverse forms.

Socialist patriotism rests primarily on awareness of the socialist achievements and revolutionary gains of our people, of their national and international significance. It is aimed at ensuring that our labor through its political, economic and cultural achievements brings the Hungarian working people closer to the heights of communism, and multiplies the international forces of socialism, peace and progress. It fuses with internationalism and with the conviction that every success of the international working class increases our own strength, that the future of socialism in our country is inseparable from the development of the socialist countries, from the progress of the worldwide struggle for socialism and democracy.

The world proletariat and the working people of the whole world already see their revolutionary aims materializing in the world socialist system. They therefore champion and promote the unity of the world socialist system. Today proletarian internationalism is gauged by the attitude to the world socialist system as a whole. The attitude to the Soviet Union remains the main point of these conditions as well. In our country, which in 1919 was the first to follow the example of the socialist revolution, friendly sentiments for the Soviet Union have deep roots. Progress and anti-Sovietism are incompatible, for the Soviet Union is a great power building communism, a country paving the way for progress, the chief champion of peace. Anyone who opposes the Soviet Union is opposing the interests of all mankind.

Communists are always patriots, they love their country and are devoted to their people. They have been, and remain, in the van of the struggle for national independence. They are inspired by legitimate national pride, but they always draw a sharp line between patriotism and nationalism.

National independence, which has been won in a joint struggle against imperialism and is being jointly defended against it, has provided the basis for the development of relations between socialist countries that are the highest type of international cooperation. The unity and solidarity of these countries are also the chief earnest of their sovereignty. The independence and sovereignty of the socialist countries, the fact that they need one another's support, their internationalist unity and cooperation are inseparable. What

guarantees our national independence and sovereignty is that we are not neutral in the struggle between the two world systems, between the forces of progress and reaction, that our country is a member of the Warsaw Treaty organization and the Council of Mutual Economic Aid, a member of the family of socialist nations.

Expansion and consolidation of the world socialist economic system are an important factor for the progress and unity of the socialist countries. This is indispensable for the growth of the productive forces, for only given international agreement can we effectively use our economic resources, rapidly increase labor productivity, improve the people's standard of living, and achieve victory after victory in the economic competition with capitalism.

As international economic cooperation expands we encounter numerous contradictions and difficulties that we must overcome. The socialist countries find themselves at different stages of development, and their raw material resources and production patterns, a product of historical development, are not alike and in many respects are negative survivals of the past.

The socialist countries have also inherited from capitalism a heavy ideological burden, namely, distrust of other nations, national prejudice. In these countries, nationalism seizes on the contradictions that arise, on false ideas that have existed for hundreds of years and are often spread deliberately, and on deep-rooted sentiments. The working people of socialist countries have freed themselves from exploitation, and have abolished the class of capitalists and landowners, who vigorously fomented nationalism, chauvinism and racial hatred in an effort to uphold their selfish class interests, blunt the class consciousness of the working people and prevent their international unity. The peoples of the socialist countries and their leaders, the Communist parties, contribute by their practical activities and ideological struggles against nationalism to closer relations between socialist nations, which are a historical necessity. The Soviet Union was the first to set an excellent historical example by achieving a voluntary union of peoples building socialism on the basis of the right to self-determination, the free development of culture—national in form, socialist in content—mutual assistance and respect. Our Party considers that national selfishness and prejudice, inherited from the past, can be overcome provided every country begins by overcoming its own nationalism, as Lenin recommended. The ideological and political unity of the socialist countries, economic cooperation and cultural relations between them, and more massive reciprocal visits by their citizens promote proletarian internationalism.

In our country, nationalism is the most widespread ideology, a threat to socialism. It is one of the principal elements and connecting

links of petty-bourgeois and bourgeois anti-Marxist trends. The imperialists hope that they will succeed in undermining the unity of the world Communist movement and in weakening the commonwealth of socialist nations primarily by taking advantage of nationalism. Nationalist ideology adapts itself to local conditions and manifests itself sometimes in one place, sometimes in another, taking the most varied forms.

Nationalism is often accompanied by variants of the "third way." These variants are characterized by the fact that they reject the class struggle and insist on neutrality in the fight between the two world systems, socialism and capitalism, which they try to blend into a sort of petty-bourgeois democracy, and extend the principle of peaceful coexistence to the ideological sphere.

Experience as well as theoretical analysis show that nationalism in Hungary is directed against socialism, against the unity of the socialist countries, which makes it an unquestionably reactionary, hostile ideology.

IV

SOME IDEOLOGICAL PROBLEMS OF SCIENCE CULTURE AND EDUCATION

The complete construction of socialism means spiritual development under which Marxism-Leninism will defeat bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology as it increases Party influence on scientific and cultural life, and which will be vigorous and many-sided not owing to various ideological trends but to comprehensive scientific research on the basis of the Marxist world outlook, the vast variety of creative methods, themes and styles of artists adhering to socialist realism, and to the varied and many-sided culture of a people championing the cause of socialism.

Progress in the Social Sciences, and the Ideological Struggle

The Eighth Party Congress called on all who were active in the sphere of the social sciences to help theoretically generalize the experience of socialist construction, reveal the trend of development from the scientific standpoint, combat anti-Marxist ideology, and uphold and vindicate the ideas of Leninist partisanship.

Since then a successful fight has been going on in the sphere of the social sciences for the creative application of Marxism-Leninism, against dogmatic and revisionist views.

The sound development of the social sciences is still hampered by dogmatic views and rigid, lifeless patterns. Indeed, there were

attempts to justify, and even to spread, revisionist socio-political concepts justly criticized by the Party.

After the 20th Congress the vast majority of the Communist parties rejected the personality cult. What happened was that the state of Marxist theory was in effect analyzed in critical terms and that the practical and theoretical distortions engendered by the personality cult and by dogmatism were removed. Nevertheless, we cannot make progress unless we continue to fight and if we yield to the tendency to deny the actual achievements of Marxist theory under the guise of criticizing dogmatism. The last forty years have seen Marxist theory develop, if not without contradictions, and make substantial progress, particularly since the personality cult was condemned.

We have yet to solve a number of new problems.

We still have few books and articles analyzing the present-day socio-political and ideological problems. Important debates are going on in historiography, political economy, philosophy and aesthetics. But in the course of these debates, which generally promote science, certain erroneous concepts have also gained ground. They echo old errors and bourgeois views on questions already settled on Marxist principles. The working class had, at a certain point of its history, to do away with sectarian and dogmatic errors in the historical estimation of Social-Democracy. But we must not allow anyone to revive the Social-Democratic view on history, to dress it up, and so present the historical role of the Right-wing Social-Democrats in a false light.

The achievements of socialism and the growing impact of Marxist ideas compel bourgeois ideologists, who defend capitalism, to search for forms and arguments applicable in the changing situation. At the new stage of socialist construction in Hungary, it is above all the influence of those bourgeois ideological trends whose pro-capitalist content is veiled and whose anti-Marxist character is not expressed directly and openly that makes itself felt.

The education of the masses is a task inseparable from creative work in the sphere of the social sciences. The popularization of new scientific achievements is an activity which goes a long way toward improving people's educational standards and makes for the spread of the scientific world outlook, and therefore deserves to be treated with respect by society.

Socialist Education of the Youth

The views and behavior of our youth today are shaped chiefly by socialist reality. Most of our young people are taking an active and politically-conscious part in socialist construction. The movement

of socialist teams is spreading to more and more youth teams and to young people generally. The youth play an important role in large-scale socialist agricultural production. Our institutions of higher education train a new generation of intellectuals who are part and parcel of our society. But bourgeois ideology still influences the thinking of our youth.

One of our important ideological tasks is to educate the youth in a socialist spirit. The victory of socialism is the noblest and loftiest goal which mankind has ever set itself. We must educate the youth by means of our ideas in such a way as to induce it to do its utmost for the victory of the new society. The propaganda of socialist ideas does not imply that we should paint the present state of society in rosy colors and make believe that the road to victory of socialism is easy. This oversimplified approach would merely cause harm.

Our youth did not have to live in the conditions of capitalist Hungary and often takes an idealized view of modern capitalism. This is why it is very important in educating the youth to acquaint it, by means of facts, with the changes which have occurred in the life of our people during the past twenty years. We have achievements we can be proud of, irrespective of whether we compare our social system to the regime of old Hungary or to the capitalist system of today.

The Ideological Problems of Literature and the Arts

The educational role of literature and the arts has increased in socialist society. As a result of the cultural revolution, the range of educated people taking a keen interest in new artistic productions has widened. This tremendous cultural change has placed greater social responsibility on literature and the arts. Many of our writers and artists are aware of this change and their works enrich socialist literature and art.

The better productions show that literature and the arts today are linked with the life of society more clasely than ever since liberation and that they have created values which greatly contribute to the culture of our people and to the all-round education of the socialist man. It would be wrong to allow our attention to be diverted from this healthy development by the exisence of mediocre and ideologically erroneous works.

In our time literature and the arts can consciously and consistently perform their social mission solely on the basis of socialist realism. Socialist realism is the art of the working class and of socialist society in construction, an art changing and developing in step with society. The debate on its content and its forms is also

going on among Marxists. In a survey of socialist realism, the Commission on he Theory of Culture critically examines the nature of this debate, inviting further discussion. Without closing the discussion, we would like at this point to call attention to certain fundamental questions.

We have rejected the dogmatic concept of socialist realism, for it hampered the development of new literature and art in step with social progress. On the other hand, we have rejected the nihilist point of view of the revisionists, who have yielded to the influence of bourgeois ideology. We do not share the theory which would like to ignore the difference between works representing reality many-sidedly, in its decisive processes and types, and uninteresting, ugly works which portray the individual as isolated from society and often speak of the crisis of capitalist society in highly subjective terms.

It is characteristic of socialist literature and art that they grasp and reflect reality in its essential trends. They portray the social man and reveal factual connections and conflicts. Socialist society wants writers and artists to take in their productions a partisan view of fundamental social issues and to side with socialism in the struggle between socialism and capitalism, with the peoples fighting for their liberation and for the abolition of the colonial system, and with the peace forces in the worldwide fight between the forces of war and peace. This partisanship is an elementary requirement. Ideological consciousness, the assimilation of Marxism-Leninism — the ideology of the revolutionary working-class movement in our epoch — is a requisite for a more profound understanding and reflection of social interconnections.

A number of works show that socialist realism allows for a wide range of styles depending on the personality of the author, the sources of his culture and the traditions he follows.

The literature and art of socialist realism express the humanism of our society and by their vastly different artistic methods contribute to the moulding of the socialist community and man, above all in the sense of developing socialist morals and standards of conduct.

The Party, the ideological and political leader of the whole of our society, cannot renounce its mission of ideological guidance of literature and the arts. Its views on socio-political, economic and cultural matters help writers and artists to take their bearings. The Party also fosters the development of socialist literature and art by systematically informing writers and artists and by consulting them on tasks facing the people, and insists on their taking part in socialist construction. Now as in the past, the Party refrains from interfering in literary and artistic method. It has always provided freedom of quest, and will continue to do so.

A prime task of socialist society is to encourage progress in literature and art by the ideological, organizational and material means at its disposal, at the same time taking steps, including administrative ones, against politically hostile developments or developments that are an affront to public taste.

The main issues of our lierature and art today are primarily ideological. The polemic against bourgeois views, and ascertainment of the main principles of socialist realism serve to remove ideological obstacles to the free development of a new literature and art. Our society and our Party count on all creative workers and support all those writers and artists who realize that their participation in the moulding of people's psychology, in the shaping of their sentiments and tastes, is a lofty and humane mission worthy of real artists, a mission which in our time can only be accomplished on the basis of socialist ideas.

V

OUR SOCIALIST SOCIETY NEEDS MORE EFFECTIVE IDEOLOGICAL WORK

The Party is the collective force guiding ideological work. It must control this work and exert decisive influence on it, on theoretical, cultural, agitational and propaganda activities.

The ideological struggle calls for sustained effort in the scientific elaboration of tasks in socialist construction, in the explanation, assimilation and implementation of Marxism-Leninism, which is embodied in the policy of the Party, in the matter of overcoming bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology, views, moral, principles and habits, and of fostering the socialist consciousness of our people.

Ideological work cannot be fruitful unless it is coordinated with social practice and the experience of the masses. Great responsibility rests on public education, research and art workers and instructors. But factories, producer cooperatives, various institutions and socio-political organizations, which are not only spheres of production activity and creative social life, but also schools of socialist education, are also spheres of ideological activity. Ideological education is being carried on with the aim of winning the minds and hearts of millions of workers, peasants and intellectuals — of the people as a whole. It should therefore extend to every section of our society. It should therefore be a job for the whole Party, for every Party organization and every Communist.

We should realize as we carry on our activities that ideological work is a condition for our socialist progress, economic as well as political.

REPORT* BY LUIS CORVALAN

GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CC, AT PLENARY MEETING OF THE CC, CP OF CHILE, APRIL 22-24, 1965

One should always proceed from facts, and the facts leave not a shadow of doubt as to the nature and aims of the Christian-Democratic government. So far this government has done nothing that would suggest the beginnings of revolution.

Feeling the ground slipping from under their feet, seeing that they can no longer retain their power and privileges with the help of the fully discredited stooges and within the framework of the old regime, pressed by the people and dismayed at the prospect of a revolutionary government coming to power, the ruling classes decided to field a new team, more suiting the Right forces, and change the settings and methods. Some members of the new team are people of modest means. They were kept away from the rostrum in the past nor have they any access to political power now. This is not a government of the people. Those people who have voted for the Christian Democrats have committed a mistake. But they will correct it. Let the imposters entertain no hope that the fraud will remain unexposed.

THEY TALK OF THE PEOPLE BUT ACT CONTRARY TO THEIR INTERESTS

The new rulers are talking incessantly of the people, declaring that their plans and projects, that what they are doing and what they are not doing is all in the interests of the people. But reality is quite different.

As before, the people are treated with scorn. As before, the police force is sent against the workers, the peasants who seize vacant lands, and, right now, against the students demonstrating in the center of the capital in protest against the increased city transport fares and the peasants of Arauco Province fighting for the return of their lands. The sinister political police continue to subject people to barbaric torture, regardless of sex or age.

When discussing the project of readjusting incomes in accordance with the growing prices, the government rejected all proposals favoring the factory and office workers, peasants and small shop-

*Abridged.

keepers. It did so under the hackneyed pretext of "shortage of means," which was invariably invoked by the reactionary governments of the past.

FOIL THE WAGE-FREEZE POLICY

The less than six months of the Christian-Democratic government's stay in office has enabled the working people to see whose interests it serves.

The government increased the minimum wages of the industrial workers but retained them at the miserly level of 904 pesos a day, which is a mockery of the workers' hopes. More than this, it authorized the increase in prices which nullified the raise in the minimum wage level. The higher prices of bread alone add 300 to 500 pesos to the daily expenditures of a worker's family. Higher transport fares entail similar additional expenditures.

The government is clearly out to keep down wages in accordance with the "official index" of the cost of living.

Even if this index corresponded to reality, this would merely mean perpetuation of the misery of the working people, a freeze on the wages and continuation of the unjust distribution of the national income. The workers, who comprise 48 percent of the gainfully employed population and number, together with their families, about 5 million, receive only 19 percent of the national income, whereas 350,000 businessmen, employers and rentiers appropriate the lion's share of more than 50 percent of the national income.

But since the "official index" is a fiction and the prices are skyrocketing while the wages increase at a snail's pace, the real state of things is even worse: the real wages of the working people fiand their share in the national income are falling off.

This policy of the Christian-Democratic government openly favors the big industrial monopolies and above all imperialist companies. Receiving colossal profits owing to high labor productivity at their enterprises, these companies and monopolies are in a position to finance wage increases by far outpacing the growing cost of living. Opposing this, the government assists in the high labor productivity being used only in the interests of the capitalists and to intensify the exploitation of the workers.

We Communists see it as our sacred duty to fight against capitalist exploitation, against abuses, against misery, for wages compatible with the dignity and vital needs of the worker.

Higher wages are both a matter of social justice and a pressing need of the national economic development.

WE SHALL NEVER BE ON-LOOKERS

It is necessary not only to restore the purchasing capacity of the population, but also to increase it and at the same time take serious measures to prevent inflation. It is urgently necessary to establish new enterprises and launch public works. This will make it possible, among other things, at least to diminish open and concealed unemployment and thus create a real basis for maintaining and raising the level of wages, because the capitalists will no longer be able to use cheap labor of workers forced to agree to any employment terms.

We demand immediate effective measures to improve industrial safety, force the employers to contribute what they ought to contribute to the Social Security Service, pay the state debt to the insurance funds and return to Congress the welfare draft in the wording in which it was approved by the Chamber of Deputies with Communist amendments.

We Communists adhere to a militant, dynamic policy on these problems, just as on the issues of housing, education, health, etc.

Being flesh and blood of the people, we are pained to see their tragedy. We disagree with those who say that the people will only awaken if their plight becomes still worse. We reject the reactionary idea that misery breeds Communist ideas. This idea has nothing in common either with the tactics of Communists or with their doctrine, which is humanistic by its very nature. Always and everywhere, under any system, our stand remains the same—struggle for progress and for constant improvement of the conditions of the masses.

We shall never be indifferent on-lookers. Since the March 7 elections some people have been saying: "Now Christian Democrats bear all the responsibility. Now they have all the means to govern at their command. Let them honor their promises. Let us wait and see what they will do."

It is true that Christian Democrats are fully responsible for government. This responsibility they will be unable to brush aside. But this does not mean that we should sit back. We also have a responsibility to the working class, to the people, to the country, to history. And we Communists unreservedly assume this responsibility.

PAVE THE WAY FOR GENUINE REVOLUTION

We are determined to go on fighting for the demands of the toiling masses, for the interests of the people, for a genuine revolution and a popular government. We shall fight so as to make Christian Democrats carry out their promises to the people. But

we shall oppose fulfilment of their promises to the imperialists. We are not waiting for Christian Democracy to go bankrupt. Nor are we waiting for the municipal elections of 1967, to say nothing of the Presidential elections of 1970. We Communists wage a day-to-day struggle, and the time we live in demands that we intensify our fight.

Nothing should restrain us in this struggle. We should not succumb to illusions, lay down arms or vacillate, although the Christian-Democratic Party and President Frei himself are making some concessions to the people in the hope of gaining political capital. On the contrary, this obliges us to act with still greater sagacity not to oppose any concrete measures of the government benefiting the people, promote the struggle of the masses, bring home to them, in the course of political and ideological struggle, the need for fundamental changes, and defend the unity and independence of their organizations.

This struggle and unity will bring about new changes in the correlation of forces, enhance the prospects of a genuine revolution.

In this struggle the majority of the people will realize that bourgeois reformism, "revolution in conditions of freedom" cannot solve the problems of our country, and will come over to our side.

DEFEND THE UNITY AND INDEPENDENT POLICY OF THE WORKING CLASS

A group of Christian-Democratic leaders have set themselves the criminal aim of splitting the working class.

A legal basis for splittism is provided by the draft reform of the Labor Code, which envisages, under the pretext of guaranteeing trade union freedom, the right of everyone to join, or withdraw from, any trade union and, consequently, the possibility of two or more trade unions existing at one and the same enterprise.

We are for such a reform of the Labor Code which would provide, organizationally, for the following:

a) the unrestricted right of the working people of town and country to form trade unions;

b) a single trade union in every branch of production and services, with single organizations at every enterprise;

c) membership of the wage and salary workers in a single trade union organization;

d) defense of the gains of the workers of every enterprise, such as trade union freedoms, the prohibition to victimize workers during labor disputes, or the right to present specific demands not envisaged in the general lists of demands drawn up by the single trade union.

This reform would conform to the interests of the working

people, whereas the reform proposed by the Christian-Democratic government benefits the employers.

RULE OUT CLASS COLLABORATION

The Christian Democrats are trying not only to split the working people, but also to draw them into the morass of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie.

Precisely this aim is served by the agreements the government and the employers are imposing on the factory and office workers. One such agreement was concluded at the Bata shoe factories, whose workers were compelled to give up the recently-won 10 percent wage increase in exchange for the employers' promise of a 10 percent cut in the prices of certain types of footwear for school-age children. The losses thus sustained by the company and the workers seem to be about equal. But even leaving aside the inequality of contributions by the sides from the viewpoint of their economic position and leaving aside the fact that the workers' contribution is obvious whereas the company will always find a way to diminish its losses (which the government knows perfectly well) — why should the workers, the most exploited and neediest class, starve to solve problems created by its exploiters, problems which could be solved at the expense of the exploiters alone?

The struggle for the unity and independence of trade union organizations acquires top priority. In addition to everything else, this obliges us to wage a stubborn ideological struggle against bourgeois ideas among the working people, to intensify explanatory work based on the principles of scientific socialism, and to strengthen in every way the positions of the Communist Party in the working class.

CHRISTIAN DEMOCRACY ALLIES ITSELF WITH ENEMIES OF SOCIAL PROGRESS

The Christian-Democratic government is not only subservient to the International Monetary Fund and intends to keep our country under imperialist rule, but seeks to consolidate this rule, sell the national wealth on a still bigger scale and make the country still more dependent. These aims are served by the draft agreement on copper, highly beneficial to the imperialist companies.

President Frei is out to open wide the doors of the country before foreign capital and above all U.S. and West-German monopolies. In a statement to the *U.S. News and World Report* Frei expressed ideas which should alarm the Chileans and prompt them to step up their struggle. He said that Chile was particularly attractive to foreign investors, and added that Chile had profound and

solid traditions of democracy, law and justice, that it always provided full guarantees to foreigners and foreign property, that never had foreign investments been confiscated in Chile, that Chilean courts were completely independent of the government, that Chile had immense natural riches.

In other words, Frei gave to understand that foreign monopolies had a fat tidbit in our country which they were free to plunder.

On the domestic plane, there is no doubt about the government's collusion with the finance and landed oligarchy. The government intends to help strengthen the rule of the finance oligarchy, in which some ministers, themselves prominent directors of banks and joint-stock companies wield considerable influence. Proof of this is furnished, for instance, by the government's efforts to prevent incomes readjustment from affecting the profits of the big companies; its refusal to suspend payment on import deposits and take over the import of raw materials, foodstuffs and medicines; its support of the reactionary fiscal system and its veto on the elimination of tax exemptions; its frequent authorization of price increases, from which the steel monopoly has benefited on two occasions.

In addition, the government has announced its intention to effect a highly peculiar agrarian reform. Within six years it wants to set up 100,000 new farms and pay a very high compensation for the expropriated land—almost six times the assessed value for 1964. This means that if, as has been announced, 10 percent of the compensation is paid in cash, the landowners will get at least half of the assessed value of their property. Besides, the compensation may be increased and bear an interest.

The compensation, the expenditure on the establishment of new farms and the investments the new owners will have to make will total thousands of millions of escudos, or hundreds of millions of of dollars — a tremendous burden for the national economy. Naturally, this agrarian reform will benefit only the landowners. Moreover, it will leave intact most of the latifundia.

This policy of conciliation and collusion with concessions to the chief enemies of our people is nothing more than a continuation of the policy of the previous government. It hampers solution of the country's problems and testifies to the impotence of the Christian-Democratic government.

We Communists counter the anti-national pro-U.S. policy of Christian Democracy with a truly patriotic policy.

THE CAUSE OF OUR ILLS

We stress that the most urgent task is to nationalize the copper, iron and saltpetre industries, to break the imperialist grip on them.

The profits gained by foreign monopoly capital in our country total $300 million a year. That is the principal cause of our ills and of the deformed pattern of our economy. This is at once the principal source of financing industrialization and ensuring the independent development of the country.

We are fighting for the liquidation of local monopolies and private banks, the democratization of the Central Bank and the nationalization of insurance. We want the state to take into its hands foreign and domestic trade, including trade in oil products such as petrol, paraffin and liquified gas.

We demand a deep-going agrarian reform and the immediate transfer of the land to those who till it. We oppose the unjustifiably high compensation for expropriated property, the provisions for increasing this compensation, and the payment of an interest on it.

THE MAIN THING — UNITY AND STRUGGLE OF THE PEOPLE

It should not be forgotten that Christian Democracy sought, and received, the support of the Right forces and the imperialists on the pretext of thus creating the only alternative to the "communist menace," i.e., to the prospect of an anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, anti-monopoly government tending towards socialism. By doing so it revealed its capitalist and pro-imperialist orientation. Therefore, all its government can offer the people is capitalist slavery, exploitation of man by man covered by the fig leaf of "society of cooperation," a new coinage for the exposed "people's capitalism."

But the objective need for change is so great, some changes are so overdue, the Chileans' opposition to the Right forces is so strong and their demand for change is so insistent that some progressive steps can be made even under the rule of this capitalist and pro-imperialist government. As we have pointed out, such steps include establishment of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and some other socialist countries, abolition of payment for imported goods by note and a certain increase in the number of primary schools and teachers for them. It can be expected that the government would take some more positive steps while keeping to its generally reactionary line. Highly indicative in this respect is its proposed constitutional reform which contains, along with anti-democratic propositions and a reactionary plan to broaden the powers of the President, some stipulations meeting certain of the aspirations of the people upheld by the popular parties.

It follows from this that the successes and gains which can be won where changes are long overdue, will be primarily the result of the unity and struggle of the working class, the Revolutionary Popular Action Front (FRAP) and the Chilean people in general,

including those sections of it which, hoping for an improvement cast their ballots for the CDP.

We, therefore, declare once again that under no circumstances will we adopt a wait-and-see stand but will go on fighting, and will never limit ourselves to merely expressing our approval or disapproval of the government's initiatives. We advance and will go on advancing our own proposals. If we propose to the people correct solutions to the problems, if our struggle for each just demand is joined in by the masses, we shall surmount all obstacles. Summing up our appraisal of the situation and our policy, we can say that we are faced with a clash of two policy lines: the line of the reformist bourgeoisie, of Christian Democracy, and the viable and effective line of the proletariat mapped out by the Revolutionary Popular Action Front.

CONSOLIDATE THE REVOLUTIONARY ALTERNATIVE

It is the duty of the proletariat, the FRAP and above all the Communists on all occasions to show convincingly, in deeds and not only in words, the solely correct road to well-being and social progress. The Christian-Democratic Party has won, temporarily, numerical superiority and political power. But since victory is ultimately won by those revolutionary movements which are fully aware of the demands of social development, we reaffirm our profound conviction that only such a nation-wide union as the FRAP, headed by the working class, will effect, in open struggle against the oligarchy and imperialism, the profound changes needed by Chile.

We want to stress that this task will be carried out *if* the Front wins the support of the overwhelming majority of the Chilean people. In other words, the Front will oust Christian Democracy *if* it consolidates and expands its positions to the required extent. Otherwise Christian Democracy will remain in power for a long time to come, or a reactionary coup will be accomplished, or a new, outwardly Left but essentially bourgeois form of government will be found and established. And since we are speaking of possible trends of development, it should be pointed out that the switch-over from one track to another may take place even before the expiration of the term of the Christian-Democratic government. We should bear in mind that there is a fascist-minded group in the ruling party which will stop at nothing.

HOLD HIGH THE BANNER OF THE FRONT

The experience of recent years shows that the FRAP is a revolutionary movement conforming to the demands of political reality. Its program envisages struggle for the vital needs of social develop-

ment and the interests of the overwhelming majority of the population. The Communist and Socialist parties constitute the basis of the Front. There are other groups in or near the Front which are taking part in the struggle for national liberation. We reaffirm our determination to promote Socialist-Communist unity. We hail the decisions of the last plenary meeting of the Socialist Party contributing to this unity and to the unity of the entire Front. We shall continue to cooperate with the National-Democratic Party, the Left Radical Party and all those together with whom we have been marching up till now.

In the everyday struggles of the working class and the people generally, in the trade unions, in the associations of employees, in the factories, offices and villages we are working for unity with people of any political convictions who are ready to fight for the interests of the masses.

BROADEN THE POPULAR MOVEMENT

We consider it essential to broaden the popular movement through enlisting the cooperation of women and young people, setting up new and strengthening the existing mass organizations of neighborhood residents, peasants, specialists and intellectuals in every section of the population with its own problems and demands.

We fully and unreservedly support the FRAP. Some people believe that the latter should have new strategy, tactics and leaders.

Strategy is a general line effective throughout a historical period, throughout a definite stage of the revolution. In the given instance it is the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and anti-monopoly line of the front. It is the general line of the Chilean revolution developing in the direction of socialism.

Any changes in this respect are out of the question. On the contrary, everything shows that our duty is to advance in this direction, all the more so since this revolutionary line counteracts the bourgeois and pro-imperialist line of the Christian Democrats.

Tactics is a line of a party or a popular movement for a shorter period of time. It can change depending on the concrete situation. But changes in tactics should conform to the general, strategic line. It is from this viewpoint that we, together with our allies, have always paid heed — and must do so today as well — to changes in the situation and in tactics.

As to the question of new leaders, we shall welcome them if they are leaders of the masses who act on behalf of their parties and do not seek one-man leadership.

The thing is, however, that this demand for a new strategy, tactics and leaders is indicative of the striving of some people to

deprive the proletariat and the Communists, the unity of Socialists and Communists, of the role which they are playing and which rightfully belongs to them as the motive forces of the revolution. In this respect, concessions are impermissible.

The March 7 elections brought to light three principal facts: the weakening of the Right forces and radicalism, the rise of Christian Democracy and the consolidation of the main positions of the popular movement.

THE RIGHT FORCES RETAIN THEIR ECONOMIC POSITIONS

Christian Democrats have derived, so far, the biggest political benefit from the decline of the Rights. Frei's victory and especially the advent to power of Christian Democracy as a result of the March 7 elections signify the strengthening of that part of the bourgeoisie which resorts to reformism to save capitalism and still better cater to the interests of imperialism. Its leaders intend to Demo-Christianize the country and stay in office for decades. But this will not happen. The people who once supported Christian Democracy will eventually join the struggle for a real revolution — and perhaps sooner than we think.

The strength of the FRAP cannot be judged merely by the number of ballots cast for it. Its influence extends not only to those Chileans who voted for it. For several years, the Front has been decisively instrumental in bringing about major changes in the political life of the country, as is shown by the collapse of the so-called Democratic Front, the resounding defeat of Julio Duran, the candidate of the ultra-reactionaries, and the critical position in which the oligarchy and the imperialists remained for many months.

The traditional Rightists retain their economic positions and are trying to restore their political positions. But they will never fully recover after the defeat, which was not a mere electoral mishap but a much more significant phenomenon. The change of attitude by the mass of voters is a complicated and prolonged process in which an important role is played by powerful hidden currents. These currents show that Chile is on the move, that the people want to march forward although they do not know yet which road to follow.

A primary task of the Communist Party, which acts jointly with its allies, is to free the masses from the influence of the reformist bourgeoisie and bring about, in the course of the struggle, a change in the correlation of forces in favor of the proletariat, the only class capable of leading the people to victory, to revolutionary changes.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY — A DECISIVE FACTOR

In the new political situation, the building of a mass Communist becomes a pivotal problem whose solution can ensure advance along the revolutionary road.

At its 12th Congress the CPC outlined an inspiring prospect of winning power for the people. This goal has been and remains correct. But we were unable to achieve it in the conditions that had developed on the eve of September 4 elections.

It is true that the popular movement had grown and new groups of the middle strata had been won over — that was a major step forward. But it is just as true that the positions of the proletariat had been strengthened insufficiently and that for this reason the influence of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois orientation was predominant. After the elections in Curico* we assumed the defensive, thus limiting the possibilities for winning over new forces attracted by the revolutionary perspective.

In the nearest future our Party must carry out two vital tasks: to broaden and strengthen its links with the masses, and to ensure the active and permanent participation of all Party members in carrying out Party tasks.

STRENGTHEN SOLIDARITY WITH CUBA

The level of development achieved by our Party and by the entire popular movement, their readiness for action and their legal status enable and oblige us to strengthen international solidarity.

Our most pressing internationalist duty is pointed out in the decisions of the conference of the Latin American Communist parties. Above all, it is to intensify the campaign of solidarity with Cuba, to fight for the restoration of diplomatic and commercial relations with it, to expose the lies and slander against the Cuban revolution, and to maintain our people's vigilance towards new attempts by U.S. imperialism at aggression. It is vigorously to support the struggle of the Venezuelan people, of all the Latin American peoples fighting in difficult conditions, and to launch extensive campaigns for the release of Jesus Faria, Gustavo Machado, Pompeyo Marquez, Stephen, Maidana Alvez, Ribeiro, Pererira and other imprisoned fighters for the cause of the working class and democracy.

As the conference of the Communist parties of Latin America pointed out, "by promoting the solidarity movement, organizations, leaders and parties not only fulfil their internationalist and Latin

*By-elections in March 1964 in which the FRAP candidate scored a convincing victory.—**Ed.**

American duty but defend the interests, freedom, dignity and future of their own peoples."

THE STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION

In 1964 imperialism inflicted a heavy blow on the anti-imperialist movement of the Brazilian people and scored certain successes in British Guiana, Chile and Venezuela. It also succeeded in forcing Bolivia, Uruguay and our country to sever relations with Cuba. Nevertheless, events in Latin America have been and will go on developing favorably for the cause of the freedom of our peoples. The elections in Argentina and Chile, the strikes of the Chilean workers, the recent clashes in the streets of Lima which led to the abolition of the increased city transport fares, the stepped-up activities of the Venezuelan guerrillas, the growth of the guerrilla movement in Guatemala and Honduras and the self-defense movement of the Marquetalian peasants in Colombia show that the Latin American peoples are firmly resolved to continue the active struggle against their oppressors.

This struggle cannot develop without the joint actions, solidarity and mutual support of the peoples of our continent. Imperialism and the ruling oligarchies are more and more coordinating their actions against the Latin American peoples. Attempts are being made to revitalize the OAS and set up a Latin American common market beneficial for the U.S. and West-German monopolies and the oligarchies of a number of Latin American countries. Our reply should be—greater coordination of actions and stronger solidarity of all the revolutionary movements in Latin America and above all intensified support of the Cuban revolution and stepped-up struggle in all the Latin American countries against imperialism and its allies.

YANKEES, GET OUT OF VIETNAM!

The U.S. intervention in South Vietnam and the barbaric bombings of North Vietnam have shocked progressives all over the world.

President Johnson has declared his desire for unconditional negotiations. This is a lie. To make a peace conference possible it is necessary to stop the U.S. aggression immediately, and withdraw U.S. troops, but Johnson is against this.

The socialist countries and the Soviet Union in the first place are giving effective aid to the Vietnamese people. The people of Vietnam will win their battle. But it is necessary to end their suffering, to help bring their victory nearer and thus eliminate the seat of tension which can spark off a new world war. This calls for joint efforts by all the peoples, by all the peace and freedom-loving forces.

We salute the actions of solidarity with the Vietnamese people in our country and especially the student protest actions organized by our Young Communists. But much more is required. Like the peoples of all the world, the Chileans must demand in one voice: "Yankees, get out of Vietnam!" This demand must drown the voices of the bribed scribblers of the reactionary press who had the cynicism to support the U.S. aggression. This demand should compel the Chilean government to utter if only a word in behalf of peace and the right of the peoples to self-determination.

UNITY OF THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

On the question of the unity of the world Communist movement, we fully agree with the conclusions of the Consultative Meeting of representatives of 19 Communist and Workers' parties held in Moscow on March 1-5.

These conclusions provide a reliable basis for the activities of all the Communist parties and for cementing world Communist unity, avoiding an exacerbation of the differences and entering upon the road of overcoming them.

Our Party will continue to do everything within its power to promote the mutual understanding of all the Communist parties in the struggle for common aims, against the common enemy, for the unity of the world Communist movement on the basis of the documents of the 1957 and 1960 conferences.

THE TRUE FACE OF U.S. IMPERIALISM*

Gus Hall

The escalation of U.S. military aggression in Vietnam has put the world spotlight on U.S. imperialism. For millions, it is the first time they see the real nature of the beast.

U.S. imperialism has taken our country onto a path that can lead only to isolation and disaster. This is a path on which the lives and the well-being of our people and the interests of our Nation are sacrificed on the altar of "swinish gluttony" to a handful of big monopoly-imperialist combines.

The patriotic massive waves of protest by our countrymen against the policies of U.S. imperialism during the last days represents the hopes for a return to sanity, represents the true self-interests of our people and the Nation. This is a patriotic, people's movement to save our Nation and people from the agonies that are inevitable if the present course of aggression is continued. It is a movement to save the world from being escalated by U.S. imperialism into a nuclear cloud.

There has never been a government policy with less support from our people as is the case with this policy of aggression. There has never been a policy so out of step with popular "consensus."

The image that is taking root is that of an ugly, brutal monster driven to desperation because its plans of aggression have come up against the solid wall of human resistance. The image of an irresponsible outlaw that cynically speaks of peace even while its squadrons of bombers are in the air, loaded with firebombs, phosphorous bombs, gas bombs and explosives of every possible nature. But an outlaw that speaks of his "right" to use nuclear weapons. A nation that speaks of peace while its troops and equipment are being unloaded for attack—and a president who speaks of "unconditional negotiations" when he pursues a policy of demanding unconditional surrender. A country whose president speaks of brotherhood and peaceful coexistence and declares in his Easter message: "If the price of victory in Vietnam is blood and men—we are willing to pay that price."

What are some of the specifics about U.S. imperialism now being exposed in the glare of the world's spotlight?

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*Extracts from the first section of the report to a Legislative Conference In New York. The Worker, May 4, 1965.

It is the most extended salient of military and economic imperialist aggression. The advance outpost of military aggression against Vietnam now being exposed and isolated is a case in point. U.S. imperialism is the center for and the support of colonialism and the main practitioner of neo-colonialism. It is the main beneficiary from the world's oppressive system of colonialism.

At this moment it is the single most serious obstacle to a world in peace, it is the center of war and the drive towards war.

It has not given up war as an instrument of diplomacy. As a matter of fact, its armaments program and military alliances move in the opposite direction. For U.S. imperialism, war and the threat of nuclear war continues to be an instrument in its relations with the world, especially with the underdeveloped sector of the world. U.S. policies are not geared to a posture of national defense, they are geared to aggression.

It is the economic, financial center and clearing house for world imperialism. It is a partner in every imperialist venture. It is a partner in the Belgian operations in the Congo. It has a piece of the enslaved industry of South Africa. It is the dominant imperialist force in Latin America. It is part owner and master within the home industries of every other imperialist country. It is part owner of West Germany, Italy, France, Canada, Australia, Spain, Belgium—wherever there is capitalism, U.S. imperialism is there.

The war-like posture of aggression of U.S. imperialism rests on some very dangerous misconceptions. First, it rests on the mistaken myth that it can arrest and even throw back the processes of colonial liberation. It has not accepted he judgment of history that the era of colonialism in every form has come to an end. Secondly, it has not drawn the conclusions necessary from the present world balance of forces. But U.S. imperialism is not a free agent. This policy of aggression, if continued, will come head on with a superior force, the combined forces of anti-imperialism. How much death and destruction it will cause before it is forced to accept world realities, is what the world ponders over.

So the policies are based on myths of the past. And policies based on myths inevitably come to an ignominious end on the rocks of present-day realities.

U.S. imperialism is going through a specific phase of its development. After the Second World War it expanded its operations almost at will. It is economically geared to a never-ending round of expansion. But in some parts of the world the pathways of expansion have become either closed or congested. The resistance by the forces of anti-imperialism and the competition from the forces of capitalism is slowly beginning to weigh on U.S. imperialism. The easy pickings has turned into a struggle.

This, at a time when the unprecedented profits both from the foreign investments and the industries at home have resulted in unprecedented huge piles of idle, unused capital. This is accumulated capital with no place to go. The pressure for imperialist expansion grows with each dollar of unused capital.

Just as an example. In 1963 General Motors assigned one billion, $200 million for purposes of expansion. Year after year, how many of such appropriations can be used for domestic expansion? That is, how much can be used domestically when the sole motive for the expansion is maximum profits? This could be the real source for the billions needed to fight poverty. But unused, it is the root source of the pressures for imperialist aggression.

When U.S. spokesmen speak about our national interests in other parts of the world, they are speaking about the ability of a General Motors to invest profitably its already stolen loot to get some more. For this they want corrupt puppet governments who will give them a free hand to use up the national resources, to be tax exempt, to keep the wages low, hours long. The CIA, the Seventh Fleet, the Alliance for Progress and Foreign Aid are the instruments of either putting into power or holding power for such puppet governments.

U.S. imperialism has the greatest facilities, the largest staff, the mightiest armed forces at its disposal of any imperialist power in history. But it is not big enough. It is not big enough to turn back the wheels of history. It is not big enough to stop the anti-imperialist revolution that is sweeping the world.

Imperialism can make its biggest miscalculation. The divisions within the ranks of world socialism are no beyond repair. The pressures of reality, the hammer blows of struggle will weld a new unity in the anti-imperialist camp. In fact this new unity is being welded now.

It should be clear that we have a new stage opening up in the struggle against the policies of U.S. imperialism. There are new dangers. But the main thing that stands out is the new upsurge, the new people's movement to save the United States from its present path of no return.

For us, the struggle for policies of peaceful coexistence now sharply shifts to the struggle against the acts of aggression by U.S. imperialism in Vietnam. A victory over these policies will be a victory for the policies of peaceful coexistence.

CPUSA GREETS MOSCOW CONFERENCE*

We greet the holding of the consultative conference in Moscow on March 1-5, attended by representatives of 18 Communist and

*Adopted at the recent national legislative conference of the Communist Party, held in New York. **The Worker**, May 9, 1965.

Workers' parties and by observers from the Communist Party of the United States, and are in full accord with its actions. We welcome its resolution of solidarity with the Vietnamese people in their heroic struggles against the armed attacks of U.S. imperialism, which strengthens our own struggles against this policy of aggression. And we are in complete agreement with its communique on the strengthening of the unity of the world Communist movement.

In its atmosphere of fraternity and friendship and in its unanimous adoption of the communique, the conference represents a significant step forward in the process of solidifying and uniting all parties in their common struggle. It builds upon previous steps in this direction, notably the recent conference of Latin American parties in Havana. And in turn it is a harbinger of further advances to come.

The growing aggressiveness of world reaction poses the need of the greatest possible unity and cohesion of the world Communist movement. This is made especially clear by the stepping up of U.S. imperialist intervention in Vietnam, the most shameful and dangerous act of aggression of all. There can be no doubt that the Johnson Administration was encouraged in this action by its hopes of disunity among Communist parties and socialist countries. And there can be no doubt that unified opposition, together with the unprecedented mass protest of the American people against this barbarous policy, can force its reversal, and thus achieve a major victory for world freedom and peace.

The communique is correct, therefore, in taking as its point of departure the assertion that the "things that unite the Communist parties are much stronger than those that separate them at present," and that the path to overcoming present differences lies first of all in joint struggles for common goals. It is likewise correct in urging the use of all possible means of solving common problems, including bilateral and multilateral meetings and other forms of communication and exchange of views.

We wholly agree on the value, toward this end, of international meetings conducted on the basis of full equality and independence of each party, and with the statement that "an active and all-round preparation of a new international meeting to be held at the earliest suitable time is in the interests of the international Communist movement." This accords with the position taken by our Party on previous occasions. Further, we support the idea that for the discussion of such a meeting it is desirable, as soon as conditions permit, to hold a preliminary consultative meeting of the 81 parties which participated in the 1960 meeting.

On our part, we shall work to cement our fraternal ties with

other parties in all possible ways, to develop exchanges of views and discussions of common problems, and to strengthen international solidarity to the utmost, while we shall continue to debate questions of differences among parties. We shall refrain from public polemics and attacks on other parties.

We consider the consolidation of the world Communist movement to be a task of primary importance. Its unity, on which is based in turn the unity of all anti-imperialist forces, is vital to the achievement of further advances in the struggle against imperialist aggression, for the freedom of oppressed peoples, for peace and peaceful coexistence, for socialism. The construction of the edifice of that unity is a long, arduous task. The consultative conference is a material contribution to its fulfilment.

COMMUNIST-SOCIALIST DIALOGUE

FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY REPLIES TO SFIO*

COMMUNIST-SOCIALIST COOPERATION

In October and November 1964 the central organ of the Socialist Party printed a new series of articles on the subject "Communists and We." The articles ignore the rapprochment which has come about in recent years and the rapprochment which continues in the course of the current struggles in France. The articles lay particular emphasis on what can divide us in choosing the future perspectives.

Roger Quillot says that he prefers "to peek into the future."

But before determining how we are to build in common the socialist France of tomorrow, mustn't we determine how we are to establish and implement a new democratic system?

Waldeck Rochet clearly stated our opinion in the Central Committee report to the 17th Congress of our Party when he said: "It is in the struggle for the abolition of monopoly rule, for a genuine policy of peace, for increasingly radical democratic and social reforms that the working class can achieve unity and rally all the anti-monopoly forces, isolating the big bourgeoisie and awakening the masses to the tasks of the socialist revolution and the need to fight for their realization."

We have explained, in particular at our 17th Congress, how the new balance of world forces, which is in favor of socialism, had created new conditions for the transition to socialism.

We have expressed the conviction that as socialism demonstrated its superiority as a social system Socialist workers and their leaders would have increasing opportunities to discard class collaboration and launch an effective struggle for democracy and socialism.

This prompts us to make a remark. In the October 1960 issue of *La Revue Socialiste*, Roger Quillot wrote: "In the present conditions internal and external factors impel Europe on to the road of reform. As far as we are concerned, the Scandinavian road alone suits us." In October 1964, the same author wrote about the Scandinavian countries: "We do not assert that they have built socialism, which implies also economic emancipation," and specified: "No matter how far the trade union movement, interdependence

*Abridged from **France Nouvelle**, March-April 1965.

and cooperation may restrict the economic power of business, it remains, in the final analysis, in the same hands."

This statement brings out the difference between the reformist and the revolutionary concepts. Under reformism, it is big capital that dominates in the final analysis — in the economic as well as in other spheres.

In our opinion, democratic reforms can restrict the economic and political domination of big capital over the nation; they can provide the working class and the popular forces with effective means of struggle for their interests. But we know well from the experience of our country that democratic reforms effected under capitalism can sometimes be destroyed; at any rate, they are always threatened.

The most deep-going democratic reforms will be ineffective if they do not prepare, with the powerful support of the social forces concerned, the revolutionary changes needed to end the rule of capital for good, abolish exploitation, and build socialist society.

There is the mounting struggle of factory and office workers, of peasants and intellectuals — of all the social strata suffering from the monopolies. There is the striving for democracy and socialism, growing among the workers as well as other working people in town and country.

It is only natural that in the presence of these changes favorable to social progress we should be asked what we propose for winning genuine democracy and building socialism in our country. Understandably, Socialist workers and activists are particularly interested in the content of the revolutionary changes we propose with a view to ensuring a happy future for our people.

It should be noted, however, that certain positions adopted by the Socialist Party and certain questions raised by it indicate a desire to keep the enemies of democracy and socialism out of harm's way rather than resolve boldly to take the road to emancipation.

Our primary concern is to win and retain guarantees and freedoms for the working class and the democratic forces at large, i.e., for the vast majority of the nation.

To promote Communist and Socialist unity of action, which is possible and necessary, we shall fight, with the support of the masses, for whatever leads to unity and against all that impedes it.

André Vieuguet

PARTIES AND CLASSES IN THE STRUGGLE FOR A SOCIALIST FRANCE

How does the French Communist Party visualize cooperation of the democratic parties today and in the future?

The FCP rejects the thesis that the one-party system is indispensable for the transition to socialism.

Our Party certainly wants complete political unity of the working class. A single working-class organizaton would greatly facilitate the struggle both to strengthen and extend democracy under capitalism and to build socialism.

But this political unification presupposes Socialist-Communist agreement on the fundamental questions of the ideology and organization of the new party. No one can tell today when this unification will take place, whether before or after socialist construction begins. That is why, pending the ripening of the conditions for this, the FCP advocates close and durable cooperation of the two parties and with the other democratic parties and all the forces interested in renovating democracy today and building socialism tomorrow.

No matter when the organizational unity of Communists and Socialists is achieved, this will not lead to the establishment of a one-party system, for along with the party of the working class there will exist other democratic parties representing the interests of definite social strata and taking part in socialist construction.

The Communists' attitude to the cooperation of several democratic parties, above all the Communist and Socialist parties, is by no means a tactical move dictated by passing considerations. It is prompted by considerations of principle. It takes into account the important changes that have taken place in France and elsewhere in recent years. It is based on the Communist concept of the political struggle, according to which the vital problem facing the nation can be solved only with the participation of the masses. Lastly, it takes into account the national traditions of the French people.

Since political parties express the interests of definite classes and social strata, it is clear that an alliance of the classes and strata interested in extending democracy and building socialism demands agreement and cooperation between the parties representing them.

Here we would like to touch upon the question which Quillot asked us in a *Populaire* article: "Were we agents of imperialism yesterday and are we today?"

a) The attitude of the Communist Party to the existing political parties is clear and definite.

The Communist Party is fighting against monopoly capital, the reactionaries and their parties, because their interests run counter to those of the working class and the nation. But it has never held the vulgarized view that all the parties with the exception of the Communist Party should be regarded as direct or indirect agents

of the monopoly bourgeoisie. In fact, the Communists regard those parties which are supported by a certain part of the working class, the urban middle strata or the toiling peasantry and which declare for democracy, as possible and necessary allies in the struggle for democracy and socialism. That is why the Communists are working so hard to reach agreement with them now and for the future.

b) The role of political parties is judged by their programs, and especially by the positions they adopt on various political problems involving the vital interests of different classes.

Whether the activities of this or that party serve the interests of the bourgeoisie or the working class and the people is a question that has to be answered by reality, by the facts.

The Socialist Party stands shoulder to shoulder with the Communist Party in opposing the Gaullist regime. And this is inthe interest of the working people. But what runs counter to the interests and aspirations of more and more working people is that the policy of the Socialist Party continues to be dominated by refusal to search for a genuinely democratic way out of the present situation, as is evident from the terms on which Defferre has been nominated the Presidential candidate, his contradictory tactics in the municipal elections, his rejection of unity of action with the Communist Party and of a common political program along new lines. This attitude plays into the hands of the Gaullist regime and dims the democratic perspective in the eyes of the masses.

It is in the interest of the working class and France that proper lessons be learned from the experience of our people, that the Socialist leaders abandon the methods and practices of the past and firmly adjust their policy to an alliance of all the working-class and democratic forces without exception.

The Communist Party visualizes cooperation of the democratic parties today and in the future as close relations based on equal rights and duties, mutual respect and common desire unfailingly to implement, with the active support of the people, political, economic, social and cultural measures, jointly planned and decided upon, in the interests of the classes and strata fighting for democracy and ultimately for socialism.

In one of his *Populaire* articles Quillot expresses a certain fear that the role of the Socialist Party in the Communist-Socialist cooperation proposed by us may be reduced to mere implementation of the line and decisions of the Communist Party. He writes: "That party insists that its stand is correct on all the main issues. What conclusion should we draw from this? Logically, that that party alone will lay down the terms of cooperation, while its 'partners' will be expected to accept self-evident truths. All that is left for them to do is to lay their brick, but scientific elaboration of the

blueprint and methods of construction will remain outside their domain."

All past and present activities of our Party refute these assertions.

The cooperation of the democratic parties we propose is not something new in French history. It materialized twice: at the time of the Popular Front, 1935-38, and in the Liberation years, 1944-47.

At that time too, the Communist Party adhered to its scientific doctrine. At that time too, it considered that the Marxist-Leninist party should play a leading role in the struggle for socialism. This did not prevent the other democratic parties, its allies, from making their full contribution to the drafting of a common program. The Communists remained loyal to the jointly assumed obligations within the framework of both the Popular Front and the program of the National Council of the Resistance.

Our Party does not forget that the mass movement is decisive at all stages. It therefore attaches great importance to the alliance and cooperation of all the democraic parties, the Communist and Socialist parties in the first place.

Cooperation of the democratic parties does not imply that any one of them shall adopt the program and political line of another party in their entirety. Cooperation should be on a basis acceptable to all the parties in the front. The program cementing the alliance and serving as the basis for cooperation should be discussed and adopted in conditions of equality, freedom of opinion, and democracy. No member of the alliance should try to impose its program on its partners or to present them with ultimatums.

Such was the French Communist Party's view of the cooperation of the democratic parties in 1935, when the Communists were "feeble."

Today, when it enjoys the support of the majority of the French working class, it holds the same view: the program for the renovation of political institutions and national life which our Party drafted in 1959 and proposed to the other democratic parties has never been presented to its future partners as a program "to accept or reject," but as a basis for discussion, as a contribution of the FCP to a common program to be elaborated by all the democratic parties. It is regrettable that the Socialist leaders have so far flatly rejected our proposals for a discussion.

Their conduct shows that while talking a lot about "equality," they persist in refusing to recognize the equal rights of the Communist Party.

They present Defferre's nomination as an ultimatum to the other democratic parties which they confront, without discussion, with the "accept or reject" alternative. Is that the Socialist leadership's

idea of equality of the democratic parties? It is natural that the Socialists should want to run the municipal councils in the communities where they have a majority. But they are trying to deny the Communists the right to run the councils where *they* have the support of the overwhelming majority of the Left forces. Is that the Socialist leaders' idea of democracy and relations of equality between democratic parties?

Our Party, which is striving to ensure the fulfilment by the working class of its historical mission in the most favorable conditions and to enable the French people to achieve well-being, freedom, independence and peace as early and as painlessly as possible, attaches exceptional importance to cooperation with all the democratic parties, with the Socialist Party first and foremost, in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism. Since socialist construction in France is a matter of the future, it is impossible to foresee all its peculiarities. Cooperation of the democratic parties after the conquest of power by the working class and its allies will be a cooperation of parties in the new conditions.

Quillot sees in our striving to cooperate with "parties participating in the construction of socialism" a reservation which makes him feel uneasy about the fate of the "minority," of the "opposition." "The Communist Party allows no opposition," he asserts.

What "minority" or "opposition" does he mean? Is it the minority of dispossessed exploiters, of the handful of politicians, policemen and other agents of the big bourgeoisie?

It stands to reason that the new, proletarian power, if it does not want to be overthrown without resistance, may be compelled to use coercion with regard to the counter-revolutionary minority should the latter conspire to restore capitalist rule. Such a contingency was envisaged by Guy Mollet himself. In 1951 he admitted that after the working people had taken power the old exploiter classes might revolt and sabotage the new regime. "The proletariat can exercise dictatorship in the name of the established majority as long as it may be necessary for the realization of economic and social changes and in the interest of this majority," he said.

But if by the "minority" or "possible opposition" Quillot means certain elements of the working class or intermediate strata that may question particular measures necessary for the consruction of socialism, then the matter presents itself in a different light.

The Communists guide themselves by the well-known recommendation of Marx, Engels and Lenin according to which socialism canot be built without a solid alliance of the working class and the middle urban and rural strata.

It is in cooperation with these social strata and the parties representing them, and not against them, that the FCP intends to search

for solutions to the problems which will be posed by the development of the productive forces and economic evolution. It is in cooperation with them that the FCP will take steps toward the complete abolition of capitalist rule through nationalization etc., and toward the solution of problems directly affecting the interests of these social strata.

Will cooperation of the democratic parties during socialist construction in France take the same forms as in the case of the people's democracies which came into being after World War II? The 17th Congress answered this unequivocally and from the standpoint of principle when it stated: "There is no doubt that during the transition of new countries to socialism unity and alliance will take new and distinct forms." This eventually applies particularly to France.

The forms of cooperation of the democratic parties during the transition to socialism will depend on the forms of unity and alliance developed at the previous stage. They will reflect the national peculiarities of France, and will be conditioned by the international situation in which the question of the socialist reorganization of society will have been raised.

Inter-party cooperation in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism does not rule out the possibility of disagreements between parties participating in socialist construction. There may or are even bound to be divergent opinions between social groups interested in the complete elimination of capitalist rule and between the parties representing them as regards he ways of building socialism, the rate of development and the manner in which economic, political, social and other reforms are to be effected.

The Communists, far from being afraid of exchange of views, of a battle of ideas, regard them as an essential element of progress. Cooperating parties should overcome their disagreements through discussion, exchange of opinions and open debate, with the masses participating. Of course, discussions of progress are unthinkable without the legal existence of democratic parties and unless these parties have the opportunity freely to express their views, by using their own media (the press) as well as those belonging to the entire nation (radio, television).

Such discussions, conducted earnestly by partners who are equally aware of their common task and equally interested in progress but differ as to how and when the reforms needed at each stage of the transition from capitalism to socialism are to be carried out will help find solutions acceptable to all.

Speaking of the organization of elections after the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, Quillot militates against the

system of joint lists and electoral blocs used in the East European people's democracies.

It will be recalled that all the government parties in these countries have for various historical reasons united in a single organization (Popular Front, Patriotic Front, etc.) and participate in elections within the framework of that organization.

This system, Quillot maintains, leads to "unanimity on the facade." This affirmation can certainly be disputed. If at every stage of the construction of a new society, there exists effective agreement between the parties on the guidelines of this construction, why should agreement between them on the nomination of common candidates present "unanimity on the façade?"

Besides, this need not be the case in every country, France included, if international conditions are different and the class struggle aimed at wresting political power from the bourgeoisie proceeds in conditions essentially different from those that existed when the people's democracies came into being.

It is impossible to specify the methods of organization of elections in the future, all the more since these methods will not reflect the will of the Communist Party alone but will be devised and decided upon by all the democratic parties, and will depend on the actual conditions.

However, if in a country which has freed itself from the rule of monopoly capital the unity of action of the democratic parties leads to their unqualified support of the new system, if every means at the disposal of the state is resolutely used to suppress the forces trying to restore capitalist rule, it is quite conceivable — provided international conditions for socalist construction are more favorable than today — that new forms of cooperation between the democratic parties will be developed by the masses and in parliament and that they will manifest themselves, in elections and in the organs of state power, in a manner different from that in the countries which have already entered the socialist stage.

Paul Courtieu

ECONOMIC DEMOCRACY AND POLITICAL DEMOCRACY

Many people have become aware of the real nature of one-man rule since 1958, and there is an urgent need for the democrats to unite in order to free the country from it and build a new democracy in its place. For one thing, the new democracy should differ from its predecessors primarily by such important economic aspects as would safeguard it against encroachments by the moneybags. This will open up new, more concrete prospects for the transition to socialism: the measures which will have undermined the positions of big capital and deprived it of the means of influencing

the state will enhance the role of the working class and its capacity to rally its numerous allies. The development of democracy ensuring the general progress of the nation — economic, political, social, cultural — will at a certain stage inevitably confront the working class and its allies from other social strata with the task of removing all obstacles to this progress, i.e., eliminating the capitalist system and proceeding with determination to build communism.

Thus there are new opportunities of welding unity of the working-class and democratic forces, which will have new and brighter prospects.

Democracy does not automatically result from economic reforms, as is evident from the way the Gaullist regime is using the nationalized industries. The decisive role is played by institutions, by political power. But without definite economic guarantees, democratic power and its institutions are either deprived of their substance or doomed to extinction.

The program which the French Communist Party proposes to the other democratic parties and organizations envisages important economic measures. These measures, and the innovating character of our proposals regarding the organization of state power will impart a new content to democracy, which will greatly differ from the regime destroyed by the coup of May 13.

Nationalization is the basis of the economic reforms contemplated by us. It will give the state such important means of guiding the economy as plan, investment, exploitation of natural resources, etc. It will really help substantially to restrict the anarchy of capitalist production and uphold democracy against pressure by big capital. This is of vital importance for any democratic regime, as is shown by the history of bourgeois democracy, which abounds in examples of governments deposed and social reforms frustrated by the maneuvers of capitalist financiers. That was how the Popular Front was wrecked: faced with such maneuvers, the Blum government made concessions — the devaluation of the franc; the decision to "pause" in implementing the program of the Front; the second devaluation, which reduced the social gains of the working people, the policy of "non-intervention" in Spain, which led to the defeat of the Republic; the Munich pact, which gave Czechoslovakia to Hitler, and the wrecking of the collective security policy envisaged by the programs. In 1947, with the interference of U.S. imperialism, French policy was reversed, resulting in the complete abandonment of the program of the National Council of the Resistance.

These retreats were not inevitable. In both cases the pressure of the reactionary forces in big capital could have been resisted and overcome given stronger unity of the working class and its alliance

with the middle strata. A government leaning on the will and struggle of the masses could have defeated the reactionaries. This is the first lesson we must learn. But there is another lesson: there can be no democratic government as long as the bulk of the national wealth remains in the hands of a small privileged group. Large-scale industry and the big bankers must be deprived of instruments of pressure if the nation's democratic future is to be ensured. This will be the first beneficial result of nationalization.

A document published after a recent session of the Employers' Association stated the doctrine of the big owners. The magnates of banking and industrial capital go out of their way to extol the advantages of "free enterprise" and the "motive power of profit." Nationalized enterprises, they claim, are "ineffective" from the point of view of production and technological progress and hamper "social progress."

Speaking of the effectiveness of production organization, before the workers of the Rhone-Poulenc Plant in Vitry, Maurice Thorez refuted the criticism levelled at nationalized enterprises. Waldeck Rochet, reporting to the 17th Congress, carried the argument forward on the basis of the remarkable experience of the National Railway Company, the Road and Bridge Administration and the Renault plants.

As regards "social progress," one is amused by the big employers' concern for those they exploit. From what they say, their attachment to "free enterprise" is due solely to their desire to improve the people's standard of living. In addition, bourgeois propaganda is trying to discredit nationalization, taking advantage of the difference between the conditions of the workers in the nationalized and in the private sectors.

As it happens, the condition of the workers in the nationalized industries is not the same everywhere. In some branches they enjoy greater privileges. For instance, the Renault employees do not earn less than the workers in other automobile plants. Often they are the first to have a demand satisfied, and the other employers are forced to follow suit, as was the case with the fourth week of paid holiday.

It is true that the wages of the railwaymen and gas and electricity workers are lower than in other branches, and this fully justifies their struggle for their demands. But at the same time they enjoy what the workers in other branches do not have: social security, guaranteed employment, pensions, respect for trade union rights, and so on.

The employees of the nationalized banks are not worse off than those of private establishments.

The condition of the coal-miners is often referred to in an effort

to discredit nationalization. It is bad, and this was the reason for the big strike in the spring of 1963, aimed primarily at attaining the level of others. But this situation is not a result of nationalization. The condition of many working people is even worse, although they do not work in nationalized enterprises: the unskilled workers in the chemical industry, the textile workers, agricultural laborers, and others. The miners' condition is due primarily to the fact that the nationalization of the coal mines and other enterprises was gradually stripped of its democratic and national substance. The situation in the coal industry was aggravated through its inclusion in the European Coal and Steel Community and through the government's policy of invariably sacrificing the interests of the coal industry to those of other power industries, although the country needs to develop *all* of its power resources.

According to our program, nationalization should be effected in the context of democracy. The proposals of our parliamentary group specify the principles of managing nationalized enterprises with the active participation of representatives of the working people.

What nationalization is envisaged by our program? Communist bills provide for the nationalization of the iron ore mines, the iron and steel, chemical, aluminium, electronic and aircraft industries, air transport, atomic energy, the oil enterprises, the deposit and commercial banks, and insurance.

This program, if realized, would turn over to the state the chief economic levers: credit (at present bank deposits exceed 40 percent of the total money in circulation), power resources, the main sources of raw materials, the industries that are primarily responsible for technological progress, and the principal transport facilities.

This nationalization is not socialization, for it envisages purchase and compensation, and the conversion of shares into stocks carrying guaranteed annual dividends. Consequently, the principle of private ownership is not abolished. But its sphere is restricted, first, by the stipulation that the share of any private group or person shall not exceed 10 percent of the capital of the bank and, secondly, by the annual purchase by the state of at least one-fiftieth of the stock in circulation at the time of nationalization. Similar measures are to be taken in the case of other establishments, with due regard to the specific conditions of each.

But while the stock-holders will retain certain rights, the directors will not be allowed to manage key sectors solely for profit. Every nationalized enterprise will be democratically managed by a board consisting of representatives of the state, the national trade union organizations, the employees, and, depending on the circumstances, the consumers and the cooperatives, as well as specialists in industry, trade and agriculture.

In other words, nationalization will enable the democratic state to exercise effective control over production and the national economy and guide their development in keeping with the requirements and interests of the nation. Then it will become possible to draw up and implement a genuine plan on economic, social and cultural development.

Roger Quillot touches upon this question in his article "Democracy and Planning" *Le Populaire.* He writes that the requirements of the working people "are growing faster than the means of satisfying them, and their incomes more slowly than the accumulation of capital." Noting that "economic growth could have been much faster," he adds: "In this respect, the working people are robbed of part of their labor to the benefit of parasitic elements." Thus Quillot illustrates the thesis of absolute and relative impoverishment which, several lines above, he declared invalid.

He regards production planning as a necessary means of ending chaos, but to solve the problem of economic management "it is indispensable to democratize any planned economy."

We think so, too. That is why we propose that the economic, social and cultural development plan be drawn up, not by technocrats employed by big capitalist companies, as was the case with the Fifth Plan, but with the participation of workers', peasant and cultural organizations. This plan, aimed at meeting the material and cultural requirements of the people and not at increasing private profits, would govern both the activities of the nationalized sector and capital investment in keeping with the requirements of the various economic sectors and of the nation.

Our program calls for the organization of working people's control at all economic levels—the factory, the commune, the *département.*

But planning will not solve all the problems. Although Roger Quillot claims that "the race for profit ends where planned economy begins," planning alone cannot abolish profit. To do away with capitalist profit, it is essential to end capitalist exploitation, which cannot be done without socialist ownership of the basic means of production in industry and agriculture. This is the next stage, which will require a revolutionary leap. How this leap will be accomplished is more than anyone can say for certain. What is beyond doubt is that the stronger and the more united the working class, the decisive force in the struggle for socialism, and the more allies it has, who are ready, like it, to put an end to the old regime of exploitation which hampers the progress of society, the easier the transition from capitalism to socialism.

Then conditions will be created for the peaceful "leap." It will be easier to accomplish it if it is preceded and prepared by impor-

tant economic measures. And the greater the preponderance of the forces of socialism, the easier it will be to foil the exploiters and reactionaries should they attempt, nevertheless, to resist progress by force.

Lucien Mathey

DEFENSE OF THE WORKING PEASANTRY

Listing the points on which the Communists and Socialists differ, Roger Quillot wrote in *Le Populaire* on October 29 last: "The Communists are right when they say that the working-class movement needs the support of the peasantry. To win over the peasantry, they pose as defenders of small-scale property. At the last congress one Communist anxiously asked whether this attitude ran counter to the principle of collectivization of agriculture. Will not the label of enemies of freedom be applied to the peasants, who will take these statements, with or without reason (I am not going to analyze the agricultural problem here), as meaning that in the future as well they will be free to use their land and their time as they see fit?"

Two points should be made clear before answering this question.

First, we have never spoken of defense of small-scale property. One should not mix up the notions of "farm" and "property," for a peasant running a farm can be a proprietor but also a lease-holder or share-cropper. We come out in defense of all small and middle peasants — proprietors, lease-holders and share-croppers alike. We would also like to specify that we speak of defense of the person who runs a farm rather than of the farm itself. This is an important distinction.

Secondly, as far as we know, none of the delegates who spoke at the 17th Congress voiced concern over our attitude, which is alleged to contradict the principle of collectivization.

But these are secondary details. The main point Roger Quillot wants to make is that there is, or so he thinks, a contradiction between our present defense of the small or middle peasant and our program for the future, which is concerned with socialism and big agricultural producers' cooperatives.

We are censured by everyone for defending the small and the middle peasants. Some claim that our position is incompatible with technological progress, others that we are opposed to the amalgamation of small farms and want the peasants running them to live on in misery.

To answer these accusations properly, we must stress that government policy in agriculture is determined by the following main aims:

1. Steadily to increase the share of the banking and industrial monopolies in the national income at the expense of the working class, the peasantry and the middle strata.

2. To aggravate the difficulties experienced by the small and middle peasants in order to hasten their elimination and to create a manpower reserve for the capitalists, who will then be able to resist more effectively the struggle of the working class for its demands and to make ever greater profits.

3. To promote concentration in agriculture by using the lands abandoned by the peasants who are forced to go to town.

4. To force down the prices of farm produce so as to remove the cause of the economic demands of the working class and to secure more favorable conditions for competition in the foreign market, especially the Common Market.

The Gaullist regime has taken definite steps to achieve these aims. Since 1958 it has issued economic and financial ordinances abolishing certain privileges won by the peasants in previous years, especially under the Popular Front government and immediately after the Liberation, when the Communists and Socialists united to ensure the success of the policy of social progress.

Subsequently those ordinances were supplemented by the law on orientation, the complementary law and a series of decrees, decisions and circular letters tending to deprive farms regarded as non-viable of economic, social and financial privileges, which were retained, however, for the more well-to-do cultivators.

The results of this policy are known. The condition of the peasants has been going from bad to worse, with more and more of them leaving the countryside.

The depopulation of the countryside is not a product of the Gaullist regime, of course, but it has been intensified by the regime.

We denounce the methods and means which are used to aggravate the distressed condition of the peasants so as to force them off the land.

Not to come out in defense of the small and middle peasants in these conditions would mean giving free rein to the government, i.e., implicitly approving or even supporting its policy.

Now we shall try to answer our critics.

We are told that to defend unprofitable farms and preserve obsolete agricultural patterns means hindering technological progress.

We are the first to deplore the unprofitableness of many farms. But who is to blame for this if not the capitalist system, which has enabled a minority to seize vast tracts of land and to exert increasing pressure on the small and the middle peasants. No one will deny that small farms cannot use modern machines as effectively as big farms of the capitalist type. But surely this is no reason for the privileged few to ruin and swallow up small farms.

To reason in this way means seeing only one side of the matter, namely, profitableness and the use of mechanical equipment, com-

pletely disregarding the social aspect—people. Has anyone shown concern for the destiny of those peasant families that have been, or soon will be, thrown out? How are they going to be settled? Are they assured of jobs when hours are being reduced at some plants and workers dismissed, when the whole postwar generation is reaching working age?

The Communists favor technological progress as much as others, but they consider that this progress should help lighten labor and should not be used as a pretext for, or a means of driving the most underprivileged peasants out of the countryside.

To enable the small and the middle peasants to use modern machines individually or collectively, we have repeatedly proposed that they be granted credits, reductions, subsidies and lower taxes, and that special assistance be given to the cooperatives, in particular those for the utilization of farm equipment (CUMA).

If, for instance, the thousands of millions of francs given to the big landowners in different forms as subsidies which they did not need at all were used for this purpose, it would be possible to set up a network of CUMA's capable of mechanizing, operations at all the farms for reasonable fees.

But the government is doing just the reverse. On the one hand, it systematically deprives the small peasant of certain privileges (credits, loans, subsidies) in keeping with the law of orientation, and on the other, uses technological progress to grant still greater privileges to the big landowners and to hasten the elimination of small and medium farms.

Needless to say, our policy of upholding the interests of the small and medium farms does not mean that we are against their amalgamation.

It is fair to say that as far as this question is concerned, we are the only ones to propose truly effective measures. The proposals of our program in behalf of the small and middle peasants may be briefly reiterated as follows:

—priority title to the land sold or leased; long-term, low-interest credits, and exemption from the property transfer and registration taxes;

—expropriation of uncultivated or poorly cultivated lands;

—resale of the arable land purchased by non-farmers;

—the granting to the French tiller of the priority right to purchase land;

—restriction of the size of big capitalist-type farms.

Although we defend the small and middle peasants, we by no means imagine that the process of their elimination can be stopped. This process will go on as long as the capitalist system, with its exploitation of man by man, with its race for profit and striving for concentration, persists.

To sum up, here is what Waldeck Rochet said in his concluding remarks at the seminar on Party work in the countryside, held in Aubervillers on November 13-15, 1964:

"We know that the future belong to socialism, because only a socialist economy enables the peasants, as well as the workers, to use modern machines and techniques both in their own interests and in the interests of the entire society.

"But . . . we reckon with the fact that the political conditions in France are not yet ripe for the transition to . . . socialism and that the country today is ruled by the big monopolies, which threaten the very existence of hundreds of thousands of peasants.

"Hence the question today is what position to adopt to ward off this threat, or, in other words, whether we should support de Gaulle's policy of hastening the expropriation of the small peasants or, on the contrary, protect the working peasants against the big industrial monopolies and agricultural capital, against all those who are out to expropriate them.

"Our Communist Party has taken an absolutely clear stand on this question: it has decided to stand up for the peasants, who are threatened by capitalism."

Fernand Claveau

INTERVIEW* WITH KHALEG EL MAHJOUB

GENERAL SECRETARY, SUDANESE COMMUNIST PARTY, INTERVIEWED BY L'HUMANITE

Q. Would you please recall for our readers how the Sudanese people put an end to Marshal Abboud's dictatorship?

A. The democratic movement began to gather strength in 1958. The fall of the reactionary regime in Iraq had far-reaching repercussions in our country. Some of the Umma** deputies joined the democratic forces, and even voted against U.S. aid. Terrified, the reactionary leaders decided to transfer power to the generals. The result was the coup of November 17.

While the new regime was backed by the Umma, the democratic forces began to organize underground. Their opposition to the dictatorship influenced certain army circles, and March 1, 1959, saw an insurrection led by Brig.-Gan. Abd El Rahim Shenna and young officers.

The attempt failed, entailing severe repressions, but it struck a first blow at the military regime and all who were close to it, such as the Umma party. The Rightist forces dissociated themselves from the junta and joined the opposition. The dictatorship found itself isolated. All this encouraged the democratic movement.

The Communist Party then began to organize the struggle along two lines, striving to rally all the forces, including those of the Right, that were willing to abolish the military regime and at the same time to promote the democratic movement by strengthening workers', students' and women's organizations, as well as the Party. But in 1961 it became evident that the Right leaders had not been fighting seriously and that their opposition to the regime was make-believe.

The working people were the only force ready consistently to fight for a radical change and a democratic government. The Party therefore changed its tactics and in the summer of 1961 advanced the idea of a general political strike to end the military dictatorship.

At first we didn't quite know how we were going to achieve the aim we had set ourselves. But in the course of partial strikes by workers and peasants we specified our idea, and everyone was able to appreciate the importance of a general strike and to see clearly the means to be used in organizing it.

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*L'Humanité, May 15, 1965.

Party of the feudal lords and big landowners.—Ed.**

Q. What were the conditions in which you started the general strike?

A. Last summer a revolutionary situation developed in the country. Economic failure was becoming obvious, indignation over the regime's pro-imperialist foreign policy had reached the climax, and lastly, the democratic organizations had become very influential and active. During the election of the leadership of the Federation of Trade Unions the Left candidates won 45 out of the 60 seats despite government pressure. This was a sure sign of the workers' readiness to launch a decisive struggle. The fact that a Communist was elected head of the Peasant League* against the will of the government was likewise an important victory.

That is when the incidents of October 21 occurred and repressive measures were taken against the students. There were demonstrations in many towns. The CP decided, therefore, that the hour was ripe for the general strike.

The leaders of workers' unions, the Peasant League, organizations of teachers', lawyers and doctors, who had established the Front of Professional Unions, called the strike on October 24. It was a great success. It was supported by all the working people, the students and the intellectuals. The state machinery was completely paralyzed.

The democratic forces were faced with the issue of changing the regime.

The police had lost its bearings due to the vastness of the popular movement, but it had not joined in the strike movement. The nationalist units of the Khartoum garrison had refused to fire on the demonstrators — but the army as a whole was still controlled by the reactionary senior officers.

That is why a compromise was reached with the aim of forming a new government. The army leaders agreed to withdraw provided all the parties were represented in the government. We could make no headway without arms to counter the army.

Nevertheless, the new government has brought important changes into the country's democratic life, changes which partly satisfy the Sudanese people.

Q. Those weaknesses of the democratic movement evidently explain why the reactionary parties succeeded three months later in expelling members of the Front of Professional Unions from the government?

A. I must stress, first of all, that the imperialists brought considerable pressure to bear. The reactionary parties gained the upper hand because of the weaknesses of the democratic movement which

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*The Peasant League unites mostly peasants of the Gezira region lying between the Blue and the White Nile and is above all an area producing long-fibre cotton, one of the Sudan's main products.

I have just mentioned, and also because the government of national unity included, not only reactionaries, but also people representing different political movements and undecided elements who are not connected with the people. That is why the revolution could not win completely.

On the other hand, it should be noted that the democratic movement is only just beginning to organize. The peasants only have one organization, that of Gezira. This also explains why workers' and peasant representatives were excluded from the government.

Our primary task is, therefore, to reinforce all the democratic organizations, and to consolidate the union of progressive forces. We have formed the Democratic Socialist Front in common with the People's Democratic Party, the trade unions, the Peasant League and the Women's League.

Q. Are socialist ideas popular in the Sudan?

A. There is strong pressure in the country in favor of close cooperation with the UAR, Algeria, and all the countries building socialism. We consider that cooperation between the Arab school of socialism and Marxism is possible.

The solution of the problems confronting a backward country like ours through socialism is gaining in popularity, which means that the trend toward socialism which has spread to this area of the globe is successful.

We have just had a great experience. The October 21 strike was an important development in Sudanese history. The establishment of a national democracy may now pave the way for socialism.

Q. What is the SCP's position on the problem of the African minority of the South?

A. We admit that there exist historical, ethnical and geographic distinctions between the North and the South and and that they should be taken into account. But it is also necessary to take account of the fact that the tribes of the South speak about forty languages, that economically they have nothing in common, for the simple reason that the colonialists and imperialists, and later the reactionary leaders of the Sudan, never did anything for the economic advancement of the region.

Under these circumstances, separation or a federation would make the South an easy prey for the imperialists, all the more because anti-imperialist trends among the political leaders of the South are very feeble if any. It should also be noted that some of them are even backed by Tshombe, the Catholic Church, the African reactionaries and, needles to say, the imperialists.

That is why we proposed at the round table that the populations of the South be granted regional autonomy on the basis of democratic development and of the rights of the national minorities within an independent and united state.

DECLARATION ON AFRICAN UNITY

FIGHTING FOR SOCIAL PROGRESS*

The Executive Bureau of the Pan-African Federation of Trade Unions (PAFTU) which sat in Accra from February 10-13, 1965:

Considering the absolute necessity for the African peoples continuing and stepping up their just struggle against world imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and Zionism, as well as feudalism and other reactionary trends;

Being aware that African unity is the essential condition for realizing the aspirations of Africa's workers and peasants, who want the resources of the continent to be used for the benefit of the African peoples;

Convinced that building an independent economy and coordinating and harmonizing development plans are the only means of making rational use of the natural resources of the continent and thereby improving the living standard of the working people;

Faced with the maneuvers and intrigues of the imperialists designed to raise obstacles to the African peoples' advance to unity and to foil their efforts within the OAU;

Alerts all the African governments and urges that they should do everything to foil the conspiracies of the colonialists and their agents;

Urges that all the national trade union associations affiliated to the PAFTU denounce the present maneuvers of imperialism and call on the governments and all the democratic organizations of their respective countries to frustrate the imperialists' maneuvers and to advance toward African unity, whose ultimate goal should be to form a government of the continent.

Accra, February 13, 1965.

The Executive Burea of PAFTU sat in Accra from February 10-13, 1965.

Having thoroughly analyzed the political situation and the situation in the trade unions in Africa and the rest of the world, the Bureau notes with satisfaction the growth of the progressive forces, whose actions for freedom and peace tend to destroy the positions of the imperialists, colonialists and neo-colonialists in Africa and Asia.

The Bureau is gratified by the steadily growing influence of the

*Statements by EB, PAFTU, **l'Essor**, March 22, 1965.

PAFTU, within which more and more African trade union organizations are rallying themselves and which expresses the growing will for unity on the part of Africa's working people.

The Bureau reaffirms that the independence of the national trade union organizations of Africa from international trade union organizations is a necessary condition for African trade union unity and a condition for the African trade union movement asserting itself, with a view to waging an effective struggle to liberate the oppressed peoples, abolish imperialism and colonialism, and advance the African people economically and socially.

The Bureau pledges the working people's full support for the OAU, whose strengthening and success are indispensable if Africa is to be restored to the Africans and if this continent is to be rid of all the forces of oppression and exploitation, which continue to perpetrate their crimes in diverse forms, in the countries under foreign domination and in certain independent countries.

The Bureau denounces the disgraceful policy of apartheid, which in South Africa has become a doctrine, foreign domination in Mozambique, Angola, "Portuguese" Guinea, Basutoland, Southern Rhodesia and elsewhere.

It condemns the interference of the Americans, Belgians and their backers in the Congo (Leopoldville), an African country which they have turned into a base for provocation, subversion and permanent insecurity for the whole of Africa.

It denounces U.S. imperialism and its agents in the Middle and Far East, as well as international Zionism, and emphatically condemns the U.S. military intervention in South Vietnam and the bombing of North Vietnam, which imperil world peace.

The Bureau of the PAFTU condemns those African governments which in collusion with colonialist and capitalist elements oppress and imprison working people, thereby encroaching on their democratic liberties and their trade union unity.

It is outraged by the cowardly assassination of Pierre N'Guedandoume, the Burundi Prime Minister, committed by an agent of U.S. imperialism with an eye to provoking the abolition of the progressive movement in Burundi.

It protests against the arrest and arbitrary imprisonment of Comrade Tamagara Augustin, member of the PAFTU General Council and General Secretary of the Working People's Federation of Burundi, and his associates. The General Secretary of the PAFTU is empowered to take all the necessary steps to secure their immediate release.

The Bureau of the PAFTU has given special attention to organizational matters and the issue of solidarity. Accordingly, it has adopted a concrete program of action for 1965, which envisages:

—aid to the trade union organizations of the countries waging an armed struggle against foreign domination;

—increased solidarity and cooperation of the national trade union organizations, as well as exchanges of experience and delegations;

—increased international cooperation;

—establishment of a single trade union committee of international solidarity for the benefit of the working masses and the peoples of Africa fighting against foreign domination;

—intensified struggle against the ICFTU and the ICCTU, organizations which the imperialists use to infiltrate the ranks of the working people and which play an active role in dividing the working people;

—publication of a newspaper in English, French and Arabic.

The Executive Bureau calls on all the trade union organizations of Africa to do everything possible for greater trade union unity in Africa with the aim of promoting African unity to the utmost, speedily abolishing imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, and eliminating their agents in Africa.

Accra, February 13, 1965.

AFRICAN TRADE UNION UNITY*

The Economic and Social Commission of the OAU, which met recently in Cairo, examined, among other iterms on the agenda, the issue of unifying the African trade unions.

The problem is not new. Unity of the trade union movement in Africa has for a long time been a matter of concern to the working people of the continent who during the colonial period fought for the right to organize and who today are joining their efforts to take common acion with due regard to the requirements of economic development and African solidarity.

The African trade union movement came into being a mere twenty years ago. It developed following the liberation of African nations, an achievement to which it made an appreciable contribution.

But more often than not, the trade union movement in Africa is burdened with the legacy of the colonial past. The African trade unions, once exotic branches of European trade union organizations, have had to make a strenuous effort in order to cast off the shackles of European syndicalism.

It is striking that while national independence has been won, there still exist, within one nation and as in Europe, many different trade unions.

That is why "reformist," "revolutionary" and, lastly, "religious" trade unions continue to oppose one another. The fact is that the

*Editorial from **Révolution Africaine,** No. 105.

influence of French, Belgian or British trade union organizations still manifests itself, with the result that differences over extra-African issues have been transferred to Africa. Moreover, the division of Africa's working people has come out at the level of international labor organizations. These organizations — the ICFTU, WFTU and ICCTU — carry their rivalries into Africa and cast their shadows on this continent. They try to win and retain supporters.

In these conditions, how are all of Africa's working people to be organized and mobilized in a single movement? How is this to be achieved despite the political factors that affect the life of the trade unions?

THE ROAD TO UNITY

The idea of unifying Africa's working people is relatively old. The very first Conference of African Peoples, held in Accra in December 1958, recommended African unity.

At the instance of Sekou Touré, a post-office employee, the General Union of the Working People of Black Africa declared in Conakry in 1959 that it was necessary to launch a genuinely African trade union movement that would be independent of any international organizations existing before the rise of the African trade union movement.

Thus a revolutionary trend asserted itself in the trade union movement, a trend committed to the line of the political parties fighting for the liberation of Africa.

In May 1961, after numerous contacts and meetings, specifically in Accra and Tunis, the PAFTU held its congress in Casablanca.

NON-INVOLVEMENT OF THE PAFTU

The Congress specified the terms of African trade union unity in order to achieve unity of the movement and its independence from any outside influence. It recommended the trade unions of Africa to withdraw from international trade union organizations within ten months.

Thus that revolutionary trade union trend opened a "third way" for the working people, one starting from non-involvement in old disputes and in the split existing in the world trade union movement.

Following the establishment of the PAFTU, the African Confederation of Trade Unions (ACTU) came into being. It placed itself in opposition to the PAFTU by claiming the possibility of double affiliation and by failing to condemn the threat of interference emanating from alignment with this or that international movement.

NOT INCOMPATIBLE

The ACTU, founded in Dakar in January 1962 and uniting the trade unions of "religious" and "apolitical" working people, is combating both the capitalist and the communist systems. But it does not insist on disassociation. To such of its spokesmen as Tom M'Boya or the Tunisian Tlili, affiliation to a world trade union organization — the ICCTU in this particular case — is not incompatible with African trade union unity. This is where the fundamental divergence between the PAFTU and the ACTU lies.

Adherents of the PAFTU consider that one cannot advocate African unity and yet remain a member of the ICFTU, WFTU or ICCTU, which introduce elements of division into the African trade unions that hamper their unity.

Thus the respective positions have crystallized. Disassociation has so far been a precondition for unity.

Attempts to bring about a rapprochment have not produced any results yet. The trade unions of Ghana, Guinea, Moroco and Algeria, aware of their independence, have withdrawn from international organizations.

And so unity which everyone desires, finds itself blocked.

TERMS OF A RAPPROCHEMENT

Some trade union leaders are trying to renounce the pre-condition and to bring about a rapprochement that would make it possible to consider every aspect of the outstanding problems.

Thus a basis for agreement could be found that would bring the existing positions closer together in the course of action.

It is paradoxical that whereas on the political plane the Africans have succeeded in coordinating their actions and in achieving unity of views on certain questions, the trade union movement has yet to make decisive progress. Will the OAU, whose Economic and Social Commission is studying African trade union unity, be able to promote the unity of the working people of the continent?

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GUIDELINES FOR DISCUSSION PRIOR TO 22nd PARTY CONGRESS

THESES* OF THE CC, COMMUNIST PARTY OF DENMARK

Developments in the world and in Danish society confront our Party and all the democratic and progressive forces of our people with the task of drawing up a common program of action in the fight for peace and national independence, for greater democracy and restriction of the power of the monopolies, and for active and conscious progress towards socialism.

The Central Committee appeals to the members and organizations of the Communist Party, as well as to other interested persons, to thoroughly discuss these problems prior to the Party congress to be held in the autumn of 1965.

Development in Denmark has been marked by a continued relative boom, with increasing production, growing national income, and greater employment than for many years. Considerable changes have taken place in economic life: increasingly rapid transition to large-scale production, the concentration of capital in fewer and fewer hands, and migration from the countryside to the towns.

Big capital, using its economic power, strong organizations and political influence, has intensified its general offensive against the economic and social conditions of the working people. The grave political danger which the reactionaries' anti-socialist demagogic exploitation of their power over the means of propaganda and of failure of the Social-Democratic Party was exemplified, among other things, by the rejection of the land bills during the 1962 referendum and by the Conservatives' success in the 1964 general election.

At the same time, Denmark's membership in NATO entails increasingly heavy military expenditure and is a continuous war risk for Denmark. Our membership of EFTA and the government's pliancy towards the Common Market and West Germany have created political and economic uncertainty and difficulties.

Developments and the present policy could have been changed, but the working class has not yet been able to overcome its political division and to become the natural leader of a progressive alliance of the democratic forces of the people.

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*Abridged from **Land og Folk**, April 13, 1965

I. FOR UNITY IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT FOR PEACE AND SOCIALISM

The Communist Party of Denmark has followed with concern the conflict in the international Communist movement over fundamental problems. We therefore declare that we still approve of the evaluation and the line of the international Communist conferences of 1957 and 1960, whose correctness has been confirmed by our own experience. At the same time we propose starting preparations for a new international conference on the basis of the previous joint statements and a careful analysis of the developments of the past year with the aim of ensuring common actions on the decisive questions and thereby restoring unity.

The world Communist movement has a special part to play in the alliance of all the progressive democratic and anti-imperialist forces which our epoch requires. Strengthening its unity is a condition for utilizing the many opportunities there are in the fight for peace, democracy and socialism.

The CPD is an independent and equal party within the world Communist movement. We have shaped our own domestic policy and made our own evalution of international problems. Thereby we have contributed to the current exchanges of opinions, which are necessary for the further development of the movement and the promotion of Marxist ideas.

The multiformity of development in our epoch poses new problems pertaining to the concept of international unity and its realization. In our relations with the socialist world, it will always be our prime duty to promote the understanding of the processes of socialist development. This is necessary for the proper understanding of our epoch and of the future development of society, and has to be carried on in continuous struggle against bourgeois propaganda and ideology. But such understanding cannot be furthered by evading the actual problems, difficulties and mistakes which are also found on the road to socialism. An explanation of the conditions, often difficult and bristling with problems, in which socialism fights its way forward and socialist democracy develops, makes it easier to understand the creative force of socialism. This applies in no lesser measure to the solution of new problems posed by social development.

Similar problems may confront us with regard to the fraternal parties in other countries. We ought to learn from the experience of these parties, even though it cannot be used in our conditions without reservations. We should study the particular conditions in which these parties are operating. In respect of questions that may affect us directly, we should first of all specify our own views.

Our epoch, marked by the growth of the forces of socialism and

democracy, has created conditions for a peaceful transition to socialism. But the peaceful road also presupposes a widespread, conscious and active class struggle. We do not strive for a one-party system. On the contrary, a widespread struggle for socialism, like socialist construction, presupposes the active participation of the parties and organizations representing the broadest possible sections of the population. But "without a socially-conscious Communist party, whose guiding star is working-class unity in the fight for peace, democracy and socialism, and which knows how to use the basic principles and methods of Marxism-Leninism in the changing conditions of every country and of world development as a whole, one cannot get through to socialism."

II. DENMARK UNDER MILITARY CONTROL

Major changes have taken place in the Danish economy and social life, but they do not constitute "progressive" or "covert socialism" as bourgeois propaganda claims. Socialism means that the decisive means of production and political power belong to the people. Capitalism means private ownership of the means of production.

Denmark is a capitalist country. In 1963 its total wealth amounted to 200,000 million kroner, of which 186,000 million, or 93 percent was private property. Wage-earners, or 80 percent of the population, owned only 9.7 percent, as against 10.9 percent in 1950. The state and the municipalities owned 14,000 million, but in our conditions this does not mean that this property will be used in the interest of the population or of socialism.

Denmark is a country of great growing social inequality, a country where capital is being concentrated in fewer and fewer hands. Of the 49,000 million kroner by which the value of all assets increased between 1960 and 1963, 42,000 million belonged to the capitalists, 4,000 million to the wage-earners and 3,000 million to the state and the municipalities.

In comparison with other countries, Danish legislation on joint-stock companies provides for a lesser degree of control over those who own or manage the major companies. A handful of people have concentrated economic power in their hands, which enables them to dominate production and credit facilities, shape public opinion and cultural life through big privately-owned newspapers and publishing houses, and have a dangerous influence on domestic and foreign policy. But the threads, and hence economic and political influence, link up with big international corporations in Bonn, Washington and London.

Experience has shown that the share system does not mean "democratization" of capital and that "people's capitalism" is not

a road to socialism. The issue of small "people's shares" means capital is concentrated still more as big finance gains control of the money of small investors as well. Experience has also shown that capitalism is far from being able to create a stable economy: favorable and unfavorable trade conditions alternate. Externally, we encounter new trade barriers, one after another, and have to fight against a chronic foreign currency shortage. Internally, a high cost of living and inflation persist.

All this calls for a new economy policy.

Denmark is often singled out—among other things with reference to its Constitution—as an eminently democratic country ruled by the people. Reality is different. It is not enough to have democratic forms and organs. The decisive things is who uses them, and how.

In our country, economic concentration has led to a corresponding concentration of political power. It has undermined democracy and reduced the people's opportunities of sharing in government or of influencing it.

Big capital uses legislation in decisive measure to promote its class interests. It prevents or removes laws running counter to them. It influences not only legislation, but also the interpretation and administration of laws, takes advantage, among other things, of its undemocratic monopoly on education.

Big capital also influences the municipalities, as is evident from the composition of the municipal councils, which resembles that of parliament. Moreover, there is a tendency to restrict municipal autonomy. The possibility for representatives elected by the people to influence and control the municipal councils is reduced in favor of officials and experts in and outside the councils. This expresses itself, among other things, in the municipal rates policy and in the numerous privileges which capitalists obtain by taking advantage of the competition between municipalities to attract business to the towns.

In the post-war years Denmark has turned from a predominantly agricultural country where farm produce made up three-fourths of the exports into an agrarian-industrial country where only about 15 percent of the population live from agriculture. The export of industrial goods has reached the level of that of farm produce. This creates new possibilities for trade, in particular by lessening dependence on certain markets resulting from one-sided export of agricultural goods.

A strong trend towards large-scale farming has been asserting itself during these years. In the debate on the structure of agriculture, the big farmers and town capitalists demand free scope for concentration of the land and the transition to large-scale capitalist farming. Here too, legislation has adapted itself by en-

couraging the elimination or amalgamation of small farms, and the establishment of big capitalist farms.

Large-scale production and concentration are also a direct threat to small producers, craftsmen, fishermen and shopkeepers, whose number between 1950 and 1960 declined by 8,718. It is not the workers or socialism, but the monopolies, which exploit the workers and reduce their purchasing power that are the chief enemies of the small producer. Both groups of working people have an equal interest in restricting the power and influence of the monopolies.

As in other capitalist countries, though in a less pronounced form, economic development in Denmark has led to an increase in state responsibilities and public investment.

We have in mind projects which the big capitalists consider necessary for society's economic development but not profitable enough to invest in: transport, power supply, development of certain industrial areas, expensive research (e.g., the Riso experimental atomic power station), and the training of professional, technical and scientific personnel. Typically for a policy favoring the monopolies, not only are capital investments in these industries made at the expense of the public sector, but the taxpayer and consumers have to cover a considerable proportion of the cost of operation by paying high passenger fares and tariffs on domestic electricity established to keep down the cost of goods transport and electricity used in industry.

Along with increasing monopoly influence on the placement of public investments, capitalist concentration has led to the concentration of business and population around the capital and other big cities while more distant areas are experiencing economic stagnation. It is not geographical and natural conditions but capitalist production and property relations that are to blame for this. To maintain their monopoly, the capitalists prevent others from utilizing raw materials and other natural resources. For instance, the building industry and the cement monopoly have bought up or sequestered areas rich in raw materials for the cement industry; the sugar monopolies have been sabotaging the construction of a sugar refinery in Jutland; international corporations have for years prevented the exploitation of our salt and potassium deposit, and so on.

Capitalism is an antiquated social system: private property is in hopeless contradiction with modern production methods based on the cooperation of hundreds of workers and technicians producing for the world market.

Despite the present boom, capitalism cannot create a stable economy or solve the problems which will confront Denmark in the future. It cannot ensure effective utilization of the natural re-

sources of the country or the advantage of modern technology and large-scale production in order steadily to promote prosperity, social security and high cultural standards for the population at large.

This places socialism on the agenda. Socialism means conformity between the modern, collective forms of production and collective ownership. Socialism is not a distant future goal; it should become a conscious part of the demands for strengthening the solidarity and confidence of the working class, for weakening and isolating the monopolies, for the working class and other democratic and progressive forces of the people winning new positions, and for consciously exploiting them as new starting points in the struggle for socialism.

III. THE DANISH WORKING CLASS AND ITS POSITION

Now as in the past, the working class is the leading and most socially-conscious force in the class struggle. Together with other wage-earners, it constitutes about 80 percent of the population engaged in commerce or industry (as against 76 percent in 1950). Its labor creates an essential and growing share of the material and cultural wealth of society. It is the most organized class professionally and politically. Being associated with large-scale production, the dominant form of production now and in the future, it is the class of the future.

But technological development and new production methods create new problems within and for the working class. It is true that the working class has grown numerically (by 3.2 percent from 1950 till 1960), but its growth is slower than that of the population (7.1 percent), and much slower than the growth of the number of office employees (30.1 percent).

Large-scale industry results in the concentration of workers in large enterprises. This increases their role in the class struggle and the possibility of heightening their class consciousness and strengthening their unity. On the other hand, the working class is influenced by former small producers, especially those from the countryside, some of whom even retain their property. These people, who are as yet inexperienced in class struggle, are particularly susceptible to petty-bourgeois and reactionary propaganda.

New forms of labor and methods of exploitation pose new problems—mechanization, rationalization, time studies and new methods of remuneration—and new frontiers are formed between professions, between skilled and unskilled workers as a result of structural changes in industry and in production operations. New groups of workers of special trades emerge, with their special problems, training and qualification.

The working class, our Party and our Youth League have a big responsibility to the young workers now entering industry. Young workers present new demands for the present and the future. Due to longer hours at school and long military service in the case of young men and to more refined propaganda, young people are more exposed to reactionary ideas than before. The working class movement should pay attention to this situation and organize its own propaganda and information activity and formulate its demands with due regard to the actual condition of the youth, their way of thinking and their problems.

Deep-going changes are taking place in the position of women. In Western Europe, Denmark is second only to West Germany for the proportion of women (32.2 percent) engaged in production. One result of this is that the capitalists take advantage of technological progress and the present boom to exploit women as unskilled and underpaid labor, and that in present-day Denmark it is impossible to maintain the family on the earnings of the man alone.

With their average annual wage 6,000 kroner less than that of the men, the working women are natural allies of the men in the class struggle and have common professional interests with them. In view of their position in the household, the women are not less interested than the men in a five-day working week and an eight-hour day. It is an important task of the working class and the Communist Party to encourage the participation of women in the class struggle.

The increase in the number of office employees from 27.1 percent out of a total of 1,262,000 wage-earners in 1940 to 34.8 percent out of a total of 1,532,000 in 1960 was due to the changed conditions of production, the demand for operators of modern machines, for salesmen and clerks for supermarkets, and the trend among the employers to give the workers the status of office employees.

The Right forces are trying to represent the office employees as a new middle class and to use them against the organized workers in the interest of the employers. But the office employees are not a homogenous group. Some of them (whose number is decreasing) occupy key positions and are paid salaries that put them in the same conditions as the employers, with whom they thus come to have common interests. But there is a steady increase in the number of office employees whose position is the same as that of the workers. With regard to pay and to job security, they are more and more coming to share the condition and the interests of ordinary workers.

Through its organized and conscious struggle, the working class has not only won improvements for itself, but contributed

to the national and democratic development of the whole people. But its experience has shown that continued progress calls for continued struggle—not only to advance, but also to maintain what pioneers and their successors have built up.

In our time the working class is by its very nature the leading class. But it is not isolated in society. It has class opponents who are trying to undermine its confidence, solidarity and activity through energetic, expensive and cleverly conducted propaganda. At the same time it is influenced by the way of thinking of the petty-bourgeois groups joining it, which results in the rise and development of revisionist trends in it. These elements, as well as the direct opponents of the working class, are trying to arouse a passive "what's-the-use" sentiment in the working class. Bourgeois propaganda represents Danish workers as generally "satisfied" and "indifferent."

But the numerous strikes of recent years, and other actions by the workers, the resolutions adopted by them, etc., show that they are *not* "satisfied" that they refuse to look on passively as someone else determines their condiitons, freeze their wages for two years and then undermines the purchasing power of their wages through a high cost of living, through rent increases and direct and indirect taxes.

The great weakness of our working class benefiting the reactionaries is that while the employers and capitalists in most cases act jointly and are guided by common interests, the workers, although belonging to one class, are divided into three political parties. This division does not make it an easy task to unite the workers. Also among leaders of the parties which have their roots in the working class, there will in the present conditions be opposition to unification of the forces of the working class.

This increases all the more the Communists' responsibility for cooperating with all the socially-conscious elements of the working class and the people to surmount the difficulties and to show that unity of all the forces of the working class and not its division is the natural thing.

Experience has shown that in decisive situations unity forces itself through—common interests unite people for common action irrespective of party affiliation. In 1956 this expressed itself in broad protest actions against government and Parliament interference in the discussion of new collective agreements. We also see it in the broad popular movement for peace, against the atomic danger, for national independence and against the Common Market. Last but not least, unity takes the form of joint actions at the factory level in support of everyday demands.

IV. FOR A COMMON BASIS AND A COMMON PROGRAM IN THE FIGHT FOR PEACE, DEMOCRACY, SOCIAL PROGRESS AND SOCIALISM

The post-war years have been marked by a number of cases of state interference in the economic life of society. Every time it was done on the plea of "surmounting financial and commercial difficulties." The purpose and result of these "political compromises," "measures restricting consumption," "overall solutions," etc., were to influence both social production and the distribution of the product in a manner beneficial to the monopolies. State interference has increased social inequality and promoted the concentration of capital, which is the aim of the monopolies.

The Communists insist on working-class unity and common actions not for selfish partisan reasons, but because this is an indispensable condition for shaping and pursuing a new policy and for ensuring both short and long-range democratic planning of the country's economy and policy in the interest of the entire nation. But unity cannot be achieved without regard to the fact that the working class has three political parties. To demand that a party should dissolve itself before any kind of unity is created really means making unity impossible. Likewise, it is sheer demagogy to expect or demand the realization of unity exclusively on the basis of the views and policies of one party.

But unity is possible. It should first and foremost be built up through common actions from below on a common platform which consists in the community of interests of the working class and expresses itself in the common demand for the solution of urgent problems. These common interests and demands will mark both trade union congresses and the almost simultaneous congresses of the three parties.

First and foremost, the basis for unity of action is provided by the following demands of the workers and their trade unions:

—higher real wages and equal pay for equal work;

—a 40-hour working week and a four-week holiday with higher pay;

—democratic rights; respect for the workers' right to determine their working conditions, protection of shop-stewards, democracy and effective co-management by the workers through industrial councils vested with the necessary authority; recognition of the right of the workers and other employees to action.

Protection and development of the workers' interests cannot be limited to trade-union struggles but should include political struggle. Organizations of the working people, first and foremost the trade unions, as well as associations of small peasants and tenants and other democratic mass organizations should actively

resist legislation robbing them of what they have achieved through trade-union struggles, and should fight for new gains, such as:

—an effective price and profit freeze to prevent the capitalists from deliberately undermining the purchasing power of wages;

—a democratic tax reform, and energetic resistance to inflation and the rising cost of living resulting from the higher indirect taxes, turnover tax, etc., established by the government;

—solution of the housing problem through increased housing construction according to plan, measures against housing and site speculation, and state subsidies at low interest;

—social legislation ensuring compensation for the loss of earned income as a result of unemployment, illness or accident; higher old-age pensions and a reduced age limit, as well as effective aid to mothers with no breadwinner;

—democratization of education and cultural life; improvement of instruction in the primary schools in accordance with the requirements of the time, compulsory nine-year schooling with material compensation to the parents, and effective measures to remedy the lack of teachers and secondary schools, special schools and colleges, with special regard to underdeveloped areas; systematic promotion of cultural life, and of cultural as well as sports centers;

—as regards the debate on the structure of agriculture, the Communists are not against technical progress, but it should be controlled by the working people and not by a handful of capitalists. Therefore the Communists are opposed to capitalist concentration of the land in the hands of big farmers, town capitalists and national or foreign companies, and hold that all efforts to promote the cooperative movement, the joint use of machines, and collective working methods should be encouraged and supported.

A common basis for the unity of the working class, of all the national democratic and peace-loving forces of the people, is provided by their common interest in isolating and breaking monopoly power. This presupposes, among other things:

—defense of democracy against all encroachments such as introduction of rules depriving considerable groups of voters of parliamentary influence and restricting municipal autonomy, not to speak of unconstitutional secret files and the surrender of the democratic rights of the Danish people to the supra-national organs of NATO or the Common Market. Democracy should be extended to provide, not for more or less nominal franchise, but for real democratic co-management by the workers and control over social planning and development;

—control over the monopolies through more stringent monopoly and company legislation;

—nationalization of the branches through which the monopolies exert a particularly strong influence on the economy and policy of

the nation as a condition for restricting their power. But the nationalization of big enterprises does not by itself guarantee progressive development. The decisive thing is that the nationalized enterprises should operate in the interest of society, with the direct cooperation and under the direct control of democratic organs. As a matter of course, public enterprises should be model enterprises with regard to the activities of industrial councils and democratic co-management.

The increasing population, new means of transport, the increased production and trade, along with intensified international competition and the demand of the population for a secure existence and a steadily improving standard of living call for intelligent and consistent planning to ensure effective exploitation of all of the country's natural resources and the development of backward and neglected areas.

Such planning cannot be left to the monopolies. On the contrary, it presupposes eliminating their influence. Planning in the interest of the population should be done by the population itself through its agencies and mass organizations, both locally and on a national scale. The Communists urge open and broad discussions to draft directives for such planning and to find effective forms of democratic management and control.

The natural resources should be nationalized and exploited preferably by state-owned, municipal or cooperative enterprises in the interest of the people and not as a source of cheap raw materials for the big capitalists.

Local economic activities and hence opportunities for employment should be promoted by publicly owned enterprises and by cooperative and private enterprises.

Our politicians often block necessary investments, claiming that we cannot afford them. Besides pointing to the enormous means of the monopolies, the Communists have time and again referred to extensive and unproductive military spending and demanded that Denmark enter upon a policy of disarmament and peace.

Maintenance of its national independence by the Danish people is a condition for effective planning and the exploitation of natural resources. Membership of the Common Market would place Denmark in an unequal position in that exclusive community, which, in turn, would reduce our whole country to stagnation.

V. THE PARTY

The CPD bases its policy and organization on the principles of Marxism-Leninism. It is on this basis and with due regard to the concrete conditions in our country today that the Party should unite and organize the working class and other democratic forces of the people for active struggle for peace and national independence, for better living conditions, for socialism.

Life and the class struggle confront the Party with many complicated problems. The Party cannot solve these problems without strengthening itself organizationally, waging an ideological struggle against both bourgeois propaganda and revisionist attempts to confuse the workers, without promoting the workers' awareness of their position and role in society, without giving them confidence in their own strength—without offering them a concrete alternative to the present policy, as well as a clear perspective.

The Party cannot solve these problems without linking its policy with urgent everyday needs and without continually improving its working methods. The strength and influence of the Party will depend on its ability to play an organizing and leading role in the actions of the working class and democratic organizations.

Our Party has stabilized itself organizationally after the inner-Party struggle and the split. However, despite Party Year, held in 1962-63 to strengthen the Party and its press, it has not recovered the losses sustained in the inner-party struggle, nor achieved the necessary renewal and rejuvenation of its ranks. It has strengthened its authority and positions in the trade unions through a correct trade union policy according with the interests and demands of the workers and through the work of the trade union comrades. Although the Communists have not regained parliamentary representation, they have achieved an increase in votes.

It is an immediate task to exploit the successes in the trade unions and in the elections for winning new members and strengthening the Party organizationally and ideologically. The idea of "rather fewer but better members" should be combated. Without a large membership we cannot carry out the tasks facing the Party.

The Party should strengthen itself ideologically. The ideological struggle plays a growing role in the class struggle. Bourgeois propaganda, as well as the reformist leaders in the labor movement have at their disposal enormous means, strong organizations and the entire official propaganda machine. They exploit these means both subtly and ruthlessly, using the most aggressive methods of psychological warfare and modern advertising technique.

Our weapon against this is Marxism-Leninism, whose correctness and tremendous force have been confirmed in recent years on a world scale. We should on this basis strengthen our Party ideologically and train new, ideologically strong and practically active cadres.

We should continue and intensify the schooling of Party cadres, linking this work still more closely with the role of our Party as the organizer and leader of the common struggle of the working class and other democratic forces. The purpose of this schooling is to impart a Marxist understanding of the world in which we live, and teach people to use Marxism as a guide in changing the world.

The structure and activities of our Party and its branches are an organizational expression of the fact that ours is a party of a new type differing from the parties based on broad, diffuse groups of voters.

The primary organizations are the foundation of the Party. They largely determine the Party's links with the masses and its ability to set them into motion. Through them the Party acquires practical experience, verifies the correctness of its policy and methods, and strengthens itself organizationally.

The activities of the primary organizations are an indicator of the vitality and strength of the Party. Hence the need, also for district bodies, to follow and discuss the work of primary organizations, to support them and to ensure regularity in their work. What we mean is the extremely important but often difficult task of setting up small but active leaderships working independently. Communists should meet, not just to hear a speaker but collectively to shape and carry out the policy of the Party as regards both the general line of the Party and its application according to the requirements of the area and population concerned.

The last congress of the Party reaffirmed in more specific terms its previous decisions on the establishment of factory cells. While the overall result is good, these decisions are being carried out slowly. Without denying the difficulties and objections there are, we should earnestly seek a solution to this problem.

We have correctly stressed that our Party, the party of the working class, should work where the workers are, where they acquire direct experience in the class struggle. Hundreds, and often thousands, of people work together and under the same conditions in big enterprises. There, in the common fight against the common adversary, the foundation is laid for achieving class unity and for the more politically conscious workers joining the Communist Party.

The district and city Party bodies should not merely serve as a link between the center and the primary organizations. In additon to controlling and guiding the work of the primary organizations and carrying out the general policy of the Party, they should actively plan and pursue independent policies in keeping with the general Party line and with specific local conditions and requirements. This applies, among others, to the current regional-development debate, in the course of which the Party should in collaboration with democratic organizations and the trade unions formulate an alternative to the proposals of the bourgeois parties and local manufacturers' associations.

To carry out these tasks, the district and city Party bodies should keep abreast of and discuss development in their localities. They should organize their work and shape their policy with due regard to their possibilities and the actual political conditions. Great goals,

unless based on organizational and political strength, influence and activity, will at best sound as empty phrases.

The Central Committee and other leading Party bodies should constantly strive to enhance their authority by improving their political and organizing work. They should steadily extend their links and interaction with district and local organizations if the policy of the Party is to be continuously tested and promoted on the basis of practical experience.

Conscientious and self-critical verification of the execution of decisions is extremely important. Only by making a fair appraisal of achievements and setbacks can the leading bodies live up to their responsibilities; only in this way is it possible to chart the route of progress.

TO MAKE PLANNING MORE SCIENTIFIC IS THE PRIMARY TASK*

A. N. Kosygin

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CHAIRMAN OF THE USSR COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

Comrades, I shall not speak on the problems related to the five-year plan because we do not have all the necessary data. These data are still on the anvil. The document handed to you by the State Planning Committee (Gosplan) is only a general sketch of the plan. I shall dwell only on the main points connected with drawing up the five-year plan.

The drawing up of the new five-year plan is a very serious and responsible undertaking, particularly responsible after the October 1964 Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of our Party.

In drafting the seven-year plan and annual plans in the past, subjective recommendations were often handed down from above. Not infrequently these recommendations contradicted the basic requirements of the economic laws of socialism.

We must get rid of these subjective tendencies in planning, of everything which restrained the planners and compelled them to draft a plan not in the way demanded by the interests of the economy. After the October Plenary Meeting entirely new, I would say encouraging conditions were created for economists, planners, civil servants, for everyone engaged in economic planning.

Planning is not purely economic activity, as many people believe. It is an elaboration of social problems bound up with raising the standard of living. We regard it as the sum total of the economic and social tasks to be carried out during the planned period, as the sum total of all aspects of human life.

The drafting of a plan requires, therefore, a great deal of analytical, scientific work and the choosing of correct economic solutions. The plan is an integral whole. It should fully accord with the interests of the people and the economy. In a sense, it is comparable to a building designed by an architect. We would not say it is a good house if only one flat in it is planned well. The entire building and every flat in it should be comfortable to live in and should conform to modern demands.

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*Speech at a session of the USSR Planning Committee. **Planovoye khozyaistvo,** No. 4, 1965.

In recent years, there have cropped up a good many issues relating to planning and economic management. They concern both improvement of the system of planning and questions arising from the subjective and at times incompetent approach to particular economic problems. Some of the erroneous trends found reflection in the economic plans, in many reports and articles, and they were presented as correct solutions.

I dwell on this only because no one has spoken here about this abnormal situation and, it should be remembered, many local planners still cling to these wrong practices.

One of the questions is how planning should be done—centrally or locally. Some think that a plan should be worked out in Moscow and sent downwards, and the local bodies must slavishly carry it out. Others think that local workers can draft a plan better (they know what is what), and that the Gosplan should merely bring the local plans together. It seems to me that both points of view are wrong. You remember the far-fetched thesis that the Gosplan should only "dovetail" the plans coming in from the republics. This primitive notion of planning is entertained by those who do not understand how plans should be drawn up. No doubt, a great deal of work was carried out in the republics, but it did not always conform to the interests of the state as a whole, especially when parochial tendencies predominated in the plans submitted by the republics. This was made easier to a certain extent by the idea that the plans would be "dovetailed" all the same at the center.

Many leading executives voice the opinion that there will be no proper order in planning as long as industry is run by local bodies and economic councils exist. Give us the former system of ministries, they say, and then proper order will be introduced.

Economic planning is closely linked with the forms and methods of economic management and, doubtless, the existing system needs to be improved. It would be wrong, however, to lay the blame for the shortcomings in planning and economic activity on drawbacks in the running of industry and construction. If we adopt this point of view, we are likely to make more mistakes.

An economic plan should above all express the interests of the whole state. There are quite a few important economic problems that cannot be solved locally. A sound plan should ingeniously combine local initiative and proposals with the economically substantiated targets set by national planning bodies for different branches of the economy and regions of the country.

The Gosplan should now give orientation to the republics not so much in the form of planned targets, as in the form of preliminary guidelines indicating the trend of economic growth in the regions. This does not mean, however, that these guidelines are an immutable law for local government bodies and that they should simply

be copied by them. It seems to me that the guidelines given by the Gosplan should be critically examined by the Councils of Ministers of the Union Republics, and local business executives should state their opinion on them.

Can we ignore in our economic planning well-grounded forecasts for the future? No, we cannot. Planning is a science which should assimilate all scientific and technological advances and progressive ideas. Otherwise plans will not correspond to the tasks set by the Party and the government. This is why the discussion of scientifically-grounded forecasts should precede planning for different branches of the economy. As a matter of fact, these forecasts should have been given before the elaboration of the new five-year plan was started. However, we were somewhat late. Nevertheless, this question remains topical. We exchanged opinions on this question in the Council of Ministers and gave an assignment to draw up proposals on the working out of major scientific problems with a view to accelerating technological progress in the economy. These proposals will be considered by the Council of Ministers of the USSR. At the same time, it was decided to discuss the progress of science and technology and cardinal economic problems for the next five-year period in the Academy of Sciences and the Gosplan, with the participation of leading scientists and experts. I think that before drafting economic plans the same pattern of work should be adopted in the republics, too.

We should have scientifically-grounded forecasts for the growth of each industry in order to clear the way for what is new and progressive, and to know in what direction to draw up a plan.

Planning is important creative work in the process of which the necessity and possibility of solving major economic and social problems should be proved scientifically.

First of all it is necessary scientifically to substantiate the soundness of planned proportions within and among industries. It is not a new question, of course. Economists and planners have been saying for many years that we should have correct proportions. As we set about drafting the new five-year plan, that is, a program for advancing the economy and raising the standard of living, we should analyze the proportions that have taken shape in the national economy and find out the reasons for the disparities that have appeared in particular branches. Without this it would be impossible to outline ways of eliminating the disproportions and to ensure a higher rate of growth of productivity of social labor.

What can be said about the proportions in the economy in the past? If we analyze the results of agricultural growth in the previous period and the state of affairs in agriculture at present, it can be concluded that this vital branch has been developing disproportionately.

In long-range planning we did not pay due attention to ensuring sound proportions in agriculture as such and in the development of agriculture and the other branches. As a result, agriculture, in fact, never reached the level it should have in our socialist country and never fully met the requirements of the national economy.

The main reason for the lag in agriculture lies in that the subjectivist approach, the crude flouting of the requirements of economic laws, and underestimation of material incentives for working people told on it more than on any other branch of the economy.

The Central Committee of our Party is paying special attention to the problem of agriculture. It has worked out far-reaching measures which will be examined at its Plenary meeting to be convened on March 24.

The intention is to change the system of planning procurements and agricultural production itself and to raise the purchasing prices of a number of staple products. A series of measures to stimulate agricultural production has been proposed. In the coming five-year period, capital investments in agriculture are to be greatly increased. These measures will help ensure a rise in agriculture. We must radically improve management of agriculture, which should be exercised through wide use of the economic methods, and not by merely issuing bureaucratic orders, as was done in the past.

In view of the measures envisaged for advancing agriculture, the plan for the next five-year period will inevitably alter proportions in the interest of developing the entire socialist economy and ensuring a faster growth of the standard of living.

When discussing proportions some executives may have doubts and even objections. This will be a reflection of a departmental approach which runs counter to the interests of the state as a whole.

When we speak of proportions in the economy, we have in mind proportions not only among basic branches, but also within each branch of the economy.

You know that not a few subjective, economically unfounded solutions were imposed on certain branches of industry and agriculture. Take, for instance, the sowing of corn in the northern regions of the country. Was it an economically-grounded decision? It was a thought-out measure imposed from above, a measure which, far from having a beneficial economic effect, did tremendous harm to the national economy.

Or take another example. You know with what persistence the idea was inculcated that there is no need for expanding the manufacture of motor cars in our country, that all people should go only by bus. Everything was done to deprive the managers of even large enterprises and economic organizations of the right to use motor cars. Was it correct? As a result, many managers began using lorries for their business trips. It may seem that transport costs

were saved, while in fact a damage was caused to the state. Even this, one would think, minor question should not be tackled without evaluating the economic effect of the proposed measure, otherwise unconsidered and peremptory decisions will soon be spurned by the economy.

Deciding in an economic plan what lines of output should be developed in the next few years is an important and serious matter. If wrong proportions are fixed in a plan, economic expansion will be retarded and the wealth of our country will grow more slowly.

The question of proportions boils down, in effect, to the question of the productivity of social labor. We say that industrial productivity in the United States is now 2 to 2.5 times the productivity in our country. However, an analysis shows that in a number of industries our country is no longer so far behind the U.S., that in some industries we are approaching the level of U.S. labor productivity (e.g., in oil extraction and steel smelting).

We heard at this meeting only the preliminary estimates with corresponding calculations. The prospective growth of labor productivity still needs to be examined more thoroughly. It is not enough to know average figures. They should be substantiated with corresponding evaluations.

The problem of labor productivity growth cannot be solved effectively unless we ensure a more progressive structure of social production. Of late, a good deal has been done in this respect, in particular in the fuel and power industries. In the new five-year period, we should further accelerate the growth of progressive branches of industry and other branches, including transport.

Growth of productivity in transport depends not so much on the skill of engine-drivers as on the provision of more progressive technical facilities, on the use of diesel and electric locomotives which would enable us to increase train-loads and speeds. The more railways are switched over to electric traction, the higher labor productivity will be achieved. Labor productivity on our railways is now much higher than in the United States and other capitalist states. This is the result of the properly defined trend of technological progress and of sound inter-branch proportions.

Let us take now the electric power industry. The growth of productivity here also greatly depends on technical policy, on the turning out of more large-capacity power units. Westinghouse in the United States has manufactured the first three turbines with a capacity of one million kilowatts each. Such turbines are not produced in our country yet. We have only 300,000-kw units in operation, and a station with an 800,000-kw turbine is going up. Our operators still work on units of lesser capacity than in the United States, and their productivity therefore is much lower than that of the Americans.

It should be said that the Americans can pay close attention to the promotion of progressive branches and processes. I am calling your attention to this because increase in the effectiveness of social production and in the rate of our economic expansion largely depends on the correct treatment of these questions in our plans.

Fundamental economic problems requiring thorough research also include the planned development of production and consumption of interchangeable products such as coal, oil, gas, ferrous and non-ferrous metals, and plastics.

Does the Gosplan correctly define proportions in the new five-year plan? Even its chairman will hardly be able to reply to this question now. This question is difficult to answer because it has not yet been thrashed out in due manner, and because we often poorly study the possibilities and the expediency of new trends in the development of particular branches making for better proportions in the economy and, consequently, for a higher effectiveness of social production.

Establishing proportions in the plan is particularly important. This question should be thoroughly examined in the Gosplan, in each republic and in each state committee.

We should work out a good draft of the five-year plan giving a clear prospect of economic advance and improvement of the life of the people. We have all the objective conditions for securing faster economic growth. Our country is rich in minerals: ores, oil and gas, in fact, all kinds of raw materials necessary for economic development. We have a highly developed industry and skilled personnel.

The rate of growth is a cardinal question in economic planning. It is connected with using the advantages of our planned socialist system. Our national economy is growing fast, though not at the rate we need, and that rate could be attained if we made good use of the advantages of planned economy.

We should take measures, evidently economic ones in the first place, to speed up the expansion of social production. The government instructed the Gosplan to study the rates of our economic growth and to ork out proposals on the possibilities and ways of increasing the effectiveness of production and capital investments. These proposals should figure in the new five-year plan.

In considering many important questions we are often tied down by our own canons which it is high time to replace by new principles conforming to the present conditions. The question of wages merits special attention. Wages should directly depend on the growth of productivity and output.

Solution of the complicated problems involved in drafting a plan requires a creative approach and an economic substantiation.

Not a few mistakes were made in planning in the past, nor are

we free from mistakes now. This is inevitable when complex questions are decided. Many of these mistakes, however, were the result of a bureaucratic approach. You know that there were instances of toadyism and biased reporting on the state of affairs with the result that wrong decisions were made on economic matters.

Among the top officials of the planning and economic bodies there are many who have got accustomed to drawing up plans with the orientation only on the dynamics of the past period. We should be more critical towards the shortcomings in our work, and should not act like people who refuse to admit their mistakes and try to cover them up in every possible way for the sole reason that they are wholly or partially responsible for them. We should be above this and judge our work more strictly. It will not be easy for everyone to do this, of course. I know that some officials, even leading ones, incorrectly react to the criticism of their mistakes or shortcomings in their work, and at times take offense at this criticism. Everyone, regardless of the post he holds, should do away with this habit.

To ensure competent and prompt solution of problems posed by life, it is necessary resolutely to revise the methods and style of our work and to enhance the organizing role of our economic and planning bodies.

The Gosplan should concentrate on the cardinal questions of the country's economy. It should be relieved of all minor things and of unnecessary, superfluous work.

We should put an end to belittling the role of the planners. Everyone should understand the importance of their work for our country. They prepare major questions for consideration by the higher bodies. It is our duty to help the planners, to reward them for good work, and simultaneously to control their work so as to rule out any possibility of a subjective approach in the Gosplan proposals.

It will be remembered that Lenin attached great importance to proper organization of planning and clear-cut differentiation between the functions of the Gosplan and those of the economic people's commissariats (ministries). He considered that no special current tasks and assignments should be given to the Gosplan to the detriment of its principal job—the systematic work of drafting of economic plans, elaborating the methods and procedures of fulfilling them. He saw to it that the Gosplan enjoyed prestige and a measure of independence and autonomy. "The Gosplan is clearly developing in all respects into a commission of experts," Lenin wrote. "A certain independence and autonomy of the Gosplan is essential for the prestige of this scientific institution and depends on one thing, namely, the conscientiousness of its associates and

their conscientious desire to turn our plan of economic and social construction into reality." (Lenin, *Complete Works*, Russ. ed., Vol. 45, p. 352.)

To make fuller use of the advantages of socialist economy and to ensure a high rate of economic development, it is necessary to improve the methods of planning and to plan along scientific lines.

The work of planning bodies in checking on the fulfilment of economic plans and the decisions of higher bodies should be improved. It should be done not superfluously and formally, as often happens now, but creatively, with a profound analysis of all processes taking place in the economy of the country.

A few words about improving the system of management. Less than six months have passed since the October Plenary Meeting. During this period the Central Committee of our Party has done a tremendous amount of work to readjust the structure of the Party and government bodies. Local Party and government bodies have been reorganized: united regional committees have been formed, and new district Party committees and district executive committees of the Soviets set up. Management of the defense industries has been reorganized of late. The Presidium of the Central Committee of our Party is going to consider the questions of improving the guidance of industry and construction. This work will be conducted gradually, after thorough preparations (The Central Committee is properly organizing this work.

In this connection I would like to say a few words about the State Committees. I understand that they have many problems. At the same time, they have many advantages in carrying out technical policy, in solving the problems of technological progress. These advantages, however, are used by them poorly. The Committees have on their staffs highly competent workers who can thoroughly analyze and elaborate the questions mentioned above. The correct and scientifically-grounded proposals of the committees can serve as a good basis for defining in plans the trends of development of particular branches of industry.

The five-year plan should include comprehensively elaborated questions of technological progress in the national economy. The State Committees for Machine-Building and the Gosplan should concentrate on the further advance of progressive machine-building, clear up the reasons for the lag, and propose measures for our machine-building to take the lead.

Each committee should seriously think over the questions of the most effective utilization of material resources and of raising the productivity of social labor.

Take, for instance, the Committee for the Manufacture of Motor Vehicles, Tractors and Agricultural Machinery. The most rational development of automobile transport should always be in the

center of its attention, for this plays a major role in raising the productivity of social labor and in increasing the national wealth.

If this Committee had tackled economic problems seriously, it would have long drawn the conclusion that the manufacture of vehicles with an insufficient carrying capacity cannot satisfy the needs of the economy because such lorries are ineffective economically. I already told Comrade Strokin that we build vehicles which the West stopped manufacturing long ago. Western countries produce lorries with trailers and of a bigger carrying capacity than in our country. They carry 15 to 20 tons and develop high speeds. We reconstructed the Likhachov and Gorky Auto Works so that they could produce vehicles with a higher carrying capacity. But I am not sure that everything has been done properly.

Some may argue that our roads and bridges are not fit for vehicles with a high carrying capacity. However, there are good roads and solid bridges in many areas, and nevertheless cement, bricks and other loads are still carried there on 1.5-ton and 2-ton lorries. This is an important economic matter, and it should be properly dealt with in the next five-year period.

A few words should be said about road transport. There is much neglect here.

During a recent visit to the German Democratic Republic we drove along the highway from Leipzig to Berlin. I specially watched how the lorries were loaded, and discovered that 90 out of every 100 lorries were loaded and 10 were without a load. Driving along the Moscow Circular Road on the same day I saw a different picture: 70 out of every 100 lorries were empty and only 30 were loaded. This is an intolerable situation. Lorries are driven from one place to another, petrol is burnt and tires worn out, and all to no avail. It is like burning bread in the stove. Tremendous harm is being done to the economy, and no one is called to account for this.

It is necessary to introduce strict order here, to raise the responsibility of economic executives and heads of economic councils for the handling of equipment. The planning bodies should work out a definite system of indicators in the use of production capacities, equipment, raw and other materials, and these indicators should be taken as a basis in planning and in assessing the results of work.

The possibility of combining planned economic development with a rational organization of social labor is a major advantage of socialist economy. However, social labor cannot be organized rationally without specialization and cooperation in production which makes it possible to use the production capacities more effectively and to obtain the best results with the least outlays. To this day we do not have a comprehensive long-range plan for

the specialization of industries. The new five-year plan should provide for increased capacities at the specialized plants. It should be borne in mind that specialization will be effected through limiting the range of articles turned out by particular branches and setting up specialized firms and other organizations. Large-scale specialization of factories will be a good reserve for expanding production, improving quality and lowering production costs.

By developing the economy to the utmost, the Party shows concern for every Soviet man, for creating ever better conditions of life. We must pay more attention to the housing problem. It is far from having been solved.

In drafting the five-year plan the Gosplan should thoroughly examine all questions relating to the growth of the purchasing capacity of the population and increase in consumer goods production, with a view to securing a more planned satisfaction of the demands for all goods and a normal money circulation in the country.

Such are the main questions facing our planning and economic bodies in the drafting of the new five-year plan.

May I express the confidence that all those engaged in the drafting of the plan will tackle this important task with all seriousness and responsibility and produce a plan which will fully accord with the interests of our people.

CALL FOR A GREAT DRIVE TO ALTER GOVERNMENT POLICY

ACCOUNT* OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING OF THE BRITISH COMMUNIST PARTY ON MAY 23, 1965

A big new effort to compel changes in Government policy in a Left, progressive direction is urgently needed, said John Gollan, general secretary of the Communist Party.

Right-wing policy, now as before, endangered the Labour Government and produced the barest General Election majority and the local losses, he said.

But already there had been a big development of the movement to change Government policy, far in advance of the first six months of the 1945 Labor Government.

A concerted drive to win new members for the Communist Party was the key to further success in the campaign for Left policies in the Labor and trade union movement, said Mr. Gollan.

After the General Election the Communist Party had appealed for "united action of the Labor movement and stressed the great importance of the battle to change Government policies." The events of the last six months had shown this analysis was correct.

U.S. ISOLATION

There was a renewed U.S.-British offensive against the national liberation movements and the U.S. had now thrown 69,000 military personnel into the Vietnam war, and 30,000 into armed intervention in the Dominican Republic. Britain had committed 53,000 troops to the battle in Malaysia.

"American aggression has caused divisions in SEATO and NATO and has split the Organization of American States," said Gollan. "Never was America so violated internationally as she is at the moment. A big solidarity movement for Vietnam has developed in the main capitalist countries and, most significantly, a very powerful protest has developed in the U.S. itself.

"Yet, exactly at this moment of worldwide criticism of the U.S., when Labor Government action for peace could be decisive, our Government has become the most pliant and abject apologist for U.S. imperialism.

*Reprinted from **Daily Worker**, May 24, 1965.

"As a consequence all discussions of the Labor Government with the Socialist States have proved abortive — for, as the Russians have pointed out, there can be no peaceful coexistence at the expense of Vietnam."

BIGGER EFFORTS

There were some who questioned the possibility of winning a policy of "peaceful coexistence in this situation, but the Communists had always said peaceful coexistence depended on mass struggle."

Greater efforts were needed in the campaign to end U.S. aggression, force the withdrawal of U.S. troops, get recognition of the South Vietnam National Liberation Front to represent the South Vietnam people in any negotiations and obtain the observance of the Geneva agreements.

Of special importance was the need to make the national lobby on Vietnam on June 30 an outstanding success with the wording of the petition that has been put forward, but that is another matter, said Gollan.

"At the same time we must do all in our power to defeat the threat of nuclear arms for West Germany and to end the 'East of Suez' policy," he added.

He pointed out that the Government's main aim had been "to defend British imperialist interests annd to maintain London as the great investment, banking, and insurance center.

FIGHT FOR THE £

"For this, the defense of the pound has been essential and the Government's entire economic policy has revolved around this.

"The so-called incomes policy was at the center of the Government's position. The Government was going all-out to keep wages and advances in conditions within the 3 percent norm and impose wage restraint on the trade union movement.

"Harold Wilson's Government, therefore, like the previous Labor Governments, is a typical Right-Wing Labor administration. Its aim is to run the capitalist system in coalition with the monopolists, to 'modernize' the British capitalist economy, the better to compete with its rivals."

The new feature of the political situation on which all else turned was that these policies brought the Government into increasing conflict with the Left and with broad sections of the Labor and trade union movement.

Calling for the continuation of the fight for changes in Government policy, Mr. Gollan said that the Left should "expose and at-

tack all the big monopolist and vested interests and their Tory representatives."

VIETNAM PROTEST

On Vietnam over 100 M.Ps opposed Government policy. The major trade unions and factories were joining in the protests and there was an almost two million vote against the incomes policy.

Every wage demand won in this last six months had exceeded Mr. Brown's three percent, and there had been tenants' movements and actions against rising rates and for better educational facilities.

An important part had been played by the Communist Party, which had adopted a principled position, and systematically developed its case and criticism.

Numerous meetings had been organized. 1,889,000 leaflets and 70,000 broadsheets distributed, and the local elections were fought on as wide a scale as last year, with three new seats gained.

An outstanding role had been played by the *Daily Worker,* which had been the spokesman and to a large extent the organizer of Left progressive action. "Without it, the Left would have been well and truly muzzled."

Gollan several times emphasized the need for consistent efforts to increase its circulation.

He emphasized that the Labor Government was not enough and that Parliament needed in addition to the Left, a group of Communist M.Ps. The Party should adopt more constituencies in which to contest.

ALTERNATIVE

Already a fair measure of agreement was growing in the movement as to what an alternative program should be.

Its points included breaking with existing policy on Vietnam, the ANF and nuclear weapons; dropping the so-called incomes policy and advancing wages; cutting out military expenditure abroad and limiting the export of capital.

The Labor movement should also press for a policy which would undertake major social reforms, tax the rich, slash military expenditure, increase State control and extend nationalization without excessive compensation, he said.

The Communist Party would support and assist all genuine Left movements and, assist and encourage every Left expression — the M.P.s, trade unionists, rank-and-file Labor and Co-op people, CND, BPC, MCF, anti-apartheid, etc.

Communists would endeavor to enter into discussions with the Left, and point out that the effectiveness of the Left movement is

weakened by disunity — by bans and proscriptions imposed by the Right. They would urge the Left to join in the fight for the removal of bans and proscriptions.

Despite all official bans, however, nothing could stop informal association.

Above all it was essential to build a mass Communist Party for the transformation of the whole labor movement.

BROAD ALLIANCE

It was difficult for an "unorganized" Left to end Right-Wing domination and policies. What was needed for success were "joint efforts of the independent party of the working class, the Communist Party, militant trade unionists and all Socialists in the Labour Party in a broad militant alliance.

"Each section of the Left movement makes its contribution but ours as the main organized force of the Left is the most decisive contribution of all. Nothing can replace the role of our Party."

Introducing the report of a special sub-committee on organization, William Alexander stressed that conditions now existing in Britain made possible the needed substantial increase in Party membership.

After an extensive discussion the main lines of the subcommittee's report were accepted and it will be published in full very soon.

Alexander said that in building a bigger Party, they needed not only to win recruits but to reduce the loss of members. Attention would be given to improving the status of Party branches and to help the Young Communist League to develop.

Special efforts will be made to establish new branches in developing towns and industries.

Changes were proposed in the attitude toward the annual re-registration of members, which should not be looked on as a yearly rejoining of the Party by each member.

"We must return to the concept that a member remains a member until he is either lapsed or expelled," he said.

DELEGATIONS

A national treasurer is to be appointed to lead a new effort to raise more money urgently needed to enable the Party to utilize modern methods of political activity while aiding weaker districts.

Two delegations were appointed to discuss important questions of international solidarity.

COMMUNIQUE*

ON THE TALKS BETWEEN THE COMMUNIST PARTIES OF BULGARIA AND BELGIUM

A delegation of the Bulgarian Communist Party, composed of Mitko Grigorov, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC, BCP, Khristo Khanov, member of the CC and First Secretary of the Stara Zagora District Committee of the BCP, and Elena Gavrilova, member of the CC and Deputy Director of the International Sector of the CC BCP, stayed in Belgium from May 7-14 at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belgium. It was a return visit for the visit paid to the People's Republic of Bulgaria in July 1964 by a delegation of the CP of Belgium led by Ernest Burnelle, Chairman of the Party, at the invitation of the Bulgarian CP. The BCP delegation's trip to Belgium in fresh evidence of the fraternal friendship and solidarity that have long existed between the two Communist parties.

During the discussions, which proceeded in a spirit of understanding and agreement, the two delegations exchanged information on the situation in their countries, on the activities, achievemens and tasks of the two fraternal parties. The delegation of the Bulgarian CP visited the Cockerill-Ougrée iron and steel works in Liège, where the delegates talked with the workers and acquainted themselves with their living and working conditions.

The delegates also talked with representatives of the Party committees of the CP federations in Antwerp, Charleroi, Liège and Ghent, who told them of the problems facing their organizations. They met working people and trade union leaders in various parts of the country, and visited the "Children's Town" in Marcinelle.

The delegation of the Bulgarian CP informed the delegation of the CP of Belgium of the important progress made by the Bulgarian people in industrialization, the socialist reorganization of agriculture, public education, the health service, and culture as a result of the victory of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria.

The delegation of the CP of Belgium informed the representatives of the Bulgarian CP of the political situation in the country, the conditions in which the CP is operating, and the current tasks of the CP and the working class of Belgium.

The two delegations examined the major problems of the international situation. They consider that the strengthening of the

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*Le Drapeau Rouge, May 20, 1965.

positions of socialism, the upswing of the international working-class and national-liberation movements, and the growth of the forces fighting to maintain and promote peace constitute the main trend in the international situation.

The two delegations reaffirmed their unshakable solidarity with the peoples courageously fighting for their liberation from imperialist and colonialist tyranny, for complete political and economic independence.

The two delegations signified their solidarity with the peoples of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and South Vietnam in their heroic fight against the imperialist aggression. They declared that their parties were ready to render—in common with all the other progressive, democratic forces of the world—firm support to the Vietnamese people fighting for their freedom and national independence, for an end to the armed aggression against the DRV, for the immediate withdrawal of the armed forces of the United States and their satellites from South Vietnam.

The delegations of the Bulgarian CP and the CP of Belgium were unanimous regarding the need for the peace friends to step up their struggle for disarmament, against the transfer of nuclear weapons to other countries, above all the Federal Republic of Germany, for a non-aggression pact between the NATO countries and the Warsaw Treaty countries. They consider that the plan for a NATO multilateral nuclear force presents an extremely grave danger to peace, not only in Europe, but all over the world.

On behalf of their parties, the two delegations declare that their parties have always thought highly of the activity of the CPSU, whose ample experience in socialist construction in the first workers' and peasants' state of the world is an inexhaustible source of strength and knowledge for all the Communist and Workers' parties of the world. At a time when progressive mankind is celebrating the twentieth anniversary of the great victory over fascism and nazism, the peoples of Bulgaria and Belgium pay homage to the Soviet Union, to its glorious Army and its peoples, who bore the brunt of the war effort, to the CPSU, the Soviet people's leader and organizer. The two fraternal parties declare that they are determined to do all in their power to frustrate reactionary attempts to revive fascism in various parts of the globe and to re-arm militarist Federal Germany, a breeding-ground of fascism.

The two delegations are agreed that the tense situation in Indo-China, Central America, the Congo (Leopoldville), the Dominican Republic and other regions of the world. which is a result of open intervention by the aggressive circles of the imperialist countries, makes it imperative for all the peoples and all the peace support-

ers on earth to join forces in order to ward off the threat of a new world war.

They are deeply convinced that international disputes can and should be settled by peaceful negotiation between the powers concerned.

The two delegations reaffirmed the will and resolve of the Communist parties of Bulgaria and Belgium to stint no effort in promoting the unity of the world Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism and the general line proclaimed by the documents of the Moscow Conferences of 1957 and 1960.

The Bulgarian CP supports the initiative of the Communist parties of the capitalist countries of Europe toward calling a regional conference of the fraternal parties of these countries. It feels certain that the conference will reinforce the world Communist movement and help to formulate common positions in the struggle for a common goal.

The two delegations reaffirmed their parties' full and unqualified support of the Communique adopted by the consultative meeting of Communist and Workers' parties in Moscow last March. They support the conclusions and recommendations approved by the meeting with the aim of removing differences in the world Communist movement and of reinforcing it. They agree with the opinion expressed at the meeting that it is necessary to call a preliminary consultative meeting of representatives of the 81 parties which attended the 1960 Conference in order to discuss the convening of a new international conference.

The Communist parties of Bulgaria and Belgium express the resolve of the Bulgarian and Belgian Communists to work unremittingly for the unity of all the progressive and peace-loving forces in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism, for peace, for the extension of democracy, for socialism. They regard it as their major internationalist duty to devote all their energies to the attainment of this great goal, to ensure the happiness of their peoples and the peoples of the rest of the world.

COMMUNIQUE*

ON THE TALKS BETWEEN THE ICP AND THE PWPV

The Vietnamese Press Agency will circulate a communique on the CC, ICP delegation's visit to Vietnam, briefly outlining the aims and results of the visit. It reads as follows:

"A delegation of the Italian Communist Party led by Comrade Giancarlo Pajetta, member of the Leadership and Secretariat of the ICP, and composed of Comrades Aldo Natoli and Achille Occhetto, members of the CC, Pompeo Colajanni, member of the Central Control Commission, and Emilio Sarzi Amade, paid a visit of friendship to our country from April 30 to May 10, 1965. The ICP delegation visited agricultural cooperatives, factories, schools, and localities which have been targets of frenzied attacks by the U.S. imperialists. It met representatives of the Patriotic Front of Vietnam and Vietnamese youth organization, and was lastly received by President Ho Chi Minh.

"On May 3 and 4, 1965, the ICP delegation held talks with the delegation of the Party of Working People of Vietnam, led by Comrade Le Duan, First Secretary of the CC. During the talks the two delegations exchanged views on matters of common interest to the two parties. During its stay in Vietnam and the meetings it had, the ICP delegation witnessed the remarkable morale of the whole Vietntmese people in resisting the U.S. imperialist aggression. It thinks highly of the Vietnamese people's contribution to the anti-imperialist struggle, and it conveyed to the Vietnamese people the absolute solidarity of the Italian masses and people.

"Emphatically condemning the imperialists' aggression in South Vietnam and their actions aimed at extending the war to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the ICP delegation fully supports the statement of March 22, as well as the four-point program set forth by Prime Minister Pham Van Dong as a basis for the peaceful settlement of the Vietnamese question. The delegation also signifies its full support for the appeal which the second session of the Third National Assembly of the DRV addressed to the parliaments of all the countries of the world to launch a powerful movement with the aim of stopping the U.S. agression. The delegation holds that the peoples of the world should render

*L'Unità, May 12, 1965.

increasing support to the Vietnamese people, who are fighting against the U.S. imperialist aggressor.

"The PWPV delegation, for its part, voiced its great appreciation of, and its heartfelt gratitude for, the active assistance which the people of Italy extend to the Vietnamese people in their just struggle.

"The two delegations expressed their sympathy and solidarity with all the peoples fighting for their liberation, against the aggression of the imperialists led by U.S. imperialism. They also condemned the U.S. imperialist aggression against the Dominican Republic. The two delegations consider it necessary to work perseveringly for the unity and cohesion of the international Communist and working-class movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The ICP delegation invited the Party of Working People of Vietnam to send a delegation to Italy. The CC, PWPV accepted the invitation."

AMERICANS, GET OUT OF VIETNAM THAT IS THE CONDITION FOR PEACE

STATEMENT* MADE BY GIANCARLO PAJETTA AT A PRESS CONFERENCE IN ROME UPON THE ICP DELEGATION'S RETURN FROM VIETNAM

I would like to make a preliminary remark which I think may be useful for a dialog if it is to get us anywhere. We consider that war with its sacrifices and its dead is a serious thing. We are back from a country which for more than 20 years has been going through unprecedented atrocities and has survived them in order to live and let others live in peace, and to continue fighting.

Somebody has asked how we are going to reconcile our line of democratic development and peace, a line affirming the need for coexistence, and the concrete aid and complete political solidarity with fighters who want the independence of their country and are resisting the imperialist aggression. We answer that we want to uphold peace, to win it — that we have won it and consider that coexistence should be something valid for every country. Recently Brezhnev, Secretary of the CPSU, said that coexistence should not be coexistence for the United States and the Soviet Union but should extend to 120 countries. All we can add is that coexistence means something if it applies to the 120 involved and to those countries which must and will be freed tomorrow.

Our trip took us to Hanoi first, capital of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, where we met Comrade Ho Chi Minh, head of the state, Pham Van Dong, head of the government, and Le Duan, First secretary of the Party. We want to make it clear from the outset that our delegation was neither a commission of inquiry nor a commission of observers. It was a delegation of fighters speaking to fighters, a delegation which the CC, ICP had instructed to express complete political solidarity with the position adopted by the Party of Working People of Vietnam, with the struggle which North Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam are waging to beat off the aggression and to expel the invaders.

We saw North Vietnam and satisfied ourselves that the people of that country want peace and are resolved to defend it. We saw them working to rehabilitate what had been destroyed in so many war years, and that in a very poor country — working with the calm of people who must at the same time make defense prepara-

*Abridged from **l'Unita,** May 20, 1965.

tions even though a year's work may be destroyed by one day's bombing. The country is resolved to defend itself and not to parley at the expense of its compatriots in the South. Many of those we spoke to hail from provinces which today are occupied by the Americans. They are citizens and leaders of the DRV. They cannot be expected not to identify themselves with the liberation struggle, not to see it as their own. Above all else, they cannot be expected — even from the formal, political or legal point of view — to parley over a battle which is being fought by the guerrillas and for which the NLF of South Vietnam is directly responsible.

When we hear talk about stopping the bombings to settle the question of the South we say that we think Hanoi was right in declaring that a cease-fire would have no bearing on the fighting in the South and that Hanoi could not negotiate any "cease-fire" in the South. There is only one condition for a cease-fire in the North: the Americans must stop bombing North Vietnam, and then the air-defense batteries will stop firing on U.S. aircraft. This is the only question that can be discussed. The political and legal position of that government is faultless — it insists on respect for the Geneva agreements. We must say, moreover, that it demonstrates its realistic approach and its resolve to find political solutions, for it thinks the Front is right in not insisting on so much as the immediate implementation of all the provisions of the Geneva agreements. You will recall that it was suggested at the time that elections be held two years later with a view to reunifying the country. More than two years have passed. Today the question is of withdrawal of the U.S. troops, of self-determination of the Vietnamese, but neither the authorities in the North nor the NLF is calling for immediate unification. Thus it is a question of a still more moderate political demand, although, needless to say, no one renounces the right to unification.

We talked with people who consider that Indo-China's problem should be settled by the Indo-Chinese themselves. That is the attitude of the government of Vietnam, of Cambodia, of the NLF of South Vietnam, of the democratic forces of Laos. It is an attitude which we, both as Communists and Italians, cannot but consider faultless.

In Vietnam we were interested to register the calm resolve of fighters who know how to fight for a just cause and cannot but fight for it. But we also wanted to know their possibilities for defense. The leaders of the DRV and the PWPV stressed the special importance of the recent meeting with Soviet leaders in Moscow. They said the socialist countries' support and understanding manifested themselves in concrete forms. And they authorized us to say that assistance would be forthcoming, and that the means and weapons they had asked for had been made available in appropriate

quantities. They decided to furnish evidence of their fighting capacity, which is connected with something more than the possibility of receiving aid on a growing scale. Let us recall how they fought between 1945 and 1949, when the armies of Chiang Kai-shek were massed on the border of North Vietnam and no one could speak of intervention on the part of the Chinese Communists, or of direct assistance in favor of those battling against the French imperialists. The Vietnamese comrades told us that their defense was becoming increasingly effective and that they had already downed 300 U.S. planes — not only with the help of the modern weapons at the disposal of the standing army, but also by simpler means, by the rifle shots fired by the militia and guerrillas, by those who can also down a U.S. aircraft if they shoot together. The gift they presented to us — this fragment of an American plane — is more than symbolic, for we saw an exhibition of downed aircraft and were near the batteries of a bridge where 47 U.S. planes were shot down in a two-day battle.

They spoke of international solidarity as an essential factor. This solidarity is growing and developing, taking different forms, of course, depending on the country concerned and on its possibilities. The Vietnamese consider the solidarity of the socialist countries to be of decisive importance. They know that their war is something more than one material force opposing another — as are, indeed, all wars — and they therefore consider the trend of world opinion a decisive factor.

However, they want their position on this matter to be perfectly clear. When peace proposals are made or when so-called peace proposals of the kind put forward by President Johnson are stressed or misconstrued or given credence, they answer that they need solidarity for a peace preceded by the evacuation of the U.S. troops from the whole of Vietnam. They want clarity and reject all attempts to facilitate maneuver on this matter.

It is not only the Communists and the leaders of North Vietnam that adhere to that position. Recently a similar statement was made by Cambodia, whose government can certainly not be classed as communist.

The Vietnamese comrades attach great importance to the international solidarity movement. I would say that we were struck by an internationalist spirit which owes its strength not only to what it draws on today but also to long-time experience. People remember the aid Vietnam received during its war against the French colonialists from every part of the globe, and from French soldiers and working people. One of the very first things Ho Chi Minh said to us when speaking of enemies was: "We don't want to class all Americans as enemies, for there are many people among them who are beginning to understand us." The problem of propaganda among

the Americans, of American public opinion, was repeatedly emphasized as a major problem. We regard that as evidence of the realistic thinking of people who see far, as an indication of the internationalist spirit of those fighters whom war has failed to make chauvinists.

Since the leaders we spoke to are Communists, it was natural that they should prove keenly aware of the problems of unity of the international Communist and working-class movement. As you know, the PWPV did not attend the Moscow meeting. It is one of the parties which differed with the CPSU and, in fact, also with us to whether it should attend. But we found common language with them. We thought it important — and consider it worth mentioning here — that they were roused and stirred by the last words left us by Comrade Togliatti, as the Party Secretary told us, and, moreover, consider that the watchword stressed in Togliatti's testament — unity in diversity — can become the watchword of the entire Communist movement and that the PWPV accepts it as a watchword or guideline which is also valid for that party.

In the conversations we had during our trip we reaffirmed the opinion which is common to the Communists of all the countries visited by us and to our Party — as, incidentally, is stated explicitly in the Communique — that concrete aid should be continued and expanded. There was general agreement on this point.

One of the problems which we wanted to examine with the comrades and which, indeed, was one of the objects of our trip was that of volunteers. This problem has caused a certain stir in Italy as well. We discussed it with the Party leaders in the various countries visited by us. Everywhere there is a movement that in some countries, such as Indonesia, has already become a mass movement. We discovered that there were offers of voluntary service and that pressure had been exerted in this sense more than once. Allow me to say, even though I do not represent the government of my country, that should the government of North Vietnam ask for volunteers, there will be Italians among the foreign volunteers. They will not be Communists only, but allow us to say with pride that they will include Communists and that the Communists will be in the front ranks.

What is the position of the government of North Vietnam?

It has declared that as the war is being waged in the air and the local forces, the anti-aircraft batteries, are countering it, there is no need for volunteers from other countries as yet. Today North Vietnam avoids the use of any foreign volunteers even in its air defense. But the DRV government did not at all consider that the problem could be purely theoretical. The comrades told us that the movement had certainly set the United States thinking. They do not think it fatally inevitable that the war will extend beyond the

17th parallel. They still hope that the resistance put up by the Vietnamese and by world opinion will succeed in preventing the escalation of the war in new forms, and attempts to overrun the North.

The leaders we talked to, particularly Comrade Ho Chi Minh, commended the action of the Italians, its value in our country, and its contribution to world-wide solidarity, nor do we think those were mere words. We owe that commendation, in particular, to the fact that the movement in our country is one of unity and involves — as the Vietnamese comrades knew even before we told them — not only large numbers of the rank and files of the government parties but also, in some form or other, leaders of these parties, who by their actions and their words are warning the United States that it is jeopardizing its alliances by continuing its policy of aggression.

I would at this point like to say something about concrete aid, such as field hospitals and medical missions — this is one form of voluntary service — that could be sent to Vietnam in the next few weeks. The Party leadership will shortly examine new measures and new forms of solidarity according to the decision adopted by the Secretariat yesterday.

We met leaders and representatives of the NLF of South Vietnam, and would like to stress the autonomous character of that movement. To those who say that it would be enough to hold talks with Hanoi or that Hanoi could tell the South to stop fighting, we answer: in Moscow our delegation had meetings and signed the joint communique together with official representatives of the NLF of the South. That was an indication of the autonomous character of the movement in the South, which is not merely a movement of fighters and armed forces of the Resistance but a movement which represents the country with a full sense of responsibility, and is advocating a solution, meaning also a possible political solution. Spokesmen of that movement told us about their objectives, which we think just, namely, peace, democracy, independence, neutrality. Hence a position, also on the international plane, that after the victory of the Front will differ from that of the Hanoi government, which is not a neutral, government.

U.S. withdrawal is a prerequisite. The Front leaders do not rule out, and indeed advocate, a government coalition going beyond the bounds of the Front, which is itself a broad coalition that includes peoples who have never been members of the Communist Party and have different backgrounds. The Front leaders told us that they envisaged the possibility of a coalition government and wanted it— a government that would comprise forces still outside the Resistance refusing to collaborate with the invader.

Lastly, I would like to say something about our meeting with representatives of the PMPV. We think they understand our policy, and have made theirs clearer to us, above all as regards the prob-

lems I have already indicated. We agreed that it is necessary to work jointly as well as separately in order to achieve broader and more effective international unity, to overcome the divergences existing between many Communist parties. The PMPV is a party enjoying great authority and prestige. To anyone who felt like speaking of it as a party manipulated from without, a party whose strings are allegedly being pulled by Peking or could tomorrow be pulled by Moscow, I would suggest studying its record over many years before 1945 and afterwards, from 1945 to 1949, when it fought in the van of the Resistance and when Chiang Kai-shek's reactionaries stood at the border. I would suggest studying the life story of a man like Ho Chi Minh, who took part in the constituent congress of the French Communist Party and who during his long imprisonment demonstrated his faith in the Resistance.

As for the consistency and strength of that movement, it might be a good idea to re-read the French press between 1945 and 1954, when it treated the Vietnamese fighters as visionaries and their Resistance as bluff, and never mentioned their government except in inverted commas. That government "shed" the inverted commas after an extraordinary event which took place at the time of the Geneva conference — the Dien Bien Phu battle.

We made a long trip that took us to other places besides Hanoi. I read in a paper that our Party was trying, and hence we are alleged to have been instructed, to "patch up" the international working-class movement still being rent by conflicting views. Understandably, the phrase used by a hostile paper is not the same as we would have used in a document. But if they feel like saying "patch up," let them. We did make an effort toward unity, and we made it because we think this unity today, that the progress in this matter registered to date is inadequate. Our watchword is unity in diversity, but it has to be real unity clearly expressed. We made the effort on the basis of the recommendations of our Party and those of the Yalta Memorandum. We spoke in that sense with everyone — the comrades of the Secretariat of the CC CP of Czechoslovakia in Prague, the comrades of the Secretariat and the Presidium of the CC CPSU in Moscow, the Chinese comrades, the General Secretary of the Chinese Party, the comrades in Hanoi, and lastly, the leaders of the CP of Indonesia in Djakarta.

It was no accident that we visited, in addition to Hanoi, two of the countries that had declined to attend the Moscow meeting. I say "no accident" because we said before the Moscow meeting and during it, and say now that we Italian Communists do not divide the world Communist movement into two parties: the parties which attended the Moscow meeting and those that didn't. A debate is going on today, a debate in which we are taking part and which occasionally becomes sharp and is even marked by deep contradictions.

But we do not think the Communist movement should be regarded as split in two, and think an effort should be made to restore unity.

In any case, our task was not to discuss every problem with those comrades, but to see, in keeping with the principles of our Party and the recommendations of the Yalta Memorandum, whether it was possible even in the face of divergences to achieve effective unity on specific points and on this basis to ensure that unity manifested itself as political action.

We stated our policy and our position. What we can say now and what you are interested in, you who have come to find out the Communist position on the Vietnamese question — is that the Communists of all the countries we visited, of all the parties we established contact with, were agreed on the need for concrete aid to Vietnam, for resistance to the imperialist aggression, and for the ridding of Vietnam of all of the aggressors' troops. We fully subscribe to this policy.

In Vietnam, we did not speak on behalf of our Party alone. We spoke — I think nobody can hold it against us — on behalf of all the Italians who consider that an aggression is taking place in Vietnam and who want the people of that country to live in freedom and peace. That is why the expression of friendly solidarity and of faith conveyed to us was meant not only for the Communists but for the Italians generally.

JOINT COMMUNIQUE*

ON THE TALKS WITH THE CC, AKEL DELEGATION

From April 3 to 15, 1965, a delegation of the Central Committee of AKEL (Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus), led by Pavlos Georgiou, member of the Political Bureau and Secretariat of the CC, visited the German Democratic Republic. The delegation comprised Michalis Poumbouris, Ntinos Focli and Andreas Michaelides, members of the Political Bureau, and Ntinos Constantinou, alternate member of the PB.

In Berlin, the GDR capital, the delegation had several discussions with Hermann Matern, member of the CC SUPG Political Bureau, Dr. Werner Jarowinsky, alternate member of the PB, and Peter Florin, member of the CC. The delegation visited the Neubrandenburg and Rostok districts.

The delegation had the opportunity to acquaint itself with life in the GDR, study some problems of socialist construction and of the development of socialist democracy, and to receive detailed information on the national policy of the SUPG and its fight against West German militarism and revanchism.

The delegation was particularly interested in the fact that there exist parties in the GDR and that all the parties and mass organizations work in common for socialist construction.

The AKEL delegates stated that their party appreciated the position and policy of the SUPG and, above all, supported its struggle against the attempts of the Erhard government to gain possession of atomic weapons. AKEL condemns the imperialist, neo-colonialist and revenge-seeking aspirations of the Bonn government as a grave danger to peace and the independence of the peoples.

It is in the interest of all the peoples and of world peace to prevent the atomic armament of West Germany and to promote agreement between the two German states on the basis of disarmament, close relations, and mutual recognition.

The SUPG supports the anti-imperialist, national-liberation struggle of the Cypriot people and stands firm on their side.

The SUPG greets AKEL and other patriotic forces of Cyprus, and is convinced that the unity of these forces and their joint action are a guarantee that the plan of turning Cyprus into a NATO base will be foiled and Cyprus made a powerful peace factor in the Near East. The SUPG supports the AKEL view that the Cyprus question

*Neues Deutschland, April 18, 1965.

should be decided without any foreign interference, that foreign military bases must be abolished, that it is necessary to ensure the full independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus, and that the Cypriot people should have the right freely to decide on their future.

The representatives of the two parties exchanged opinions on the world Communist movement, and came to agreement on this issue as well. They approve of the results of the Moscow Consultative Meeting of 19 fraternal parties held from March 1-5, 1965.

CANNOT USE "COEXISTENCE" TO PREVENT SOCIAL CHANGE

At a meeting of the national committee of the Communist Party in April, the party's general secretary, William Kashtan, reviewed the present international situation and its dangerous implications for world peace. Published here are excerpts from Kashtan's report to the meeting.

The Vietnam crisis has brought to the fore a number of questions we need to give thought to.

1) While the forces of socialism, national liberation and social progress continue to grow and advance, we must note the fact that imperialism's offensive has likewise intensified, particularly against the national-liberation movement. World reaction headed by U.S. imperialism has been stepping up its offensive in various parts of the world.

The events in Vietnam are therefore not isolated incidents. They stem from a worsening world situation which finds its reflection in Asia, Africa, Latin America; in the Middle East; in the continuing efforts of U.S. imperialism to integrate West Germany into NATO's nuclear strategy; in the resistance by capitalist governments to get on with genuine disarmament; and in the crisis in the United Nations.

Underneath these dangerous phenomena is the effort of U.S. imperialism and reaction generally to halt and reverse the course of world history. It is directed at all national-liberation movements, at the working class and democracy in the capitalist countries and at the socialist states.

We cannot afford to ignore this new situation which imperils world peace and social advance for the peoples everywhere.

Thus, while the fight for a negotiated settlement in Vietnam needs to be at the center of attention of all those concerned with peace, it should be seen in relation to the more aggressive tendencies of imperialism, headed by the USA, which have manifested themselves in the recent period. The continued concentration on the struggle for peace and its extension must therefore occupy our entire continual attention.

2) The Vietnam crisis has highlighted the Johnson administration's shift to the right and the extent to which it ignored its own pledges and the mandate given it by the American people.

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*From the **Canadian Tribune**, May 24, 1965.

This shift to the right is leading to growing resistance and opposition on the part of the American people.

3) The Pearson government, tied as it is to support of the fundamental positions, to the purposes and objectives of U.S. policy in Vietnam, has been under sharp criticism for failing to speak up in the interests of Canada in this crisis. It is this, plus its efforts to get U.S. policy off the hook, which explains its proposal for a "pause at the right time" in U.S. air attacks on North Vietnam. This qualification of the Pearson government is typical of its fear to publicly dissociate Canada from U.S. policy. By this approach the government hopes to do two things: create the impression that it is critical of U.S. policy while continuing to support it.

The studied misrepresentation of the nature of the conflict requires a better understanding of the relationship of the national-liberation movement to the fight for peaceful coexistence and peace. Every struggle for national liberation strengthens the cause of peace, while the struggle for peace stimulates the national-liberation movement.

This is neither understood nor accepted by Paul Martin, minister for external affairs, who has chosen to call the national-liberation movements a form of "armed aggression" and therefore contrary to the principles of peaceful coexistence.

Peaceful coexistence, however, has to do with relations between different social systems and states. It does not nor can it mean maintaining the status quo and preventing social change whenever the peoples of any country desire it. This in fact is the crux of the question in Vietnam today. Martin has chosen to call this aggression and by misrepresenting the question the Canadian government lines up with U.S. imperialist policy which is directed at crushing the national-liberation movement.

Our party needs to fully understand the relationship between the struggle for national liberation and for peaceful coexistence. They do not contradict but complement and reinforce each other. Peaceful coexistence is being violated today by U.S. aggression in Vietnam. Our party has the great task of rallying the labor movement and all those concerned with the cause of peace to active support of the right of the peoples to be masters in their own house and to oppose U.S. imperialism which has undertaken military intervention and aggression against other peoples.

4) We face a complex and dangerous situation made more difficult by differences in the world Communist movement. It could well be that had unity been maintained, above all between the Soviet Union and China, U.S. imperialism would not have dared to undertake its act of aggression in Vietnam.

There is no doubt that the U.S. government has taken advantage of these divisions to step up its armed attacks against Vietnam and on other areas of the world, in the belief that it could attack with impunity. This, however, is a dangerous calculation. The statements issued separately by the Soviet Union and by China with respect to their preparedness to send volunteers to North Vietnam, if they are asked for, point up the determination of the socialist states to give every assistance possible to a sister socialist state, no less than they draw attention to the dangerous policy of escalation and provocation pursued by the U.S. government.

Above all they point up the need for common action by the socialist states, the world Communist movement and all progressive forces against imperialism. At this crucial stage of history no ideological difference must be allowed to stand in the way of achieving such common action, for what is at stake is the preservation of world peace, the right of peoples to their freedom and independence, the defeat of imperialist acts of aggression.

It is this approach which permeated the consultative meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties when it met in Moscow on March 1 and 2 this year. The purpose of this meeting was not to excommunicate any party but rather to develop *new ways* by which to advance the cause of unity of the world Communist movement, *to seek out what unites the parties in common action* against imperialist aggression while leaving aside what divides the parties for the time being.

This does not mean that one should close one's eyes to the differences in the world Communist movement on both theoretical and tactical questions. As the communique adopted by the consultative meeting emphasized, however, "even though there are differences over the political line and many important problems of theory and tactics, it is quite possible and necessary to work for united action in the struggle against imperialism, in the matter of ensuring all-round support for the liberation movement of the peoples, in the struggle for world peace and the peaceful coexistence of states—big and small—with differing social systems, and in the struggle for the vital interests and historical goals of the working class. Concerted action in the fight for these common goals is the most effective way of overcoming existing differences."

From the foregoing it is clear that our main task is not to lay emphasis on ideological and other differences in the world movement but, while upholding Marxism-Leninism, to find a way of overcoming those differences and working for the solidarity of the world Communist movement. What we need to concentrate on is to seek out what unites us, regardless of other differences, so that

the aggressive and reactionary imperialist offensive can be checked and defeated.

It was in this spirit that the consultative meeting adopted a statement of solidarity on Vietnam, emphasizing at the same time the international responsibility of every party, big and small, in strengthening solidarity support for Vietnam and heightening their sense of internationalist responsibility generally in this crucial period of world history.

The consultative meeting not only sought out new ways of achieving unity of action, it also emphasized the importance of helping to create an atmosphere in which unity of action and differences on theoretical and tactical questions could be resolved.

The continuation of public polemics aggravates the situation while continued interference in the affairs of other parties and the pursuit of a splitting policy prevents unity from being re-established.

The consultative meeting urged an end to such activities and proposed that, as preliminary steps leading to a world conference, bilateral and multilateral discussions be held between various parties on a regional or any other basis, all leading in the direction of such a world conference at the appropriate time.

Thus, in opening up new avenues and new ways of restoring unity in the world Communist movement, the consultative meeting performed a useful service to all parties. We welcome and support the communique and statement adopted by the meeting.

MAY THE IDEAS OF MARXISM-LENINISM TRIUMPH!*

Speech by Fidel Castro,

FIRST SECRETARY, NATIONAL LEADERSHIP OF THE UPSRC, AND PRIME MINISTER, REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT OF CUBA

Comrade Komsomol members,
Comrades of the NIAR,

I asked if there was an interpreter here, and was told the Komsomol comrades already know some Spanish and can do without an interpreter.

I think we will all understand one another very well because in this case sentiments mean more than words. And our sentiments express themselves in thousands of the most diverse forms. They are the gratitude of our people, appreciation, emotion and sincerity. It is these sentiments that we have brought here. We have come here to express our gratitude, our brotherly feelings, and to say good-bye to you Komsomol members. We are all certain that although you are leaving our country it will forever remember what you have done here, your fraternal support and solidarity. Our country will always remember the contribution you have made to the harvesting of this year' cane crop and will always be grateful to you for your contribution.

This cane harvesting was very important to us. The crop isn't very large this time. We ought to be able to raise a larger crop next year. In 1967 we expect to grow the largest crop in the history of our country, and plan to increase sugar output to ten million tons in 1970.

When, in 1967, we have achieved the largest crop we will no doubt celebrate it as a great victory, and the day when we have produced ten million tons of sugar will become a joyous holiday for us.

However, this year's harvest was decisive for us. We realized that to win the battle for this harvest would mean winning the economic battle. Our people went into this battle well knowing its scale and importance. Because this year was to show whether

*Speech at a meeting held in Havana on May 14, 1965 and devoted to a send-off for Soviet Komsomol machine operators.

we could cope with the tasks we had set ourselves. It was to show whether our economy was making progress despite the imperialist blockade. It was to show whether our socialist revolution could overcome the obstacles in its way.

This harvest was highly important psychologically, morally and politically. It will undoubtedly be one of the most powerful blows at imperialism, a blow in the economic, moral, ideological and political fields. It will be so powerful a blow that the imperialists will have to talk, not of our so-called economic degradation, but of something else. It will be just that kind of blow. Many countries dominated by feudal oligarchies that exploit the working people and are allied with the imperialists invoke the assistance of heaven. They close their sugar refineries. They encounter many economic and social problems, and come up against strikes. Their plans for investment in the sugar industry, which are based on the belief that sugar production in Cuba is decreasing, are failing. Although we will for some time have to make certain sacrifices because of the prices of a certain quantity of our sugar, we are better off than any other country. We continue to produce sugar and to make progress. Everyone is frightened by low prices, everyone but we. This is due to two reasons: our trade with the socialist countries, mainly the Soviet Union, and our socialist production system.

While in the countries ruled by landowning oligarchies sugar refineries are closed, the bourgeoisie is ruined and the landowners try to lay the brunt of sacrifices on the shoulders of the sugar industry workers, our sugar industry is operating on the solid basis of the agreement with the Soviet Union on sugar deliveries and of the socialist character of our economy, in which no distinction is made between the workers of different industries and in which the interests of the country as a whole are analyzed and taken into consideration.

That is why at a time when the other sugar-producing countries are hit by strikes caused by wage cuts and by restrictions imposed on the workers, our sugar industry workers and cane cutters are paid more and our farmers and small agricultural producers receive greater incomes. We have every opportunity of surmounting difficulties and confidently expanding our sugar industry.

The policy pursued in our country in the fifty or even sixty years of imperialist domination tended to abolish our sugar production and was leading to the loss of our sugar markets. The U.S. imperialists had huge concessions in our country and enjoyed tariff privileges. Our country was compelled to sell in order to pay the U.S. imperialists.

In those circumstnces, we were gradually losing our market, and

our bourgeoisie and our landowners were cutting production in collusion with the bourgeoisie and the landowners of other countries to keep prices up.

Decreased production meant fewer jobs for the people and lesser incomes. That anti-national policy led to economic stagnation, so that the amount of sugar which thirty years earlier had provided a livelihood to half the population had now to supply the needs of twice as many people. Our sugar industry, animal husbandry, and other important industries were marking time because we lacked markets both at home and abroad. Economic stagnation set in as a natural result.

The situation has changed by now. Today we have virtually unlimited foreign markets and virtually just as unlimited a home market. Let the comrades from the poultry farm say whether that is so. Egg consumption in our country has considerably exceeded 60 million—we were able to achieve this level of consumption because the number of laying hens greatly exceeded 60 million.

Such is the new situation—a result of the revolution, of the policy of free trade, a result of the relations between our country and other socialist countries, relations based on obvious, indicative and indisputable facts which enable us to make progress even though the U.S. imperialists are doing their utmost to make us fail, to ruin us, to obstruct our economic development.

Imperialism is busy inventing its laughable program, the notorious Alliance for Progress, which will be unable to mislead the peoples much longer and whose sole aim is to tighten control and imperialist domination in Latin America. It is a ghost program, a program for maneuver which did not appear until after the revolution, for before the revolution they did not even bother to think up such things. According to available information, the population is growing faster than production. In Latin America, the growth of the population is ahead of the expansion of food production. The masses are becoming impoverished and are exposed to increasig starvation which, in turn, forces the imperialists to discard their masks, take the covers off their guns and land their mercenaries, the marines, as they have done in the Dominican Republic. They are throwing off their masks, completely discrediting—if one may speak of any further discrediting—the OAS, that "international pimp," as a TV commentator put it. They have just exposed themselves, and have revealed their insoluble contradictions, showing the peoples what is in store for them.

We, however, are making progress, overcoming the blockade, and advancing with firm step, developing our economy, promoting the revolutionary consciousness of the people and educating them, imparting technical knowledge to the masses. These are entirely different ways.

Obviously, we are not guaranteed against danger, against risk or threat. But when a country like ours is already the master of its own destiny and its riches, when the way lies clear and the economic future is certain for a country like ours, and when it has an armed people ready to defend that future, we may feel confident and satisfied, for we are inspired by thoughts of the future and undeterred by risk. We are working for the future and are not worried by the circumstance that at a certain moment we may have to put this work aside in order to take up arms and defend ourselves against the imperialists. The great truth of our reality is that we have a clear future before us and that the revolutionary consciousness and defense preparedness of our people are increasing day after day.

The imperialists will therefore be faced with *this* reality, that is, the fact that we are making good progress. Should they try to hold up our progress and land their mercenaries on our soil, their ground troops and marines, they will be up against a military problem so serious that some of their commentators are already analyzing it, saying that we have during the past years made such thorough preparations and become so strong that an attack on Cuba would lead to a major war. We might add that that war would never end, for, whatever the balance of forces, other factors would also operate, namely, the resolve, the will, the high morale of the people, their indominable spirit—factors which the aggressor would have to reckon with and which make our people a strong enemy of the imperialists. Around all this, or rather in the midst of all this, the great economic battle for the cane harvest goes on. For six million tons of sugar is a really large crop, and we do expect to harvest that much, that is, to fulfil the plan. A crop of six million tons has always been considered large in our country. However, in the past it was no problem to cut the cane and produce six million tons of sugar, for there were 400,000 unemployed who were looking eagerly forward to harvesting time when they could get a job. But today we have neither 400,000, 300,000, 200,000, 100,000, 10,000, 1,000, 100, nor 10 unemployed—not a single person waiting for the harvesting season to bring him a job.

Today our country is carrying out a program for the all-round development of its agriculture. We are finishing cane-cutting and entering the period of spring sowing and planting—cane planting and the sowing of other crops.

We have 25,000 cabalerias of ploughed land on the state estates, or over 300,000 hectares of land ready for planting cane, sowing feed crops, planting vegetables and fruit-trees. It will take tremendous effort to complete cane harvesting and to sow and then weed

and then prepare new lands in the droughty period and complete preparations for the next cane crop. And no one is jobless! Moreover, we are setting up thousands of new livestock and dairy farms throughout the country. The number of people engaged in public works today is three or perhaps four times as great as before the revolution. Today our armed forces are very numerous—because our country is compelled to defend itself against imperialist aggression and threats—and our troops have to be fully prepared at all times. Nevertheless, we are gathering in a large cane harvest—just as we did when we had 400,000 people hoping to get a job at harvesting time.

Why? There are many factors. Voluntary workers, volunteers who work continuously, and the mobilization of the people play an important part. But this alone would not have been enough. The most important factor, and the most correct conclusion to be drawn, is that we owe our ability to harvest six million tons to the standard of mechanization we have achieved.

In other words, the existence of thousands of cane-loading machines is an important factor, for these machines replace dozens of thousands of workers.

Those who volunteered for work—those who contributed to Playa Giron Week and loaded cane instead of cutting it said that loading is even harder than cutting and that the small of their backs and their spines and heads ached, that their whole body ached because they had to bend down for every six or seven stalks in order to put them on a cart. When large numbers of people took part in that operation, when many who had never before held the top of a stalk, who were used to mental labor and had been trained for it, met with work on the sugar plantations, where they had to pick up every top and every stalk, they realized that with manual labor this country has no future, that with labor productivity at so low a level, it is impossible to supply our people with clothing and footwear, to give them an education, to provide them with medical treatment and improve their standard of living. Indeed, how anyone can imagine that labor productivity in harvesting cane by hand can ensure the country's economic development and increase the national wealth? How can anyone think that with labor productivity at so low a level it is possible to feed the people and meet the requirements of the country?

Many people who have been trained for mental labor and, in a sense, for becoming members of the minority which in our country had a more or less adequate supply of clothing, footwear and food —because in a situation like this and with a labor productivity such as this, only a very insignificant minority could have the food, clothing and footwear it needed and to receive an education

at the expense of the vast majority, which even with proportionate distribution of the incomes among all could not have satisfied its needs because of the low productivity of labor, especially because the greater part of our currency and our wealth was derived from sugar, grown, cut and loaded by so primitive a method—many of the people trained for mental labor now realize and know it.

Everyone is descended from a definite social class. Some were rich and others poor, some were workers and others peasants, some belonged to the bourgeoisie and others to the petty bourgeoisie, while still others—who were few, it is true—were in a position to become members of the bourgeoisie or the petty bourgeoisie. But cane cutting has taught many of us a good deal. It has revealed—concretely and clearly, our economic problems and shown how wretched our country's future would have been under capitalism. Under capitalism we would have continued to cut and load cane by hand. Those who tried to use cane loading or harvesting machines would have been lynched by our workers, by the hundreds of thousands of people who would have been waiting for cane harvesting in the hope of earning some sort of living.

As a result of mechanized harvesting, cultivating and cutting, and thanks to it, we have already scored our first successes. Mechanization has increased labor productivity. A worker who with a machine loads 64,000 arrobas a day replaces many workers. How much has labor productivity increased? Much more than a hundred times over, undoubtedly.

Our workers have with cane-loading machines done the work of dozens of thousands of people, and many people have got rid of the pain in the small of their backs.

We have made great and rapid progress in cane loading. Productivity already exceeds assignments. The fact that some fulfil their assignments eight times over speaks of the ability of our workers and of the quality of the machines.

It should be borne in mind that Soviet industry was faced with this problem for the first time. For the first time ever, it had to make a cane-loading machine. Nevertheless, some workers using these machines already load over 50,000 arrobas a day. In the first year the machines were not so efficient—our workers had not learned to operate them properly. But this year their efficiency has increased noticeably.

Following the problem of making a cane loader there arose the still more complicated problem of mechanizing cutting and loading as a single operation. The problem of mechanical cutting has arisen in various countries. It faces the industries of various countries and has not yet been fully solved. Besides, in some countries using machines they burn the stubble because of insects, snakes and

various pests. In other countries the stubble is burned because they have been unable to solve the problem of harvesting cane with the leaves. But to burn stubble means destroying micro-organisms in the soil, destroying nitrogen, which is one of the basic factors for soil fertility.

And while there are some authors, such as Humbers, whom we consider a competent specialist, very many authors and soil investigators stress the importance of the organic structure of the soil and the micro-organisms in it, which are destroyed when the stubble is burned. This is why the problem of harvesting cane fully was a difficult problem that we have already begun to solve successfully.

This year we used several hundred machines for the first time. Of course, we had difficulties typical of a first trial. The land had not been adequately prepared, there were complications that people operating a machine for the first time encounter, and a thousand and one minor particulars that had to be taken into account. But the fact that some teams cut over three million arrobas, the fact that some workers cut over 600,000 arrobas and that certain of them cut about 700,000 arrobas in ten working days—for we had such cases this year—means exceeding five times the labor productivity achieved by Comrade José Mariano Mora, who by May 1 had cut 144,00 arrobas of cane, and his productivity is several times higher than that of the ordinary, average worker. Some machines cut 30 times more than the ordinary cutter did in all the harvesting season. This was achieved in the first year. A cane harvester combine which in a day cuts 34,000 arrobas cuts thirty-four times as much as a cutter, who cuts a thousand arrobas a day. This was achieved in the very first year of use of machinery.

We are convinced that the efficiency of machines will be greater next year, that the new machines will be better and much more effective and that it will take our country three years to fully solve the problem of mechanized cutting and loading.

This decisive contribution to our economy, to the fight against imperialism and the imperialist blockade, was made by Soviet engineers, Soviet industry, Soviet technology.

While registering our achievements and celebrating our economic gains, we must never forget that in our small country blockaded by the imperialists we would have been unable to achieve such victories without help, without technical cooperation, without support in the way of Soviet machinery, to say nothing of many other forms in which our country has been receiving highly important aid from the fraternal Soviet people, who buy our sugar and who supplied us with oil when our enemies threatened to paralyze our economy by depriving us of old, and who supply us

with locomotives and other means of conveyance, thousands of trailers for the transport of cane (before this cane harvesting began Soviet ships delivered cargoes of trailers, loaders and combines to make this victory of ours possible), not to speak of other forms of Soviet aid, such as arms for our Revolutionary Armed Forces. We feel confident and safe, we feel that we can resist the imperialists and fight them, because we have plenty of military equipment which we received from the Soviet Union on time and gratuitously.

How much greater the sacrifices would have been, how much more complicated our economic development if, in addition to the purchases of harvester combines, cane-loaders, trailers, tractors, and all sorts of other machines, we would have had to spend large sums on the arms we needed for our self-defense!

That is why events like this express proletarian internationalism and fraternal solidarity. Today we have got together here to see off 250 young Soviet people who came here from a country thousands of miles away, a country with a climate differing from ours. They came here to operate combines which Soviet industry had made for the harvesting of our cane, to work for months, far from their families, in the scorching sun of our tropics. Along with them came mechanics to repair combines and engineers to supervise the operation of the machinery, to study how efficient it was, to see how the machine parts behaved day by day. They came here to make recommendations for changes that would improve the machinery and make them still more efficient.

In addition to the 250 Komsomol members, the Soviet machinery was accompanied by 40 Soviet engineers who were to supervise its operation. They worked steadfastly and enthusiastically to ensure the success of mechanization. We also had 12 leading workers from the Soviet Union. Altogether there were 302 people who came from the fraternal Soviet country to make an important contribution to the successful harvesting of this years' crop and to guarantee by their work the harvesting of future crops through mechanization, which increases labor productivity and multiplies the fruits of man's effort.

We are grateful for it and wish to express our gratitude and appreciation, our admiration at such deeds—not words—which are expressions of internationalism and solidarity.

Speaking in all fairness, we must value such things. After all, we are witnessing two different lines of conduct. Whereas the imperialists send in their men from the Peace Corps, which in effect is a spy corps, send their agents to undermine the revolutionary morale of the people — while they send their agents to Latin America—the Soviet Union sends here young Komsomol members

to operate harvester combines and help us gather in our harvest. While the people of the Dominican Republic insist on the withdrawal of the U.S. invaders' troops from their soil, we are gathered together at this fraternal function to see off with gratitude and emotion the Soviet comrades who worked here along with our workers and helped us win the battle for the harvest.

What a difference between these facts, these policies, these two worlds! The imperialists interfere in everything, they poke their noses into Africa and Asia and Latin America in an effort to maintain exploitation, ignorance, lack of culture, poverty. They resort to bloodshed in order to retain their pirates' right to robbery, plunder and theft. They are killing Vietnamese in Asia, Congolese in Africa and Dominicans in the Dominican Republic in an effort to prop up an obsolete, outdated social system incompatible with the present social thinking of people all over the world, incompatible with the needs of mankind. We socialist countries are working and fighting for the good of the people, for higher material and cultural standards, against exploitation of man by man, for national independence, for the abolition of imperialism and colonialism. We are working and fighting, and are the sole and true allies of the peoples fighting against exploitation, of the peoples fighting for their freedom, in the name of revolution.

Meetings like this and facts like this eloquently, clearly and unquestionably express the essence of revolutionary ideas, the ideas of Marxism-Leninism.

Lofty revolutionary ideals are becoming objective realities, with the result that the strength of our peoples is growing. As a result, our peoples are marching on in the face of all obstacles, and the other peoples of the world are marching with them. What is now being done in Cuba will also be useful for other peoples. The technical progress which Cuba has made today will tomorrow help other peoples. As far as we know, there already are countries producing sugar cane that show interest in Soviet harvesters and have asked to be sent several specimens. This means that the machines which are now being improved in Cuba with the aim of increasing labor productivity will also serve to increase labor productivity in other underdeveloped countries of the world. It means that the techniques now being developed in Cuba will prove useful for the peoples of other underdeveloped countries of the world, which are faced with probems similar to ours and lie in the same climate belt. It means that the technical personnel being trained in our country will subsequently pay their debt to mankind by helping other peoples, who will follow us in winning freedom and setting about to advance their economy.

We are not going to pay Soviet people for the assistance they

render us. The chain of historical events is long and continuous. We who have received technical aid will pay for it by helping other peoples. Some day we will—to the extent of our possibilities and forces—pay off the debt of gratitude we owe to people. We will pay it off by helping others. It follows that those who have helped us today have also helped other peoples. All this may be compared to someone sowing seeds and helping us today and others tomorrow. These others will, for their part, help someone else until all the peoples on earth finally free themselves from exploitation, until socialism is built in every country of the world and the ideas of Marxism-Leninism triumph.

Patria o muerte!

Venceremos!

KEEP AUSTRALIA OUT!

STATEMENT* BY THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY OF AUSTRALIA

All patriotic Australians should act now to save the nation from a serious threat to its present and future security.

The crisis we face is not caused by outside aggression, but by the reckless decision to commit Australia completely to American imperialism's unjust war against Vietnam.

This decision has already aroused widespread public protests, criticism and opposition, which will grow into a mass movement.

The labor movement has unanimously opposed sending Australian troops. Many other public figures have voiced opposition, concern and doubts.

Those who oppose the decision have diverse opinions on the nature, cause and solution of the Vietnam war, but there is common ground for action by all opponents of the Government's desperately dangerous action.

This action, like the U.S. intervention it supports, is a flagrant breach of international law and morality, of solemn international agreements and of the United Nations Charter. It exposes present and future generations of Australians to condemnation by Asian and world opinion for complicity in the American war against an Asian people by mass bombing, use of napalm, gas and chemical warfare.

Not one important Asian nation supports the U.S. war or Australian intervention. The few Asian governments which support U.S. policy are either corrupt and undemocratic like those of Thailand and South Korea, or face near-unanimous public opposition, as in Japan.

Menzies' undeclared war against Vietnam condemns Australia to international isolation. So far, Australia is the only power even in the U.S.-inspired SEATO to support U.S. Vietnam policy to the hilt by committing its sons to the conflict. Two SEATO members, France and Pakistan, are completely opposed to the U.S. war.

Even in the United States itself, public opinion is more and more swinging against Johnson.

Australian troops in Vietnam cannot alter the military situation.

The Vietnamese people have already demonstrated that their

*Tribune, May 12, 1965.

courage and determination to be free are more than a match for the numerical and material military advantage of the United States forces and the South Vietnam puppet regime.

The U.S. government tried to confine its role to sending equipment and "advisers," but failed to make it a war of Asian against Asian. South Vietnamese puppet troops are playing a diminishing part in the war.

American sources now admit "a Vietcong victory could come in a matter of weeks, or even days, without the gigantic support now coming from Washington." (Sydney *Morning Herald*, 5/5/65.)

The U.S. Government claims it is fighting to "stop the Communists." In fact, it is now a colonial war against Asians, and Menzies would make Australia share the guilt and opprobrium. The people of South Vietnam are fighting against U.S. aggression for national independence and democracy.

The Americans now threaten further "escalation." For years, South Vietnamese generals have been urging invasion of the North. This is now reported as imminent.

Menzies' arguments for Australian intervention really boil down to one—that Australia must keep on-side with the United States, that the only possible foreign policy is "America, right or wrong."

The Communist Party rejects this, advocating a completely opposite, genuinely Australian foreign policy, built on peace and friendship with Asia. On the crucial Vietnam issue, such a policy has as its main points:

—Australia to keep out of the unjust war in Vietnam

—Australia to call for strict observance of the Geneva Agreement and withdrawal of all foreign troops from Vietnam. Oppose bombings of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and moves to extend the war.

—Apply the principle of self-determination to Vietnam, allowing South Vietnamese people freely to choose their own government and create conditions for the unification of the artificially divided nation.

All who oppose the Government's policy should consider all the implications of the U.S. alliance. The Labor Party's opposition to sending troops to Vietnam is a welcome and positive contribution.

However, Mr. Calwell's continued acceptance of the basic elements of U.S. policy in Asia weakens and limits this contribution. It leads to acceptance of lying American propaganda about "aggression from the North," of the U.S. "right" to be in Vietnam, and of U.S. bombings.

In the course of the continuing opposition to intervention by Australian troops, the labor movement and other patriots will

see more clearly the dangers arising from Australian endorsement of U.S. policy, and reject American claims to act as the world's policeman.

Events on two sides of the world, in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic, show that world opposition is growing to American arrogance.

All Australians should seriously consider the effects of Australian intervention in Vietnam upon the domestic economic and political situation.

Democratic rights are already threatened. Extremist, undemocratic elements in the Government parties are already calling for an "anti-Communist" witch-hunt and repressive action, certainly not only aimed at the Communist Party.

The aim is to whip up a jingo atmosphere for an attack on the whole labor movement, on academic freedom, freedom of the press and free speech. This was the reason for the 1960 Crimes Act amendments, arming the Government with unprecedented powers to suppress opposition to its foreign policy.

Conscription was introduced because the Government already planned this intervention, demanded three years ago when Dean Rusk visited Australia. Australian conscripts will very soon have to be sent to replace the inevitable casualties.

The deteriorating economic situation will be worsened as the burden of paying for the Australian war against Vietnam is added to already increased war expenditure.

In this hour of crisis, the Communist Party calls for a vigorous movement of opposition to the Menzies Government. The campaign to oppose the sending of Australian troops must continue until the decision is reversed.

Those who fight this decision are acting for the progress, development and security of Australia. They are acting for peace and freedom. They are acting for the independence of all nations threatened by U.S. imperialism, and above all for Australian independence.

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THE POLITICAL SITUATION AND THE TASKS OF THE PARTY

REPORT BY FRANZ MUHRI, MEMBER, POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE CP OF AUSTRIA*

The period since the 18th Party Congress, which took place in April 1961, has seen major changes. These past four years have been years of struggle for peaceful coexistence and international detente. The Cuban crisis in the autumn of 1962 pushed the world to the brink of an atomic world war. The partial test ban treaty, signed in the summer of 1963, was a sign of detente, but the acts of aggression which the United States has been stepping up in Vietnam since last summer have again increased the danger of a new world war.

As for political development at home, the 18th Party Congress met at a time when the Party was no longer represented in Parliament. The situation in the Austrian People's Party (APP) since 1961 has been marked by the advance of the extreme Right. In 1962, the general election brought success to the reactionaries and in 1963 Scharf was elected President. But the policy of promoting the Freedom Party of Austria (FPA) and the Socialist Party of Austria (SPA) leadership's policy of setting up a minor coalition, nullified the opportunity to carry forward Scharf's electoral victory. The struggle waged by the Communists and growing resistance within the SPA in the end defeated this unprincipled policy. The last months before this Congress were marked by united anti-fascist and patriotic action, which also stamped the new Presidential election campaign.

Development since the previous Congress (1961) has been marked by some important gains in the policy of our Party and by changes due in large measure to the effort of the Communists. Today the Communist viewpoint on aspects of social life is widely echoed. Many of the demands originally advanced by us are now supported by the working people.

Our insistence on certain demands made for greater pressure from below. It forced the Socialists to support these demands and compelled the employers to make concessions.

The 18th Party Congress proposition that the working class should fight for a greater share in the fruits of the favorable

*Abridged from **Volksstimme**, May 29, 1965. The report was presented to the Nineteenth Congress of the CP of Austria on May 27 last. The Congress elected F. Muhri, Chairman of the CPA.

economic situation proved correct.

The past years have also been marked by broad united actions in defense of nationalization. The constructive ideas of the Communists and the Trade Union Unity group regarding problems of the nationalized industries have won widespread appreciation and recognition. They have been, and still are, very important in organizing united action against plans for restoring the nationalized enterprises to private owners or closing them. The attacks on the electric power industry in 1963-64 were beaten off.

Last year Socialists, non-party people, Catholic workers and office employees, and Communists demonstrated together in Vienna, demanding that Orop and Martha, the two oil-selling companies, be incorporated in the Austrian Oil Co. (AOC) and opposing their return to the private sector. United action in the oil-fields led to an agreement preventing the transfer of Orop and Martha to private owners and incorporating them in the AOC.

The facts show that the orientation to the protection and expansion of the nationalized sector and to the restriction of the power of big capital—an orientation confirmed by the 18th Party Congress—is realistic and in keeping with the situation in our country. They show the power of working-class unity of action. The fight to preserve the nationalized sector has clearly revealed the possibility, not only of cooperation between Socialists, Communists and non-party people, but also of joint actions with Catholic workers and office employees. These actions have set examples of the way in which the fight for co-management by the workers and office employees should be carried on. These struggles have made it possible to realize the beginnings of co-management. Experience shows that there can be unity of action in putting forward economic as well as political demands.

Against the background of growing neo-fascist provocation, the past years have witnessed the expansion of anti-fascist, patriotic resistance and elements of a new anti-fascist unity. A real breakthrough has been made on the national question. The Austrians' increased national consciousness has become an important source of strength in the anti-fascist struggle. Unity of the democratic forces as the only effective alternative to neo-fascism and reaction, and allegiance to Austria were the fundamental ideas underlying the decisions of our 18th Party Congress which we Communists have steadfastly and patiently upheld again and again.

In April 1964 there began a far-flung anti-fascist action against the Pan-Germanic sorties in Graz, which led to a patriotic upsurge throughout Austria. In the same month, on the anniversary of the proclamation of Austria's independence (April 27, 1945), 14 anti-fascist unions whose members and functionaries belong to the three democratic parties adopted a joint declaration of principle which

says: "We confirm our membership of the Austrian nation and its right to independence and state sovereignty. Genuine allegiance to Austria means that we reject the lie about the German Wehrmacht having defended Austria in Hitler's war. . . . The rejection of every variety of Pan-Germanism is self-evident from our explicit allegiance to Austria. . . . We serve warning against those circles which speak of Europe but mean Greater Germany. . . . Like the overwhelming majority of the population, the undersigned, declare for the everlasting neutrality of Austria. . . ."

The idea of anti-fascist unity brought the greatest response ever in March and April last. Austrian opinion launched a wide protest movement against the Pan-German and neo-Nazi provocations at the College of World Trade. An anti-fascist students' committee was set up which in cooperation with the resistance movement and other organizations held an anti-fascist and patriotic demonstration and meeting in Vienna on March 29 and 31. Socialists, non-party people, Communists and Catholics demonstrated in common against neo-Nazism, for Austria. On March 31 Ernst Kirchweger, our comrade, was mortally wounded by neo-fascist counter-demonstrators. Comrade Kirchweger's death, the first fascist murder in the Second Republic, brought back to reality many of those who had underestimated the danger of reaction and neo-Nazism. The Austrian Federation of Trade Unions decided on a five-minute suspension of work in memory of the assassinated worker. Ernst Kirchweger's funeral became a powerful demonstration of anti-fascist unity. Under the pressure of public opinion and the anti-fascist forces inside the APP, the latter was compelled to send a representative delegation to the mourning ceremony, in which the entire SPA leadership took part.

The events of March and April showed even more clearly than earlier events how strong are our people's anti-fascist and national consciousness and their readiness to repel neo-fascism. This consciousness and this readiness came into being in the grim years of fascism and are also alive in the younger generation. Indeed, the young people were the initiating and leading force in the movement. At Kirchweger's graveside we saw the beginnings of a new anti-fascist unity of the democratic and national forces, including the Communists. This unity has been, and remains, the main requisite for the successful defense of democracy. These events were also important in that workers and progressive students acted in common. Those days made it quite clear that the working class needs a progressive intelligentsia and the intelligentsia needs the working class. They revealed that the problems of higher education are not a concern of the lecturers and students alone but of the whole people.

Subsequent development will also be contradictory, and relapses

should not be ruled out. But the lessons and experience of the events which took place on the threshold of the twentieh anniversary of liberation and the establishment of the Second Republic cannot be effaced or undone. Further development will not least of all depend on our attitude, on the struggle of our Party.

The past years have also seen considerable changes in many other fields. The realization that no one is safe from the effect of atomic and hydrogen bombs and that all people of goodwili must therefore unite to preserve peace expressed itself during the Easter March. For the first time in Austria, Action for Peace and Disarmament brought together Catholics, Socialist, non-party people and Communists in the cause of peace. And once again the young people were the most active force. It is among the younger generation that the demand for shorter military service and for less military spending, and the Thirring Plan have found response and support.

Recent years have also seen noteworthy changes in the relationship to the socialist countries. In the case of Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Rumania and Hungary, all the outstanding issues have been settled and the diplomatic missions elevated to the rank of embassies. Until recently APP reactionaries accused Vice-Chancellor Pittermann of pro-Eastern leandings because of his trips to socialist countries. Today representatives of the APP themselves visit socialist countries more and more frequently. The time is long past when the possibility and utility of promoting economic and commercial relations with the East was denied. Fully one-sixth of our total export goes to the socialist countries. In recent years Austria and the socialist countries have begun to cooperate in the markets of third countries and in industrial projects in developing countries. One-quarter of the product of the nationalized industries goes to the socialist countries.

Better relations between Austria and the socialist countries are a valuable contribution to peaceful coexistence and detente in Europe. The economic relations between the nationalized sector and the East are an important argument in favor of nationalization. The development of economic relations with the socialist countries is an important means of resisting the pressure of the EEC and of safeguarding our neutrailty and independence. The fact that our country in the thirties was surrounded by fascist dictatorships substantially promoted fascism in Austria itself. Today the situation is entirely different. Many Socialists, Austrian anti-fascists and patriots rightly regard our socialist neighbors as a bulwark against neo-fascism and reaction.

These are some of the examples and facts showing that the Austrian Communists play an important role. They also show the activities of the anti-fascist and patriotic forces within other democratic parties. We Communists are part of the working class and

the democratic forces of our country and have no interests distinct from theirs. Our task is to operate as a politically conscious force in the working class and in society, a force urging progress. Our task is to carry forward and champion progressive ideas and concepts until other forces take up at least some of these concepts and so conditions are provided for joint actions. Many of our views have prevailed because they were borne out by developments. The facts have proved stronger than many an anti-Communist prejudice.

The Central Committee of our Party in its theses for the 19th Congress pointed to the contradiction existing between the successes and the impact of our policy, on the one hand, and the development of our Party, on the other. Our Party has lost votes in most of the political elections. We were unable to realize the main slogan of the 18th Congress, "Communists into Parliament." The Party membership dropped from 42,460 in 1961 to 36,408 in 1964. The age composition of our Party is in sharp contrast with that of the working class. Only 20 per cent of the membership are below forty. During these years the Party has been unable to win the support of any considerable number of young people—either as members or as voters. Activity in many organizations has declined and so has the number of activists. We have had to yield positions on the municipal councils of important working-class centers and on the production councils of major industrial establishments. The contradiction between new opportunities and the decline in activity is increasing.

That is the main contradiction from which we proceed in the theses on the outlook and which held pride of place in the pre-Congress debate.

First of all, are our comrades sufficiently aware of the function and role of the Austrian Communists in order to be able to convince others? Is our Party sufficiently aware of the changes that have occurred and the opportunities there are?

We have spoken of the noteworthy economic and social gains achieved by the workers and office employees, and during the pre-Congress debate many comrades pointed out that we often upheld some demand for years and when it had been put through in part the SPA got all the credit for it. But surely we made that easier by failing systematically to stress its role in the attainment of progress and partial successes and by laying too much emphasis on criticism, on what could *not* be achieved.

We often laid too much emphasis on the negative aspects of development, thereby helping our opponents to give the people a distorted idea of our Party and to portray Communists as grumblers and cavillers. Thereby we encouraged, in spite of ourselves, a sense of hopelessness, lack of faith, and resignation in our own ranks.

New developments in modern capitalism are a sphere in which

we have yet to overcome obsolete notions. The economic vitality which capitalism has demonstrated during the last fifteen years, and the prolonged favorable economic situation in today's industrial countries has been used not only by opponents as "proof" that Marxism is "outdated." The contradiction between the old, well-worn dogma which says that capitalism necessarily leads to increasingly grave economic crises and to steady impoverishment every nine to eleven years, and new reality has given rise to political and ideological uncertainty in our midst. The theses on the outlook, and the concept of co-management, which we have submitted to this Congress, attempt a solution to the problem.

In view of the uncontrollable search for profit and the often murderous competition which are rooted in capitalist private property relations, susceptibility to economic crises remains a natural characteristic of capitalism. But the economic and political challenge of communism and the example of economic growth in the socialist countries, combined with the persistent demand of the working class in the capitalist countries for full employment, a higher standard of living and more social security, compel the capitalists and the bourgeois state to try new active political methods in maintaining a favorable economic situation and in promoting growth. The new balance of class forces on the national and the international plane has also created more favorable conditions for the working class in its fight for higher pay and for economic and social progress.

That is why we no longer link our prospects with the idea of an inevitable world economic crisis, of a new disastrous collapse. We count to a much greater extent on the new opportunities of bringing about changes in distribution of income, co-management by workers, expansion of public investment in industry and social welfare, structural reforms, and democratic economic planning through the class struggle, through mass movements and initiatives. This objective has nothing in common with reformism, which is based on capitalism, for the task is to overcome capitalism. It is a question of revolutionary orientation to the attainment of certain objectives by stages, curbing the power of big capital as a part of the struggle for the peaceful transition to socialism.

Modern capitalism has not cured its economic contradictions, as is evident, for example, from the trend toward gradual inflation, the increasing squandering of productive forces while important social requirements are not met, grave regional and social imbalances, crises in the international balance of payments, etc. The past years have shown that under capitalism there is growing political instability, growing political contradictions and controversies, growing reactionary, authoritarian and neo-fascist trends,

and a growing threat to democracy even when the economic situation is highly favorable.

The years under survey have seen many elements of political crisis in the most diverse sphere of social activity. This shows that differences and dissociation within the major parties are increasing due to real conflicts of interests.

The Austrian Communists have in the past years learned to play their role of organizing and motive power in the struggle of the working class for a bigger share in the fruits of a favorable economic situation. We have gained considerable experience in the process. Now that the scope of regulating and control measures taken by the state in the economic sphere is steadily widening, almost every economic struggle has a political aspect as well. We should learn to take this aspect into account to a greater extent. We should, for example, carry on a political fight against the high cost of living much more vigorously than before. The continuous growth of the cost of living is inseparable from the entire economic system based on profit, from the government's policies. The SPA is also responsible for the growing cost of living. It is the policy of social partnership that explains why before every election, the SPA promises to take steps against the high cost of living, only to agree to almost every price or tariff increase after the election. Effective measures against the high cost of living should include a ban on cartels, control over profits, and compensation through higher wages and salaries. The task is to link the movements for economic demands still more closely with the fight for structural reforms, for co-management by the workers and office employees.

We have yet to understand this properly, and to muster adequate arguments proving that the capitalist economy, based on profit, has become more superfluous, more absurd and dangerous than ever in this age of atomic energy and automation.

Another problem which calls for discarding obsolete notions and working out for the entire Party a position in keeping with present conditions is our attitude to the SPA, the issue of working-class unity of action and of our Party's policy on alliances. Our position on this problem is stated in the thesis for the 19th Party Congress. We orient our work to the peaceful road to socialism, a road which we want to follow in cooperation with other parties. This orientation is associated with the transformation and not the liquidation of existing parties. Developments of the past years have confirmed that both the SPA and the APP have changed.

Some important changes have occured in the SPA and its policy during the past years. Whereas formerly the SPA often took a hostile stand against the socialist countries, its attitude in recent years has on the whole been more objective. Whereas formerly the SPA leadership supported the view that Austria's neutrality

should be only military and should leave room for as far-reaching association with the EEC as possible, in recent years it has increasingly favored permanent neutrality.

With regard to the Hapsburgs, the SPA first hesitated and wavered, but afterwards it took a more consistent stand against Otto Hapsburg's return. The Communists' stubborn fight played an appreciable part in completely defeating the dangerous and unprincipled policy of promoting and cooperating with the Pan-German FPA. Unqualified allegiance to the Austrian nation has been gaining ground in the SPA, and the Pan-German elements in the SPA are in a minority and can hardly come out openly any more.

Of course, SPA policy still contains strong elements of anti-communism. On the other hand, relations between the Socialists and Communists in industry, in the trade unions, and on the municipal councils have greatly improved. The SPA leaders, in contrast to the APP reactionaries, have lately avoided the anti-Communist practice of identifying the Communists with the fascists, and Pittermann has repeatedly declared for the unity of all the democrats.

These are some of the important changes in the position of the SPA.

We are against the illusion entertained by certain of the Socialist comrades, who tell us: "Restore unity, join us, strengthen our Left wing." These positive changes and the growth of the left in the SPA are inseparably linked with the activity of the Austrian Communists as an autonomous, Marxist party. They are inseparably linked with the Communists' duty to maintain a principled socialist policy and to work out a class point of view on every issue. This is why strengthening our Party is an important factor for the consolidation of the Left forces in the SPA.

We Communists are not against Socialist participation in the government. Participation can restrict the power of big capital and put at least come curbs on reaction. But we are against the policy of social partnership in the government. With this policy, no Socialist majority and not even a Socialist Federal Chancellor can achieve fundamental progress.

Our fight against social partnership is going on in conditions of contradictory development.

On the one hand, the favorable economic situation provides fertile soil for petty-bourgeois illusions, for the policy and ideology of social partnership.

The Austrian working class has become considerably stronger. The power of the Austrian bourgeoisie is still restricted by nationalization and by the existence of the socialist countries. This circumstance has compelled the Austrian bourgeoisie to accept more and more the idea and tactic of making concessions to the working

class since an open class struggle would in any case have wrested these or even greater concessions.

The policy of social partnership has often led to compromises that were far from corresponding to existing opportunities. Nevertheless, even despite the policy of social partnership, certain gains have been achieved for Austria's working people. As a result, the CPA and trade union leaders had an opportunity to successfully spread the opinion that social partnership benefits the working class.

On the other hand, development in recent years has shown very clearly — something which also causes concern to the SPA comrades—that it is the policy of social partnership that has enabled the forces of capital and reaction to strengthen their positions.

The working class has always rejected social partnership. In addition to many minor movements and struggles, we have during the past period witnessed the metal-workers' big unity strike, held in May 1962. In the summer of that year, police and customs officers launched a broad movement that assumed a markedly political character and was something entirely new in the history of the Austrian working-class movement. Last March we witnessed the great unity strike of the post-office employees and railwaymen. It should be stressed that participating jointly in that battle for just demands were not only Socialists, Communists and non-party people, but also Christian workers and trade unionists, members and supporters of the Austrian Union of Factory and Office Workers.*

The experience of that struggle, of the movements and actions of the past years, disproves the view that the workers are unwilling to fight as long as they are well off. The experience of the past years has confirmed that it is the better-paid skilled workers that often show greater political consciousness and determination. It has repeatedly been proved that where full employment is guaranteed, the militancy and the political consciousness of the workers and office employees is greater than where there is a threat of dismissal. Experience fully disproves the idea that nothing can be achieved with the younger generation nowadays because all that young people are thinking of is sports and games and mopeds and cars. Young workers and office employees have been in the van of every movement of every action and strike. We are deeply convinced that our orientation to defeating the ideology and policy of social partnership is not merely a pious wish but, in the long run, a real prospect.

We register certain changes in the SPA. But we must also point out weak points which cause concern.

The underestimation of West German militarism and revanchism

*Along with the Economic Union and the Peasant Union, it is a component of the APP.—Ed.

is one of the biggest weaknesses of the SPA.

It is certainly no accident that Otto Hapsburg is trying to make a comeback and is plotting against Austria precisely from Bavaria. Nor is it an accident that all the neo-Nazi and Pan-German organizations and forces in our country maintain close ties with West German centers and organizations. It is West German combines that attack nationalization. It is the West German government that is striving to bind Austri ato the EEC as closely as possible. It is West German statements and publications that keep on extolling Hitler's war and denying the existence of an Austrian nation. But even greater than foreign economic domination and growing dependence on West German patents and licences is dependence on foreign ideological domination through literature, magazines, television, films, etc.

Why is the SPA leadership silent about the fact that the rearmament of West German imperialism, and above all the effort to equip the Bonn revenge-seekers with atomic weapons is a threat to peace in Europe? Why does not the SPA, unlike the Socialist parties of other countries, speak a single word in support of the demand for an atom-free zone in Central Europe? In deference to Bonn, the SPA supports no constructive demands concerning European security, although in the atomic age this is a question of the very existence of our people.

The Austrian Communists regard it as their prime task to work with might and main for the unity of action of the workers and office employees. Of tremendous importance in this effort is constant comradely discussion of the cardinal problems of our time with the Socialists. The policy of unity of action and objective criticism of the policy of the Socialist Party leadership do not contradict or preclude each other. They are two necessary aspects of one and the same goal — establishing a new, militant unity of the working class. Working-class unity of action is also of decisive importance for the alliance of all the democratic and patriotic forces.

Proper orientation to the unity of all democrats calls for a discriminate approach to the APP. The development of this Party in the past years has been contradictory. This removal of Raab from the top was followed by that of Gorbach, and the leadership of Party and government was seized by the Klaus-Withalm team. These people not only shape APP policy in very large measure, but also hold key positions in public life and are closely linked with West German big capital and the revenge-seekers around Strauss. All the reactionary, anti-democratic and anti-neutrality actions of the past years were launched by these forces, including the attempts to make the return of Otto Hapsburg possible, the attacks on nationalization, the effort to tie Austria to the EEC as closely

as possible. This APP Right wing is also the mainstay of the reactionaries in Austria's colleges. The APP reactionaries support and protect the Pan-German and neo-Nazi "seats" in the Athletic League, servicemen's unions, Pan-German student associations, the Alpenverein and other organizations. It is the APP reactionaries who obstruct every earnest measure against neo-Nazism, resort to anti-communism to divert attention from the struggle against neo-Nazism, and try to torpedo the anti-fascist unity of the democrats.

On the other hand, development in recent years has shown that in the APP camp there are not a few democratic and patriotic forces which in a certain situation would be willing to join up with all anti-fascists in taking a stand against fascism.

The growing importance of the Austrian Union of Workers and Office Employees in the APP is an important factor. This is very closely bound up with the changes in class structure that have been taking place in Austria.

Over 70 percent of the gainfully employed population today are workers and office employees. The proportion of rural inhabitants in the country's population has dropped to 16.4 percent and goes on dropping. There is a continuous outflow of working people from agriculture to other fields. With the proportion of labor in the population total unchanged, the proportion of clerks and officials in the working class has increased to 35 percent.

These changes in the social structure have resulted in the petty bourgeoisie as a social category losing importance. Hundreds of thousands of new people have joined the ranks of the working class, but they remain exponents of petty-bourgeois consciousness and petty-bourgeois notions. These changes form the social basis for the growing importance of the AFOWU at many enterprises and for the disquieting increase in the number of votes cast for the APP in working-class centers and neighborhoods. The AFOWU plays a contradictory role. On the one hand, it contributes to the growth of APP influence on the working class. On the other hand, many functionaries of the Union in industry are trying in good faith to represent the interests of the workers and office employees, which provides opportunities for joint actions. But the policy of social partnership prevents the SPA from coping with the new tasks and making proper use of the new opportunities. This makes the Communists' responsibility and role all the greater.

Developments and new phenomena in the Catholic Church, which so far have found their most striking expression in Pope John XXIII's Easter encyclic are a third circumstance that affects the APP.

These new processes are due to objective causes: the scientific and technical revolution, the strengthening of socialism, the achievements of the colonial peoples' liberation movement, the realization of the disastrous consequences of an atomic war. A new trend—

called "Left Catholicism" by many—has developed also in the Catholic camp of Austria in the past years. Manifold though the views and ideas of the various representatives of this camp may be, they have something in common, namely, allegiance to the Austrian nation, to anti-fascism, neutrality and peace, willingness to cooperate with all other democratic forces in promoting these objectives, and interest in a dialogue with Marxists.

We Communists should self-critically state that we have so far concerned ourselves too little with the problems and tasks arising from the contradictory development of the APP. Obviously, this party is not a homogeneous "reactionary mass." Recent years have seen the reactionary forces as well as the democratic groups within the APP take more concrete form. We Communists aim at isolating the reactionary forces and at promoting the influence of the democratic forces in the APP, which would be of great importance in ensuring the democratic development of our country.

The Austrian Federation of Trade Unions (AFTU) is a great achievement of the Austrian working class. Socialists, Communists, non-party people, and Christian workers and office employees are united in a single class organization. It is an important factor in the life of our country, for it plays a decisive role not only in the struggle of the workers and office employees for a higher share in the fruits of the favorable economic situation. The AFTU should also become the most powerful united force of the Austrian workers and office employees in upholding and strengthening democracy and the neutrality of our country, in securing co-management. This means that the AFTU must use its entire authority as an autonomous class organization independent from the government. It means guaranteeing democracy within the trade unions themselves.

A few words about some problems of unity of action that were touched upon during the pre-Congress discussion. Many comrades acknowledged that our policy of unity of action had scored certain successes. But some asked in what way this had benefited the Party. Wasn't consolidation of the Party the important thing? We think it is wrong to consider that the Party should be strengthened first and that then would come unity of action. What we mean by consolidation of the Party is not only the recruitment of new members, but also the establishment of political contact with differently-minded people, enhancement of our Party's political influence. Consolidation of the Party implies constant political discussion and agitation by our comrades. Agitation for our Party, for our ideas should become a permanent component of our policy of unity, a permanent task for every Communist.

It is true that the working class cannot become the leading class in society unless it is led by a revolutionary Marxist vanguard. But the leading role cannot be decreed; it will not become a reality by

our repeating this formula as often as possible. We perform our role of the politically conscious part of the working class by elaborating—as do the theses—a political orientation in line with the contemporary situation, by unfolding a perspective, not only for our Party, but also for all the working people of our country. The experience of the socialist revolutions shows also that revolutionary leadership based on Marxism as a guide to action takes very different forms in different countries. In Austria, we adjust our activity, in accordance with the national and historical conditions in our country, to a transition to socialism during which revolutionary leadership will not be exercised by the Communist Party alone but will be based on Socialist-Communist unity of action, on the cooperation of several parties. We envisaged a road to socialism based on an extensive democratic system of autonomous action, by political parties as well as by the trade unions, by the most diverse mass organizations, on their actual participation in the leadership of the country. But with this orientation, too, the role of the Communists, far from diminishing, calls for a strong Communist party.

Anti-communism is the chief obstacle to working-class unity and to the unity of the democratic forces. To us, anti-communism is not merely rejection of communism but that method of deliberate discrimination and slander which is not used against Communists alone. In the past, anti-communism twice already paved the way for fascism and war. Anti-communism is the banner under which the legitimate annd freely-elected government of the Dominican Republic is being opposed by force of arms and the corrupt regime in South Vietnam—brought into existence by a coup—is being defended in the same way. Under the bannr of anti-communism, the U.S. imperialists carry on their acts of aggression, endangering world peace. In Austria, anti-communism helps the reactionaries to uphold neo-fascism. For their slogan "against Left and Right extremism" means, in effect, defense of neo-Nazism.

The past years have been making it increasingly clear that anti-communism is the chief obstacle, not only to the winning of new voters for our Party, but also to real Socialist success among the voters supporting the APP.

Anti-communism is responsible for debarring the Communists from the radio and TV audience and for discrimination against our Party through an undemocratic electoral law.

We Communists consider that despite fundamental political and ideological differences unity of all the democrats on all questions clearly involving the common interests of all the working people of our country is possible and necessary. It is in the common interest of the overwhelming majority of our people that democracy be preserved and strengthened.. No effective measures have been taken

against neo-Nazism to date. Borodajkewycz has not even been dismissed. To counter the neo-Nazi danger effectively, all the democrats need the greatest vigilance and common action.

Our Party's orientation to working-class unity of action and to alliance with all the democratic forces determined our attitude to the recent Presidential election. In deciding to support Jonas, a Socialist, our Party proceeded from the need to defeat, in the interest of the democratic development of our country, Gorbach, the Right extremists' candidate. The outcome of the election—Jonas's victory by a majority of 63,500 votes—showed very clearly how correct and necessary our decision was. Thereby we made a positive contribution to the effort to ensure the democratic development of our country.

A problem also connected with the contradiction between the growing impact of the policy of our Party and our loss of votes is posed by the fact that people who trust us in industry, are discontented with the government's policy and share the Communist view on matters of everyday policy, do not vote Communist in political elections.

This is due not only to the fact that political elections usually necessitate a choice between the APP and the SPA. An important reason for it is the circumstance that many people do not regard us as a democratic or an Austrian party—not only because of deep-rooted anti-Communist prejudice, but also because of the mistakes made in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries during the Stalin period, and of the mistakes most of which our Party made in the occupation years and which still make themselves felt.

The Communists' important task in this connection is clearly to determine their attitude to democracy. This is the paramount ideological and political task of the Party, one that should more than ever before be part of our day-to-day work. The Austrian Communists have throughout their history defended every element of democracy and paid a high toll in blood fighting against fascism. They have a considerable share in the current struggle against neo-fascism and reaction. The death of our comrade, Ernst Kirchweger, is a symbol for the democratic- and patriotic-mindedness of the Austrian Communists. As regards the future, we are vigorously striving for united action by all the democrats, for the gradual restriction of the power of big capital, for the extension and renovation of democracy, for such aims as the safeguarding and extension of the nationalized industries, the achievement of economic co-management, and the democratization of social life. Socialism, our goal, is not a matter for the few, it can be accomplished only through the efforts of the masses and not individuals. We envisage socialism as a social system under which new freedoms for the working

people will be added to the existing ones, and this can be done only by eliminating the restrictions imposed by capitalism.

Recent events have shown clearly that democratic thinking and a patriotic attitude are inseparable. Our Party itself considers itself part of the Austrian nation, and we take pride in our pioneering work to promote Austrian national consciousness. The national attitude of our Party consists not only in our recognition and defense of Austrian neutrality and independence, but also in the fact that we have worked out an Austrian road to socialism conforming to Austrian conditions and traditions and that we endeavor to add to this treasure-store of ideas. We are an Austrian party, because the realization of socialism does not abolish national sovereignty but, on the contrary, puts it on an even more solid basis. Lastly, ours is an Austrian party also because it advocates complete autonomy in its relations with all the other Communist parties and the socialist countries.

Our attitude to development in the socialist countries is very important in terms of our trustworthiness as a democratic and Austrian party.

We have not yet succeeded in presenting convincingly enough the fact that despite serious mistakes and delusions and great difficulties, the social transformation going on in the socialist countries is the most democratic revolution in history which is of immense progressive significance for all mankind, the Austrian people included. We have yet to learn to prove constantly and convincingly that despite all the mistakes, delusions and difficulties these countries have laid new foundations for democracy and are building a new society which is already superior to capitalism in decisive spheres. The Austrian Communists are looking forward to new achievements and further democratization in the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. It is communism that must lend a new content to the yearning for freedom and respect for human dignity. Our country borders on the socialist world. More and more people are visiting the socialist countries, and more and more people from the socialist countries are visiting Austria. Hence the special importance of the graphic example of socialism for our country.

In the years under review we have become increasingly aware that socialist construction cannot proceed smoothly. Contradictions that are partly objective and partly subjective persist even under socialism. We have in the past years tended more and more to discard the false solidarity which made us think we must defend everything and everyone in the socialist countries and might make no public criticism. Public, objective and friendly criticism is not only in our own interests, but also helps the socialist countries.

During the pre-Congress discussion many comrades stressed yet another reason for the declined activity in our Party, namely, the

contradictions in the socialist camp and in the world Communist movement. Our opponents take advantage of these contradictions to defame socialism. These contradictions and differences have cast doubt on important principles of our movement and are one of the reasons for political and ideological uncertainty in our ranks. In the past years our Party has repeatedly taken a stand on the differences with the Chinese comrades, and the Central Committee has submitted a relevant draft resolution to this Congress.

As far as our Party is concerned, we shall continue to do all we can to establish a new unity in the world Communist movement, a unity in diversity, with full respect for the autonomy and equality of very single fraternal party, a unity not ruling out but implying comradely and public discussion of different points of view. But no party should be allowed to claim the right set up factions and splinter groups in the other fraternal parties.

We welcome the vigorous efforts which the leadership of the CPSU and the Soviet Government have been making since last autumn, and the initiative taken by them to improve the relations with the People's Republic of China at state level and to effect a rapprochement between the two parties.

We welcome the idea of bilateral and multilateral consultative meetings of Communist parties, specifically consultations of the West European Communist parties. We also believe that our Party should establish closer contacts with the fraternal parties in Western Europe and extend the exchange of experience with them, from which we can learn a good deal.

In view of the U.S. aggression in Vietnam and the grave danger to world peace presented by U.S. imperialism, which takes advantage of the contradictions in the world Communist movement, unity of the socialist countries and of the world Communist movement has become even more imperative. The Austrian Communists know that unity cannot be established overnight. But we firmly believe that the contradictions will be overcome in the end, for what unites us far outweighs that which at present disunites us.

In the period under review a factional splinter group has been formed in Austria as well with Albanian and Chinese support. Although every member of our Party is perfectly free to uphold even controversial views in the Party, these people have preferred to form a factional group and to launch a factional publication of their own. These exponents of radical verbiage concentrate their attacks on the Soviet Union and our Party and not on imperialism, not on our class enemy.

The Central Committee considers that membership in factional groups is incompatible with membership in our Party.

The best contribution the Austrian Communists can make to the effort to surmount the difficulties in the world Communist move-

ment is to preserve and strengthen the unity of their own Party. It is very important that attempts to split our Party in the past years, have been foiled. May the 19th Party Congress also administer a fitting rebuff to the splitters!

The policy of peaceful coexistence is a major point of controversy in the world Communist movement. It will be recalled that we have never regarded peaceful coexistence as a smooth road. The policy of peaceful coexistence is a form of the international class struggle against imperialism marked by periods of detente and increased tension. It has nothing in common with the notion that it is necessary to retreat before the U.S. aggression for the sake of peaceful coexistence. This attitude would not really serve the cause of peace but would, if anything, encourage the U.S. imperialists to commit new acts of aggression. The U.S. reactionaries are making a mistake if they think they can maintain good relations with the Soviet Union while attacking other socialist countries. But it is also wrong to maintain that the Soviet Union and China should "take the risk" and, out of solidarity with Vietnam, immediately go to war against the United States. The policy of peaceful coexistence implies both support for the national-liberation movement, solidarity with Vietnam, military assistance included, and the struggle to preserve world peace. The task is both to secure freedom for South Vietnam and to safeguard peace.

Some people overlook the fact that our Vietnamese comrades themselves envisage a political solution of the crisis on the basis of the Geneva agreements. A political settlement of the Vietnamese conflict through negotiations on the basis of the neutrality of South Vietnam and the withdrawal of the U.S. troops is feasible in view of the growing moral and political isolation of the United States, the positive stand of France, and the increasing protest movement of the peoples.

From the Congress the Austrian Communists send fraternal greetings to the Vietnamese comrades, the heroic fighters for freedom in South Vietnam. Yours is the right cause, and you will win. We promise you and all the peoples battling for their freedom that we in Austria will also launch solidarity actions and do everything to spread the truth about Vietnam and to exert public pressure on the Austrian government and the National Council, so that Austria and her representatives in the various organizations should actively support the national-liberation movement and the fight for peace and international detente.

Problems of the peaceful transition to socialism were also prominent in the pre-Congress discussion. In this instance also the conviction of our entire Party that this orientation is correct and necessary is of decisive importance. Some comrades expressed the fear that this orientation might mean our Party was following the SPA road.

But the SPA's peaceful road to socialism in the First Republic was a road to socialism only in words. In reality, it was the road of the working-class movement growing peacefully into capitalism, a road which led to fascism. Our present orientation, however, is a revolutionary concept taking account of the changed conditions. It proceeds from the fact that the capitalist class will not relinquish its privileges of its own free will and that therefore it can never be deprived of power through a policy of social partnership but solely through great revolutionary class struggles of the masses.

The program guidelines for the Austrian road to socialism, adopted by our Party in 1958, stresses, however, that there is no guarantee for the peaceful road, that the peaceful road also depends on the class battles of today and the near future.

Our concept of the peaceful transition to socialism is connected with the orientation to the restriction of the power of big capital by stages, on which unity with other forces and with large sections of the working people is already possible. Co-management by the workers and office employees is one of the stages. A corresponding proposal has been submitted to this Congress. Many comrades have made sceptical remarks about the idea, saying that co-management, if ever achieved, would make the working class share the responsibility. Yes, we declare openly that we will with a clear conscience shoulder the responsibility for the proposals and ideas we uphold. For these are scientifically sound and constructive ideas ensuring the progress of our country and meeting the interests of the factory and office workers. The very fact that we Communists have in the recent years develped a number of constructive ideas in the most diverse fields indicates our sense of responsibility for the development of the country, specifically its economic, technical and cultural progress. This has nothing in common with social partnership. We do not thereby assume any responsibility for capitalism as a whole, for the capitalist management of individual enterprises, or for the various technical, organizational or commercial decisions taken by the management.

The decisive immediate task is, in our opinion, to achieve a new political and ideological unity of the Party. In the past decade, due to the exposure of the Stalin cult and to radical changes in the world and Austria herself, many old dogmas, concepts and methods have not only been called in question, but have also turned out to be wrong and obstructive. In the past decade we have worked out much that is new, from the program guidelines and the document on nationalization to the theses and documents for this Congress. We draw strength and confidence from our new knowledge and new orientation. It is, in fact, a question of working out a new perspective. But we must say frankly—and the pre-Congress discussion showed it—that while we have made some headway, our Party as

a whole is still not fully convinced of the correctness of the new propositions and consequently is not inspired by them. The responsibility for what has not been done in this respect lies first and foremost with us, the leadership.

An important problem to be discussed and decided on by this Congress is that of the leadership of our Party. We propose that the 19th Congress make good the omissions of the previous congresses and set an example by initiating a rejuvenation of the leading Party bodies. On the other hand, we must revise the Party leadership's style of work to enable it to cope with its tasks much better than it has done in recent years.

While stressing the need to rejuvenate the leadership, we want to tell the Party how we value our old functionaries many of whom have for decades served the working class with selfless devotion and in the most trying period of fascism staked their lives in that service, and who continue to do very important work in various fields of Party life. Their experience, cooperation, help and support retain great importance for the whole of our Party.

The 19th Congress of our Party is taking place at a time when Austria is celebrating the twentieth anniversary of its liberation and of the founding of the Second Republic, and the tenth anniversary of the State Treaty. Despite all the difficulties that we have yet to overcome, all the outstanding problems and the serious dangers threatening democracy and the neutrality and independence of our country, we can put on record that our country and our people are in a incomparably more favorable historical position today and have incomparably brighter prospects for the future.

All the serious setbacks notwithstanding, we should remember that our Party today is incomparably stronger, that, as far as the impact of its ideas is concerned, it represents a factor of growing importance in the political development of our country, that it has grown politically and ideologically; and that a new generation of Party leaders has emerged in the Second Republic.

All these changes and successes, which can constitute the point of departure for a new, happy and peaceful perspective in our country, are inseparable from the consolidation of the socialist political system, from the victories of the national-liberation movement and the strengthening of the Communist movement. All these historic advances are also due to the activities of our Party. They show that our struggle, our work, has in the final analysis not been in vain.

CARRYING FORWARD THE MILITANT TRADITIONS OF THE PARTY*

JOHANN KOPLENIG, HONORARY CHAIRMAN,
COMMUNIST PARTY OF AUSTRIA

I thank all delegates of the Congress, all Austrian Communists for the high honor they have shown me in electing me honorary chairman of our Party. I thank the comrades for the confidence, for the feelings of friendship they have expressed thereby. I also thank Comrade Fuernberg, with whom I have been closely connected through the years personally, in political work and as a friend, for the warm tribute he has paid me.

The change of Party leadership and the retirement from the Central Committee of many comrades who have been tempered in the battles of our Party, is prompted by the natural laws of life, the need to infuse new blood into it, and to have younger forces capable of shouldering responsibility. I think we all have reason to be glad that our Party has produced comrades like Muhri and other representatives of his generation who are now taking their place in the leadership of the Party and whom the Party can fully rely upon.

As for myself, I informed the Central Committee some time ago that in view of my poor state of health I can no longer do full justice to my work as chairman of the Party. This does not mean that I want to withdraw from Party life. I think that this is in general very difficult for a Communist. Therefore I would not like to regard the tribute paid to me here as a kind of obituary. I am still among you. I am still with my Party, and I hope that I will still have the opportunity to do something for my Party.

Comrades, although I highly appreciate the fact that I have been elected honorary chairman of the Party, still I think that this decision extends beyond the personal and is of great political significance. I would like the Party to regard it as recognition of the Party's militant traditions, its contribution to the struggle of the Austrian working class, and its role in this sruggle.

Lenin's words that a party which forgets its past and its history is like a person who has lost his memory, holds true today as well.

At this congress which opens a new stage in the history of our Party, we must say: just as Communists of the older generation must learn to understand the new, changing conditions of the struggle so as not to trail behind events, so the younger generation must

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*Volksstimme, June 1, 1965.

learn from the experience of the past, from historical experience, for this experience will help the younger generation to find the answers to the problems of today.

All the delegates present were deeply moved when before the opening of the congress members of the Free Austrian Youth League filed into the hall carrying the old banners symbolizing the various stages of the Party's struggle. Among these banners one was missing — the banner which we could not save during the period of illegal work under fascism. It was the banner which the Russian workers had presented, as a symbol of solidarity and friendship between the Russian and Austrian working class, to the first Austrian workers' delegation, led by Comrade Honner, which visited the Soviet Union.

I think that I can say on behalf of the entire congress that also in the new conditions of today, and in the future as well, our Party, retaining its independence and political autonomy, will remain true to the traditions of solidarity and friendship with the Soviet Union and with all the socialist countries, will hold high the banner of the October Socialist Revolution and defend it against all attacks.

We have all reason to be proud of the contribution made by the Austrian Communists and revolutionary working-class movement to the struggle against fascism. There is an intrinsic connection between the anti-fascist struggle against the fascists of the "Heimwehr" organizations, the heroic struggle of February 1934, the active participation of hundreds of our finest comrades in the liberation struggle of the Spanish people and the active role of our Party in uniting the forces of national resistance in the struggle against Hitler fascism and for the rebirth of an independent Austria. As Georgi Dimitrov said at the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International, the experience and activity of our Party in the anti-fascist struggle was also an important contribution to creating new, broader forms of a united and popular front against fascism. Our contribution to the struggle against fascism is a glorious page in the history of our Party, in the history of the Austrian working-class movement.

Was it not an act of the greatest political significance, one that influenced the further development of our country, that our Party by raising its voice in defense of the Austrian nation at a time when it seemed that Austria had been destroyed by Hitler fascism, by its clear position on the national question, raised aloft the banner of anti-fascist, national and patriotic resistance and inspired all anti-fascist and patriotic forces?

We thereby put the struggle for the restoration of an independent, democratic Austria on a realistic basis, gave it a clear orientation. These, comrades, are only some examples from the history of our Party, and we must never forget that throughout the history

of the Austrian working-class movement thousands of Communists gave their lives in the struggle for the realization of the Party's policy.

Why do I speak of this? Because when we make a critical analysis of the Party's history we should avoid giving our own comrades and the working class the impression that it is a history consisting mostly of mistakes.

Lenin was never afraid to analyze the mistakes of the Bolshevik Party but he never presented the history of the Bolshevik Party as one of mistakes. He always made it clear that it is not the mistakes, but the entire struggle waged by the Bolshevik Pary that shows its real worth, its place in society.

Today when we recall the activity of our Party through the decades we state that there were successes as well as reverses, that serious mistakes were made. And it will be one of the tasks of the new Central Committee to make a critical analysis of our past activities. But there is no reason for us to disparage the revolutionary past of our Party, to belittle the historical significance of the revolutionary struggle of the Austrian working class which is closely connected with the history of our Party.

Comrades. The 19th Congress centered its attention on the problems connected with the perspectives of the peaceful way to socialism. I have nothing to add to what has already been said by Comrade Muhri in his report and by many other delegates. But I would like to warn against one thing. The correct orientation on the peaceful path of struggle for socialism should not be turned into a fashionable concept. The peaceful path is not without struggle; and I would like to stress that this path is also a revolutionary path for from the economic viewpoint, from the viewpoint of the conquest of power and moulding the conscience, the peaceful path means the transition to a new system, that is, to socialist revolution which the working class cannot and will not reject, but which we want to carry out the peaceful, democratic way.

The concrete task therefore is, in conjunction with our daily struggle for the interests of the working masses, and with the struggle to achieve our aims, as outlined in our theses, to extend and renovate democracy, to make the masses aware, politically and ideologically, of the need for the revolutionary transformation of society. We fully realize, of course, that the peaceful way will not come of itself, that it will be the result of a hard and stubborn class struggle.

Our Party is at present in the process of passing from one historical stage to another; one generation of Communists is replacing another. I think that the work and results of the 19th Congress of our Party will be a good starting point for our work.

First of all I should like to congratulate Comrade Muhri, the new

Chairman of our Party, with his new appointment. It is possible that in the beginning he will not find it easy. However, as we have seen he enjoys the confidence of the Party, and it is his good fortune that there are enough experienced comrades in the Political Bureau, the Central Committee and in the entire Party who will help him to carry out his tasks.

Comrade Fuernberg recalled the time, 41 years ago when I was entrusted with the leadership of the Party. We were confronted with a different problem then. The Party leadership and the lower Party organizations consisted mainly of young people. Some believed that we carried little weight with the masses because we did not have enough older people among us with the necessary experience. In this connection I recall an episode that took place in one of the districts of Vienna. It was District IX where a Party meeting was held to discuss the question of a general meeting of the entire district. One of the problems was to find a chairman for the meeting who would be a little older than the rest of the comrades. We solved the problem by inviting an older comrade from another district.

Now we have another problem. Today we do not have to "borrow" older comrades from other districts. The comrades who now shoulder the main responsibility have the great advantage that they can rely on the experience of our Party, on the rich experience of the international working-class movement and the world Communist movement. Today we have experienced comrades, tested in struggle, everywhere, in all organizations. But we have not got enough young people. We must not therefore, comrades, brush aside the demands made at this congress, particularly by the representatives of the younger generation. We must spare no effort to work more systematically than hitherto with the youth.

In conclusion, comrades, I want once again to express my sincere gratitude for your trust, for the friendship and comradeship shown me at this congress of our Party.

All the comrades who know me and with whom I had the good fortune to work also know that in all these 40 years I have never shirked my responsibilities. Latterly, however, I found it very difficult, and what depressed me most was that this happened at a time when I, like all the other comrades, realized that we must take the new path, that I as Chairman of the Party shoulder full responsibility and that I was no longer able to do full justice to the ensuing tasks.

In this respect, too, the congress took into account the changing conditions and the new tasks, and I am firmly convinced that the Party will only benefit by this. I can assure you that everything that lies within my power, that all I can still do for the Party will be done, so that the Congress decisions yield the results which we

all expect: still closer contact with the working masses, new successes on the way to establishing a united militant front of the working class and all the progressive forces of Austria, on the way to the triumph of socialism.

THE PROGRAM FOR INTERNAL POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

RESOLUTIONS OF THE 19th CONGRESS OF THE CPA

The Presidential elections of 1965, which ended in the victory of Franz Jonas, Burgomaster of Vienna, were of great political significance. Gorbach was the candidate of the Right extremists in the People's Party who openly sought the support of all neo-Nazi forces and, employing all means of demagogy, tried for the first time to win a majority in Presidential elections. After the neo-Nazi sorties in March and April, rebuffed by the forces of Austrian democratic unity, Jonas virtually became the candidate of these united democratic forces. As the defeated reactionaries of the People's Party will continue to fight against independence, neutrality and democracy and to support FPA intrigues, consolidation of the unity of the democratic, Austrian-minded republicans is imperative. The 19th Congress of the CPA insists on resolute measures against anti-Austrian, neo-Nazi intrigues and their makers in the servicemen unions, the Athletic Union, the Free Students' Association and the Alpine Union. The school, especially the higher school, must be rid of the spirit of neo-Nazism, anti-Semitism and anti-Austrianism and the education of the youth in an anti-fascist, democratic, Austrian spirit guaranteed.

The celebrations of the 20th anniversary of the republic have shown that the overwhelming majority of our people favor the national independence and neutrality of their country. But efforts are still being made to attach Austria to the EEC in some form and thereby virtually to abolish Austrian neutrality and to deliver a severe blow to the country's independence. The 19th Congress of the CPA resolutely opposes Austria's entry into the EEC in any form. As a neutral state, Austria can and should maintain and promote commercial relations with all countries.

Thanks to the effort of her workers, peasants and intellectuals, Austria has in the past years achieved an economic uptrend and a lasting growth of business activity. But the results of this effort are distributed very unfairly, for big capital has been able to net enormous profits while the standard of living of the working people is lagging farther and farther behind increasing production. The 19th Congress of the CPA insists on appropriate measures to end this injustice. We demand a higher share in the fruits of the favorable economic situation for the workers and office employees, higher

wages and salaries at the expense of the employers' profits, and a stop to further price increases. We demand a reform of the wage tax and a revision of the progressive tax system in favor of the workers and office employees. We demand the 40-hour week promised years ago. We demand greater budget appropriations for pensioning.

In continuing its attacks on the nationalized industry, the reactionary wing of the People's Party does not stop at entering into alliance with West German big capital. Preservation and extension of the nationalized industry is necessary for economic, political and national reasons. The 19th Congress of the CPA insists that no state-owned enterprise be returned to private owners. We demand that the nationalized industry be provided with every opportunity for further development.

The working population of Austria is almost completely debarred from economic co-management. This leads to constant infringements of its vital interests. The 19th Congress of the CPA calls for a fight for economic co-management in order to push back national and foreign monopoly capital, ensure economic progress and promote the interests of the working class and the working population as a whole.

It has for years been promised to the Austrian people that the housing shortage would be ended. In the face of attempts to make the working people shoulder all the costs of housing construction, the 19th Congress of the CPA insists on respecting the principle that every citizen has the right to a dwelling at reasonable rent. This is the basis on which the housing problem should be solved.

There is a pressing need for the democratization of suffrage and for the further democratization of social life as a whole. The 19th Congress of the CPA demands that all the political parties, including small ones, be at last granted equal rights and opportunities. This is the only way in which the whole people can be drawn into political life and its whole strength be used for ensuring independence, neutrality and democracy.

Realization of all these tasks calls for the greatest unity of the working class and all the democratic forces in the struggle against reaction, neo-Nazism, and domestic and foreign monopoly capital. The 19th Congress of the CPA urges all the Communists to do everything in their power towards this end.

FOR FREEDOM OF OPINION AND SPEECH ON RADIO AND TELEVISION

The role of the press as a vehicle of information and political views has largely been taken over by the radio and television. The ruling parties' monopoly on these media means far-reaching aboli-

tion of the political equality of the citizens, a step back in democratic development and at the same time a violation of the fundamental constitutional principle of equal opportunities in elections to the legislative bodies, in campaigning which today is done chiefly over the radio and television.

The demand put forward by some members of the ruling parties and by the press that radio and television be made non-political is by no means a step towards democratizing these institutions. It is an attempt to increase the influence of the bourgeoisie and strengthen the positions of business and to deprive the democratic organizations and spokesmen for the working class of much of their right to a say.

There was time when, fighting for their freedoms and for democracy, the people wrested from the ruling classes freedom of the press and the abolition of all restrictions on the publication of newspapers and on their circulation by state mail. Just as a monopoly on the press by the state or the ruling parties today is unthinkable, so they must have no privileges as regards the radio and television.

The Communist Party of Austria protests most emphatically against the current undemocratic practices on radio and television and demands for all the democratic and patriotic political trends and parties freedom of opinion and speech on radio and television, particularly in the discussions organized by these agencies. The struggle for this demand is a decisive part of the struggle for the renovation and consolidation of democracy in Austria and must therefore be waged by all the democrats of our country.

FOR THE UNITY OF THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

The 19th Congress of the Communist Party of Austria approves the decisions of the Central Committee to contribute, through bilateral and multilateral consultations of Communist parties and through lending the debate on existing differences an objective character, to the unity of the world Communist movement in repelling imperialist attacks and in fighting for peace and peaceful coexistence.

SOLIDARITY WITH VIETNAM

The 19th Congress of the CPA protests most emphatically against the U.S. aggression in Vietnam. This aggression is a flagrant violation of the international Geneva agreement of 1954, an attempt to impose a hated regime of oppression upon the freedom-loving Vietnamese people through a homicidal interventionist war. It threatens peace in Southeast Asia and is a blow to the relaxation of world political tension and to the peaceful coexistence of the peoples.

Austria cannot remain indifferent towards this highly dangerous development. In keeping with Austrian neutrality, the government should support every initiative likely to contribute to peace in Vietnam.

In common with all the freedom-loving forces of the world, the Austrian Communists demand respect for the Geneva agreements of 1954, an end to the U.S. aggression and the withdrawal of the U.S. troops as a condition for ensuring the right of the Vietnamese people to self-determination and achieving peace in Vietnam.

We declare our solidarity with the people of South Vietnam, who for ten years have been waging a heroic and selfless struggle against U.S. intervention and the puppet government set up by the United States. We declare our solidarity with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, which as a model and an example for South Vietnam has also become a target for U.S. aggression.

Through our solidarity actions we want to contribute to the assistance which the peace forces of the world are extending to the Vietnamese people.

SOVIET-BULGARIAN FRIENDSHIP WILL LIVE FOREVER*

M. A. Suslov

I

Dear Comrades,
Dear Bulgarian Friends,

On behalf of the Central Committee of the CPSU, the Soviet Communists and the whole Soviet people, we are glad to convey fraternal greetings to you and, in your person, to the Bulgarian Communists and the whole Bulgarian people. We are happy to note that this meeting, like previous meetings in your hospitable country, is inspired by a sincere friendship and a mutual desire to strengthen and develop the fraternal cooperation of our parties and countries.

The Soviet people think highly of friendship with the Bulgarian people, a friendship which has been sealed by the blood of the finest sons of Bulgaria and Russia, by joint struggles for socialism and communism, and has stood all tests. Our people think highly of the rich and varied experience gained by the Bulgarian working people in socialist construction, of the experience of the Bulgarian Communist Party, under whose leadership the age-old aspirations of the Bulgarian people are now being realized.

Soviet-Bulgarian friendship and cooperation are deeply rooted in history, but they have fully developed during the last two decades, when the community of the historical destinies of the Bulgarian and Russian peoples was reinforced by so decisive a factor as joint struggles for socialism and communism, and when our relations came to be based on the principles of proletarian internationalism, and on common political aims and views.

Soviet-Bulgarian friendship is growing stronger and warmer also because it is being steadily promoted by the Communist parties of the Soviet Union and Bulgaria. The relations and cooperation between our parties are an example of genuine fraternity; they are based on profound mutual respect, on common aims and actions, on a common Marxist-Leninist world outlook, on loyalty to the principles of proletarian internationalism. We should like to stress that the relations between our parties have never been marred by

*Speech by M. A. Suslov, Member, Presidium of the CC CPSU, Secretary, CC, CPSU at a Meeting of Activists of the Sofia regional and city Party organization with the CPSU delegation, June 2, 1965. A speech by Todor Zhivkov, First secretary, CC BCP, Chairman, Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria follows. **Pravda** June 5, 1965.

anything, and that today we are united and inspired by an identity of views on all the major problems of our time.

The parties, governments and peoples of our countries are cooperating in the most diverse fields. Economic and cultural cooperation, political and business relations, and contacts in the public sphere are growing in scale. Having become a good tradition, they help us to carry out the national tasks facing our countries all the more successfully, to strengthen Soviet-Bulgarian unity and friendship and promote the mutual enrichment of our parties and peoples with the experience of the struggle for the socialist reorganization of society. We are all aware of the beneficial effect of this cooperation.

Inter-party and inter-state contacts are developing fruitfully between us. Last year the USSR was twice visited by our good friend, Comrade Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, who familiarized himself with various aspects of the life and activities of our Party and people. Leaders of the CC, CPSU and the Soviet Government informed Comrade Zhivkov in detail about the situation in our country and discussed with him a wide range of internal and international problems. I must say that we had complete mutual understanding on all problems.

Recently we played host to a welcome guest, Comrade Georgi Traikov, President of the Presidium of the National Assembly of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. In addition to Moscow, he visited Volgograd, Byelorussia, Armenia and Georgia, toured industrial establishments, collective and state farms and research institutes, and met Party and government officials and working people. The friendly and frank exchange of opinions that took place was mutually beneficial.

Somewhat earlier the Soviet Union was visited, as you know, by a delegation of Bulgarian ideological workers led by Comrade Mitko Grigorov, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC, BCP. The comrades had ample opportunity of familiarizing themselves with the activities of the CC, CPSU and with the experience of our local Party organizations. As a result, measures for further cooperation between the CPSU and the BCP were jointly worked out.

The experience of Soviet Party and state control bodies was studied by a BCP delegation last April. A Bulgarian Party and government delegation led by Comrade Boris Velchev, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC, BCP, attended the celebration in Moscow of the twentieth anniversary of the victory over Hitler Germany.

On your friendly invitation, Bulgaria has been visited by many Soviet Party delegations. Lately you have received a delegation

led by Comrade Brezhnev, which took part in the celebration of the twentieth anniversary of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria, and delegations led by Comrade Kirilenko, Comrade Bodyul, First Secretary of the CC, Communist Party of Moldavia, and Comrade Demchenko, Secretary, Moscow Regional Committee of the CPSU, which studied your experience.

For several years now friendly contacts have been maintained between various republics and regions of the USSR, on the one hand, and regions in the People's Republic of Bulgaria, on the other, between enterprises, cooperatives, research centers, and educational establishments. Last year alone the USSR played host to seventeen Bulgarian delegations, and sent as many delegations to Bulgaria.

Industrial workers, collective farmers, state-farm workers, scientists and Party officials of the two countries maintain friendly correspondence and share their experience in Party work and economic development through the press, radio and television. There are innumerable examples of such mutually beneficial friendship.

We hope the stay of this delegation of the CPSU in Bulgaria will also contribute to the development and extension of contacts between our two parties.

We have come to you on the kind invitation of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party to acquaint ourselves with the manifold activities of your Party, with its experience and the forms and methods of its work. We gladly accepted your invitation, and we express our profound gratitude to the CC, BCP.

In the course of a meeting at the CC, BCP Comrade Zhivkov told our delegation a great deal about the development of the country, the progress made in socialist construction, the problems of economic management, and the organizing and ideological work of the Party. From what we heard from Comrade Zhivkov and Comrades Grigorov and Prymov, who accompanied us on our tour of the country, and from what was said at the meetings we had in regional Party committees, factories and cooperatives, we have derived much that is interesting and valuable. Our delegation now knows more and has new vivid impressions of your wonderful country, of your fraternal people and their outstanding economic and cultural achievements. It has acquainted itself with the rich and largely instructive experience of the Party and its local organizations.

It was very interesting for all of us to witness the important and fruitful work which your Party is carrying on in various spheres of socialist construction. We were particularly interested to hear from your comrades how the Bulgarian Communist Party and its Central Committee strive to improve Party leadership of the various fields of social life. We have seen that your Party is doing more and more to work out guidelines for home and foreign policy on a truly scientific basis, to demonstrate from the standpoint of science the need

for specific measures in the economic, ideological and cultural fields, and to improve the forms of Party leadership, administration, and economic management. This shows that the activities of the Party have entered a higher stage and that its role in socialist construction and in the life of the country at large has increased.

We were very much interested to hear of your new system of economic planning and management, which, we were told, greatly increased the effectiveness of production, encourages initiative and helps to improve the people's standard of living.

We have seen much that is interesting to us in your Party's organizing and ideological activities. Specifically, we were impressed by the experience of the communal Party committees in coordinating and directing the work of the rural primary Party organizations—those of the cooperatives, schools, medical and other establishments.

We have been told about the interesting experience of neighborhood Party organizations in the towns. We think this aspect of Party work among the masses is important and interesting in form. It extends the Party's links with those sections of the population outside the range of the factory and office Party organizations.

We have visited Sofia, Ruse, Burgas and Varna, met leaders and activists of regional and city Party committees, got together with collectives of working people, visited the Burgas Petrochemical Complex, the Karl Marx Chemical Plant, the Kremnitsa Iron and Steel Complex, the Khristo Botev Agricultural Cooperative in Burgas Region, the Dimitr Kondov State Farm and an agricultural experimental station in Varna Region, and seen the Sunny Coast, Friendship and Golden Sands resorts.

We were given a most friendly welcome wherever we went, and invariably felt as we might have in our own families, among our own brothers.

I should like on this occasion to express once again the heartfelt gratitude of our delegation to the leaders of the Ruse, Burgas, Varna and Sofia regions, to all the comrades who received us like brothers and helped to make our trip as useful as possible.

What are our main impressions?

First and foremost, we feel that the People's Republic of Bulgaria is advancing confidently to socialism, that it has made signal progress in every field of political, economic and cultural activity. Socialism has called to life the inexhaustible creative forces of the Bulgarian people and provided your country with ample opportunities for economic advancement and the spiritual growth of the working people.

Could the Bulgarian peasant dream 20 years ago that within the next two decades industrial output in his country would grow 18-fold, that tens of thousands of tractors would go into the fields, that

his children would study in schools and colleges? All this is a reality today, and still more inspiring vistas are opening up.

When visiting your factories, we saw with our own eyes that socialist Bulgaria has a highly-developed industry. You have set up modern metal-making, power, engineering, chemical and petrochemical industries, and the successfully developing electrical engineering and other important industries. Your industries, which meet domestic requirements, are now sending their products to the foreign markets. Machines and equipment bearing the trade mark "Made in Bulgaria" are already operating in many countries.

All this, comrades, arouses a feeling of pride not only in you, but also in us Soviet people, friends of socialist Bulgaria.

During our trip we saw well-tended fields and livestock farms. We saw well-appointed, sometimes completely new villages. We saw people working with enthusiasm in the fields, people who are proud of their successes. Your important achievements in agriculture show that socialism has become firmly established in the Bulgarian countryside and bears beneficial fruits.

Thanks to the able leadership of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the great industry of your people, the Bulgarian land has become a rich source of growing prosperity for the working people. Today Bulgaria is a country with a high level of education and culture. We wholeheartedly rejoice in your achievements, which are in evidence everywhere.

Naturally, your country has its difficulties and problems like any country blazing new trails. You are dealing with them one by one. The important thing is that the working people are confidently working to complete the program of socialist construction adopted by the Eighth Party Congress, to create conditions for the gradual transition to Communist construction in Bulgaria.

Another important impression we have formed is that the Bulgarian Communist Party enjoys undisputed prestige among the people. Its political line and practical activities are approved and backed by all. Wherever we went, the workers and peasants stressed that they owed their achievements in creating a new economy and a new culture to the leadership of the BCP, which, together with the Bulgarian Land Cultivators' Union, is carrying on tremendous political and organizing work to promote the socialist reorganization of the country.

The cooperation of the Communist Party and the Peasant Party in building a new society is an example of the creative application of Lenin's theory of the alliance of the working class and the peasantry. We pay a tribute of respect to the BSP and the Bulgarian people for the valuable contribution they are making to the theory and practice of socialist construction.

The Communist Party and the Government of the People's Re-

public of Bulgaria enjoy the complete and unanimous support of the people. Only political adventurers out of all touch with reality can imagine they will achieve their anti-popular aims in a socialist country where power has for more than twenty years been in the hands of the people. The socialist system is not a field where political scoundrels can succeed.

The BCP is solidly united round its Central Committee headed by Comrade Todor Zhivkov. It enjoys well-deserved prestige in the world Communist movement.

Our third important impression is the profound sympathy, sincere love of the Bulgarian people for the Soviet people, of the Bulgarian Communists for our Communist Party. We felt this in every handshake, in the smiles radiating sincere friendship, in the attention given us representatives of the Soviet people and the CPSU, in the frankness of the talks we had in Party committees, at industrial enterprises and in cooperatives, in talks with workers, peasants and specialists. These are sentiments of immense depth.

We did not always understand the words we heard, but we understood each other very well with our hearts. We refer all this warmth, these stirring manifestations of fraternal friendship, to the Soviet land, to the Party of Lenin, to the Soviet people. And we assure you that the Soviet people and our Communist Party entertain the same feelings of profound respect and love for your country, for the Bulgarian people and your glorious Communist Party.

No one can ever break this fraternal friendship of our peoples, our parties. It has come into being over the centuries and will live for ever!

II

Comrades, the creative application and development of the Leninist standards and principles of Party life and Party leadership, the increasingly profound scientific elaboration of policy, the improvement of forms and methods of Party work, to which you are now giving a great deal of attention, are also questions with which we Soviet Communists are concerned.

Our Party and the entire Soviet people are consistently carrying out the general line laid down by the decisions of the Twentieth and Twenty-Second congress, by the Program of the CPSU.

On the home front this line is aimed at laying the material and technical basis of communism, ensuring further powerful development of the economy, technology, science and culture, strengthening the country's defenses, raising the material and cultural well-being of the Soviet people to the utmost and educating the working people in the communist spirit.

On the basis of the Party's correct general line, our country has

achieved successes about which the whole world knows, and become a great socialist power.

The main targets of the seven-year plan for industry are being overfulfilled. This year we shall turn out 510,000 million kilowatt-hours of electricity, 242 million tons of oil, 90 million tons of steel, 33.5 million tons of mineral fertilizer, and 416,000 tons of chemical fibre. There will be a considerable increase in the output of coal, natural gas and cement. A total of 356,000 tractors, about 190,000 metal-cutting machine tools, nearly four million TV sets, more than five million radio sets and radiograms and more than three million washing machines will be produced. These figures give some idea of the Soviet Union's present industrial might.

The technical level of Soviet industry and other branches of the national economy rises year by year. Our science and technology make it possible to produce any complex machine, including spaceships and rockets unequalled in the world. It is no accident that the Soviet people pioneered space exploration and maintain their lead in this field.

Certain successes have also been achieved in agriculture. The production and state purchases of field and animal husbandry products have increased considerably, making it possible to satisfy the basic needs of the economy and the demands of the country's 230-million population. The Party and the Government pay constant attention to raising the well-being of the Soviet people. Recently it has been found possible to increase the wages of workers in the services, to raise the pensions of war invalids, the families of those who died defending their homeland, to introduce pensions for collective farmers, and to reduce the prices of many consumer goods. In 1964 and 1965 the incomes of about 20 million Soviet citizens in employment have increased considerably.

In the economic development plan for this year the Central Committee of the Party and the Government provided for an increase of 4.5 percent in average wages and salaries, as against the average annual increase of 2.4 percent over the past six years. Incomes of peasants from their collective farms will grow substantially.

The Party and the Soviet Government are making fresh efforts to solve the housing problem. Much has already been done in this field. The past six years have witnessed an improvement in the living conditions of about one-third of the population of our country. Nevertheless, the problem is still not solved. Therefore more houses will be built this year than during any of the previous years.

It goes without saying that our Party is not content with the successes achieved in improving the material and cultural well-being of the working people. We should like to see the life of the Soviet people improving more rapidly. But we have to reckon with

objective reality which involves us in considerable expenses for the defense of our country, and of other countries, too, because of our internationalist duty, which the Soviet people are fulfilling with honor.

Since the imperialist powers are continuing the arms race and engaging in military aggression in one part of the world after another, our Party and Government are forced to maintain our country's defenses at the highest possible level and to constantly perfect them. Today the Soviet armed forces have first-class equipment, and enough rockets to strike at any conceivable opponent at any point of the globe. The military reviews held on May 9 in honor of the 20th anniversary of the victory over Nazi Germany give some idea of the might of the Soviet armed forces. This might is a formidable warning to any aggressor, to all instigators of war. But all this, of course, demands big material sacrifices on the part of the Soviet people and the expenditure of a considerable part of the national income on defense.

While noting the success achieved by the Soviet people, our Party assesses them soberly; it sees the shortcomings in its work, in particular in the leadership given to agriculture and in the organizational work of Party bodies.

Lenin taught us to take as our starting point in politics and in practical matters the objective laws of social development; not to put our trust in the will and intuition of individuals, but to rely on science, on the collective experience and wisdom of the people; not to become conceited when assessing what we have achieved but boldly bring to light and correct mistakes and shortcomings; to display a businesslike and serious and not subjectivist, hasty approach to political and economic questions. If you take a look at the decisions of the recent plenary meetings of the CPSU Central Committee you will agree that they are in accordance with Lenin's counsel.

The frequent and unfounded reorganizations in the leadership of Party, Government, trade union and Komsomol organizations which took place up to the October 1964 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee did a great deal of harm to our cause. They led to irresponsibility and nervousness in work.

The 1964 November Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee came to the conclusion that there had been no justification for the reorganization of Party organs undertaken at the end of 1962 on the so-called production principle, for the division of regional Party organizations into industrial and agricultural. Additional difficulties were created; Party organizations in the towns were artificially divorced from rural ones; services to the rural population deteriorated in the sphere of culture, education and health and in the training and promotion of cadres, which harmed the alliance

of the working class and the peasantry. The industrial and agricultural regional and territorial Party organizations have now been reunited. Single Party organs have been set up in accordance with the Party Rules.

Accordingly, single government, trade union and Komsomol organs have been restored in all regions and territories, as well as single Party and state control bodies.

The establishment of single Party organs and the strengthening of district organizations increases the responsibility of local leaders for the situation in all branches of the economy. The decisions of the November Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, like those of the October Plenary Meeting, were received by Communists and the entire people with great enthusiasm, and enhanced the role of the Party and its local organizations.

The CPSU Central Committee sees it as one of its main tasks to put agricultural production on a firm scientific basis. Our Party has in recent years been giving great attention to the development of collective and state farms, but the output of agricultural produce still does not satisfy the growing demands of the people.

In this connection the March Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee stated that it was now vitally necessary for the successful building of communism to ensure a steady advance in agriculture, and to create a stable economic basis for this. This is one of the main aspects of the Party's economic policy, for it is concerned with the bedrock of the Soviet state—the relations between the working class and the peasantry.

In recent years, as you probably know, there were serious miscalculations in the leadership given to collective and state farms in our country, as a result of which rates of development in agriculture slowed down and plans for its development remained unfulfilled. This happened because the economic laws of the development of socialist production were violated, disproportions were permitted in the development of its main branches and there was an underestimation of the principle of providing material incentives to collective farmers and state farm workers. Quite often stereotyped instructions on farm practices, on the maintenance and feeding of cattle, and on the crop pattern were issued from above, without sufficient basis and without consideration for local conditions and experience.

All this stood in the way of effective farming, restrained the initiative of specialists and leaders of collective farms and state farms and far from helped raise their sense of responsibility for the job entrusted to them. Now we have put an end to such practices.

In accordance with the decisions of the March Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee our state allocates large sums for increasing the production of tractors and other machinery, for im-

proving meadows and watering the land. In the next five years it is planned to invest in agriculture 71,000 million rubles, including 41,000 million which the state is appropriating for the construction of production facilities and the acquisition of machinery. In other words, during the next five years as much money will be spent on agriculture in the USSR as was invested in it in the 19 postwar years. This will make it possible to equip agriculture with considerably greater quantities of modern means of production. Suffice it to say that it is proposed to increase the output of tractors to 625,000 by the end of the five-year period, that is, almost to double it compared with 1964.

New terms for the sale of agriculture produce to the state have been worked out.

In the past collective and state farms received new plans for the sale of agricultural produce every year. Furthermore, local bodies often set additional assignments in the course of the year, with the result that collective and state farms did not know in advance what they were supposed to supply to the state and what products they would have at their own disposal. Now fixed purchase plans have been laid down for a period of five years, and no one has the right to change them. This means that collective and state farms can work with confidence and with clear prospects.

On the basis of state orders for agricultural products the collective and state farms now plan their production independently, in keeping with the concrete conditions and requirements of the farm, and determine their own ways of raising crop yields, increasing the productivity of animal husbandry and strengthening their economy.

The Government has substantially raised the prices it pays for wheat, rye, buckwheat and millet; an increase of 10 to 100 percent has been announced in the prices of all types of livestock. The purchase of surplus agricultural produce above plan will now be made only at higher prices and on a strictly voluntary basis. For wheat and rye purchased above plan the state will pay an additional 50 percent on the basic purchasing price. All this will help greatly the incomes of the collective and state farm; the material interest of workers in agriculture in increasing the output of agricultural produce will be stimulated.

We see the fundamental significance of the March Plenary Meeting in that it marked an important turn towards a scientifically-grounded economic policy.

It is of course still early to speak of the effect of the measures taken by the Party to improve the guidance given to the economy, to correct the mistakes committed as a result of the subjectivist approach to complex economic problems. But one can see some advance. The results of the work done in the first four months of

this year are quite heartening: the main targets for industry have been overfulfilled. Output has increased by 9 percent, as against the planned 7 percent. The state of affairs in agriculture is improving noticeably, particularly in livestock breeding and poultry farming. During the first four months of the year, the state brought 50 percent more milk and 44 percent more eggs than during the same period last year. Spring field work is being completed. Despite the late spring several million hectares more than last year have been sown to this day. Sowing has been carried out with great diligence, and at a high scientific level.

In tackling the job of building a communist society we attach fundamental importance to a correct Marxist-Leninist policy on the national question. The whole world knows of the success of this policy. But only those who directly deal with problems in this sphere can fully understand how important it is—as regards both internal and foreign policy—to provide every opportunity for the economic and cultural advancement of formerly backward nations and national minorities, to help them prepare their own cadres and overcome narrow national feelings. Soviet society today presents a strong international unity, a close-knit family of all the nations and nationalities inhabiting the USSR.

Questions of the communist education of the working people, of the moral and cultural development of man, occupy a significant place in the activities of our Party. However great the role of material conditions in the life of society, the problem of building communism is not completely solved by creating an abundance of material wealth. It is also necessary that communist social relations be established in all spheres of life, and this is linked with the affirmation of communist views, the development of a scientific world outlook, the mastering of the treasures of human culture, the provision of opportunities for the all-round physical and intellectual development of the individual. Intellectuals have an extremely important role to play in the fulfillment of these tasks. While paying due tribute to those working in the factories and on the farms, to those who are directly engaged in creating material values, Soviet society also highly appreciates the work done by scientists, writers, doctors, artists, teachers and actors.

The line laid down by the 20th and 22nd congresses and the measures taken by the CPSU for further improving the leadership of Communist construction meet with full understanding and support among Soviet people. increase the Party's prestige and strengthen its links with the masses of workers, collective farmers and intellectuals.

As the Party's links with the people grow and gain in strength, a considerable increase in membership of the CPSU can be observed. After the 22nd Congress of our Party, that is, since the end of 1961,

the Party's membership has increased by more than 2 million. Today there are more than 12 million Communists in its ranks. Last year alone, nearly 880,000 people were accepted as candidate members of the Party. Among them, 45.3 percent are workers, 15.1 percent, collective farmers and 38.6 percent, office employees. Among the latter 72 percent are specialists, teachers and doctors.

As the tasks of our people have to cope with daily grow in magnitude and complexity, ever greater demands are made of the Party, its organizations and every individual Communist.

Therefore, in addition to ensuring that its ranks are constantly replenished with the finest representatives of the working people, our Party pays great attention to improving its organizational and ideological work.

We know very well that for the successful accomplishment of today's and tomorrow's tasks the experience of yesterday is not quite enough. It is necessary to perfect the forms and methods of Party leadership, and to increase the activity and influence of the Communists. This is today an important matter for our Party. We do not regard the establishment of single regional committees and rural district committees of the Party as a simple return to the old forms. It is a question of taking what is best from the past experience and organizing work on a new basis conforming to the present period in the life of the Party and the country.

The decisions adopted by the Party enhance the role of Party committees as organs of political leadership. In the past, occupied with current economic matters, some Party organizations and their elective organs sometimes tended to forget about the need to display a political approach to economic questions, to exercise an ideological influence on the masses, and neglected ideological and political work. These shortcomings are now being remedied.

Our aim is to get Party organizations and individual Communists to display greater independence in the consideration of economic questions, to ensure that they do not allow these matters to be dealt with in an administrative way. In this, we, like you, are anxious to see a correct combination of Party and state leadership, a clearer division of functions between the Party and state organs. This is why, for instance, we are interested in the work of your Party to carry out the decisions of the May 1964 Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, which outlined measures to prevent the functions of economic organizations being taken over by Party bodies, and to eliminate duplication in their work. The majority of our Party organizations are more and more displaying a creative attitude to work, a striving for innovations, and for increased activity and initiative on the part of Communists. Party organizational and mass political work is improving perceptibly and great attention is being paid to the

activities of basic Party units and to the training of cadres.

One of the main concerns of our Central Committee and the entire Party is to enhance the role and increase the responsibility of every Communist for carrying out the Party's program and its current policy. A Communist is not a passive looker-on but an active champion of the Party's cause. He cannot simply observe events but must himself actively intervene in life. Our Party organizations are now working to foster such a militant spirit in every member and candidate member of the Party.

More and more often Party committees and meetings of primary Party organizations discuss questions of Communists' compliance with the stipulations of the Party Rules and the Moral Code of the builders of communism, and of enhancing their sense of responsibility for the work entrusted them.

At the same time, close attention is given to the creation of conditions necessary for increasing the activity and initiative of individual Communists. It is well known that a Party member feels a full participant in the Party's affairs when consideration is paid to him, to his opinion and his criticisms, when there is a really comradely atmosphere in the Party organization in which one can freely discuss questions of interest to Communists and solve them in accordance with the declared will of the majority.

Proclaiming democratic centralism to be the guiding principle, our Party is anxious to ensure that a correct relationship between democracy and centralism should be preserved in the consideration and decision of important Party questions, that there should be no deviation to either side, that the democratic principles of Party life should be strictly observed both in form and in substance, and that criticism and self-criticism should be promoted in Party organizations.

The growth of the ranks of the CPSU and of the ideological maturity of the Communists, the development of Party democracy and the strengthening of Party discipline, the improvement of forms and methods of Party work create the necessary conditions for successful activity by our Party to carry out the practical tasks of the full-scale building of communism.

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Comrades, the successes of our countries and of the entire socialist community in the construction of socialism and communism, the ideological and political strengthening of our parties, and the growth of their prestige among the masses constitute a vital component part of the development of the world revolutionary process and of the consolidation of the forces fighting to prevent a world war, for a lasting peace, for the freedom and independence of the peoples.

The Communists and all the working people of the socialist

countries see it as their main task to promote in every way economic and cultural progress, promote the communist consciousness of the masses, and strengthen the defenses of their respective countries and of the entire socialist system. This is their chief contribution to the world revolutionary process and their primary international duty.

The foreign policy of the socialist states is not only of a national, but also of a profoundly international nature.

To build socialism and communism successfully, our peoples need a durable peace. We are well aware of what war would mean now. The Soviet people bore the biggest, irretrievable losses in the Second World War. The war cost them more than 20 million human lives. And how much destruction the fascist barbarians left behind in the towns and villages!

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet government are working tirelessly to preserve and consolidate peace, to prevent the imperialists from unleashing a new world war, to frustrate the schemes of the aggressors.

The primary aim of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union is to secure, together with all the socialist states, peaceful conditions for the building of socialism and communism, to defend the cause of peace and progress.

The Party and the Soviet Government are doing everything to strengthen the unity and cohesion of the socialist countries, to consolidate the friendship and fraternity of our peoples, to unite all the progressive, anti-imperialist forces. We are actively supporting and shall continue to support the liberation and revolutionary movements. We consistently uphold the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, working to spread these principles to all states, big and small, to ensure respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of every state.

Such is our foreign policy. It expresses the fundamental interests of the Soviet people and accords with the aspirations of all peace-loving people of the world.

However, it is a fact that the international situation has been noticeably aggravated of late. Tension has increased in certain parts of the world as a result of aggression by imperialism, U.S. imperialism in the first place. The question arises: is this a sign of the position of imperialism growing stronger? In our opinion, this would be a wrong conclusion, distorting the real picture of the processes of modern world development and overestimating the strength of the imperialists.

An objective and profound appraisal of present-day world development is given in the Communique of the Consultative Meeting of representatives of Communist and Worker's parties which took

place in Moscow on March 1-5. It points out that "consolidation of the positions of socialism, upsurge of the national-liberation and international working-class movements, and growth of the forces advocating the maintenance and strengthening of peace, constitute the basic trend in world development."

Assessing the present correlation of forces, we clearly see the struggle against imperialism and for social progress embracing more and more new zones and new masses of the population. The Cuban Revolution marked the beginning of the establishment of socialism in the Western Hemisphere. The socialist way of development is winning over the peoples of a number of newly-freee countries of Asia and Africa. The ideas of socialism are thus ever more becoming the guiding ideas of the masses on all continents.

One of the most important results of the historical process in the last decade was the entry of the peoples of former colonies and semi-colonies in a new and higher stage of struggle for national liberation and social progress. The national-liberation revolutions have almost completely destroyed the political system of colonialism. There are 63 sovereign states in the world which have sprung up on the shambles of colonial empires. In most of the countries, which still remain under colonialist rule — in Angola, the Congo, Mozambique, "Portuguese" Guinea — the peoples are waging a stubborn struggle for their liberation.

The national-liberation revolutions have begun to undermine the economic system of colonialism. The peoples of the newly-free countries are fighting hard to cast off the shackles of the imperialist monopolies, to break the colonial social structure, and for far-reaching general democratic reforms. Of key importance in this struggle is resistance to the neo-colonialist imperialist strategy aimed at riveting the young national states to the capitalist chariot, creating in them a new social base for capitalism, disuniting and setting the forces of national liberation against one another, and isolating them from the socialist world system and the international working class.

The experience of Algeria, the United Arab Republic, Ghana, Mali and a number of other countries shows that in present conditions, when socialism is becoming the decisive force of social progress, a consistent struggle of the masses for the full triumph of the national-liberation and anti-imperialist revolutions opens up the possibility for the transition to the non-capitalist, socialist road of development.

World development is characterized by the progressive dilapidation and weakening of the capitalist system and the growth of the international working-class movement and all the revolutionary forces. Adapting itself to the new conditions, imperialism is taking recourse to new methods of struggle against the revolutionary

forces and going over to counter-attacks in some places. But the attempts of the monopolistic bourgeoisie to change the correlation of world forces in its favor, push back socialism, halt the revolutionary process, and crush the national-liberation movement are failing. Despite the temporary, partial setbacks suffered by some revolutionary detachments, imperialism, on the whole, continues to lose its positions. The sphere of its domination is shrinking.

The socio-political situation in the citadels of imperialism is becoming complicated. On the one hand, the extreme reactionaries are becoming more active, and on the other, resistance to their intrigues, to their aggressive policy is mounting. Recent years have been marked by the growth of contradictions between the imperialists, also in their aggressive blocs, by an upsurge of the class struggle of the working people, the appearance of new forms and methods of this struggle, the advance of the democratic forces, and the growing tendency for unity of action of the working class and all the working people.

Despite the difficulties which have risen, the world Communist movement continues to make headway. Communist parties are active at present in 88 countries and unite more than 46 million people in their ranks.

Most of the Communist parties firmly stand on the positions of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and are consistently implementing the general line of the world Communist movement as defined by the Moscow meetings of 1957 and 1960.

The Communist parties are becoming an ever more influential force in the social and political life of a number of capitalist countries. Thus, the French and Italian Communist parties have scored big successes in local and general elections. Active work among the masses is being conducted by the Communist parties of Finland, Belgium, Greece, Chile, Uruguay, and other countries. It is gratifying to see how the positions of the Communist movement are being strengthened in the countries of Asia and Africa. Twenty-six new Communist parties have been founded there in the past two decades, and the number of Communists has risen nearly 15-fold.

Such are the most important factors increasingly influencing the trend of the entire world development. As we see, we have no grounds, nor can there by any grounds, for pessimistic conclusions. The forces fighting for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism, given unity of action and solidarity, can curb the forces of reaction and aggression.

At the same time, we cannot but see that in conditions of the change, generally favorable for socialism, or the correlation of forces in the international arena world reaction, above all U.S. imperialism, is becoming more active. The U.S. imperialists are trying to aggravate the situation now in one part of the world,

now in another. They are undertaking aggressive actions against the socialist countries, the states that freed themselves from colonial domination, and the revolutionary movement of the peoples. The reactionaries are trying to check the irreversible historical process. The U.S. aggression in Vietnam, Laos and the Dominican Republic, the unceasing provocations against Cuba, and the imperialist interference in the struggle in the Congo are all links of a single chain, the chain with which international reaction wants to hold back the liberation movement of the peoples.

The U.S. imperialists support the West German militarists and revanchists, who frantically strive to gain possession of atomic weapons and are ever more brazenly demanding a revision of the borders set up as a result of the rout of Hitler Germany.

U.S. imperialism is acting now as a stronghold of reaction, as a world gendarme. No matter how hard Mr. Johnson, the current President of the United States, tries to "legally" substantiate his perfidious policy, no matter how much he talks about the "special mission" of the United States, he will not succeed in hiding the indisputable fact that U.S. imperialism is now the worst enemy of all freedom-loving peoples.

As we all know, the main seat of international tension is now in Vietnam. The blame for the critical situation that has developed there rests with the U.S. imperialists. This testifies, however, not to the strength, but to the weakness of U.S. imperialism. It is an expression of its mounting difficulties and its fear of the growth of the working-class democratic, and national-liberation movements and of the increasing might of the socialist forces.

The South Vietnamese puppets are holding on solely with the help of American bayonets. Although the United States is building up its forces in that area, the puppet regime there is finding it hard to hang on even with the assistance of the Americans. Three-fourths of the territory of South Vietnam is controlled by the mighty national-liberation forces. The Vietnamese people are fighting for a just cause, which is why it is invincible.

Our Party and the Soviet people stand are with the Vietnamese people and fully support their demands for an immediate end to the piratic attacks on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Vietnam, and the possibility to settle matters of social arrangement without any outside interference. We are helping the fraternal socialist country in every possible way to rebuff the American aggression, and consider assistance to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the patriotic forces of South Vietnam as our internationalist duty.

As you know, last February the Central Committee of our Party and the Soviet Government sent to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam a delegation. The Soviet delegation discussed with the

Vietnamese comrades the situation which had shaped up and questions of further development of Soviet-Vietnamese relations. We expressed our readiness to render additional gratuitous assistance in building up the defense capacity of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and sent the necessary military equipment to the DRV. The Vietnamese comrades appreciate Soviet aid as playing a big and vital part in strengthening the defense of DRV and increasing its ability to rebuff the military provocations of the imperialists. Last April, during the stay in the Soviet Union of the delegation of the DRV headed by Comrade Le Duan, agreement was reached on additional aid to the fighting Vietnamese people. Our country, the Soviet people are carrying out their sacred internationalist duty!

While resolutely exposing and condenming the aggressive actions of imperialism, interference in the international affairs of other countries, and all the manifestations of colonialism and neo-colonialism, the Soviet Union is rendering consistent support to the national-liberation movement, the struggle of the peoples for the elimination of the remnants of the colonial system, and the struggle of the states that have cast off the yoke of colonialism for the consolidation of their independence and sovereignty, for the development of national culture, for social progress.

We are helping revolutionary Cuba, and this help is highly appreciated by the Cuban leadership.

Carrying out its international duty, the Soviet Union has rendered and continues rendering support to the Algerian People's Democratic Republic. As you may have read in the press the other day, a military delegation of the Korean People's Democratic Republic was in Moscow last May. During its visit an agreement was signed on Soviet help in further strengthening the defense capacity of the KPDR.

The Soviet Union is effectively assisting all the peoples fighting for freedom and national independence.

Comrades, our Party considers that the present situation, the tasks of preventing a world thermonuclear war, curbing the imperialist aggressors, and rendering support to the national-liberation and revolutionary struggle of the peoples and first of all utmost support to a fraternal socialist country—the Democratic Republic of Vietnam—imperatively call for the unity and joint actions of all the countries of the socialist community, the solidarity and joint actions of all the anti-imperialist forces, the unity and cohesion of the world Communist movement.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, together with the other Marxist-Leninist parties, are doing everything necessary in this respect.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, together with all the

Marxist-Leninist parties, which uphold the principled line of the Communist movement, has been and will go on working to strengthen the unity of the socialist community and the cohesion of all the national contingents of the Communist movement on the principled basis of Marxism-Leninism, on the basis of the collectively elaborated documents of the Moscow meetings of representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties.

We note with great satisfaction that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Bulgarian Communist Party, together with most of the fraternal parties, hold common ideological positions, and are working and fighting in close cooperation and friendship, for unity and cohesion, for the surmounting of differences existing in the world Communist movement.

Our Party, the Soviet Communists are certainly far from underestimating the existing differences, their consequences and the difficulties of overcoming them. We realize that it will take much time to overcome them.

The emergence and development of world socialism is a complicated process in the course of which many serious problems arise and contradictions and difficulties have to be surmounted. Most of the socialist countries launched socialist construction when they were at an average or low level of economic development, had suffered greatly from wars, and lacked experience in building a new society. Quite a few differences exist between social-economic levels, historical traditions and political conditions of individual socialist countries. As the experience of recent years shows, all this can give rise to a temporary divergence of views among the socialist countries, to differences in the understanding of certain questions and in the approach to their solution. In these conditions the surmounting of difficulties, the success of the common cause depend to a considerable extent on the pursuit of a correct, principled, steadfast, Marxist-Leninist political line by all the Communist parties in power.

As Lenin pointed out, in order to achieve a really firm and voluntary alliance of the peoples, time is necessary, patience is necessary, and the ability is necessary in each concrete case to take into account both the interests of each nation and the interests of the socialist community as a whole.

The internationalist education of the Communists and of all the working people is more important now than ever before. Any attempt to artificially fence off "one's own" Communist party from the problems and tasks arising before the world Communist movement ultimately leads to a weakening of the party. The Communist movement is international by its very nature, and none of its national contingents can solve any task (to the end) if it isolates

itself, closes itself up in a national shell, and passes over to a platform of national egoism.

Lenin said, "There is one, and only one kind of internationalism in deed: working wholeheartedly for the development of the revolutionary movement and the revolutionary struggle *in one's own* country, and supporting (by propaganda, sympathy and material aid) *such, and only such, a struggle* and such a line in *every* country without exception." (*Works*, Russ. ed., Vol. 24, p. 54.)

This is an axiom for a Marxist. And if we have to talk about it, then it is solely in order to stress over and over again that the Communist parties can become a truly national force only by standing firmly on the positions of proletarian internationalism. It is this principled stand, combining the independence of each party with the fraternal solidarity of the whole Communist movement, that is reflected in the Statement of the Moscow Meeting of 1960: "All the Marxist-Leninist parties are independent and have equal rights; they shape their policies according to the specific conditions in their respective countries and in keeping with Marxist-Leninist principles, and support each other. The success of the working-class cause in any country is unthinkable without the internationalist solidarity of all Marxist-Leninist parties. Every party is responsible to the working class, to the working people of its country, to the international working class and Communist movement as a whole."

Anxious to strengthen the unity of the world Communist movement, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is working to promote active cooperation, contacts, and meetings with all the fraternal parties.

The Consultative Meeting of 19 fraternal parties in Moscow on March 1-5, this year, was an important contribution to the efforts to achieve cohesion of the world Communist movement. Its participants came to the conclusion that in the conditions that have developed the correct line, notwithstanding the present ideological differences, is to work for the unity of action in the struggle for common aims, above all in the fight against imperialism. They stressed that in the present international situation it is more than ever necessary for all Communists to show their sense of internationalist responsibility, and to unite for the common struggle against imperialism.

It is quite natural that most of the Communist parties support the ideological positions and practical proposals of the Communist parties which took part in the Moscow Consultative Meeting.

Your Party expressed complete solidarity with the propositions stated in the Communique of the Consultative Meeting. We see in this a testimonial of the further strengthening of the fraternal relations between the Bulgarian Communist Party, the Communist

Party of the Soviet Union, and other contingents of the world Communist movement.

We are confident that, despite all the difficulties, the Communist movement will be marching on precisely along the road of unity. Our confidence is based on the fact that events are developing, in general, in the direction predicted in the Statement of the 1960 Meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties. This confidence stems from the fact that there is much more in common between the Communist parties than what disunites us, and this community will gradually acquire ever greater importance. Owing to its international nature, the struggle for socialism and communism and against imperialism will inevitably rally closer and closer together the national contingents of the Communist movements.

Comrades, from the viewpoint of both internal and world development we have every ground to look confidently to the future. Our path is clear, and the prospects are wonderful.

Nothing can stem the powerful movement of our fraternal peoples to communism.

We are firmly convinced that the successes of the Soviet state, the achievements of the peoples of all the socialist countries, and the successes of the national-liberation and working-class movement will with each passing year undermine more and more the very foundations of the world capitalist system. The cause of peace, national independence, democracy, socialism and communism will inevitably triumph!

Allow me to express, on behalf of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, sincere satisfaction with our present meeting and to wish the Bulgarian Communists and all builders of a new, People's Bulgaria, further fruitful work.

Long live the Bulgarian Communist Party, the militant organizer of the struggle of the Bulgarian working people for socialism!

Long live the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party headed by Comrade Todor Zhivkov!

Long live Soviet-Bulgarian friendship and the everlasting fraternal alliance between the USSR and Bulgaria, between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Bulgarian Communist Party!

SPEECH BY TODOR ZHIVKOV

Dear Soviet brothers,

Comrades,

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, the whole of our Party, and the Bulgarian people, allow me to welcome once again the delegation of the Central Committee of the CPSU led by Comrade Mikhail Suslov, a prominent leader of the

CPSU and the world Communist movement, and, in the person of our dear guests, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, its Leninist Central Committee and the Soviet people, and to wish them further progress in the construction of communist society in the Soviet Union.

Allow me also to thank Comrade Suslov for the extensive and interesting information which he has shared with us at this meeting of activists of the Sofia regional and city Party organization. Thank you for your speech, Comrade Suslov.

I wish to express our gratitude for the kind words spoken by Comrade Suslov and the CPSU delegation, for their high appraisal of the activities of the Bulgarian Communist Party, its policy ,the work of the Central Committee of the Party, and the achievements of our country and people.

We Bulgarian Communists, and the Central Committee of our Party, are aware that there are shortcomings, difficulties, mistakes and even disgraceful things in our work. That is why I asked Comrade Suslov when we met earlier in the day to make critical remarks about our work. But being a guest evidently prevented him from doing so.

Comrades, we have declared repeatedly, and I should like to say it again, on behalf of our Party and its Central Committee, at this meeting with Soviet brothers: we Bulgarian Communists have a common destiny with the Soviet Union, with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. To us, the CPSU is the vanguard of the world Communist and working-class movement, the teacher of the fraternal Communist and Workers' parties.

It was in this spirit that Georgi Dimitrov educated our Party and that we educate the Party today. Those who will take over after us will undoubtedly go on educating the Party and the people in the same way—in the spirit of friendship, fraternity and cooperation with the Soviet Union and the CPSU.

We, of the Central Committee of the Party, and the whole of our Party, Comrade Zhivkov went on to say, hailed the decisions of the 20th and 22nd congresses of the CPSU and the Program of the CPSU adopted by the 22nd Congress. We declared at the time that the CPSU Program was our program as well. We say so now and will say so tomorrow. Nor is it a mere declaration. The decisions of the 20th and 22nd congresses of the CPSU, the Program of the CPSU have a bearing also on the activities of the Bulgarian Communist Party. The decisions and documents of the 20th and 22nd congresses of the CPSU highlighted the April Plenary Meeting of our CC and the Seventh and Eighth congresses of our Party.

Comrade Suslov attended the Fifth Congress of the BCP, at which Georgi Dimitrov presented his memorable report. As leader of a CPSU delegation, he also took part in the Eighth Congress of our

Party. For several days now he has been a guest of Bulgaria, leading a delegation of the CPSU, and has had an opportunity to see for himself how Georgi Dimitrov's recommendations are being carried out in our country under the guidance of the Party, how our Party is working to carry out the decisions of its Eighth Congress.

When we Bulgarian Communists speak about our achievements, about the progress our Party and people have made in this historically short space of time, we invariably associate them with the tremendous assistance the great Soviet Union and its Communist Party have been giving us. This is not merely a general political estimation, comrades. It lies deep in the minds, hearts and souls of our Party and our people, for the Soviet Union's contribution to the building of a new society, to the development of the Party and the country, is truly colossal.

To illustrate his words, Comrade Zhivkov cited some examples if recent years.

You know, he said, that following its April Plenary Meeting our Central Committee drew up a program for rapid development of the productive forces of the country. It realized that an economically backward Bulgaria would be unable to make good progress, to cooperate with other socialist countries and cope with the tasks of improving the standard of living of the people and of ensuring employment, that it would be unable to build socialist society unless it stepped up the growth of the productive forces and hence the growth of the national income. After the April Meeting we, the Party and the people, succeeded in considerably intensifying the development of the productive forces and the growth of the national income thanks to the correct policy of our Party.

Comrade Zhivkov pointed out that since the April Meeting of the CC, Bulgaria had advanced to a leading place among the socialist countries in rate of growth of the national income.

I say this not by way of boasting, but because this is normal and natural for a once backward country like Bulgaria. Indeed, unless Bulgaria achieves at least a one or two percent faster growth of the national income compared with the other socialist countries—the rate achieved in the years following the April Meeting—it will lag behind and will encounter great difficulties in the economic and cultural fields.

At present the Central Committee of the Party and the Government are drafting a long-range plan for the period running to 1970—our fifth five-year plan. Indications are that in this period Bulgaria will maintain the average annual rate of increase of the national income it has achieved.

What does this show? It shows our economic progress, for the national income reveals economic achievements in the most synthe-

sized form, and clearly shows the successes and setbacks in the developments of every country.

As you know, it is not by accident that we have this year pointed up the importance of the national income as expressed in the net product turned out by every enterprise and every industry, and also the contribution of every enterprise and every branch of material production to increasing budgetary accumulations.

Only by increasing the national income shall we be able to develop the productive forces and create conditions for a higher standard of living. This is the main aspect of the correct economic policy of the BCP.

But we of the Central Committee explain to the Party membership and to the people that we would have been unable to develop the productive forces and hasten the growth of the national income as we have, had not the Soviet Union helped us to so tremendous an extent. Soviet labor, plants, machines, credits and technical assistance help us to hasten the growth of the productive forces and to increase the national income and capital investments.

If between now and 1970 we are able to maintain a rate of growth of the national income normal in the conditions of our country and absolutely necessary for its development, we shall owe it to the fact that we have already received from the Soviet Union a loan of 350 million rubles to be invested in new plants, machines and equipment under our fifth five-year plan.

As a result of a series of measures taken by the CC and the Government, we have succeeded in improving relations with our neighbors. We shall continue to do everything necessary to contribute towards creating an atmosphere of tranquility, friendship and good-neighbor relations here in the Balkans.

There have lately been still more favorable trends in the development of our relations with fraternal Rumania.

As you know, our relations with Yugoslavia are improving and growing stronger. Our countries have mutually abolished visas. Our economic and cultural cooperation and cooperation at government level is growing.

Our relations with Greece have improved substantially. This policy of ours and of the Greek government is approved and supported by the Bugarian and Greek peoples. Even the most reactionary circles in Greece no longer dare openly to oppose better Bulgarian-Greek relations. Moreover, the situation is making them voice public approval of this policy.

Our relations with Turkey have also improved notably of late, and continue to improve.

As you see the joint efforts of the peoples and governments of the Balkan countries are creating a new situation in the Balkans. But we realize that this is also a result of the correct policy of the Soviet

Union, of the Soviet Government and the CPSU, which has a beneficial effect on developments in the Balkans as well. Could our country, which lies in the very middle of the Balkan Peninsula, enjoy the authority it enjoys today and be the author of a number of useful initiatives had there been no friendship and cooperation between us and the Soviet Union? That is unthinkable.

We welcome every reasonable proposal by any country aimed at improving its relations with our country on the basis of mutual advantage.

Comrade Zhivkov went on to speak about the great prestige the BCP enjoys in the world Communist and revolutionary movement, the prestige it owes in large measure to Georgi Dimitrov. We may say, he declared, that our Central Committee, our Party, has not disgraced Georgi Dimitrov's name, has not betrayed his internationalist ideas. Our Party holds aloft Dimitrov's banner and the banner of proletarian internationalism and will continue to uphold them. This greatly enhances the prestige of our Party and its Central Committee. The indissoluble link of our Party and its Central Committee with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its Central Committee helps to heighten this prestige, and strengthens the positions of our Party in the world Communist and working-class movement.

We Bulgarian Communists, like the Communists of any other part of the world, resolutely denounce those who disparage the CPSU and the Soviet state, the present Party and government leadership of the Soviet Union. Many a slander has been hurled at the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet Union since they came into being. But the CPSU lives on and develops, the Soviet state goes on developing and gaining strength. A socialist world system has emerged. And those who slander the CPSU and the Soviet state find themselves in the political junkyard.

We Bulgarian Communists, our Party and its Central Committee, regard it as an internationalist duty to defend the great Party of Lenin and the Soviet Union against all slander and abuse.

Comrade Zhivkov said that the Central Committee of the BCP and the entire Party hailed the decisions of the October Meeting of the CC, CPSU. We Bulgarian Communists and our Central Committee, he said saw that meeting as a new manifestation of the creative spirit of the CPSU, of its resolve to provide all the further prerequisites for the continued successful implementation of the decisions of the 20th and 22nd congresses of the CPSU, for the realization of the Program of the CPSU.

We have studied the decisions of the March Plenary Meeting of the CC, CPSU on agriculture. We are glad to note the truly creative and realistic approach of those decisions; we are glad that conditions are being created for further progress in Soviet agriculture. We

hinted jokingly to some Soviet comrades when they were making preparations for the plenary meeting that they should not forget about Bulgaria in drafting measures for agriculture, especially as regards mechanization, for we knew that further mechanization of agriculture would be one of the main items on the agenda.

It was a joke, but the fact is that provisions have been made for huge investments in mechanization in Soviet farming, which will no doubt facilitate further mechanization and help to solve the problems of overall mechanization in our countryside as well.

Pointing out the complete identity of views and agreement between the BCP and the CPSU, between their central committees, on the problems of the world Communist and working-class movement, the pressing problems of the international situation and the development of the world revolutionary process, Comrade Zhivkov closed his speech with the following appeals:

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its Leninist Central Committee!

Long live the militant Marxist unity and friendship of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union!

Long live the unbreakable Bulgarian-Soviet friendship!

COMMUNIQUE*

ON THE STAY OF JANOS KADAR, ANTAL APRO AND BELA BISZKU IN THE SOVIET UNION

Janos Kadar, First Secretary, Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Chairman, Hungarian Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government, Antal Apro, member, Political Bureau of the CC HSWP, Vice-Chairman, Hungarian Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government, and Bela Biszku, member, Political Bureau of the CC, Secretary, CC HSWP, were on a friendly visit to the Soviet Union from May 23 to 29 at the invitation of the CC, CPSU.

During their stay in the Soviet Union Comrades Kadar, Apro and Biszku had talks with L. I. Brezhnev, First Secretary, CC, CPSU, A. N. Kosygin, member, Presidium of the CC, CPSU, Chairman, Council of Ministers of the USSR and N. V. Podgorny, member of the Presidium and Secretary of the CC, CPSU, M. A. Lesechko and P. F. Lomako, members, CC, CPSU, Vice-Chairmen, Council of Ministers of the USSR, A. A. Gromyko, Foreign Minister of the USSR, and L. N. Tolkunov, deputy chief of a CC, CPSU department, took part in the talks from the Soviet side, and Jozsef Szipka, member, CC, HSWP, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the HPR to the USSR, and Karoly Erdeylyi, Deputy Foreign Minister of the HPR, from the Hungarian side.

The Presidium of the CC, CPSU gave a dinner in honor of Janos Kadar, First Secretary, Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Chairman, Hungarian Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government and Antal Apro and Bela Biszku, members, PB, CC, HSWP.

The dinner was attended by Comrades L. I. Brezhnev,. A. N. Kosygin, A. I. Mikoyan, N. V. Podgorny, N. M. Shvernik, M. A. Suslov, A. P. Rudakov, M. A. Lesechko, P. F. Lomako, I. T. Novikov and L. V. Smirnov, Vice-Chairmen, Council of Ministers of the USSR, A. A. Gdomyko and R. Y. Malinovsky, Ministers of the USSR, and others. The guests included Jozsef Szipka, member CC, HSWP, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the HPR to the USSR, and Karoly Erdeylyi, Deputy Foreign Minister of the HPR.

The leaders of the CPSU and the HSWP informed each other of the progress of socialist and communist construction in the two countries, and exchanged opinions on the development of Soviet-

*Pravda, May 30, 1965.

Hungarian relations and on topical problems of the present international situation.

The friendship and close cooperation of the Soviet and Hungarian peoples fully meet their vital interests, and facilitate the realization of the historical task of the working people of the USSR and Hungary — to build a communist society. The two sides noted with satisfaction that the fraternal friendship and cooperation of the Soviet Union and the Hungarian People's Republic in the political, economic and cultural fields were developing successfully. Agreement was reached on concrete steps to further economic contacts in the five years from 1966 to 1970.

The representatives of the CPSU and the HSWP spoke highly of the state of relations between their fraternal parties, which are engaged in extensive cooperation and regularly exchange opinions on questions of common interest. They stressed the complete coincidence of their views on the situation in the world Communist movement, and their determination to continue fighting consistently for the cohesion of all the countries of the socialist community and for stronger unity of the world Communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, which were carried forward in the documents of the Moscow conferences of 1957 and 1960.

In the course of the exchange of opinions, the leaders of the CPSU and the HSWP noted their complete unanimity on the major international problems and on the ways of promoting peace, independence and friendship among the peoples.

The representatives of the CPSU and the HSWP resolutely condemned the armed imperialist aggression of the United States against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the open U.S. intervention against the people of South Vietnam, who are waging a just struggle for the freedom and independence of their country. They expressed complete solidarity with the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people and signified the readiness of their parties and countries to continue rendering every possible assistance and support to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in strengthening its defenses. The CPSU and the HSMP consider that the present situation demands unity and joint actions on the part of all the countries of the socialist community in support of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, a fraternal socialist state.

The sides emphatically denounced the acts of aggression committed by imperialism, interference in the internal affairs of other countries, and all manifestations of colonialism and neocolonialism. They pledged their unqualified support for the national-liberation movement, the struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America to eliminate the vestiges of the colonial system, and the efforts of the countries that have cast off colonial tyranny toward

consolidating their independence and sovereignty and promoting their economic and cultural development.

In their relations with the capitalist countries, the Soviet Union and the Hungarian People's Republic are guided by the Leninist principle of the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems. In the course of their talks the sides emphasized the determination of their countries to continue their stubborn fight for world peace, an agreement on general and complete disarmament, and other measures to ease world tension.

European problems were touched upon. The sides reaffirmed their opinion that complete elimination of the vestiges of World War II, a German peaceful settlement and normalization, on this basis, of the situation in West Berlin would decisively promote European peace.

Proceeding from their appraisal of the present international situation and taking guidance from the general policy of the Warsaw Treaty countries, the sides declared for continuing to strengthen the defenses of the socialist countries and to promote cooperation within the framework of the Warsaw Treaty Organization.

The talks of the CPSU and HSWP leaders proceeded in an atmosphere of complete mutual understanding, cordially and sincere, fraternal friendship.

STATEMENT BY THE CPSU DELEGATION*

The CPSU delegation led by S. R. Rashidov, alternate member, Presidium of the CP CPSU, First Secretary, Communist Party of Uzbekistan, which took part in the celebration of the anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of Indonesia, made in Djakarta the following statement for the press concerning the speech delivered by Peng Chen, member, Political Bureau of the CC, CPC, at the Academy of Social Sciences of the CC, CPI:

The delegation of the CPSU which took part in the celebration of the 45th anniversary of the founding of the CPI thanks the Indonesian Communists and all the friends of the Soviet Union for the warm and fraternal welcome they accorded to the representatives of our Party on Indonesian soil.

By taking part in the celebration of the 45th anniversary of the founding of the CPI, the CPSU delegation wanted to help promote friendship and cooperation between the Soviet and Indonesian peoples, between the Communists of the Soviet Union and Indonesia, to reinforce the ranks of the world Communist movement, and strengthen the unity of all the forces fighting against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

However, the CPSU delegation cannot ignore the provocative and slanderous attacks on the policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state made by Peng Chen, leader of the CPC delegation, member of the Political Bureau of the CC, CPC, in the lecture he delivered at the Aliarcham Academy of Social Sciences of the CC, CPI. His anti-Soviet statement was broadcast by Radio Peking and reprinted in Indonesia.

The CPSU delegation protests over the fact that a responsible representative of the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, has abused the hospitality of the Communist Party of Indonesia and the rostrum to make insulting attacks on the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, whose delegation is a guest of the Indonesian Communists, and to make a speech undermining the unity of the anti-imperialist forces, a unity particularly necessary now that the U.S. imperialists are committing an aggression against fraternal Vietnam. It is an act which can only gratify the U.S. imperialists.

The CPSU delegation, which arrived in Indonesia on the invitation of the CC, CPI, regrets that so important an occasion as the 45th anniversary of the founding of the CPI should have been used

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*The delegation attended the celebration of the 45th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of Indonesia. The statement was published in **Pravda**, June 7, 1965.

by Chinese representatives for disruptive purposes.

There is no doubt, however, that all attempts to disrupt friendship between the Soviet and Indonesian Communists, to undermine the anti-imperialist alliance of the USSR and Indonesia are doomed to failure.

WALDECK ROCHET — LUIGI LONGO MEETING*

Waldeck Rochet, General Secretary of the French Communist Party, and Luigi Longo, General Secretary of the Italian Communist Party, met in Geneva on May 24 and 25.

During their talks, held in an atmosphere of sincerity and friendship, they freely exchanged opinions and information on numerous problems of common interest.

Comrades Luigi Longo and Waldeck Rochet reaffirmed their parties' full support of the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people against U.S. aggression, and emphasized their desire to promote solidarity in increasingly broad and concrete forms.

They touched upon other important problems of the situation in the world and in Europe, such as:

—The grave consequences of increasing monopoly domination in every country and within the Common Market.

—The need for all the working-class and democratic forces to cooperate in upholding the political and civic rights of the workers and to wage a joint struggle for a democratic policy.

—Opposition to every form of atomic armament of Bonn Germany and to all proliferation of nuclear weapons; establishment of new relations between all the European countries, and organization of European collective security.

The talks on these problems revealed a large measure of agreement.

It was stressed that the danger to world peace and to the working people's standard of living made an alliance of all the forces championing socialism, democracy and progress and striving to ensure peaceful coexistence an urgent necessity.

Both parties will promote the verious forms of their fraternal cooperation as they fight in common for peace, democracy and socialism.

*L'Humanité, May 27, 1965.

FOR UNITY OF ALL THE ANTI-CAPITALIST, FREEDOM-LOVING AND PROGRESSIVE FORCES

RESOLUTION* OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY OF BELGIUM

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belgium met on June 12-13, 1965, to discuss the political situation in the country in the light of the results of elections held on May 23.

First of all, the Central Committee wishes to thank those working people and democrats who, by their voting, expressed confidence in the CPB and the policy of Left alliance pursued by the Communists in close cooperation with Socialist workers and Christian Democrats united in new organizations.

This confidence has borne fruit, for thanks to it the Communists in league with other Left forces have scored appreciable success. This promises still greater success in the near future.

There is every ground to believe that the future will be highly eventful.

The results of the May 23 elections were a clear expression of the general discontent in the country, discontent which is manifested in all spheres, political, economic, social and cultural alike.

Although the Lefèvre-Spaak government brought to power by the elections held against the background of the unprecedentedly broad popular movement, called itself a "government of the working people," it in effect pursued a policy advantageous to the reactionaries, monopolies and all those who had suffered a defeat in the great strike and in the 1961 elections.

The government ignored the will of the people and the clearly formulated demands of the big trade unions on all issues of foreign policy, military expenditure, federalism, structural reforms, reform of the existing institutions, equality for the national communities, taxes and prices, revival of the distressed industrial areas, etc.

That is why the electorate took to task the two ruling parties, which, behind the screen of "unity," were in effect dividing the country.

The losses sustained by the Social Christian Party were considerable, but those of the Socialist Party were greater still. Socialist voters did not forgive the Right-wing leaders of the Party their

*Drapeau Rouge, June 15, 1965.

open submission to the reactionary circles, their claims to tutelage over the General Federation of Labor and the General Amalgamation of Communal Workers, their aggressive attitude to the Walloon Popular Movement, their scorn for the 650,000 signatures affixed to the 1963 Petition.

In this sense the electoral success of such a Right-wing force as the Party of Freedom and Progress (PFP) does not at all mean that the workers and other Left voters made a definitive turn to a reactionary ideology.

The present Parliament inadequately reflects the will of the electorate.

The Party of Freedom and Progress polled the votes of the greater part of malcontents, especially in Wallonia and Brussels, who voted for it in order to protest against the undemocratic methods used by the traditional political leaders of the Social Christian and Socialist parties and for the organizations placed under their authoritarian control.

But the PFP is incapable of resolving the real problems of the day. Its leadership is no less reactionary and no less traditionalist than the leadership of the Social Christian Party. Like the SCP and the SP, the PFP is split, and perhaps more deeply than the former. One cannot expect that this party will put an end to present-day uncertainty and confusion inherited from the Lefèvre-Spaak government and its "round tables" in which the PFP took part only because it had to provide guarantees to the big bourgeoisie.

The May 23 elections passed a clear verdict on the nefarious policy of the government. What is needed today is to find a way out of the acute crisis.

There are in the country Left, anti-traditionalist forces, forces favoring federalism, structural reforms and the correct settlement of relations between the Flemings and the Walloons. These forces are capable of growing, gaining strength and going into action.

Already in the elections they made their voice heard. And wherever the electoral bloc including Communists was their sole representative, these forces fully proved their effectiveness.

However, that bloc was not universally approved. Underestimation of the political significance of unity as well as old anti-communist prejudices still make themselves felt. This resulted in the dispersion of lists and votes, which prevented the genuinely anti-traditionalist forces, whose unity would rest on respect for the independence of each member-party, from consolidating their positions.

However, the foundation for unity of these forces already exists both in the country and in Parliament.

To ensure success and make their actions effective, the political groupings standing for socialism, democracy and federalism should show their readiness and ability to give effect to the working

people's striving for unity of action, which would become the basis for elaboration and subsequent implementation of a program of social progress.

This is true for all the new political groupings favoring democracy, for all organizations which represent in one way or another the working class, for all Left forces.

This is also true for the trade unions which will not be able to fulfil their essential task of defending progress, freedom and the rights of the working people unless they secure their own autonomy.

The most difficult problem to be solved by the forces opposed to the traditionalist policy is the national and language issue, i.e., the question of relationships between the Walloon community, the Flemish community and the Brussels area.

This is a very pressing question, and the country is aware of it.

In the May 23 elections the people expressed their view on this score by the means they had at their disposal.

It is this that explains the success of the Socialist Party despite its sliding into authoritarian and nationalistic positions.

Grave responsibility devolves on the Socialist Party for the confusion it has sown among the masses with regard to the role of the working class in the national language question.

The working-class movement and its Left forces should concentrate on the national problem, on the solution of which depends the unity of the Flemish, Walloon and Brussels working people in the struggle against their common enemy—big capital, which has not renounced its plans.

Big capital opposes federalism, structural reforms, control over land holdings, extension of democracy, social progress, a genuine policy of peace, withdrawal from NATO and cutting down military spending.

It is well aware of the risks involved in the formation of the government by the Social Christian Party and the PFP, as was demonstrated by the Eyskens government whose downfall is still painfully felt by spokesmen for big capital.

Big capital wants the Socialist Party to remain in the government, either by way of forming a coalition of three parties (PFP, SCP, SP) or restoring the old SCP-SP coalition (this idea, actually speaking, was mooted prior to the May 23 elections), for this solution seems less risky to the monopolies.

By entering the government, the Socialist Party would play into the hands of reaction and commit itself to continuing the policy of the previous government, which runs counter to the interests of the working people. To a greater extent than in the past it would become a hostage of reaction and an even more docile hostage inasmuch as the last elections greatly weakened its positions in Parliament. And it would have to attack the independence of trade

unions and their programs even more vigorously than before.

One should not expect that the Socialist leaders would really venture a sharp turn to the Left or form a constructive opposition. Therefore, by relying on the trade union movement and strengthening its opposition, the Left in the working-class movement must prevent the Socialist Party from entering the government. By so doing they would create favorable conditions for a regrouping of the workers' forces battling against reaction and the capitalist monopolies and pave the way for a broad people's democratic offensive the country needs so much.

Even before the new government was formed, the behind-the-scenes maneuvers began, of which we know from the activity of the "round table" conference charged with drafting a constitutional reform.

In face of their present difficulties the reactionary circles are prepared to tolerate for the time being a reshuffled representation in Parliament, without giving any guarantee of equality to the national communities.

In the future this will not prevent them from imposing on the country the "round table" conclusions, and not all at once but, what is even worse, stage by stage, in accordance with an abnormal and anti-democratic procedure.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party resolutely declares that there must be a genuine constitutional reform to be drafted under the control of the public.

It therefore calls on all working people and all democrats to demand a popular referendum on constitutional problems, including the incorporation into the Constitution of new democratic guarantees, he need for which is beçoming increasingly imperative, namely, the right to a referendum on the initiative of the people.

The reactionaries and the traditionalist leaders should be forced to show their cards. The results of their deals which they shroud in secrecy are sad. Restriction of democracy will only facilitate the carrying out of "austerity" measures which the financial interests want to push through in view of the deteriorating economic situation in order to make the working people pay for their wrong policies.

The political crisis in the country is unprecedented for its acuteness.

The traditional structures and methods have outlived their time. The reactionary circles try to deny this, with the result that the nation finds itself in a state of confusion.

To clear up the atmosphere, all working-class, anti-traditionalist and democratic forces must unite, for this is the sole way to take the country to federalism, structural reforms and a new policy—a genuine policy of freedom and democracy, of economic and social

advance, of peace and disarmament, a policy the majority of the country's population wants.

Proceeding from this, the Central Committee of the CPB urges all members and organizations of the Party to cooperate with the Left forces which have fought in alliance with our Party, to unite all working-class and democratic forces and especially those belonging to the biggest trade unions or affiliated to them, and wage the common struggle against the policy of capitalist monopolies.

JOINT STATEMENT*

BY THE COMMUNIST PARTIES OF BOLIVIA AND CHILE

Signed in Santiago on May 26, 1965, by the leaders of the party delegations Jorge Kolle Cueto, member of the CC, Secretariat and the Political Commission of the CPB, and Luis Corvalan, General Secretary of the CC, CPC.

The Communist parties of Bolivia and Chile, represented by duly authorized delegations, exchanged opinions on the new brutal offensive of U.S. imperialism against the peoples of Latin America.

The opinions of the two delegations on all the questions discussed fully coincided.

The Communist parties of Bolivia and Chile consider that the U.S. imperialists' intervention in South Vietnam, their piratic armed aggression against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, their blockade and continuous harassing of Socialist Cuba, and their criminal invasion of the Dominican Republic testify that President Johnson's government pursues on an increasing scale the policy of the more aggressive and reactionary circles of U.S. militarism.

This policy is a glaring violation of the UN Charter and an encroachment on the principle of self-determination of the peoples, and gravely endangers world peace.

In view of the situation, the Communist parties of Bolivia and Chile see it as their sacred duty to fight against this policy and to display solidarity with the peoples of Vietnam, Cuba and the Dominican Republic and with all the national-liberation movements.

They demand the immediate withdrawal of the U.S. interventionist troops from the Dominican Republic, and recognition of the government of Colonel Caamano as the legitimate representative of the Dominican people.

The Communist parties of Bolivia and Chile declare that they support the congress of solidarity with Cuba and the Dominican Republic to be held in Montevideo, and urge all the democratic and popular forces to take part in this anti-imperialist action.

The delegation of the CC, CPB informed the delegation of the CC CPC on the dangerous situation in Bolivia, where the working class and the people are waging a heroic struggle to defend themselves against brutal repressions by the military junta.

The Communist Party of Bolivia considers that its country is

*El Siglo, May 27, 1965.

directly threatened by armed intervention on the part of U.S. imperialism with a view to foiling the valiant struggle of the working class and the people to establish a revolutionary government.

This threat is growing because of the obvious inability of the domestic reactionaries and their military machine to perpetuate their regime of terror and dictatorship.

The delegation of the CC CPC was deeply disturbed by the communication of the Bolivian comrades, and expressed the firm determination of its Party to rally the working class and the people of Chile for an extensive campaign of active solidarity with the working class, the people and the Communist Party of Bolivia. The Chilean delegation also voiced its confidence that the residents of the provinces of Tarapaca and Antofagasta bordering on Bolivia would resist every attempt by the U.S. imperialists to send soldiers and military equipment through Chilean territory.

The two delegations consider that unity of the world Communist movement is vital for the struggle against imperialism. They therefore reaffirm their support of the decisions of the conference of the Communist parties of Latin America, and of the initiative of convening a consultative conference of the 81 Communist and Workers' parties.

The Communist parties of Bolivia and Chile stress the importance of the conclusion of the Latin American Communist conference that "the unity of each party is a necessary condition for the further development of the revolutionary process in the country concerned," and they resolutely denounce all splitting activity, whatever its character or origin. The two delegations also declare that they will do everything necessary and possible to promote the coordination of the struggle of the democratic and revolutionary forces against U.S. imperialist aggression.

The Communist parties of Bolivia and Chile resolutely declare for the restoration of diplomatic relations between their countries and for the furtherance of friendly contacts between the working people of their countries and all the other countries of Latin America.

ESTABLISH A UNITED OPPOSITION FRONT TO FIGHT DESPOTISM!

MANIFESTO* OF THE CC, CP OF COLOMBIA

The state of siege which the big oligarchs and the U.S. monopolies had demanded to safeguard their infamous privileges against growing popular discontent has been declared by government decree.

Just as our Party had warned public opinion, the government had been making preparations for the state of siege as a desperate and despotic solution to formidable political, economic and social problems that had revealed its inability. But this is no real way out, for such problems cannot be solved by taking repressive measures against popular movements and organizations.

The pretext used in declaring a state of siege was the students' patriotic protest movement against the Americans' brutal and cynical military intervention in the Dominican Republic.

In reality, the state of siege has been decreed:

—to end the freedom of public demonstrations, so that the people may not use this medium to their discontent;

—to send Colombian troops to the Dominican Republic as a way of camouflaging the huge U.S. occupation force in that fraternal country;

—to impose by decree new taxes which Congress has no desire whatever to approve and which will have to be borne entirely by the people, resulting in a further increase in the cost of living;

—to persecute in an arbitrary manner, without any legal procedure, the forces opposing the oligarchic parity system, on the battered plea of combating the Communist danger;

—to make it still more difficult for the working class to fight for its interests and rights;

—to conceal through censorship the truth about the peasants' heroic resistance to violence;

—to abolish the relative freedom of the press and of publishing won by the people after 1957; with this aim in view, the first decree has been issued under the state of siege, empowering the lower authorities "to carefully examine reports and propaganda and to prohibit their dissemination if they are likely to cause alarm";

—to establish in the end a frank dictatorship of the ruling oligarchies in collusion with the U.S. imperialists.

*Voz Proletarian, May 27, 1965.

The state of siege which has been declared is not an indication of authority and strength but a loss of prestige by, and the weakness of, a declining government.

If the reactionary forces believe they will be able to maintain the state of siege for a long time, like the one which began on November 9, 1949, and ended in 1958, they will soon be taught a severe lesson by the people, who have learned a great deal by their own bitter experience.

We call on all the students, workers, peasants, artisans, small manufacturers and tradesmen to unite and rally their forces in order to end the state of siege through collective struggles and all manner of mass actions.

There should be a united opposition front against the arbitrary and despotic state of siege, the dispatch of troops to the Dominican Republic, the new taxes, and the growing cost of living.

Executive Committee, CC, CP of Colombia
Bogota, May 21, 1965

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COMMUNIQUE

DOCUMENTS* OF MEETING OF COMMUNIST PARTIES OF THE CAPITALIST COUNTRIES OF EUROPE, JUNE 1-3, 1965

A meeting of Communist parties of the capitalist countries of Europe was held at Centre International Rogier, Brussels, from June 1 to 3, 1965.

At the invitation of the Communist Party of Belgium, it was attended by the Communist Party of Austria, Communist Party of Belgium, Communist Party of Great Britain, Progressive Party of Working People (AKEL) of Cyprus, Communist Party of Denmark, Communist Party of Finland, French Communist Party, Communist Party of Germany, Socialist Unity Party of Germany (West Berlin), Communist Party of Greece, Communist Party of Northern Ireland, Irish Workers' Party, Italian Communist Party, Communist Party of Luxembourg, Communist Party of the Netherlands, Communist Party of Norway, Portuguese Communist Party, Communist Party of Spain, and Swiss Party of Labor.

The purpose of the meeting was to exchange opinions and experience on burning issues of the day and to arrive at certain common conclusions with an eye to concerted action on these issues. In keeping with these objectives, the meeting adopted the following agenda:

(1) Measures to take with a view to stepping up the peoples' joint struggle against the U.S. aggression in Vietnam and to promoting solidarity with the Vietnamese people to safeguard world peace.

(2) Examination of problems of European security: the struggle against German militarism, the MLF, the atomic, Atlantic or European, striking force and other variants of nuclear armament, for denuclearized zones, disarmament measures, a system of European collective security, etc.

It was also agreed to call proper attention to the situation in the eastern Mediterranean (Cyprus).

(3) Ways of promoting solidarity with the peoples victimized by fascism (Spain and Portugal) or by other forms of repression (Greece, Federal Republic of Germany).

There was a frank and fraternal discussion of these various points.

*L'Humanité, June 8-10, 1965.

The meeting condemned the barbarous U.S. aggression in Vietnam which is directed against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and against the South Vietnamese people's right to independence, and which threatens world peace as it is escalated. The appeal adopted on these questions confirms the solidarity of the signatory parties and calls for united action on a vast scale.

A message of solidarity with the Dominican people was adopted, denouncing the U.S. imperialist intervention.

The meeting expressed concern over the efforts of the U.S. and West German imperialists and other NATO members to revert to the plan for the MLF or to impose other variants of nuclear armament, whether in the shape of an Atlantic, European or national striking force, or of the ANF (Atlantic Nuclear Force) proposed by the British Government. All these schemes boil down to giving West Germany access to the command centers of nuclear weapons.

Ample mutual information was furnished on the united actions which the Communist parties carry out in various countries, as well as on participation in the initiatives of the various peace forces in the Peace Movement, the trade unions, youth and women's organizations, etc. The participants noted the growing response to these actions, which have already led to certain reappraisals by public opinion and by a number of governments.

The policy of cold war, the division of the European continent, and U.S. intervention through NATO can be countered by an alternative which would meet the interests of all the peoples of Europe and of world peace: European collective security.

The task is to establish new relations between the peoples of the whole of Europe on the principles of peaceful coexistence, on the basis of respect for social systems and national interests.

The participants felt that the primary task 20 years after the war was to remove the dangers of explosion by normalizing the situation. Germany should be de-nuclearized. The GDR should be recognized. The present frontiers in Europe should be declared inviolable. West Berlin should be granted the status of a free and demilitarized city. A peace treaty should be concluded with the two German states.

In various countries, large groups of people have already taken a stand for specific measures leading to general and controlled disarmament and contributing to European detente: the establishment of denuclearized and limited armament zones in Western Europe, in Scandinavia, the Mediterranean, and southern Europe, an armaments freeze in certain areas, etc. The meeting also gave a good deal of attention to the struggle against foreign bases. In connection with all this, it expressed concern over the situation in Cyprus, and adopted a message reaffirming the need for the withdrawal of all foreign troops, for an end to all foreign intervention,

and for the Cypriot people's right to self-determination.

The profound crisis of imperialist military pacts and the aggravation of contradictions inside NATO shortly before the expiry of the term of this aggressive pact—1969—attest that there are opportunities of establishing a system of European collective security. The participants held that concluding a non-aggression treaty between the NATO and Warsaw Treaty countries would be a most important step in this direction. They voiced their resolve to work for the development of economic and cultural exchanges and relations in every sphere between all the peoples of the continent.

The meeting also exchanged views on the possibilities of stepping up the common struggle and of fostering working-class unity of the democratic forces against nuclear arms proliferation, for disarmament, European security and friendship among the peoples.

The debate on the need to reinforce solidarity with the peoples suffering from fascism and arbitrary rule revealed that important progress had been made. This proves that terror can be defeated. Credit for it goes primarily to the peoples concerned. It is also evidence of the importance of international solidarity. The participants pointed out that this is a proletarian internationalist duty, and that every reverse of the forces of reaction and repression contributes to the cause of democracy and progress for all.

The debate showed that great opportunities for united action are emerging, in the conditions attending each problem posed and typical of each country.

By historical tradition, the working-class and democratic forces have always found common ground for cooperation in the cause of the Spanish people's liberty. The fight against Franco has gathered fresh momentum with the growing frequency of vast mass actions by workers, peasants, students, and people active in the cultural field. As far as their solidarity with the Spanish people is concerned, Communists, Socialists, Christians, labor unions and other democrats again find themselves taking common initiatives in their countries and on an international scale, as was the case with the recent London meeting. The participants affirmed the Communist Parties' resolve to contribute to the success of the initiatives taken by that united meeting, specifically against repression, for an amnesty for all the political prisoners and exiles, and for the restoration of trade-union liberties. The meeting attaches the greatest importance to supporting the Spanish people in their fight for democratic liberties.

It is important to widely inform people of the tragic conditions in which the Portuguese people have to carry on their struggle after forty years of fascism. This struggle will continue to gain ground, rallying more forces in every segment of the population and confronting the Salazar dictatorship with mounting difficul-

ties. It has been possible to free certain of the prisoners, but arbitrary repression and tortures continue. There is a movement in the making in the armed forces, in particular a protest movement against the colonial wars being waged against the right to independence of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and the so-called Portuguese Guinea. The meeting, in signifying its solidarity with the Portuguese people, expresses its full support for the liberation forces of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies.

The Greek people's vigorous fight has overthrown Karamanlis' neo-fascist government and brought about an improvement in the situation. Nevertheless, various forms of repression are still practiced, and emergency legislation has not been repealed. Refugees are not allowed to return to their homeland and democrats remain in prison. The meeting supports the legitimate demand that the Communist Party of Greece be restored to legality, which would constitute a victory for democracy.

Re-establishment of the legality of the gallant Communist Party of Germany, banned since 1956, is a particularly pressing demand today, shortly before the September general election in the FRG. Truly democratic discussion is out of the question when Communist ideas, which play so important a role in our time, are prohibited and Communists barred from elections. The meeting declares for restoring the CPG to legality and is gratified to note that this idea is shared by large circles in the FRG. It also insists on all the democratic and peace forces of Germany being allowed to organize freely, and on all persecution being ended.

During the debate, several Parties spoke of the possibility of holding at a future date a new meeting of Communist Parties of the capitalist countries of Europe on other questions of common interest.

The participants in the meeting were gratified by the fact that it had been called and that agreement had been reached on certain points as a result of discussion, and found it necessary to stress their desire to continuously promote unity of action of the fraternal Parties in the interest of the working class and the peoples of every country, as well as of the entire Communist and working-class movement.*

APPEAL

U.S. intervention in Vietnam has taken the form of open and deliberate aggression.

It is a direct encroachment on the independence of the Viet-

*The delegation of the Communist Party of the Netherlands, which took part in the debate at the meeting, decided, in keeping with the CC, CPN resolutions concerning the agenda and character of the meeting, not to sign any document or publication issued by the meeting.

namese people and shows that the imperialists are determined to oppose the liberation struggle of the peoples by force.

At the same time it increases tensions everywhere and reduces the opportunities for a policy of peaceful coexistence.

This policy of aggression, which may spark off a third world war, calls forth a growing movement of condemnation. It has led to the rallying of major political and trade-union forces, intellectuals, and young people of all trends. It has reached very large sections of the population which are worried by the grave menace which the actions of the U.S. Government present to peace.

However, the scale of the movement is not commensurate with the danger. A tremendous effort must be made to intensify and extend this movement.

A special effort in this sense should be made in all the West European countries, most of whose governments persist in virtually backing the U.S. imperialists' policy of aggression.

The undersigned Communist Parties of the capitalist countries of Europe, gathered in conference at Brussels,

— hail the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people, and reaffirm their complete solidarity with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the Party of Working People of Vietnam, and the National Liberation Front;

— condemn the acts of war and aggression which the U.S. forces are perpetrating against the DRV, a sovereign and independent socialist state;

— denounce the presence of increasing contingents of U.S. troops in South Vietnam, and their participation in military operations against the NLF forces;

— demand the withdrawal of those troops.

They will step up their action to give this solidarity the most concrete and effective forms.

In view of the gravity of the situation and the extent of the danger threatening the peace, they address the following appeal:

— to all the working people of Western Europe,

— to all men of culture, to women and young people,

— to the Socialist and Christian masses,

— to all progressive and peace-loving forces.

They earnestly address themselves to the Socialist workers and activists, to the Socialist parties of the West European countries, whose political responsibilities are particularly important and, indeed, are often at government level.

They ask all of them to contribute to the common effort and to help develop an irresistible mass movement:

— to prevail on the governments of West European countries to

dissociate themselves from the policy pursued by the United States in Vietnam, and to support initatives aimed at ensuring respect for the Geneva agreements;

— to bring about a halt to the barbarous bombings and acts of aggression against the DRV;

— to end the Americans' acts of intervention and war in South Vietnam and to make them withdraw their troops;

— to enable the South Vietnamese people to freely exercise their right to independence, which implies recognition of the National Liberation Front as the body qualified to represent the South Vietnamese people;

— to create conditions for a peaceful solution to all the problems of Southeast Asia.

An action of this kind would certainly encourage the forces which in the difficult conditions of the United States are resisting the policy of aggression.

World peace is in danger.

The fight for peace and the fight for the independence and freedom of the peoples constitute a single whole.

There is not one minute to lose, and no effort should be spared.

Communist Party of Austria, Communist Party of Belgium, British Communist Party, AKEL (Cyprus), Communist Party of Denmark, Communist Party of Finland, French Communist Party, Communist Party of Germany, Socialist Unity Party of Germany (West Berlin), Communist Party of Greece, Communist Party of Northern Ireland, Irish Workers' Party, Italian Communist Party, Communist Party of Luxembourg, Communist Party of Norway, Portuguese Communist Party, Communist Party of Spain, Swiss Party of Labor.

MESSAGE TO THE DOMINICAN PEOPLE

The representatives of 18 Communist Parties of the capitalist countries of Europe, assembled in conference at Brussels,

— hail the heroic effort of the Dominican people fighting to safeguard their fundamental democratic liberties and to ensure respect for the independence of their country;

— condemn the impermissible and bloody military intervention of the United States designed to impose a government subservient to the USA.;

— declare that the OAS has no right to replace the Dominican people in settling their domestic affairs;

— confirm their unqualified solidarity with the Dominican people

and want it to help them ensure the free expression of the people's will and the free functioning of their institutions.

Communist Party of Austria, Communist Party of Belgium, British Communist Party, Progressive Party of Working people (Cyprus), Communist Party of Denmark, Communist Party of Finland, French Communist Party, Communist Party of Germany, Socialist Unity Party of Germany (West Berlin), Communist Parrty of Greece, Communist Party of Northern Ireland, Irish Workers' Party, Italian Communist Party, Communist Party of Luxembourg, Communist Party of Norway, Portuguese Communist Party, Communist Party of Spain, Swiss Party of Labor.

MESSAGE TO PRESIDENT MAKARIOS

We representatives of nineteen Communist and Workers' Parties of the capitalist countries of Europe, assembled in Brussels, hail the heroic liberation struggle of the people of Cyprus against Anglo-American imperialism and its collaborators. We confirm unqualified solidarity with the Cypriot people's demands: an end to all foreign intervention, abolition of all the foreign military bases, and withdrawal of all foreign troops—which should enable the people to decide freely and independently on their future by exercising their inalienable right to self-determination.

Brussels, June 3, 1965

THE PROGRESS OF OUR SOCIETY PROMOTES THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALISM AND INCREASES ITS INFLUENCE ON WORLD EVENTS

SPEECH* BY E. KARDELJ, MEMBER OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE AND SECRETARY OF THE CC, LEAGUE OF COMMUNISTS OF YUGOSLAVIA, AT THE FIFTH CONGRESS OF THE LEAGUE OF COMMUNISTS OF SERBIA

Considerable changes took place in the world during World War II and in the subsequent 20 years. The rout of the Hitler coalition spelt not only a defeat of the fascist ideology but also of the attempts of imperialism as a world system to find, with the help of fascism, a way out of its internal contradictions, which still more strikingly revealed its historical doom and aggravated imperialism's internal crisis.

This undoubtedly facilitated the growth of the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle of the peoples and accelerated the break-up of the colonial system. This great struggle of the peoples and the disintegration of the colonial system have considerably reduced and continue to reduce the sphere in the world where imperialism can hope for the success of its classical methods in practice and policies.

This becomes all the more evident if we bear in mind that along with the growth of the economic potential of the socialist world, socialism exerts an increasing influence in international economic relations and in the world economy and is becoming a world factor of growing economic as well as political importance.

Moreover, the experience of the peoples who have rid themselves of colonial oppression and are now striving to overcome their economic backwardness shows that the capitalist system of economy is no longer able to ensure the economic development of their countries; for many of them the only possible road to economic progress and political independence lies through socialism. The ideological concepts existing in the anti-imperialist movements responsible for these processes differ widely, but these movements' own requirements and the almost fifty years of socialist practice have become

*Abridged from **Borba**, May 12, 1965.

a great guide for all the peoples fighting to free themselves from economic backwardness and dependence.

Of course, these processes are not free from internal and international contradictions, and therefore, in view of the low level of economic development of the countries in question, success depends largely on the international material and political support this striving for economic independence will be given.

These and similar social processes and the vigorous growth of the political strength and social influence of the working class and other democratic forces in the developed capitalist countries testify that the world has changed appreciably in the last 20 years in the sense that the socialist, anti-imperialist and democratic forces have gained in strength, that the influence of these forces on world socio-political developments has grown considerably.

Unless we bear this in mind, we cannot appraise correctly the importance of the policy of the non-aligned countries for the democratic development of international relations, for independence and equality in the present-day world.

All this enhances the international responsibility of the forces of socialism, the socialist countries in the first place.

Furthermore, all these processes necessitate a broader and more differentiated approach to the ways and means of fighting for socialism. They also assign a special socio-historical role to the current struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence of countries with different social and political systems. For at present this struggle is important not only for averting a new world war and promoting the fight of the peoples for liberation, but also for reducing to the minimum the possibility of social progress and the very development of socialism and socialist relations being subjected to outside pressure and interference, i.e., to all kinds of abnormalities in the name of one or another dogma. At the same time, these processes reaffirm the old maxim that all forms of social progress, just like socialism, can only be the fruit of collective effort by the internal forces of society and cannot be imposed from outside.

We Communists have always made sure that the foreign policy of socialist Yugoslavia serves these aims and is carried out by these means and methods.

There is a trend towards a fresh consolidation of the forces seeking to liquidate the considerable results achieved by the forces of peace and progress in the struggle against the cold war and international tension. The world is again threatened with a cold-war rampage and a growing danger of global thermonuclear war.

The principal cause of this disquieting aggravation of international relations evidently lies in the reckless resistance by the forces of imperialism and reaction to the process of political and economic liberation of the nations which has become an impera-

tive demand of our time. We are faced with the grave danger that irresponsibility, violence and interference in the domestic affairs of other countries will replace the principles of the U.N. Charter in international relations, that the policy of "might is right" will be legalized and the fundamental rights of the peoples and state trampled underfoot.

The policy of saving the vestiges of the colonial system, the hegemonic positions and hated regimes, for the sake of which some Western countries are undertaking or supporting acts of aggression and intervention, is bound to end in a fiasco for the "saviours," for it is impossible to safeguard that which is historically and objectively doomed, that which the peoples refuse to tolerate in any form any longer and are fighting against. But it is precisely because it is doomed that the policy of international violence pursued by these countries is the chief source of the danger of a thermonuclear war. For it is not only an aggressive but also short-sighted policy whose makers do not realistically foresee its implications for the world balance of political forces and for themselves.

The authors of this policy are committing a grave mistake if they think that they can ignore world anti-imperialist and democratic public opinion and disregard the liberation movements of the peoples. There probably exist circles in the United States, for instance, which are convinced that the intervention in the Dominican Republic can be of some benefit to U.S. policy in that part of the world. But the reaction in practically all the Latin American countries shows convincingly that the damage U.S. policy has sustained on that continent alone far outweighs any benefit that can be derived by the supporters of this and similar acts of intervention.

After all the American people themselves, the vast majority of whom rejected Goldwater's political platform, clearly indicated their refusal to accept a policy of turning the United States into a world gendarme to suppress national-liberation movements and interfere in the internal affairs of other peoples.

Certain quarters in some Western countries probably think that the present differences in the world working-class movement undermine the forces of socialism and the anti-imperialist movement and that this augurs well for the policy of strength in the sense of a possible change in the balance of world forces. Evidently it is the hope that now presents one of the gravest dangers to universal peace. This illusory hope leads to actions that may bar the only road to the preservation of world peace, the road of peaceful coexistence.

Therefore the most important pressing task of all the forces of peace and social progress is to resist concrete manifestations of the policy of international violence such as are to be observed in the Congo, the Dominican Republic and other countries, to exert maxi-

mum effort to stop acts of aggression, intervention and pressure against the peoples fighting for independence, social progress and democracy. In other words, we should energetically resist any attempt at unilateral hegemonistic arbitration in international relations, any arbitrary violation of the sovereign rights of the peoples. Countering these trends, we should work for the complete affirmation of the principles of the UN Charter, which ensures, in the final analysis, at least a minimum of democratic relations between the peoples.

However, it would be insufficient and ineffective were we to pledge to put out only those fires which have broken out already. It still remains a long-range aim for socialist and democratic policy actively to remove the basic causes and sources of the present international contradictions.

Aware of our international responsibility and of the correlation of forces in the contemporary world, we have always stressed that this role belongs to the policy of peaceful and active coexistence. In our fight against the cold war and for peaceful coexistence, we want, not the preservation of the status quo, but, first, the liberation of the peoples from all forms of oppression and subjugation and, second, such relations between the newly-free, independent and equal nations which would enable them to solve their problems independently, with the aid of means conforming to the conditions of their struggle. Such a policy makes it difficult to interfere in domestic affairs, impose alien interests, socio-economic systems and ideologies and economic dependence, and commit aggression under the pretext of defending some special national, group, ideological, etc., interests.

It is natural for the ultra-reactionary circles of world imperialism to resist in every way efforts to ease the tension and affirm the policy of coexistence. The cold war suits them, for in its atmosphere, in the atmosphere of direct and artificial division into West and East, into Communists and anti-Communists, it is easier for them to conceal their real interests and aims when suppressing national-liberation movements, rejecting progressive social demands of the working people, imposing their hegemony and forcibly interfering in the internal affairs of other countries.

Besides, the cold war atmosphere enables the more reactionary imperialist quarters in West Germany to blackmail the other Western powers into supporting their political aims. It facilitates the aggression in Vietnam, the armed intervention in the Dominican Republic and the Congo, and all sorts of political intrigue in the newly-free African countries designed to threaten and really threatening the unity of independent Africa and to establish economic and political control over particular countries and groups of countries.

The struggle for normal international relations based on the principles of peaceful coexistence truly is the only long-term means of resisting such trends and phenomena. That is why it is now more necessary than ever for the peace-loving forces of all the world to counterpose this policy to the policy of international violence, the rule of the stronger, and the modern forms of Metternich's Holy Alliance, whose purpose was to suppress the freedom of the peoples and prevent their democratic and social progress and whose restoration threatens the world today.

Socialist Yugoslavia's consistent policy of active all-round support of the anti-colonial liberation movements is known sufficiently well. Moreover, we have always considered and stressed that the struggle of the peoples for independence is an integral part of the struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence, and vice versa, for the peoples should be above all free in order to be able to determine democratic relations between themselves.

At present in the socialist world it is not only a question of relations and cooperation between working-class movements, but also between peoples. Therefore, in view of the diversity of the tasks facing the working-class and anti-imperialist movements and the socialist countries today, in view of the high diversity of the conditions in individual countries and different parts of the world, former versions of centralized organization are less suitable, in both form and content, than ever before. On the contrary, this diversity demands active elaboration of new and varied forms of sincere democratic cooperation which would make it possible, despite differences in views and specific interests, to find ways of affirming fundamental common interests of socialism and ensuring unity of action for these interests.

There is no doubt that the results of our internal socialist development will be the best basis for this foreign policy of ours. This is one more reason for us to work persistently and actively for the further development and all-round progress of our socialist society and socialist and democratic relations between peoples, for the humanistic and internationalist trend of our thought and culture, and for the continued consolidation of the material foundations of these changes. Every step in this direction promotes not only improvement of the material and cultural standards of our working people and the relations among them, but also the development of socialism and the growth of its influence on world events.

I do not propose to dwell in greater detail on concrete problems of our internal development, because enough was said about them at the Eighth Congress and later, and because they are dealt with in the materials of this congress as well.

Concentrating on a critical consideration of the existing problems and ways of our socio-economic and political development

the Eighth Congress introduced clarity of principle into some dilemmas of our practice and provided all the Yugoslav Communists with concrete guidelines for socialist public activity. These problems will undoubtedly be the central subject also of your congress.

The place of the League of Communists as the creative force of society is where the struggle of ideas is waged and social criticism develops. The ideological and political work of the League will equip the working people with the socialist knowledge necessary for their independent activity and for determining their subjective actions and attitude to concrete social phenomena, and, conversely, the League will be constantly learning and drawing strength from the working people, from the entire creative activity of our society, from all the progressive trends existing in it, organically combining its practical experience and its knowledge of the everyday needs of the working people with the best achievements of human thought and using all this for the good of progress, socialism and democracy.

In this struggle the successes of the Communists will be the greater the clearer they see the basic factors and paths of socialist progress, the more concertedly they concentrate their efforts on the decisive sectors of socialist development, and the quicker they discern and counter any trends disarming or disorienting the forces of socialism.

In conclusion, may I once again express, on behalf of the LCY Central Committee, the wish that your work at the congress and after it should be as fruitful as possible and thus greatly contribute to the all-round development of our society, our socialist practice and theory, and the confidence that this wish will come true.

ON THE SITUATION IN THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

RESOLUTION OF THE CC, PORTUGUESE COMMUNIST PARTY

I

In policy documents, letters to fraternal parties and talks with them the Portuguese Communist Party has striven to make a constructive contribution to overcoming the differences and difficulties existing in the world Communist movement.

Here are some of the basic ideas which determine the position of the PCP and which our Party has stated on more than one occasion:

a) The PCP considers that, despite the acuteness of the existing differences, what unites the Communist and Workers' parties outweighs that which disunites them at present. Hence the need for persistent efforts to overcome the difficulties, and for belief in the possibility of averting a split in the Communist movement.

b) The PCP considers that these efforts should be undertaken in three main directions: a friendly and frank discussion among the fraternal parties to bridge the viewpoints; elaboration of concrete agreements on unity of action in the struggle against imperialism, for democracy, national independence, peace and socialism; observance of the standards governing relations between Communist and Workers' parties on the basis of the equality and independence of all the parties.

Hence the importance of international conferences, bilateral and multilateral meetings of Communist and Workers' parties, agreements on joint actions, and non-interference by any party in the internal affairs of other parties.

c) As regards the holding of a new international Conference of the Communist and Workers' parties, the PCP believes that efforts should be exerted to ensure the participation of the 81 parties that took part in the 1960 Conference.

In the process of preparation careful consideration must be given — with a view to reaching mutually acceptable decisions —to the opinions and proposals of all the parties as regards other parties' proposals. In view of this, the conference's preparatory body should work in close contact with all the fraternal parties.

Submitting its opinions and proposals for consideration by other fraternal parties the PCP is at the same time carefully studying

the proposals, opinions and initiatives of other parties striving to overcome the existing difficulties and to uphold and strengthen the unity of the world Communist movement.

It is in this spirit that the PCP appraises the Communique on the Consultative Meeting of representatives of 19 fraternal parties held in Moscow over March 1-5, 1965.

II

The CC, PCP has thoroughly studied the Communique on the Consultative Meeting of representatives of 19 Communist and Workers' parties—those of Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Finland, France, Germany (two parties from the two German states), Great Britain, Hungary, India, Italy, Mongolia, Poland, the Soviet Union, Syria and the United States (the latter was represented by observers).

The CC, PCP regards the conclusions reached at this Meeting as a positive contribution to the defense of the unity of the world Communist movement, making special note of the following conclusions:

a) what unites the Communist parties outweighs that which disunites them at present;

b) joint actions in the struggle against imperialism, in support of the liberation movement of the peoples, and for peace are not only entirely positive and necessary but present the best way of eliminating the existing differences;

c) collective efforts are needed, based on observance of democratic principles of the independence and equality of all the fraternal parties;

d) in addition to useful bilateral and multilateral meetings, active and thorough preparation of the new international Conference, with the participation of all the fraternal parties and with respect shown for the complete equality and independence of each party, would conform to the interests of the world Communist movement;

e) end public polemic, which is in character abusive and degrading to the fraternal parties, and the interference of any party into the internal affairs of other parties.

These general conclusions fully coincide with the stand of the PCP and our Party unreservedly supports them.

III

Besides these general conclusions, the 19 parties that took part in the Consultative Meeting put forward a *new* proposal aimed at finding a way out of the difficulties, namely, that representatives of the 81 parties that attended the 1960 Conference assemble at a

preliminary Consultative Conference to discuss all the problems pertaining to the new international Conference.

The PCP considers that such a preliminary Consultative Conference would constitute a good form of joint discussion of all the problems connected with the holding of the new international Conference of the Communist and Workers' parties. Each party would have an opportunity of stating before the other parties its view on this problem; it would be possible to compare views, try to bridge the positions, and reach agreed conclusions regarding the expediency or inexpediency of convening the Conference, the most suitable bodies for preparing it, the most suitable date for convening it, the agenda, and so on.

The PCP sees no special reasons for any party to reject *in principle* the idea of a preliminary Consultative Conference of the 81 parties for a collective discussion of these problems.

The PCP considers that reaching agreement *in principle* on holding such a Conference would be the first major step in developing this initiative. The thing is that the particular questions of the date, place and powers of the Conference can and must be discussed at length at bilateral and multilateral meetings. If all the parties agree *in principle* to hold the preliminary Consultative Conference, this will facilitate agreement on these particular questions.

The PCP, for its part, expresses its agreement in principle with the proposal, contained in the Communique of the Moscow Consultative Meeting, on convening a preliminary Consultative Conference of the 81 parties that took part in the 1960 Conference, to discuss the question of a new international Conference.

Communist and Workers' parties are known to differ in their views on the forms and methods of overcoming the existing disagreements. In most cases this divergence reflects the different ways in which each party strives to contribute to the restoration and consolidation of unity. However, whereas differences in opinion facilitate rather than hamper the search for joint decisions, this cannot be said about the harmful actions and manifestly unfriendly attitudes of some parties toward other parties.

As far as the Moscow Consultative Meeting of 19 parties is concerned, no party which views the facts objectively has any doubt that this Meeting was a positive constructive attempt to find ways of bringing the Communist and Workers' parties together, of pooling their efforts against the common enemy.

The insults, the charge levelled at some fraternal parties that they are subservient to the bourgeoisie and imperialism, the abusive attacks on the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and other fraternal parties cannot promote the cause of restoring world Communist unity and unity of action of the world forces fighting

against imperialism, colonialism, national oppression, reaction and war.

The need to serve, in deeds not in words, the cause of proletarian internationalism, the cause of the exploited classes and oppressed peoples, the cause of socialism and peace, is greater today than ever before.

The differences in the world Communist movement encourage imperialism to new acts of aggression against the socialist camp, against the national-liberation movement and the working-class and democratic movements in the capitalist countries. The criminal U.S. aggression against Vietnam demands unity of action of the socialist camp, the Communist parties, all the revolutionary and peace-loving forces. In the struggle against the common enemy, nothing can justify the lack of unity in the Communist movement.

The Portuguese Communist Party considers, as before, that it is the imperative duty of all the Marxist-Leninist parties to promote actively and constructively the unity of the world Communist movement.

The Portuguese Communist Party will, for its part, work consistently for this unity based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, continue to strengthen the bonds of friendship and cooperation with the fraternal parties, and actively cooperate with them in the fight against the common enemy, for the common cause.

May 1965

STATEMENT OF THE MOSCOW CONSULTATIVE MEETING

DOCUMENTS OF THE CC, COMMUNIST PARTY OF TURKEY

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Turkey followed with great interest the work of the Consultative Meeting of 19 Communist and Workers' Parties, held in Moscow on March 1-5, 1965, and thoroughly studied the documents adopted by the Meeting, which was an important event in the world Communist movement and a step towards stronger unity.

Faced with the strength of the socialist camp, the mounting liberation movement, the imminent and complete liquidation of the colonial system, the struggle against imperialism, reaction and war joined by ever broader masses, and feeling that they are constantly losing ground, the imperialists act ever more openly and aggressively. U.S. imperialism is the right hand of world reaction. Trampling upon international principles, it openly interferes in the internal affairs of other countries and strives at all costs to support the reactionary forces and strangle the democratic movements.

The Vietnamese events add urgency to the need to strengthen the solidarity of all the peace-loving forces and above all to uphold and consolidate the unity of the world Communist movement. The statement on the events in Vietnam issued by the Moscow Consultative Meeting was the first indication of the positive work done at this Meeting. The CC, CPT declares its full agreement with the resolution adopted by the Meeting and calls for international solidarity to combat the U.S. armed aggression against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the U.S. military intervention in South Vietnam.

The CC, CPT is firmly convinced that the disagreements existing in the world Communist movement, far from facilitating the fight for the vital interests of the working classes, for peace, democracy and socialism, on the contrary, can only play into the hands of the imperialists, who are doing their utmost to utilize these disagreements.

The contradictions, which are sapping our unity in the struggle against imperialism, for the liberation of the peoples, for world peace and peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, for the vital interests and historical goals of the working class, can have no excuse whatsoever. As the Moscow Consultative Meeting stressed in its Communique, "what unites the Com-

munist parties greatly outweighs that which at the present time disunites them." The common aims, the common ideology and the decisions adopted at the Moscow conferences of 1957 and 1960 and comprising a common programme, are factors powerful enough to prevent the existing disagreements from hindering joint actions.

The CC, CPT is convinced of the need to convene a new international conference, to be held in conditions of the complete independence and equality of all the Communist and Workers' parties, and to find new ways and methods of preparing this conference.

The participation of all the fraternal parties in the preparatory work will be the most effective and democratic way of ensuring the success of the conference.

The CC, CPT stresses its full agreement with all the ideas and opinions stated in the documents of the Moscow Meeting, including the proposal on holding a Consultative Conference of the 81 parties that took part in the Moscow Conference of 1960.

It fully approves the proposal regarding the active cooperation of all the fraternal parties in creating favorable conditions for the successful preparation and holding of this international conference and above all for putting an end to the open and abusive polemic which is doing great harm to the entire Communist movement.

The Communist Party of Turkey, which wishes to contribute to the preservation and consolidation of the unity of the world Communist movement on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles and the resolutions of the Moscow conferences of 1957 and 1960, sees it as its internationalist duty to join in the efforts undertaken by the fraternal parties to this end.

April, 1965

STATEMENT IN CONNECTION WITH THE FORTHCOMING PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS OF 1965

The forthcoming parliamentary elections will be an important event in the struggle for democracy and the national independence of our country. Special importance attaches to them in view of the adverse effect Turkey's links with the imperialists are having on the political, social and economic life of our people.

The gradual shift in the correlation of world forces in favor of socialism, the national-liberation movements, peace and democracy, and the policy of peaceful coexistence consistently championed by the socialist countries and other peace-loving states, have paved the way for easing the international tension and abating the cold war fanned by the imperialists. They have provided the peoples ensnared by the imperialist powers, especially the peoples of such backward countries as Turkey, with a possibility and, in some

measure, real opportunity to search for ways of initiating economic and social advance in their countries. But the bellicose imperialist circles are again poisoning the atmosphere and kindling hotbeds of world war in the different regions of the world such as Vietnam, the Congo and the Dominican Republic. They are acting likewise on Cyprus, only by different means and methods.

On the one hand, the U.S. imperialists are seeking to strangle the national-liberation movements by force of arms; on the other, they are stepping up, overtly and covertly, efforts to prevent the economic and social development of the backward countries and force them off the road of peace, indispensable for their economic advance. For instance, in Turkey, which evinced a striving to take this road, the Inonu government was deposed as a result of the intrigues of the U.S. imperialists and a government was set up which relies on reactionary parties, particularly the Party of Justice, and which is incapable of effecting reforms essential for national development and of returning to an independent and peace-loving foreign policy.

The extreme reactionaries are out to seize all power in the forthcoming elections and revive and broadly pursue the anti-popular home and foreign policy that was carried through prior to May 27. The Turkish voter should remember the deplorable results of this extremely reactionary policy conducted with the help of intrigues, and bear in mind the situation in which our country has found itself. A very large number of parties can take part in the elections. These parties represent, to varying degrees, organizations and people having different class and group interests and holding different political and religious views. Our chief problem today is the national problem bearing on the existence of our country and the destiny of our people. This national problem should and does unite all groups of the people adhering to identical political views and convictions and pursuing their class aims, around a common goal in a National Democratic Front. The landless, land-hungry, middle and even part of the rich peasants should take their stand in this front. Among its active fighters are lecturers, patriotic-minded officers and progressive intellectuals terrorized by the reactionary Party of Justice which is craving for power in order to effect anti-democratic laws curtailing constitutional freedoms and destroying the democratic rights established by the revolution of May 27. Small shop-keepers, manufacturers and urban artisans, tied hand and foot by competition on the part of foreign monopolies and participating in this struggle, should also join the National Democratic Front. The opposite camp unites the big landowners and local capitalists who have made common cause with the imperialists and foreign monopolies. They are Messrs Vehpi Koc, Selek, Burla, Koper, Demirel, Mete, Hacikilic and others. Pursuing their interests, they want to keep

our country in NATO and CENTO, under U.S. domination. They oppose any social reforms, the land reform included. They come out against saving our oil and our ore mines from foreign monopolies, against the nationalization of domestic trade. They want to turn over the state enterprises, built with the sweat, blood and hard-earned money of the people, to foreign monopolies. They regard the present U.S.-oriented policy as suiting their interests. They organize the struggle of the reactionary forces against the working class, the peasants, progressive intellectuals, patriotic-minded officers—against all who are really concerned with the genuine interests of the country. They oppose the National Democratic Front. Currently they are preparing to crush the progressive democratic forces. The electoral victory of the party on which they pin their hopes will lead not only to the renunciation of the progressive steps in the home and foreign policy awaited by our people, but also to the loss of the freedoms and rights won at the cost of great sacrifices and many years of struggle. It will lead to the establishment of an extremely reactionary regime even more servile to the imperialists.

Although the international situation and the pressure of the people compel the reactionary governments to make some tactical changes in home and foreign policy, the cardinal changes our people want can only be ensured by a government representing all the democratic and progressive forces. Only such a government can save the country. The happy future of our country depends on the vigilance of the progressive forces headed by the working class. But success in the forthcoming elections can only be guaranteed by the National Democratic Front uniting the progressive forces opposed to imperialism and the local reactionaries.

The most pressing national tasks are as follows:

— an end to the cooperation with the imperialist states and especially the U.S.; annulment of the political, economic and military agreements which do not ensure the national independence of the country, and the agreements with NATO and CENTO; removal from Turkish territory of the foreign bases, which endanger the peace and security of our country; return to the policy of neutrality and friendship with the Soviet Union and all the neighboring states, to an independent and peace-loving foreign policy; peaceful solution of the Cyprus problem; elaboration of a policy which will help rid Cyprus of foreign bases and stop it being a bridgehead for an attack on peace-loving countries and all the countries of the Middle East, Turkey included; recognition of the territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus; rejection of the imperialist plans for interference which hamper the coexistence of the two communities (Turkish and Cypriot) having equal democratic rights;

— a reduction of the military expenditures which make our people shoulder the heavy burden of taxes in the interests of ag-

gressive imperialist states; withdrawal of our army from NATO;

— bigger allocations for education, health, public works and economic development;

— annulment of the enslaving cultural agreement with the United States; termination of the activities of the U.S. mission controlling our national education;

— abolition of measures and laws running counter to the Constitution and hampering the ideological, political and economic struggle of the working class; an end to unemployment; improvement of the living conditions of the working people; an end to the anti-communist propaganda conducted by the reactionaries and imperialists for military purposes; abolition of the Italian fascist laws* outlawing the Communist Party and terrorizing all the democratic forces of the country;

— a radical land reform to give land to the lendless and land-hungry peasants and destroy the vestiges of feudalism;

— extensive low-interest credits to poor and middle peasants and urban artisans;

— adoption of laws to ease the plight of the petty officials and persons with low incomes; drastic measures against the high cost of living; a just fiscal system to reduce the direct and indirect taxes weighing on the working people;

— promotion of the state sector in the economy, essential for the economic independence of the country; more extensive and better regulated measures benefiting the people;

— abolition of the laws granting privileges to foreign capital and companies; nationalization of the foreign enterprises keeping or clinging to key positions in the economy, including nationalization of the oil fields and ore mines; nationalization of foreign trade, which at present is operated to benefit foreign monopolies and their local partners;

— a radical land reform to give to the landless and land-hungry peasants and destroy the vestiges of feudalism; political machinery of the state; abolition of the secret police force used against the anti-imperialist and democratic movements; establishment of political organization really serving the national interests of the country.

A party or parties which have definite views and aims and declare them for all to hear can count on the support of our people, of all the progressive forces. The Communist Party of Turkey, for many years compelled to work underground, does not contend the elections as a party. But despite the persecutions and difficulties it continues the fight for the liberation of our people, for their happy future.: The Communist Party regards it as its duty by the country to consider, appraise and, in conformity with this appraisal,

*Laws patterned after Italian fascist laws —Ed

indicate solutions to any one of the problems bearing on the destiny of our country—and this not for the purpose of taking power, but out of concern for the present and future interests of our people. The Communist Party does not urge voting for it in the forthcoming elections but wants our people to give their votes to the party or parties intending at least partially to satisfy the present vital needs of the country.

July, 1965

THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE WILL WIN

PRAVDA INTERVIEWS* PRESIDENT HO CHI MINH

Q. Comrade President, how do you appraise the significance of the struggle of the Vietnamese army and people against the U.S. aggression?

A. It is a just, patriotic and certainly victorious war against an unjust and brutal war of aggression waged by the U.S. imperialists.

The Vietnamese people are firmly resolved to hold the outpost on the eastern flank of the socialist camp, to remain in the forefront of the struggle of the peoples of the world against aggressive U.S. imperialism. They are fighting courageously in defense of their sacred national rights and at the same time for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism throughout the world.

The stand of the Vietnamese people and of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam formulated in the generally known Four Points is a correct and reasonable stand conforming to their national interests, the Geneva agreements of 1954, the interests of the American people and the honor of the United States, and the interests of peace.

The Vietnamese people enjoy the solidarity, support and growing assistance of the Soviet Union, China and the other socialist countries, the governments and peoples of the Asian, African and Latin American countries and all the peace-loving forces including ever broader sections of the American people.

In contrast to this, the U.S. imperialists are finding themselves in growing isolation and are ever more sharply condemned throughout the world and even in their own country.

The U.S. imperialists are bound to suffer defeat. The Vietnamese people are certain to win complete victory.

Q. What are the revolutionary traditions of the Vietnamese people in the struggle for national liberation?

A. Like many other peoples of the world, the people of Vietnam are inspired by strong traditions of unity, heroic struggle and firm determination to fight and win out in order to uphold and consolidate their national independence.

These traditions were forged in the revolutionary struggle which the people have been waging for 35 years now under the leadership

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*Pravda, June 19, 1965.

of the Vietnamese working class and its Marxist-Leninist party, in the patriotic resistance movement, which was crowned with the glorious victory at Dien Bien Phu.

The present struggle for national salvation, which is being waged against the United States, is an important mobilizing factor in enhancing still more the traditions of unity and struggle of the Vietnamese people. The more our people multiply their attacks in the struggle against aggressive U.S. imperialism, the more their forces grow. Their patriotic cause will be crowned with a glorious victory.

Q. Comrade President, what is the connection between the defense of North Vietnam and the liberation of South Vietnam from the viewpoint of the Geneva agreements?

A. The Geneva agreements are an international document which recognized the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Vietnam.

The struggle in defense of the North and for the liberation of the South of Vietnam is at the same time a struggle for the preservation of and strict abidance by the Geneva agreements of 1954 on Vietnam.

Q. What is your opinion of the solidarity of the peoples of the socialist countries and the Communist movement with the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. imperialism at its present stage?

A. It gives the Vietnamese people great joy and inspiration that in their struggle against aggressive U.S. imperialism they have the sympathy, support and resolute and effective assistance of the Soviet Union, China and the other fraternal socialist countries, as well as the sympathy, support and unselfish assistance of the peoples of Asia, Africa, Latin America, all the peace-loving peoples of the world, the American people included. This is a splendid demonstration of militant friendship between the socialist countries and the national-liberation movement, permeated with the spirit of proletarian internationalism. This is also an important factor contributing to the victory of the patriotic struggle of the Vietnamese people and the victory of the national-liberation movement throughout the world.

Q. What can you say about the strengthening of Soviet-Vietnamese friendship and the importance of relations of friendship and cooperation for victory over U.S. aggression? What would you like to say to the Soviet people in this connection?

A. Our Party, Government and the people of Vietnam express their profound gratitude to the Party, the Government of the people of the Soviet Union for their solidarity, support and invaluable assistance in our struggle against aggressive U.S. imperialism.

We shall exert all our efforts to strengthen the bonds of fraternal friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance between Vietnam and

the Soviet Union, fully realizing that these efforts are an important contribution to the victory of our revolutionary cause.

In this connection I would like to convey, on behalf of the Vietnamese people, the warmest greetings to the fraternal Soviet people. I wish them ever greater victories in building the material and technological foundation of communism and in the struggle to preserve world peace.

A MESSAGE FROM UNDERGROUND*

Bram Fischer**

In 1965 South Africa presents a surface of ebullient confidence: the ebullience of a white electorate basking in phenomenal prosperity; and the confidence of a Government which, during sixteen years, has with increasing violence attempted to crush every effort by the majority of the people to win human rights until today it appears supremely stable.

To the outside world, then, South Africa may seem to be another Spain: irrevocably set for long years of rule so tyrannical that all militant opposition can be continually and readily suppressed. A powerful body of conservative opinion—including the many British and American investors with a large stake in this prosperity—particularly appreciates the present Government's maintenance of "law and order" (regardless of the cost in human suffering below the surface) and argues that economic forces are breaking down apartheid.

These impressions and arguments need to be corrected.

South Africa may resemble Spain, but it is not another Spain. Apartheid, in a manner unique in history, arouses the abhorrence of all the United Nations except Portugal; not only the abhorrence. but the growing determination to bring to an end such racial domination. The view may be true that many investors in South Africa favor a strong Government, and hence resist any interference with the policies of such a Government which attempts to maintain law and order at all costs. This view may be true *at present*. It ceases to be true as soon as the Government's policy produces unrest and external threats. At that stage it must become increasingly apparent that it is in the interests of the investor to support rapid change and the transfer of political power to a truly representative government which would establish racial peace and proper relations with the African states and the United Nations. In any event, can any government be truly stable where, in a multi-racial society, all non-whites, three-quarers of the population, are deprived of the vote and detest the racialist laws? Can any economy long be stable where its prosperity is reserved for a politically dominant white

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*African Communist, April-June, 1965.

**Advocate Abram Fischer, Q.C., is the main accused in the Johannesburg trial of 13 men and women on charges of being members or supporters of the illegal Communist Party. On January 22 he announced that he had chosen to forfeit his bail and leave his home in order to continue the liberation struggle from underground.

minority? Can any policy produce racial harmony where it imposes economic and social degradation and a denial of human rights on the vast majority of people?

As for the argument that economic forces are breaking down apartheid, this is true only to a strictly limited extent. The law reserving jobs for whites and colored people is daily infringed as more and more non-whites are absorbed into skilled and semi-skilled work, while during the Nationalist Government's rule the number of Africans living and working in so-called white areas has more or less doubled. But — though their wages and living conditions improve — in face of the ever-rising cost of living, need, poverty and malnutrition remain the lot of the vast majority of non-whites in this prosperous country. Furthermore, the absorption illegally of Africans into semi-skilled or even skilled work is in fact leading to even greater exploitation of labor, as white employers hire them for so-called white jobs at cheap wages, safe in the knowledge that Africans have no right to organize and strike. But above all the argument that economics are defeating the politics of apartheid becomes fallacious in face of the mounting human and political repression that has accompanied the growing "influx" of Africans, now more than 7,000,000 in the so-called white 87 percent of South Africa. In short, the more educated and "industrialized" the Africans become, the more they are repressed.

It is not necessary to look far below South Africa's surface in time or depth to discover the reality. Protests against shocking social conditions, against the hated pass laws, against political and industrial oppression — whether peaceful or whether exploding into riots or sabotage — have equally been put down with violence.

Yet for 50 years, the senior African organization, the ANC, followed a policy of non-violence. Even after the Sharpeville massacre, it still persisted in such methods. Not until the 1961 protest stay-at-home had been crushed by all the force of a modern well-armed State, did the leaders turn away with bitter regret from their policy of non-violence, and allow some members to join the Spear of the Nation. Even then the campaign of sabotage that followed was directed strictly at symbolic targets. Once again the reply of the exclusively white Parliament was not to repeal discriminatory laws. Instead, surely a unique occurrence in history, an elected body whose members must have known full well what the consequences would be, passed a law which legalized torture. Under the so-called "ninety-day" law, which soon earned world-wide notoriety, a thousand of our best citizens were detained for indefinite periods of ninety days in solitary confinement, for purposes of interrogation. As was to be expected, this has been used (and, though suspended, can at any time be used again), not merely to inflict solitary confinement — in itself one of the cruellest forms of punishment, as

I know from personal experience — but for actual physical torture; long hours of enforced continuous standing — forty hours, fifty, sixty or even more — during incessant interrogation; electric shock treatment and other forms of violent physical assault.

Our police State, now arming itself to the teeth, has used this law with barbarous intensity to try to break the forces striving for basic human rights. Today there are over 2,500 political prisoners in our jails, including most of our non-white leaders. The State thinks it has crushed the liberation movement, but it has not. As we know from history — including the history of South Africa — if the struggle for freedom is smothered in one place or for the time being, it flares up again before long. In 1960, with the mass arrests during the Emergency, it seemed as if the struggle had been crushed. But this was not so. There was a resurgence in the movement for liberation. Now of course the set-back has been more profound and widespread. But "set-back" it is, and the struggle will surge forward again. It is in this that the real danger lies. If South Africans have to perform the task by themselves, they will inevitably be driven by the terrorist methods of the State into a violent and chaotic form of struggle. And the more prolonged the daily, incessant humiliation meted out by the majority of whites, to the millions of non-whites, the fiercer the bitterness being created in millions of souls. This bitterness is understood, indeed overtly shared. by people of color everywhere. The fury recently vented in the United Nations over the Congo will seem trivial by comparison to what lies ahead in relation to South Africa. Though it is at the moment beyond the powers of the African States to launch any direct attack they cannot indefinitely tolerate our gross insult to man solely because of his color and their existing influence in the United Nations can but grow and, in its turn, influence the countries with heavy investment in South Africa.

Immediately, world opinion has positive and constructive tasks to perform. It must prevent torture from being used again in a country which counts itself civilized. World opinion has already helped to bring about the suspension of the ninety-day law, now it must work for its repeal. The law still exists and the Minister of Justice has already threatened to reimpose it at a moment's notice.

World opinion should work for the release of our thousands of political prisoners and, until this is achieved, must insist that they are not, as at present, treated as ordinary criminals of the lowest category. The wives and dependants of these prisoners must be cared for; their children educated. We in South Africa are quite incapable of looking after 15,000-20,000 dependants.

But, most important, is the extension of human rights to all citizens. Democracy will eventually be won, of that there can be no

doubt. The question is whether it can be achieved peacefully or only by violence.

A peaceful transition can be brought about if the Government agrees to negotiation with all sections of the people and, in particular, with the non-white leaders at present jailed on Robben Island or in exile. Prospects of such negotiation seem desperately remote. The Government presents a "granite" attitude. Not one of the three Prime Ministers produced by the Nationalist Party since 1948 ever met or talked with a single non-white leader.

Yet this is no static situation. This is no Spain. It is 1965 — not 1935. If the combination of predictable and unpredictable forces leads to large-scale violence or war, the consequences would be so disastrous in loss of life, in suffering, in economic disruption, in a legacy of bitter hatred and in the threat to world peace, that I believe that white South Africans must at some stage be brought to realize that their own long-term interests lie not in maintaining race supremacy but in extending human rights to all.

Although the Nationalist Party appears supremely confident, its spokesmen show some awareness of the hopelessness of their struggle in their warnings that if apartheid fails, multi-racial democracy must follow.

The United Nations can bring home to white South Africans the recognition that the maintenance of white supremacy is doomed. I doubt even whether it would be necessary to apply sanctions, boycotts, embargoes. I have no doubt that if white South Africans really believed that certain fundamental sanctions would be imposed after the lapse of some specified time, they could well rid themselves of apartheid, and thus avoid bloodshed more fearful than ever occurred in Algeria.

And knowing them as I have grown to know them from twenty-five years work with the ANC., I have no doubt that our African people will gladly bear any hardships that would be caused by sanctions, rather than achieve their freedom by violence.

With *all* South Africa free, at long last our country will fulfil its great potential — economic, political, cultural and educational — internally and in African world affairs.

IN THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

SOLIDARITY MORE IMPORTANT THAN EVER

KWAME NKRUMAH'S SPEECH TO THE FOURTH AFRO-ASIAN SOLIDARITY CONFERENCE*

At this Conference of solidarity between the peoples of Africa and Asia, even more than in the preceding ones, grave and momentous decisions will have to be taken to meet new emergencies in the conflict between imperialism and the majority of mankind.

It cannot be otherwise: Afro-Asian solidarity itself emerged from this confiict. It emerged from our common determination to destroy the remnants of colonialism, and our common need to repulse the assaults of neo-colonialism in its efforts to recover the ground lost by imperialism in the great socialist revolutions and worldwide struggles for national liberation which followed the Second World War.

Each new wave of national liberation and decolonialization has swept imperialism into ever-deepening economic and political crises. Its desperate measures to save itself from extinction have made all efforts at peaceful coexistence and a peaceful transition to a world freed from political, racial and economic oppression, harder and harder to attain.

We still hope for an end to the cold war. We still hope that enslaved peoples, like those of South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and the Portuguese colonies, will liberate themselves without an armed struggle.

We still hope that neo-colonialism's incessant search for military bases, puppet governments and regimes, hidden allies and disguised instruments of exploitation will be abandoned.

We still hope that the economic warfare which the industrialized Western nations wage against the developing world will end.

But we meet here as realists who must see things as they are, and not as we would like them to be.

We meet at a time when bombs are falling on the people of Vietnam; when the bullets and bayonets of foreign mercenaries are being used to tyrannize the people of the Congo; when foreign

*Abridged from **The Spark, May 14, 1965.**

marines and paratroopers have been interposed between the people of the Dominican Republic and their freedom.

We meet at a time when the United Nations has fallen into disarray, and seems incapable of fulfilling its supreme purpose, namely, the maintenance of peace in the world; when the conferences for nuclear disarmament have reached a stalemate which leaves mankind without hope.

Not only the bombs, mercenaries and contingents of marines, but also the defiance and obduracy of some industrialized nations at the Economic Conference of the United Nations at Geneva last year must be considered in your deliberations upon the present world crisis.

Decolonization, national liberation, the Charter of the United Nations, the principles of coexistence and even the possible outbreak of a nuclear conflict — none of these momentous developments in the modern world had caused imperialism to deviate from its course of economic exploitation or to desist from undermining the independence of nations to make this exploitation possible.

Wherever and whenever we seek the causes of war, we find the answer in economic exploitation, the heart of imperialism.

We seek the causes of national and racial oppression, and we find the answer in economic exploitation, the heart of imperialism.

We seek the causes of continued undermining of emergent nations and we find the answer in economic exploitation, the heart of imperialism.

In this conference of peoples of the Afro-Asian world, we are not only concerned with peoples who are seeking to defend their independence and to use their independence for social and economic development. We are also concerned with peoples still under the colonial yoke, still enslaved by foreign invaders.

We are not unmindful that for the peoples of South Africa, Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe, the so-called Portuguese Guinea, and others, the problems of independence and of neo-colonialism, of economic development and equitable trade do not arise in the same sharp form as for the independent peoples in this conference.

To them we say: Brothers, we know your needs and will not forget them. You are entitled to your freedom at any cost and if you are only able to gain your freedom by an armed struggle, we will not only consider your wars against the foreign oppressor as just and holy, but we will be prepared to help you as if these were our own wars for our own liberation.

If we say less, and do less at this conference, we shall be making a mockery of the solidarity in whose cause we are here gathered. We shall be doing violence to all the instincts and moral principles which drove us in the struggle for our own freedom. What is more,

we shall be frustrating our own efforts to drive imperialism and neo-colonialism out of our own borders.

It is well known by now that it was this overriding need to free the enslaved part of the African continent and to help our brothers to liberate themselves, which gave the independent nations of Africa the inspiration to achieve the first step towards unity at the Summit Conference in Addis Ababa.

It also cannot be unknown to you that I did not believe then, and do not believe now, that anything less than the unity which finds its expression in a Continental Government of a United Africa, will be an effective force to to help in the liberation of the enslaved part of Africa.

It is also true that I do not believe that any of the fundamental problems of the independent states of Africa can be finally solved until a continental government of Africa comes into being.

I do not believe that the economic development of Africa can reach an effective stage until Africa's human and material resources have been mobilized under a continental Union Government of Africa.

The emergence of a Continental Government of Africa will immediately make the independent states of Africa a mighty world influence.

We shall then be in a far better position to liberate our brothers in colonial bondage and rule, to drive out imperialism and neo-colonialism from our continent, to make us a powerful ally of the Asian peoples in their own struggles against imperialism, and to make us an effective force for world peace.

We cannot but deplore divisions which spring up in the ranks of the freedom-fighters of the occupied parts of Africa and Asia. In the face of slavery and domination how can any divisions be allowed to cause dissensions which will prolong that slavery and domination?

If unity is essential for independent peoples in their struggle against imperialism, how much more must it be so for these peoples fighting to throw out a foreign invader and to throw off the chains of slavery?

Solidarity itself raises many problems. Not the least is the presence of political refugees in our independent States.

I would like to touch on a further problem which affects you as an organization of the solidarity of peoples, rather than of governments.

It seems to me that provision should be made in your constitution for the admission of more than one political party or movement from each territory represented, provided that such parties or movements are by their programs and activities, anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist, anti-neo-colonialist and anti-racialist.

Beyond that, it seems to me, no good purpose can be served by elaborate inquisitions into the internal affairs of the freedom fighters in colonial countries, and of the political movements in independent countries.

It cannot be in the interest of the solidarity of the peoples that any one party or movement should have a vested right to membership of your organization merely because it was first in the field. In many countries, popular parties and movements ebb and flow.

We meet as a Conference of Afro-Asian solidarity. Let no one mistake this as a racial alignment. We are neither racists nor racialists although we happen to be non-white in overwhelming numbers on those two continents, and although imperialism today operates from countries where the peoples are predominantly white.

We are not here because we come from Africa and Asia, but because we belong to that part of the human race whose lands have been colonized and whose freedom was taken away by the imperialists.

We do not forget that the people of Latin America, who suffer the same fate as we on the continents of Africa and Asia, are of European as well as of Indian and African origin. These people of Latin America and the Caribbean have not been deliberately excluded from our solidarity.

Our Organization of Afro-Asian solidarity developed under circumstances which made the inclusion of the Latin American and the Caribbean peoples difficult. But these difficulties must be overcome, and our solidarity with them must be cemented as rapidly as possible.

No other peoples have suffered as much from neo-colonialism as the peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean. Their solidarity with the peoples of Africa and Asia is as necessary for them as for us, if we are to achieve a final victory over world imperialism.

I must emphasize with all the seriousness at my command that we are here to wage a war against a system and not against a race.

We are here because we are resolved that any system or regime which owes its existence to the exploitation of man by man, the humiliation of man by man, and the degradation of man by man, cannot and must not be permitted to continue its existence in the world.

We are a part of the human race that is determined to free itself from the ravages of colonialism, from the machinations of neo-colonialism, and from the menace of imperialism, irrespective of their racial, national or geographical origins.

We know that we have the support of the masses and progressive opinion outside Africa and Asia. The non-aligned states have shown by their successful deliberations in Belgrade and Cairo that we have allies in Europe and on the American Continent.

We should therefore consolidate and reinforce our solidarity with the non-aligned states so that progressive people and organizations throughout the world irrespective of race, color or creed are mobilized to fight for peace, prosperity and progress.

We are not here for racial prestige. We are here, first of all, to ensure freedom for all who live under colonial bondage or racial oppression.

We are here to ensure that the freedom which we have won, and which we will help our brothers to win, will have a true meaning, and not be merely a political facade.

For the peoples represented here who have won their freedom, the main struggle to be waged now is economic, always remembering that every economic struggle is carried on, not in a vacuum, but in a political and social context.

Our independence means much more than merely being free to fly our own flag and to play our own national anthem. It becomes a reality only in a revolutionary framework when we create and sustain a level of economic development capable of ensuring a higher standard of living, proper education, good health and cultural development to all our citizens.

If the people are not clothed better, fed better, sheltered better, if the people are not ensured employment, personal dignity and cultural and spiritual advancement, what have they gained by independence?

What meaning can independence have for the people if we throw off political bondage only, and remain in economic and mental subservience?

When we wage battle against imperialism, we in fact wage a political battle directed to an economic end. The imperialists are not cruel or deceitful or destructive because they were born wicked. They are cruel, deceitful warmongers because they find this the most effective means of economic exploitation.

For the imperialists human values count for nothing and are always subordinated to his quest for profit. When there is profit to be made from being cruel, the imperialist is a devil in human form.

The economic struggle against imperialism cannot be carried on without coming to grips with the forces of exploitation both at home and abroad. It cannot be waged unless the people themselves are mobilized for the struggle and have a direct interest in the struggle.

Nor can it be carried on effectively without full political solidarity and economic cooperation between all the developing countries.

The emergence of African and Asian independence made it necessary for imperialism to invent and put into operation methods of exploitation which were almost unknown in the era of colonialism.

In the newly-independent countries, indigenous forces had to be found as secret partners and agents in the process of exploitation.

In trade with the new states, monopolistic and restrictive devices had to be found to bring down the prices of crops and materials from the developing countries, to raise the cost of their imports, limit their credits, devalue their currencies, undermine their confidence and teach them to live on doles and handouts.

The methods are involved and devious; the aims simple and transparent. The aim of imperialism is to inhibit or slow down the economic development of the ex-colonies, so that they will remain colonies in everything but name.

We call this latest phase of imperialism neo-colonialism. Our solidarity here will mean very little unless we understand neo-colonialism thoroughly, and plan to wage a struggle against it with the same spirit, courage and determination with which we fought for our political independence.

It is useless thinking that solidarity on any other basis than a struggle against neo-colonialism will rid our continents of imperialism. But the struggle against neo-colonialism means putting our own house in order before we can become loyal and effective allies in our common struggle against imperialism.

If a state in Africa or Asia is in the grip of neo-colonialism; if it allows the imperialists to retain their military bases and financial institutions; if it retains the agents of imperialism in its administration and armed forces; if it encourages its citizens to enter into partnerships with imperialist companies and corporations — how can that state wage a struggle against neo-colonialism, the new phase of imperialism?

The mass of the people can never become the agents or partners of neo-colonialism. The function of neo-colonialism is to exploit, not to share with the people.

In like manner, imperialism, the father of neo-colonialism, does not share; it grabs and exploits the people. It is the people, therefore, and only the people, who can save an African or Asian state from neo-colonialism and imperialism.

Where and when the people are in control of their state, the waves of imperialism and neo-colonialism must recede. Where control of the state is not vested in the people, imperialism takes over, with the same effect for the people as in the days of colonial rule.

Is it surprising, therefore, that the struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism takes its sharpest form as a people's revolutionary struggle against puppet governments and regimes?

The Dominican Republic is not very large in size or population but its name may still become symbolic of a new stage in open and undisguised aggression by imperialism against a national liberation movement.

There, the intervention to suppress a popular uprising has followed closely on pronouncements that wars of national liberation will not be tolerated.

It is difficult to believe that this conference will not reject the contention of the imperialists that they are entitled to decide what form a struggle of national liberation must take.

If we were to accept their contention, we, the people of Africa and Asia, and the freedom fighters of South Africa, Angola, Mozambique, Portuguese Guinea and Zimbabwe, would have to abandon great parts of our continent and many millions of our people to perpetual slavery.

This we will never do. And even if we become so lost to honor and humanity as to do so, the peoples of these countries would ignore us and in spite of us continue their struggle for national liberation alone.

The shadow of the struggle in South-East Asia must fall very deeply on a Conference of Afro-Asian solidarity. The conflict in Vietnam, which daily threatens to escalate into wider war, has a political origin and can only be resolved by the Vietnamese people themselves; therefore, hands off Vietnam!

Any attempt to impose a military solution will be shortsighted and futile.

Recently various approaches have been made to create a favorable atmosphere for negotiations to resolve the conflict in Vietnam.

These approaches have not been successful because one essential ingredient has been missing. For any appeal for negotiations to merit consideration, it must be preceded by the withdrawal of foreign military presence.

With the best will in the world, one finds it extremely difficult to understand the view held in some quarters that air strikes on North Vietnam are calculated to put the North Vietnam government into a suitable frame of mind to enter into negotiations.

The bombing has not led to such a result so far, and it is unlikely to do so. What it is doing is to increase the risk of widening the conflict into a catastrophic war.

A situation in South-East Asia which has become a source of great embarrassment to all Afro-Asians and a threat to Afro-Asian solidarity, is the distressing conflict between Indonesia and Malaysia.

I have on many occasions appealed for negotiated settlement I have also on many occasions offered my good offices to assist in seeking settlements. I am convinced that all of us gathered here would earnestly like to see a speedy and peaceful settlement to these conflicts from which none of the parties could benefit.

But the condition prior to a successful negotiation is the withdrawal of imperialist presence in this area.

The conflict between India and Pakistan is of a different nature. It is a border dispute between two emergent and developing countries.

Even though I have on many occasions appealed for a negotiated settlement, and on many occasions offered my good services, I would like to appeal to Prime Minister Shastri of India and President Ayub Khan of Pakistan to make another effort at a peaceful settlement between their two sister States.

The point here to be borne in mind is that there is a fundamental difference between a territorial dispute involving two emergent nations, and a territorial dispute involving an emergent nation and imperialism, and a territorial dispute between two emergent nations teleguided by imperialism.

There is no doubt that the imperialist counter-attack against human freedom and progress is mounting in ferocity and volume throughout the world.

The imperialists are behind all the conflicts among the emergent and developing nations. They are set on a course which must spell disaster for themselves, but which can also work great havoc for humanity.

Our solidarity therefore has become more important than ever before. It must be widened and strengthened by established close links with the peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean.

It must gather new and greater strength by establishing close links amongst ourselves in our struggle against open imperialism and neo-colonialism.

A united Africa in solidarity with the peoples of Asia and Latin America, will constitute an invincible force which imperialism can neither subvert nor conquer.

Our main preoccupation at this Conference should be to strengthen our solidarity. It seems to me that the main task is to find answers to the problems of organizing our solidarity, of mobilizing our peoples and of giving impetus to the peoples' will to peace and social change.

Just as disunity in our ranks retards the struggle against imperialism, so the agents of neo-colonialism who ride on our backs to influence and power, giving false homage to our solidarity must be regarded as retarding the struggle against imperialism.

There is one test, and one test only for our solidarity: Do we mobilize and rely on the people in the struggle against imperialism in all its forms, or do we relegate the role of the mass of the people to a secondary place in this struggle?

I say that only the mass of the people can ensure victory in our struggle.

As you know, the people of Ghana are preparing to act as hosts to the next summit conference of the Organization of African

Unity. We have great hopes that the fruits of your deliberations and the message of solidarity from this conference will pave the way for the deliberations and accomplishments of the African Summit Conference.

In the name of the people of Ghana, I greet you and welcome you to Ghana. I think I can speak in the name of humanity to beseech you to set aside everything that is not relevant to the task of organizing and consolidating our people's solidarity.

There was never greater need to exert ourselves to save the world from war and want, and to move forward to find final solutions for the total liberation and sustained progress of mankind.

DECLARATION AND RESOLUTIONS FROM AFRO-ASIAN CONFERENCE

The Fourth Conference of Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity, meeting in Winneba, Ghana, from May 9th to 16th, 1965, and attended by delegates representing 70 countries, including political parties, organizations and observers, speaks for the overwhelming majority of mankind.

The Fourth Conference expresses its grateful appreciation for the manner in which the President and the people of Ghana have extended their hospitality and resources to ensure the success of this Conference.

It expresses its thanks for the inspiring address with which President Nkrumah opened the Conference, and presented the problems, aims and aspirations of the majority of mankind in their struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and in their determination to defeat this enemy of mankind, and to bring peace and prosperity to all the peoples on earth.

The Fourth Conference realizes that it is meeting during a critical stage of the struggle between the mass of humanity and the imperialist forces who seek to maintain their system of exploitation by economic and military means. It meets when the neo-colonialist devices to rob the developing world of its material resources are being perfected to the point of surpassing the old methods of direct colonial exploitation. It meets when the emergence of forces of liberation in areas still controlled by the imperialists through corrupt regimes or colonial garrisons, has driven the imperialists to open military intervention in some parts of the

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*The Spark, May 21, 1965.

world, and when it threatens to intervene with military forces to suppress all liberation movements and all wars of liberation.

The Conference rejects absolutely, without any qualifications whatsoever, the claims of the United States or any other imperialist power, that it has the right to intervene for any conceivable reason in the affairs of an independent State or in the struggles of peoples in any country to establish a government or social or economic system of their own choosing. The peoples represented at this Conference will oppose with all the power at their command any such intervention or interference in any part of the world where independence or national liberation is threatened or hindered by the imperialists.

The Conference affirms absolutely that only the principles of non-interference and non-intervention can make the principle of peaceful coexistence a reality which will be acceptable to the majority of mankind. Continued armed aggression and armed intervention by the imperialists as in the case of Vietnam, the Dominican Republic and the Congo are completely at variance with their claim that they are prepared to abide by the principles of coexistence.

On any other conditions, peaceful coexistence is meaningless, and can only hinder the struggles of oppressed peoples for national liberation.

This Conference demands the immediate withdrawal of all the armed forces of the United States from Vietnam and from South East Asia.

This Conference demands the dismantling of all imperialist bases in Asia, and an end to the encirclement of the People's Republic of China.

This Conference regards the bombing of North Vietnam and the imperialist war against the National Liberation Front in South Vietnam as criminal military adventures which threaten to escalate into a world nuclear conflict. In order to prevent this supreme disaster to humanity and to halt the aggression of the imperialists throughout the world, this Conference calls on the people of the United States to halt its warmongers by decisive action.

This Conference calls on peoples everywhere to prevent their governments from lending material or moral support to United States imperialism in its aggression against the people of Vietnam. It calls on all peoples to demonstrate their implacable opposition to the war being conducted by the imperialists against the people of Vietnam.

This Conference denounces the intervention of the United States, Belgium and Great Britain in the affairs of the Congo Republic. It regards the assault of Belgian paratroopers in Stanleyville to have been an act of war against the Congolese people. It maintains that the South African, Rhodesian, and other white merce-

naries employed by Moishe Tshombe are an international mercenary force hired and paid by the imperialists. It regards the anti-Castro Cuban mercenaries who bomb the Congolese people from aircraft supplied by the United States as the hirelings of the Central Intelligence Agency of the United States.

It regards the imperialist support for the Tshombe regime in the Congo as an act of aggression calculated to consolidate the neo-colonialist exploitation of the mineral and agricultural wealth of the Congo and to establish a neo-colonialist bastion against the liberation struggles in South Africa, Zimbabwe, Angola and Mozambique.

The intervention by the imperialists in the Congo constitutes a threat to the peace of Africa and, therefore, to the peace of the world, which will continue until the downfall of this Tshombe regime and the rise of a democratic Republic in the Congo.

This Conference condemns the intervention of U.S. imperialism against the people of the Dominican Republic in its efforts to rid itself of a corrupt and tyrannical military junta, and to establish a democratic government. It calls on the United States to withdraw its marines and allow the people of the Dominican Republic to choose their own government.

It calls on the peoples of Latin America to put pressure on those governments which are collaborating with U.S. imperialism under the cloak of carrying out the policies of the Organization of American States.

This Conference decides to extend its solidarity to the peoples of Latin America and to put into immediate effect measures in organizing and consolidating this solidarity. It realizes that the peoples of Latin America have been subjected to interventions and assault on their freedom by U.S. imperialism for nearly a hundred years, such as we are witnessing in the Dominican Republic, and it regards the cooperation and help of the Latin American peoples with peoples of Africa and Asia as a great step forward in the liberation of mankind.

This Conference regards the open armed interventions in Vietnam, the Congo and the Dominican Republic as the advanced stages of a process of intervention which is taking place in Malaysia, Cyprus, Palestine, Libya, Jordan and Japan and other parts of the world where imperialists have established military bases and imperialist bastions constructed to threaten the security of Indonesia and to guard the imperialist interests in South Asia. The other bases and regimes are maintained to threaten the Arab world and to secure the forces of imperialism east of Suez.

The maintenance of these bases requires political control of the countries where they are established. Imperialism must therefore impose and support reactionary and corrupt regimes in those areas

where it maintains its military bases. The struggle to dismantle imperialist bases is directly linked, and cannot be divorced from, the struggles for national liberation. In the case of Taiwan, it must be regarded as a struggle against the reactionary regime of Chiang Kai-shek. In the case of Israel, as a struggle for the national rights of the Palestine Arabs driven out by Israel.

The Conference regards the struggle of the Palestine Arabs against Israel as a just and inevitable struggle against imperialism. In the case of Japan, the struggle to end U.S. military bases must be regarded as a struggle for democracy and social justice by the people of Japan.

This Conference denounces the infamous and intolerable policies of apartheid practiced by the white settlers in South Africa and Zimbabwe, and the fascist rule of Portugal in Angola, Mozambique and "Portuguese" Guinea. In the words of Kwame Nkrumah, the national liberation struggles under colonial and imperialist rule in Africa must be regarded as the struggles of all the people represented at this Conference.

This Conference endorses the appeal of President Kwame Nkrumah to regard the struggles of the freedom fighters of South Africa, Zimbabwe, Angola, Mozambique and other areas still held under colonial or foreign occupation as just and holy struggles which must be pursued to the point of wars of national liberation. This Conference supports all such wars as their own wars, inextricably linked with their own freedom.

The Conference agrees with the views of President Nkrumah when opening its proceedings, that all the wars, aggressions and interventions of imperialism, its maintenance of military bases in foreign lands and its support for cruel and corrupt dictatorship spring from, and are dictated by, economic exploitation. They are now the instruments of neo-colonialism as they were once of direct colonial occupation. The struggle for peace, therefore, and the struggle for political independence and human rights and our struggle against corrupt regimes like Tshombe's in Africa, like those of the military juntas in Latin America, like those of governments which encourage the exploitation of their own people by giving control of their economies to imperialist interests, can only be ended by ending economic exploitation as neo-colonialism has become the main instrument of economic exploitation.

The Conference asserts that the catastrophic consequences and perhaps total extinction of humanity as a result of nuclear warfare demands an immediate undertaking by all nations to destroy all their nuclear weapons and to dismantle and abandon all the means of producing nuclear weapons.

The Conference considers that there is no way to lift the threat

of humanity's extinction through nuclear war except by complete general nuclear disarmament.

The Fourth Conference wholeheartedly supports all Conferences and meetings which aim at closing the ranks of the anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist forces in the world. The imperialists are against the unity of the Africans, just as they are against the unity of the Afro-Asian and of all the anti-imperialist forces of the world. In the face of these continuing imperialist plots and maneuvers, the Conference pledges its support to the efforts of the OAU for the establishment of a Union Government of Africa.

This is why the Fourth Conference of Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity finds it vital to strengthen and consolidate the unity of Afro-Asian peoples and of all progressive forces. In order to promote unity, we deem it desirable that all Afro-Asian peoples struggling against imperialism should be duly represented at every Afro-Asian gathering. This call for unity should be given the widest possible coverage. We are aware that the road is strewn with difficulties, but we are convinced that our cause will triumph; we know that it is only with the consolidation of our ranks and the unification of our struggle that we can succeed.

We are fully convinced and aware that ours is a wide popular Movement closely linked with all national revolutionary and progressive anti-imperialist forces the world over, fully aware that this is the natural state of things as dictated by history, by the common aims of the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and racial discrimination, for full national liberation and independence, the safeguarding and establishment of world peace and economic, social and cultural development.

We are deeply convinced that solidarity between the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America is a historical necessity dictated by the common heritage and common aspirations. Since our meeting in 1961 in Bandung we have always called for constructive action towards Afro-Asian Latin American Peoples' Solidarity.

The Fourth Conference has now taken a decisive positive step in concretizing this broad mass movement of solidarity. The Conference decided to hold the First Conference of Peoples' Solidarity between the Three Continents in Havana, Cuba, on the anniversary of the Independence of Cuba, January 6th 1966. The meeting of the preparatory committee for this Conference will be held in Cairo on the 1st of September to take final measures of preparations to the Conference.

Long live Afro-Asian solidarity.

OAU

The Fourth Conference of Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity, convened in Winneba from May 9 to 16, 1956.

The Fourth Conference welcomes the next summit of the OAU in Accra. In spite of all maneuvers of subversion and diversion of the enemies of African Freedom and Unity, we are confident in the spirit of the responsibility and of the sense of dignity of every African to make this great African meeting a big success.

CONTINENTAL UNION GOVERNMENT

The Fourth Conference of Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity, Conference convened in Winneba, Ghana, from May 9 to 16, 1965.

Considering the necessity for the mobilization of the entire human and material resources of Africa to enable Africa's economic development to reach an effective stage;

Conscious that there is a need for the fundamental problems facing independent African States to be solved if African States should move together as one force to drive out imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonial bondage and rule;

Considering that a united Africa will be in a better position to make Africa a more powerful ally of the Asian peoples in their own struggles against imperialism and make Africa an effective force for world peace, and considering that the OAU is the most effective means of combating imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism in Africa.

Pledges its support to the Organization of African Unity and to efforts being made to establish a Continental Union Government for Africa and that the OAU Summit Conference in Accra in September, 1965 will establish a Continental Union Government for Africa.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA (ZIMBABWE)

The Fourth Conference calls for:

1. Support the South Rhodesian people in their just struggle against the racist minority;

2. All the Afro-Asian country members of the British Commonwealth to withdraw from that body unless Britain takes definite steps to bring the White minority to senses and to assure a Government by the majority.

3. In case of Unilateral Declaration of Independence by the White racist minority, the Conference calls for:

—Immediate recognition of an African Government in Exile.

—Severing of diplomatic and trade relations with the White Minority Government of Southern Rhodesia;

—Immediate supply of war equipment and finance to the said Government-in-Exile;

—The Afro-Asian countries to render any assistance necessary

to the countries neighboring to Zimbabwe in order to assure their security and national independence, and especially the country from where the said Government-in-Exile will be operating.

BOYCOTT OF SOUTH AFRICA

1. Considering that the United Nations resolutions regarding the application of total boycott and economic sanctions on South Africa have not been wholeheartedly implemented by all Afro-Asian countries, and

2. Realizing that South African Apartheid regime is consolidating its grip on the legitimate people of the land.

3. Do hereby resolve that all Afro-Asian countries should apply and intensify the boycott of goods of South African origin and economic sanctions against South Africa.

"FRENCH" SOMALILAND

The Fourth Conference of Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity, convened in Winneba from May 9 to 16, 1965.

The Conference,

After examining the facts and the conditions under which the Somali people in Djibouti are suffering oppression, subjugation, domination and the hold of French Colonialism and its allies,

—denounces and condemns imperialist presence in Djibouti and staunchly supports and backs the Somali people in Djibouti who aspire to freedom, independence and Somali unity.

—is indignant and protests against the arrests and imprisonment of freemen on false charges that are nothing but their quest to recover dignity, and national sovereignty.

—Declares its solidarity with freemen in Djibouti and supports them with all possible means till they realize their aims and demands their immediate release.

The Conference of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity fully supports the right of the Somali territories to self-determination so that they could realize their national aims for freedom and over-all Somali unity.

The Conference condemns the collusion between reactionary imperialism, and French imperialism and its lackeys which seeks to maintain the secession of Djibouti from the rest of Somaliland.

It has become doubtlessly clear that all the Somali people wish to realize their independence and unity, and the Conference supports this just objective.

The Fourth Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Conference after reviewing the situation in the Dominican Republic as a result of U.S. imperialist aggression, strongly denounces the crimes of brazen

armed aggression against the Dominican Republic, and brands the sanguinary suppression of the Dominican people, and the atrocities committed by the U.S. aggressors, and the crude intervention in the internal affairs of the Dominican Republic, a sovereign state, on the part of U.S. imperialism.

The naked aggressive action against the Dominican Republic on the part of U.S. imperialism once again exposes U.S. imperialism as the common and most ferocious enemy of the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The intervention against the Dominican Republic is a fresh manifestation of the arbitrary rule and aggression on the part of the U.S. imperialists who have assumed the disgraceful role of the international gendarme. To camouflage its armed intervention in the Dominican Republic, the United States is again trying to use the cloak of the Organization of American States, which for a long time already has been in the service of the U.S. imperialist interests. These aggressive actions of U.S. imperialism arouse just indignation and protest throughout the world.

The Fouth Conference voices its full solidarity with the just heroic struggle of the Dominican Republic, and demands that the aggression against the Dominican Republic be halted immediately.

Strongly expressing the will of the people of Asia and Africa, the Conference resolutely supports the armed struggle of the Dominican people against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. The Conference is of the conviction that the heroic Dominican people, by holding fast the weapons in their hands, uniting on a broad scale, persisting in protracted armed struggle against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys and with the support of the peoples of Latin America, Asia, Africa and the world over, will certainly score final victory in their anti-U.S. patriotic struggle.

The people of the Dominican Republic will surely triumph!

U.S. imperialism will surely be defeated.

AFRICAN UNITY WILL WIN

SPEECH* BY AHMED SEKOU TOURE, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF GUINEA, GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE DPG

Comrades, we must not forget the responsibility of the Democratic Party of Guinea and the Guinean people, which is to continue making, in an invariably clear, precise and fruitful manner, their modest contribution to the happy evolution of the African homeland. We have already said that Guinea is not the whole of Africa but a part of it and that the Guinean's happiness, the well-being of the Guinean people, and the rehabilitation of the Guinean nation will constitute a part of the happiness, well-being and complete historical rehabilitation of Africa as a whole.

As far as the DPG is concerned, we say that our vow to serve Africa dates from the founding of our Party. This vow is a flame that will never die, and whatever the obstacles raised to Africa's evolution, the Guinean people and their Party will never renounce their open, courageous and conscious fight against the enemies of Africa, for the happiness of the African people. Therefore a country like ours, which is inspired and guided exclusively by a healthy conscience, could never harbor either anger or hatred. Resentment could no longer stamp our attitude. Anger and hatred could never fill our hearts. Opportunism could never affect our political life in the slightest. Beyond individuals there is always the people. This means that the contribution of Guinea and the other countries of the continent will consist in serving the progressive ideals inspiring the African peoples.

Real freedom, genuine independence of the African nations, effective unity making it possible to coordinate activities, and the common use of every means to hasten the historical process on the continent are indispensable if the standard of living of the peoples of the world, that is, human happiness, which is indivisible, is to be harmonized.

Guinea has no need to mention the contribution it has already made to the African cause. It should merely remember that serving the African cause at all times remains its overriding duty.

On a higher plane, Guinea as an integral part of the African homeland never forgets that its happiness is conditioned by the whole set of African realities. The Guinean revolution cannot fully

*Abridged from **Horoya**, June 15, 1965. The speech was delivered at the National Council of the Revolution, Nzerekore, June 7 1965.

accomplish its tasks until Africa is completely decolonized, until it is rid of the influence of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, until it has achieved unity meaning understanding, fraternity and conscious solidarity, and until no part of Africa is mutilated by its enemies any longer. It follows that this session of the National Council of the Revolution is obliged, in addressing itself to the people of Guinea, to the champions of the Guinean cause, and to the fraternal peoples of Africa, as well as to friendly peoples all over the world, to state explicitly that its mission is not at an end but is only just beginning, and that in the present situation there could be no confusion because not only Guinea but all who are aware of the gravity of the situation in Africa would raise their voice to make it known that Africa's political consciousness is against renunciation—against retreating before history and compromising with the enemies of Africa's emancipation.

And when the DPG says that the OAU will win, it means that African unity will defeat Portugal, the racialist and illegitimate sham government of Southern Rhodesia, and South Africa. All of the colonialists' friends who deny the historical reality will satisfy themselves of this in the days to come. Indeed, one has only to search one's memory, to look back a little, to see once again past realities, through which, however, we have gone with as much anxiety as through those preoccupying us today, and to realize that the trend of history remains unchanged.

At the Dakar Grand Council in 1957, the DPG had to wage the same battle for unity, against the Balkanization of one-time French West Africa. It staunchly advocated maintenance of the federations as an effective means of leading our peoples to independence while maintaining unitary systems which we could renovate upon winning freedom. But some would not hear of unity at the time.

They plotted to bring about the Balkanization of Africa to the detriment of the strong unitary aspirations which at that time were uppermost in the minds of most trade unionists and the various political parties of West Africa.

Then came the battle for independence. A new situation was created in the French Union—thanks to the Algerian people's courageous fight for complete independence, supported by most of the African political parties and trade unions. It led to the era of national liberation. During the referendum attempts were made to cause confusion by claiming that its positive outcome meant unqualified adoption of the draft statute of the French Community. Guinea, one of the thirteen French colonies, did not hesitate to choose the road suggested by history—to say that whatever the consequences of its decision, Africa had everything to gain by making its own choice, for this alone would pave the way for African unity.

In the months that followed, Africa proved this right, for two years later dozens of countries became independent thanks to the dynamic contribution of the DPG and the Guinean people. History has recorded this fact which no one can question and which in the now well-known process of emancipation of our continent is a credit to our Party and our people.

However, we remember that while the DPG spoke of greatness and honor to prevent all corruption and blackmail, other voices were raised saying that African leaders were not so mad as to choose independence. Throughout the world, these voices were heard, not as the voice of Africa, but as the voices of a few Africans who were definitely turning their backs on the independent development of our peoples, saying that those who were advancing to African independence were mad. Whereas every radio station of the imperialist world broadcast that sort of statement from morning till night, they made no mention of what the DPG said, or distorted it in defiance of all historical truth. But it is known that the DPG truth triumphed nevertheless and that the defeatists were routed and saw the great idea which inspires and will always inspire Africa as it marches toward the fulfilment of its destiny.

That is why we said that all those leaders had in the end gone mad, including those who had said they were not so mad as to choose independence. They all went mad because in the final analysis they chose, or had to choose, independence.

Independence was said to be a chimera, yet today it is extolled by all, and demanded by that part of Africa which has not yet regained it. And so it was not a chimera, after all.

Thereupon African history entered a new phase, that of unity. As one African country after another gained freedom this new phase became, in effect, that of unity, to be achieved with the aim of safeguarding our newly-won sovereignty, raising people's power to the stature of our nations, and coordinating the activities of the new African states. And when in the UN and elsewhere in the world Africa's sons and daughters proclaimed their ardent faith in African unity, saying how and why it should be achieved, Africa was again betrayed by the same people.

In fact, didn't one of them claim that African unity would never materialize? This claim was repeated in America, where it was made by an African. That African said, moreover—for he did not leave it at that, his utterance being an affirmation and not a definition, still less an explanation (which came later, in another statement made in America)—that African also said that "African unity will never materialize, because an association of the poor means an adding up of poverties, which can never bring pros-

perity." There you have another categorical condemnation of African unity. It was not only said that African unity would never materialize but the reason for this claim was given that unity would be nothing but an adding up of poverties—the poverties which imperialism had imposed on us though its system of exploitation—and the conclusion drawn was that such unity of the poor would never bring prosperity. The important thing for the man who talked like that was to stay with the rich, under their heel and at their beck and call, and to prevent Africa from regaining its original character and its fraternity, from shining in the sun of African solidarity, through common use of its potentialities for the purpose of gaining prosperity and fostering the rehabilitation of the continent.

All that notwithstanding, unity was established and clinched at Addis Ababa. And while some signed the Charter, it is obvious now that they did so merely because they did not want to stand out in the face of world opinion, but that in their heart of hearts they were resolved to follow the old road, that of defeatism and renunciation. We say this in no uncertain terms because those people are intelligent enough to know what benefits the interests of Africa and what injures them. And since their every step shows that they are loyal only to their disloyalty toward Africa, it is evident that they have opted, not for the peoples of Africa, but for interests which are foreign to Africa and which they promote with servility. Whatever the personal feelings one may have for them, the historical reality in which we are living shows that they are pawns and puppets and nothing but pawns and puppets.

Those who spoke of the "young Guinean nation" wanted to mock at us. The same people . . . said treacherously to France that "should the Guinean experiment ever succeed, and should you fail to help us torpedo it, we would be unable to hold our own in our respective countries." They were spoiling for a fight, and they used every disloyal means to make things difficult for us, to obstruct the normal evolution of our people. It was they who shouted to world opinion that Guinea was opening embassies without ambassadors, appointing generals without armies, and so on.

We never answered them, and never made the slightest allusion to the difficulties they encountered in their internal and African policies. On the contrary, even when our own friends were accused, unfairly and without proof, we came to their aid, helping them strengthen the foundations of their newly-gained independence. We have always been faithful to this principle. But since they have attacked first, we will answer them. However, we will not answer individuals, for we never insult anyone. We are willing to cooperate with all Africans on an African program, with a view to completely decolonializing the management of our continent.

As those people claim that we have failed while they have succeeded, let them know that they have sustained a crushing defeat at every stage of history. All the ideas which they upheld and which I have just listed have been proved wrong by African history. Guinea's idea of greatness and its concern for the truth is something different. Let me recall that not only Guinea but all the peoples of Africa and the world have recorded all those anti-Guinean declarations but no reaction whatever on our part. We did not even hesitate to invite those people to Guinea. We asked them to come and tour the country on a program of their own, and they actually did so, travelling from one end of the country to the other in an open car, whereas in their own capital they cannot use an open car. They toured the whole of Guinea, by day as well as at night, using an open car, and the whole Guinean people rallied to accord them all the honors due to a guest.

We honored heads of state by doing all we could to give a concrete idea of things as they are in Guinea, and also to stress our will for sincere cooperation and loyal relations with them, because *we* believe in Africa.

As we are said to have failed, we will answer on your behalf, dear friends, that those who say so are perfectly right. Guinea has failed, completely failed, in all its attempts to bring to reason those who had betrayed Arfica, hoping to put them on the road to dignity. Guinea admits that it has failed and that those people remain loyal to their disloyalty toward the African homeland.

These are things that do not make for African unity. Those people have betrayed our ideal, Africa's dignity, African fraternity, African solidarity.

In replying to Guinea's declaration, "The OAU will win," which named no one, our brother, the head of state of the Ivory Coast, named us. On what occasion? At the opening of the OCAM conference, which he used to pronounce his verdict. According to him, it is those who have failed and who keep alive only with help from imperialism—he didn't say which, however—that think they speak on behalf of Africa. We will never make an estimation of the results of *their* policies, and will never say *they* have failed. But facts are facts. Since they have pronounced this verdict on the Guinean revolution for all to hear, despite all the demonstrations of friendship, fraternity and solidarity, we appeal to the peoples of the world—without anger or hatred, and with due regard to the facts—to make a sovereign appraisal of the facts for what they are worth.

To begin with, we say that it is we who have been the object of armed conspiracies hatched on the territory of the Ivory Coast, that arms coming from the direction of the Ivory Coast were captured and that troops were massed there which the people of the

Ivory Coast saw and denounced, for as far as the people are concerned, they remain a true friend, a solid friend, an upright comrade and devoted supporter of the Guinean people in their revolution, which they have always seen as part of the African revolution. It was the people of the Ivory Coast who alerted us against the conspiracy which their leaders were hatching against Guinea's freedom.

The real motive power of the Guinean revolution is the people, who have freed themselves and their country from foreign domination. We have never counted on outside help to carry on our revolution. We make our plans according to our possibilities, and the aid we receive is supplementary and not complementary. Those who defame the Guinean revolution have appealed to the judgment of the peoples, and in this they are right. This is why, to make that judgment effective and definitive, we address a sincere appeal to all the heads of state who really think Guinea has failed: we ask them to come to Guinea and assume our seat of President of the Republic for six months so as to be able to direct developments in Guinea as they wish. Let them visit every village and charge the regime. But in return we want them to allow us to go to their countries for 24 hours and speak to their peoples. In that way, the judgment of our peoples will be effective and conscious.

We have said that whatever we do, we do in dignity, which we consider the foremost asset of the individual man and the people. For man and his happiness, honor and freedom, man and his progress, man and the unlimited development of his abilities are the culmination of any just policy. Since these brothers of ours think they are right, we ask them to respond to another appeal. Let each of them—of those who believe that Guinea has failed—send to Guinea all the financial experts whom they have in their countries and whom they consider able, or whom they can invite from abroad, to inspect the finances of the Guinean Presidency. They may also make inquiries in all the banks of the world to see whether the President of the Republic of Guinea has a single centime deposited in a foreign bank. We ask them—these brothers who say we have failed—to do this job if they want to serve the African cause. In return, let them authorize us to send just one inspector to check the finances of their states. And then Africa will know who is honest in the face of the poverty and suffering of his people and who uses the finances of his country to build up his own happiness. We also want a check-up on the property—movable and immovable, cars, etc.—of all the African leaders who allege that Guinea has failed. It will be seen whether they are honest morally, financially and politically. Let the political parties which are referred to be asked whether any real congresses are held in certain countries, whethere are at least democratic general meet-

ings, real sessions on programs freely discussed by the people, or whether those are merely electoral caucuses. Let political life in the countries which call themselves prosperous because they have succeeded as against Guinea which has failed to be viewed through a magnifying glass to ascertain whether they have been able to give their working people a democratic and progressive Labor Code such as exists in Guinea, and whether their public organization has improved. We would like to have proof that social security has been extended to all the working people, that aid to large families, holidays and movement have been made uniform without distinction of rank. We want this to be able to appreciate the benefits of prosperity.

Do those countries have currency sovereignty? For all the American, Asian and European countries, and all the Arab states, have currencies of their own. Which is the only sovereign state affiliated to the UN which has no currency of its own? Isn't it the one at Abidjan? We know very well why everything is being done to discredit Guinean currency.

Let us also ask them for accounts of the military bases which were set up in their countries before they gained independence and which are still there. It will be seen who has succeeded, for Guinea effectively exercises its sovereignty in every sphere affecting the evolution of its people.

Have certain governments abolished the institution of tribal chiefs, emancipated women by allowing them to choose their husbands, made justice gratuitous, nationalized water supply, electricity and the exploitation of diamond deposits? Have they decolonialized education and entrusted the direction of public bodies to the Africans themselves?

Comrades, we have shown too much emotion, but we must not hold it against ourselves. Anyway, the present situation has been deliberately created by certain brothers trying to cause damage to Guinea. Had Guinea been the only victim, we would not have answered. But it is the OAU, African unity, that is the intended victim. And this unity, which is our ultimate hope, must not become the victim of those who would like to doom Africa to everlasting backwardness without the DPG and the Guinean people reacting.

Comrades, the Ivory Coast made a bet against Ghana when that fraternal country was fighting for independence and advocated the formula of complete national independence. That bet claimed that Africa would remain in a non-African system and that Ghana would be the loser. But Ghana has won its independence and, moreover, that other country which bet against Ghana was compelled to accept independence for its people in spite of itself.

Now how can we fail, how can the people of Guinea fail, if we

directly control all the affairs of the country? It is we who manage our economy. We own all the import and export companies, as well as the banks, the insurance, aircraft, electrical, water-supply, railway, highway transport, and other companies. No field of activity is beyond our control. We not only own everything but wield direct authority in every field. Not so those countries which claim that they have succeeded, for foreigners are to this day members of their governments or head important agencies, whereas competent national personnel is kept out. If this is what they mean by success, then they are right to say so. But we think they would do better to replace the foreign members of their governments with their countrymen, who are more capable, by naming them ministers, heads of departments or cabinets, of their armies, gendarmerie and police. They would do even better to trust their countrymen and stop employing foreign servants in their palaces. The secret of success lies, first of all, in trusting one self and one's people, who remain the subject and object of history, and in the conviction that a program is just if it concerns a historic undertaking. But when one surrounds oneself with foreigners to safeguard one's own security, disarms one's national army for the benefit of time-servers picked in one's own home village, and at the same time arms foreigners, we refuse to see anything splendid in such a regime.

Comrades, we say to all the peoples represented on the OCAM by their heads of state, particularly to the people of the Ivory Coast, that Guinea wants to regard them only as friends. Those peoples have passed through the same difficulties as we. On the building site of national development, they are doing the same job and they have the same destiny as our people. They have never manifested the least disapproval of what we are doing for ourselves and for Africa. And we want to maintain, develop and strengthen the foundations of healthy cooperation with the OCAM nations, with the people of the Ivory Coast, who have suffered with us and with whom we want to make Africa united against the colonialists and imperialists, and against pawns and puppets. We think that when they face up courageously to the harsh realities of the situation in Africa, they do so with the aim of achieving perfect clarity, such as will enable the OAU to bring the justice of its program, and the irreversible character of its victory, home to every African, man or woman.

It is well known that under the OAU Charter the conference of heads of state is the supreme body whose decisions can be modified only by the heads of state themselves. It is well known that in Cairo the heads of state voted unanimously to hold their third meeting in Accra in September 1965. It is also well known that the conference of heads of state is a forum for stating, and eventually judging, all the differences between states and heads of state. If it

is true that Ghana has violated the Charter by endangering the security of certain heads of state and that the latter insist on an extraordinary meeting, not in Accra but in Abidjan or somewhere else to make a preliminary study of the evidence underlying the complaint prior to the summit conference, they could get satisfaction. We would go to listen, judge the matter, and give right to those who are right. But when it is simply said, "We will not go to Accra unless everyone knows that our complaint is well-founded," this means that African unity is not desired. People search for pretexts to trim a painful reality, that of tarnishing the memory of Lumumba, robbing the OAU of its content, making neo-colonialist infiltration easier, splitting Africa, and holding up the historical process of development of our peoples. This is the aim which explains the choice of certain means that we know of and condemn. We therefore affirm that if voiced from the standpoint of the OAU Charter, OCAM does not want to be considered a regional alignment.

Because their peoples cannot at the moment find an effective means of expressing to them their indignation and even their contempt for the ignominious role they are playing in favor of the assassin of the African patriot Patrice Lumumba, the advocates of "puppetism" think everything is quiet and presume to mock at the Guinean people, who remain loyal, as are, in fact, the peoples of the Ivory Coast and the Upper Volta, both to the memory of that great patriot and to Africa's dignity.

Guinea may lack all that is material but will never lack dignity, a conscience, patriotism and courage in the face of Africa's enemies. Guinea has chosen the only road leading to progress, a road which will irreversibly bring socially-conscious and courageous peoples to mastery of their own destiny. Guinea tells the truth both to its friends and its enemies. It is undaunted by passing difficulties, for it is convinced that human freedom and national independence hinge on a responsible approach to action in the cause of emancipation.

This is why we say: the OAU WILL WIN, AFRICAN DIGNITY, the LEGALITY of the OAU, and the MORALITY of its fight WILL WIN, and puppetism will be combated simultaneously with colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism. Puppetism, falsehood and hatred are doomed to failure, for the sad end of the Glaouis in Morocco, the Bao Dais in Indo-China, and the Batistas in Cuba attests that the inexorable law of history wills that victory should always go to the peoples fighting for their freedom, dignity, social progress, and peace.

Shame on the splitters of Africa!
Long live the OAU!
Long live the Revolution!

THE REVOLUTION WILL NOT STOP*

Mamadou Gologo

MEMBER OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE SUDANESE UNION, MINISTER OF INFORMATION AND TOURISM OF THE REPUBLIC OF MALI

Comrades, the socialist system freely chosen by us has a simple definition: it is the power of the working people, of all producers—peasants, factory and office workers, livestock-breeders, fishermen, artisans, artists, etc. Its future is fully assured, for only labor, and respect for its individual and collective laws, can assure the advancement of a country. Only a power guaranteed by the working people I have just listed can last and survive, for those who do not work, who do not produce, live on the fringe of society, which often means being against society.

The power of the working people which we have established in Mali has been built by all of you. It owes its strength to its democratic nature and its discipline, for it is wielded by everyone for the good of the whole people and is wielded by the whole people for the good of every working man or woman. In our country the days are gone when power served exclusively one individual or one group of individuals bound together by private interests. It is no longer hereditary, and if it is passed on, it goes from the people to the people, from working men to working men. Never again will it be a weapon passing from the hands of one minority to those of another, from one group of profiteers to another. Never again will it be an instrument of exploitation.

We have always said this and are translating it into reality, and this is precisely what some people in and outside Mali resent.

This is the reason why some Malians and foreigners, who can build up their happiness only to the extent that they saddle others and make them work for them alone, are discontented with our choice and spare no effort to attack this power in order to destroy or mortally wound it. They are our enemies. They are few but virulent, and they are particularly capable of poisoning the atmosphere of confidence prevailing among us.

It is they who make sensational news out of nothing, who very skilfully exploit our slightest weaknesses and hesitations, who use

*Speech at a meeting of leading Party members on the peasant question, Nioro, June 16, 1965. Abridged from **l'Essor**, June 21.

to the hilt the precautions suggested by our general strategy of development, making them out to be signs of confusion or retreat. They are alarmists. They come to you like friends and whisper in your ear: "We must be careful because more and more young Malians are going abroad . . ."

Or they ask in a quivering voice: "What are we to do? Our businessmen are leaving the country. Is it true, then, that socialism is no good?"

They will always say to you, posing as Party members concerned for the future of the Party and of Mali: "My friend, I think all our troubles come from socialism. I'm sure they do."

There, they have said it.

That is the only thing they wanted to tell you as soon as they started their approaching maneuvers.

They are the same people who will whisper to you with an innocent air:

"I hear that businessmen in Guinea are now free to do as they please."

They will also tell you that the Democratic Party of Guinea, has changed its doctrine and orientation, that ministers in Guinea, Ghana or some other country, have resigned.

Comrades, such characters deserve immediate punishment. You may rest assured that the DPG, the People's Convention Party, the Sudanese Union and all the other fraternal militant organizations are truly popular and democratic, dynamic and revolutionary, that they, like the numerous fraternal parties shaping the revolutionary destiny of peoples of Europe, Asia and Latin America, will not fail to fulfil their historical mission.

In Guinea, Ghana or elsewhere the same people will tell you that "Mali will soon resume its old name, 'French Sudan,' that such and such a Minister has been asked to resign, that President Modibo has declared that "there will be no more socialism," and so on.

Comrades, those people — whether Malians, Guineans, Ghanaians or others — cannot be anything else but enemies of the Malian, Guinean and Ghanaian peoples, enemies of our parties, of our governments — in short, of the whole of African Africa.

They will always talk to you about difficulties, attributing them to the people's regime. They will never mention to you concrete achievements, the progress we are making, the good conditions created for the peasants, some of them are better off today than the most affluent group of officials. And it will be left to you to realize that behind everything they say there is a deliberate desire to sow confusion, to return to the past, that is, to the regime under which they were free to seize the property of peasants and other toilers, to exploit the working people, to keep them in poverty in order to impose their will and their law on them.

These people will never say to you that in less than five years medical aid stations, schools and administrative centers have been built in most villages. They will not say to you that the majority of the most remote communities have shops in which sugar, soap, paraffin, textiles and salt are sold by representatives of the peasants themselves. Nor will they speak in detail about the tremendous effort made by our Party and our government to enable the peasants themselves to sell their produce, using money that has most trustfully been made available to them, without any go-betweens.

Comrades, we want to build a modern and strong, just and democratic state in which the working people, organized on a scientific basis, will assume the greatest responsibilities in the field of orientation, administration, executive activity, and control. This calls for will-power, enthusiasm, confidence, and above all conscious and voluntary discipline.

Comrades, we could not embark on these perspectives without verifying our general, material and moral potentialities and their bearing on the process of our long-term development.

We are entering the stage of socialist construction after winning our independence. This is a delicate stage, and on its success will largely depend the victories we will have to win in order to build the society we all aspire to — a society free from exploitation of man by man.

Comrades, the task which the Party is imperatively setting before us just when the alarmists are going into action and the timid and short-winded are making prophecies which they do not believe themselves is to patiently explain to the masses the nature of the stage through which we are passing and through which, necessarily, other peoples with greater possibilities than we, have passed.

We should explain to them that since 1960, in addition to political, administrative, social and other achievements, in addition to the freedom we have brought to the masses, we have begun the construction of industrial establishments that will produce sugar, textiles, pottery and porcelain, cement, vegetable oil, tobacco, cigarettes and matches. We should tell them that we have planted tea, that we make cottonseed oil and manufacture soap, that we will make glass, paper, footwear and plastic articles — sandals, raincoats, bags, etc. We should explain to them the advantage of our being able to produce consumer goods at home instead of importing them from countries thousands of kilometers away, with additional outlays on transport, various taxes, and so on.

The present situation, the stage we are passing through, demands vigilance, patience, constructive initiative, mobilization and agitation. In the field of political work, this stage is highly remin-

iscent of the initial period of the founding of our Party, barring some difference.

From 1946 to 1960 the task was to win independence. We had to be free first. You all know what we had to do. We lived through a historical stage.

Today the task is to make good use of our freedom. This is another historical stage, which began with the decision we took on September 22, 1960, and reaffirmed at our congress in 1962.

We should face things squarely, without deluding ourselves, and should admit that the two stages are interconnected, if only by the identity of certain negative actions which we combated both at the second stage and whose inspirers must have taken advantage of the brief respite just as we did and, like us, have had time to think of the need to devise some other strategy. We should never underestimate their influence. In fact, the least we can say is that that influence exists and, regrettably, hampers our advance.

Let us take specific manifestations of that influence, such as the sale of agricultural produce, which, incidentally, is the main subject of this meeting. Why is it that some peasants still do not realize how important it is for them to have their produce sold through government channels? Why don't they appreciate the confidence the Party shows them by entrusting them with sales and purchases without middlemen?

These questions are worth analyzing. Let me put your minds at ease by saying that the peasants are more loyal to the Party than ever before, except that they very often fail to benefit from patient explanation. Their level of understanding is not the same as ours, and they do not care much for the reading of all kinds of circular letters and instructions or for their mechanical interpretation. We must find a way to open their eyes to the truth, to reality. Of course, they are handicapped by illiteracy and by some traditions that interfere with their spontaneous desire to uphold the right cause. Our opponents take advantage of this. They are very cunning, they know that the peasants regard their present easy condition as perfectly normal and soon forget how it was achieved. We must therefore know how to remind them of it.

We like to say that we want to build socialism and that we will not hear of a regime of capitalist exploitation. To reassure ourselves, we say that there is no capitalism in our country. All this is true, but if we want to build socialism (which we will do), we should never forget that the absence of capitalism and bourgeoisie on the scene, that is, in the battlefield, can never serve as a guarantee that will accomplish our task. To think otherwise would be too optimistic. Under the colonial regime, the capitalists did not manifest themselves *physically* and *materially* in our country, but they were represented here. They had tentacles which sprouted

other tentacles. They had indigenous people in their service, who were exploited people, of course, but were their agents nevertheless. These gentlemen served as a tool, and while they lacked the means, they acquired the spirit and experience of capitalism. Today they have no capital, properly speaking, that is, no means of labor and action, but they retain the capitalist spirit and outlook, and so they are searching for means. This is clear.

The question is, should we give them free scope? They are active, and when they fail among the wage or salaried workers, they try to succeed along with the peasants, because there are certain negative factors which make the peasants easier to mislead.

You will have guessed that those gentlemen are the one-time go-betweens, or buyers-up, the dealers, or at least those members of this vast and varied group who still do not realize, or refuse to realize, that the onward march of Mali is irreversible.

The peasants account for the greater part of the population and economy of Mali (as, incidentally, in most countries), and this is why capitalism is bound to develop in the sphere of free trade in grain if we let it.

Needless to say this proposition does not apply to Mali alone. It has been put forward, and has proved correct, in many other countries. It is the economic ABC, taught as a rudiment of the science of socialism. In Mali as in several other countries, this ABC is currently taught by every black-market dealer. Let us not delude ourselves. Although we at this meeting are experienced people, we have to *know* that a dealer can always teach us economy perfectly although he has had no economic or political schooling. Hence the strategic question we ask ourselves today and will, indeed, have to ask for a long time to come is, who will profit soonest from this new situation we find ourselves in (commercialization), or, in other words, who will succeed in convincing the confused peasants?

The point is to know how and why we must have the peasants rallied and enlisted in the Sudanese Union, to which they are undoubtedly loyal. We have to know who will win, whether our Party, which has never betrayed the peasants and is striving to build a just and prosperous society in which they will play a leading role, or the dealer, a conscious agent of capitalism and a bitter enemy of our regime. Are we going to let dealers and their backers say, "Let us march back—that's less dangerous than this socialism they have invented"?

That is the point, comrades.

Who will win? Who will be the first to profit by this period of transition? Will it be capitalism, that is, its agent, the dealer, for whom we have so far left the door open, or even several doors, including many doors that we ourselves don't know of and that open without our knowledge and against us? Or will it be social-

ism? What can we rely on economically to educate and convince the peasants who are deceived?

There is no need at all for me to furnish you with a special list. Most peasants can make such lists better than I. But let us say at once that that list would above all else include real improvement of their lot. The peasants, as well as all those who accepted the struggle within the Sudanese Union almost twenty years ago — patriotic officials, workers and artisans, stock-breeders and fishermen, war veterans (a large progressive front)—can and should remember what the past of the rural population was like under the colonial regime. It is absolutely indisputable and evident to each of us that the condition of the rural population in particular and of the Malians in general has improved considerably despite all the difficulties we have had to surmount—and there will be more to surmount. We owe that to the Party, and above all to the radical change it has brought into our economic policy since its extraordinary congress on September 22, 1960.

I don't have to remind the peasants and other working people of what we were a few years ago. But we must know how to explain to the masses in the countryside that they were the most downtrodden, the most exploited and enslaved of all in every respect.

There was no social policy on prices and no price control. It is true that the colonial government occasionally fixed a price to exonerate itself. But the big firms sent their "go-betweens" who could freely put up the price by one or two francs. That would make the peasants think the buyers-up were on their side.

They did not know that those go-betweens came to them bringing not only faked scales and the offer of higher prices, but salt, sugar, cretonne, handkerchiefs and all sorts of trash which they sold at several times the price charged in urban centers.

Today, in the face of the government of Mali, in the face of the sons and daughters of the country, the very same dealers would like to resort to their former practices of plundering, exploiting and ruining the peasants. It is this that we leading members of the Party must patiently explain to our brothers in the countryside who, as usual and as is only human, see nothing but the extra three or five francs. And there is another change to which we must call their lulled attention. It is the fact that in every village the government has opened a shop where our brothers from the countryside can buy, at the same prices as are charged in the big centers, sugar, salt, paraffin, textiles and other goods. Moreover, we affirm that they buy all those things at more advantageous prices than those current in neighbor countries.

Why is it that our peasants, who sell their produce to dealers at an extra three or five francs, do not want to buy also sugar, paraffin, salt and other goods at fifty or seventy-five francs extra?

Let us ask them why they don't turn to the *government only* whenever they need salt, sugar or paraffin. Let us ask them why they don't see the *government only* whenever they need grain or other supplies, whenever they lack them through their own fault. Indeed, isn't it a paradox that peasants who play into the hands of dealers will not sell their grain to the government but, on the contrary, persist when they encounter difficulties of their own making in asking all sorts of goods of the very same government which in a case like that gives them only what other peasants—honest ones—have delivered to it disinterestedly?

Comrades, I have told you that many peasants cannot be held responsible for this state of affairs. They are Party members, of course, but we must help them see the role played by dealers, who are agents of capitalism.

Our task will be increasingly difficult as we go on, for we must now impress it on everyone's mind that the enemy is among us, in the shape of the incorrigible dealer and the anarchic exchange of goods. We ourselves must clearly understand the fundamental character of the struggle now going on if we want the workers, peasants and other working people to understand it. Who will win? Will it be we or the dealers, who are agents of capitalism and are already corrupting a certain segment, if small, of our peasantry? Who will win? Will it be we or those who have always, and in all countries of the world, seen it as their mission to thwart every revolution?

We will win provided we know how to organize the foremost working people and the advanced section of the peasantry, and to help them understand the task facing us. At present, even as we discuss this, we must be able to take administrative measures without the slightest hesitation. We must be able to do so firmly whenever certain individuals try to injure the material and moral interests of the people, or our victory will be difficult. Let us remember that management has to be still more firm and rigorous than in the past.

To assure the triumph of our chosen policy whose justice we will never tire of stressing, we must either remove those who refuse to fall into step, or our revolution will perish. And there can be no question of letting it perish, which means that there is no choice, nor can there be any, any more than there can be the least softness. Sentimentality is no less dangerous than lack of courage in battle. Those who now lack discipline are letting the enemy into our camp.

We must also work efficiently ourselves. Once we worked for colonialism, for the exploiters. We worked poorly, which is understanable. But now we work for ourselves, we work to consolidate and safeguard the people's power, that is, the power of all the working people of Mali. Hence the question is, can we work for

ourselves? I hope we can, and I add that any one who still dreams of making us miss a single day must by all means be eliminated if we want socialist Mali to survive and prosper.

Our state is embarked on the right course. It is learning to develop along socialist lines. Our industry will soon be able to satisfy the people, including the peasants, which means that the peasants must meet their needs through state trade. This truth has to be realized by the masses in the countryside and has, moreover, to be confirmed by *deeds.*

To triumph soon, we must have faith in the effectiveness of direct contact, of links with the masses. We must learn very fast to combat red tape and bureaucratic practices. We must do away with bribery and the search for personal gain.

Legislation or propaganda cannot really do much against such evils as red tape and, above all, bribery. Decrees? They are issued in any number. Why, then, are such strong weapons already proving more or less ineffective? For the simple reason that propaganda alone will never be enough to support them. We must have direct recourse to the help of the masses themselves.

Comrades, I have spoken of corruption, bribery, and the search for personal gain. It adds up to a serious situation incompatible with politics. In fact, you can never pursue the right policy in a situation like this, because every measure will prove ineffective, they will dangle in the air and will get you nowhere at all, while the evil will persist. Legislation, decrees, or political education can only make things worse if applied in an atmosphere of persistent bribery and other forms of corruption. You cannot make progress in an atmosphere like that, for it lacks the fundamental condition for an earnest effort toward progress.

In conclusion I would like to say, comrades, that the Party will triumph and that we must merely improve on the conditions we already have for this triumph.

We will continue our triumphal march at the same confident pace. And as we march on we will say:

"No" to those who tell us we must slacken our pace.

"No" to those who tell us to "step on it" though they do not see the state of the road as a whole.

Long live the socialist revolution in Mali!

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SEVENTH PLENARY MEETING OF THE CC MPRP, JUNE 4, 1965*
RESULTS OF THE MONGOLIAN PARTY AND GOVERNMENT DELEGATION'S VISIT OF FRIENDSHIP TO THE USSR

REPORT BY Y. TSEDENBAL, FIRST SECRETARY OF THE CC MPRP, CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE MPR (Abridge)

The recent period has seen important developments in Mongolian-Soviet relations, whose progress contributes more and more to our country's advance to the complete triumph of socialism. Numerous exchanges of Party, government and economic delegations, reciprocal visits by parliamentary delegations, and more extensive cultural exchanges have had a vastly beneficial effect. Exchanges of delegations in recent years have been characterized by a business-like atmosphere and by the fact that most of the delegations have achieved specific results and that many practical problems of fundamental importance for the current and long-range economic and cultural development of the Mongolian People's Republic have been solved by joint effort.

The visit of the CPSU delegation led by Comrade A. N. Shelepin, member of the Presidium and Secretary of the CC CPSU, to our country early this year was an important contribution to the friendship between our two countries, an indication of increasingly close mutual links.

Among noteworthy events, the recent visit of the Mongolian Party and Government delegation to the USSR holds a prominent place.

The task of our delegation during the talks with the Soviet leaders was to sum up the progress made in Mongolian-Soviet relations in recent years and to agree on measures for the extension of fraternal friendship and all-round cooperation between the two countries, for the promotion of internationalist bonds and fraternal unity between the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and the CPSU. In particular, the delegation was to come to terms with the Soviet leaders on Soviet assistance in the fulfilment of the Fourth Five-Year Plan of the MPR.

*Novosti Mongolii, June 9, 1965.

On behalf of the Party and Government delegation, I am happy to report to this meeting of our Party's Central Committee that, as we had expected, our trip yielded excellent results for our country and people.

I wish to stress that wherever our delegation went it was given the most cordial welcome by Soviet people, the CC CPSU, the Soviet Government and their leaders, and that our stay in the USSR showed once again that the fraternal relations existing between the Mongolian and Soviet peoples are indestructible.

During the trip we satisfied ourselves once again of the profound respect and heartfelt sympathy which the Soviet people, our true friend and brother, have for the Mongolian people, for their flourishing country, for the MPRP and the Mongolian Government.

At every turn we members of the delegation noted great achievements in communist construction by the Soviet people.

Anyone who follows Soviet economic and cultural development without bias is struck by the progress which the workers, peasants and intellectuals of the USSR have made or are making as they carry out the historic decisions of the Twentieth and Twenty-Second congresses of their Party and the new Program of the CPSU.

The Soviet people's political and economic activities are bearing good fruit in the climate created by last year's October and November meeting of the CC CPSU. Aimed as they are at ensuring strict observance of the objective laws of socialist development and at using the latest achievements in science, the decisions of the two meetings make for the observance of a Leninist style and the application of Leninist principles in socialist production management. They do much to encourage the initiative and activity of the working people and to stimulate socialist democracy.

During our stay in the Soviet Union we witnessed how enthusiastically the Soviet peasants and the people generally welcomed the March decisions of the CC CPSU intended to foster agricultural production. We saw the whole of the vast Soviet Union concentrating on the carrying out of those decisions, which mark an important readjustment to an economic policy on scientific lines. The consolidation of the material and technical base of agriculture, considerably greater investment in farming, the new system of purchasing farm produce according to fixed plans, and other measures are designed to make collective and state farming more profitable and to afford greater material inducements for agricultural enterprises as well as individual farmers to expand production and sell produce. All this will in the end advance the entire Soviet economy and improve the standard of living.

These measures are also important because they will strengthen the socialist world and foster social progress by increasing the

economic might of the Soviet Union, the mainstay of the socialist commonwealth of nations.

The atmosphere of the talks was — as it had always been — one of cordial friendship and fraternity and of profound awareness of our common internationalist commitment to work for the triumph of socialism and peace. The talks again revealed complete identity of views and unity of action between the two Parties and Governments.

Those highly fruitful talks added, as Soviet leaders pointed out, to our main asset, that is, our friendship, mutual understanding and fraternal cooperation.

The MPR and the Soviet Union coordinate their actions and policies, join efforts with the fraternal socialist countries, and cooperate with all the peace-loving countries on the solution of urgent international problems by peaceful means, on the problems of bringing about general and complete disarmament, completely abolishing the colonial system and preventing a thermonuclear war.

The Soviet Union, that mighty socialist world power, bears the brunt of the effort to maintain peace as it develops its economy and strengthens its defenses. It gives concrete help and support to the peoples and countries suffering from colonial oppression and imperialist aggression.

This fact stands out all the more distinctly now that the U.S. government has embarked on a dangerous venture by encroaching on the sovereignty and independence of the DRV, a fraternal socialist country, by stepping up its aggression against South Vietnam in still more barbarous forms, and by perpetrating armed intervention in the Dominican Republic.

Our delegation, in keeping with the will of the Mongolian people, who have always sided with the heroic Vietnamese people in their struggle against the imperialist aggressors, hailed the policy and the practical measures of the Soviet Government, and the steps jointly taken by the USSR and the DRV with the aim of stopping the U.S. military aggression in time and to safeguard the peoples against the danger of the smouldering embers of war flaring up into a worldwide conflagration.

Current events bear out the joint Mongolian-Soviet Communique, which says that the progressive forces of the world, the freedom-loving peoples and the socialist countries could best counter the imperialists' open challenge and acts of aggression by achieving unity and by taking collective action against the imperialists.

Our people and our Government are striving, in alliance with fraternal countries, to curb the aggressive circles of the United States, to support the people of the DRV and South Vietnam, and to foster solidarity with the progressive and peace-loving forces of the world against imperialist plots aimed at aggression.

We should always remember what the joint Mongolian-Soviet Communique says — that growing imperialist activity and provocation are largely prompted by the hope of exploiting the differences in the world Communist movement and the socialist community.

We are happy and proud to note that the relations between the MPRP and the CPSU have always been truly fraternal and comradely and that their contacts are becoming closer. These links between our Party and the CPSU, the most experienced and seasoned contingent of the world Communist and working-class movement, throughout the common development of the Mongolian and Soviet peoples, and the constant study and creative application of the vast experience of Lenin's great Party have played an important part in the theoretical and practical activities of our Party in guiding socialist construction in the MPR and in solving major tasks in the advance to socialism.

During the talks the spokesmen of the two Parties pointed out the fruitfulness of inter-party contacts and decided to promote them continuously for the good of socialist and communist construction in their countries, for the purpose of restoring and strengthening the unity and cohesion of the world Communist and working-class movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The MPRP and the CPSU stressed the important role which the Consultative Meeting held by fraternal parties in Moscow last March had played in the search for ways of overcoming the differences existing in the Communist movement. They expressed their resolve to work for the realization of the proposals formulated by the Meeting. Specifically, our two Parties are agreed that the present situation and the interests of the common cause necessitate a new conference of all the Marxist parties, and a collective effort to overcome the difficulties that have arisen, in the name of the struggle against the common enemy, imperialism, for the triumph of Marxist-Leninist ideas.

The fraternal relations between the MPR and the USSR, initiated by the great Lenin and the fearless Sukhe Bator at the dawn of the Mongolian revolution, are based on the identity of the views of the MPRP and the CPSU. The unity of the leading forces of our country, and their loyalty to the victorious banner of Marxism-Leninism cement the traditional friendship between the Mongolian and Soviet peoples, a friendship which has stood many a hard test.

There is steady progress in the close friendship and all-round cooperation between the MPR and the USSR, and between the MPRP and the CPSU. These relations are based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, complete equality, non-interference in each others' affairs, socialist mutual aid, and

coordination of the interests of either country and those of the socialist commonwealth as a whole.

The relations between the MPR and the USSR exemplify new, genuinely fraternal relations between countries. Engaging in all-round cooperation, the two countries fully support each other in the fulfilment of tasks in socialist and communist construction.

Such is the estimation of this great friendship given during the Mongolian-Soviet talks, which marked a new stage in the development of relations of fraternity, close cooperation and disinterested mutual assistance between our two countries.

Mongolian-Soviet relations are not mere good-neighbor relations but the closest cooperation on an equal footing in every sphere — political, economic and cultural. They constitute an unbreakable alliance of two fraternal peoples united by common goals and common fundamental interests.

Our fraternal friendship, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out, came into being in Lenin's days, and for more than forty years now our peoples and parties have been marching shoulder to shoulder along a glorious path.

Our Soviet friends follow the development of the MPR with keen attention. They rejoice in the remarkable fruits of the creative effort of our working people, of which they speak very highly. The Communique includes a passage suggested by the Soviet comrades which reads as follows:

"The achievements of the Mongolian People's Republic show clearly that Lenin was right in forecasting the possibility of socially and economically backward countries going over to socialism without passing through the capitalist stage. The Mongolian people's historic progress and experience in this are an important contribution to the theory and practice of socialist construction, and are particularly important for those countries whose progress was held up by colonialist domination."

The fact that the efforts of our people and our Party are set so high in the world Communist movement shows the extent of the responsibility we in our part of the world bear with regard to the world revolutionary movement.

Believing that economic progress in the MPR, and the Soviet Union meets the interests of the peoples of both countries, the governments of our countries agreed on specific measures for further cooperation.

The further aid to be rendered by the Soviet Union is stipulated by the Agreement on Mongolian-Soviet economic and technical cooperation from 1966 to 1970, signed on April 19 last.

The Soviet Union is granting our country a long-term credit and gratuitous aid totalling 495 million rubles, of which 19 per cent is to be spent on industrial projects, including the building indus-

try, and on geological survey, 18.3 per cent on agriculture (plus 11.7 per cent in the form of farm machinery), 17 per cent on housing, and 3.3 per cent on radio and other means of communication.

Besides building new plants, we will raise the technical standard of the national economy by means of new machinery and equipment, to be delivered as part of the long-term credit we have been granted. About 40 per cent of this credit will be spent on machinery, equipment and materials, including raw materials as well as on consumer goods.

Furthermore, the Soviet Union has complied with our request to defer payment on earlier credits running to roughly 170 million rubles, which we would have had to clear off from 1966 to 1970.

It follows that the technical and economic aid to be granted by the Soviet Union between 1966 and 1970 will exceed 660 million rubles, which is 200 million rubles more than the aid granted between 1961 and 1965. In the old clearing prices, this is close on 3,000 million old rubles. It is more in terms of per capita investment than in the Soviet Union today.

The Soviet credit will be more than one-third of the amount we plan to invest under our new five-year plan.

Soviet economic aid will help us considerably in developing the productive forces of agriculture and in improving the material and technical base of our economy as a whole. It will enable us to increase the share of agriculture in economic investment from 23 per cent under the current five-year plan to 30 per cent under the next—an indication of the tremendous importance which the Party and the Government attach to progress in agriculture, in particular animal husbandry.

Total agricultural output in 1970 is to increase by roughly 29 per cent as against 1965, with annual growth at roughly five per cent.

The Soviet Union will continue to render us a great deal of assistance in industrial development, primarily as regards the light, food, fuel and power industries.

Total industrial output in 1970 is to be almost double this year's. Tentative estimates set the annual growth of total industrial output from 1966 to 1970 at an average of roughly 13 per cent, with output of the means of production growing at a rate of 15 per cent and that of consumer goods at a 12 per cent rate.

Power generation in 1970 will be five times as great as in 1960, which will place it well ahead of the growth of total industrial output.

The light and food industries will make rapid progress in the next five years. Attention will be focussed on industries producing foodstuffs and other consumer goods from agricultural raw materials, both for the home market and for export.

Of the total amount of sheep's wool and of hides, we now process by industrial methods roughly 60 and 69 per cent respectively. In 1970, we expect to be processing 100 per cent of both.

The share of industry in the national product is to increase from 41 per cent in 1965 to 51 per cent in 1970.

As for the national income, industry's contribution is to go up by 10 per cent toward the end of the new five-year period, that is, the share of agriculture in 1970 will be roughly 29 per cent compared with 34 per cent this year.

These increases in industry's share in the national product and income will help fulfill the task of industrializing the country set by the Fourteenth Congress of the MPRP.

Under the new five-year plan, the Soviet Union will render us tremendous assistance in housing construction.

The Soviet Union will also greatly help Mongolian organizations in launching new production capacities. Every year it will send to Mongolia appropriate numbers of Soviet specialists and skilled workers who for 18 months to two years will train Mongolians in the operation of plant.

This fundamentally new, and most effective, form of assistance in industrial development is a new stage in our cooperation.

It should be stressed that the bulk of Soviet economic aid goes into developing material production. This is logical, for it is the rapid growth of material production that ensures progress in every economic and cultural field. The Soviet Union's financial and technical aid enables our country to spend more on education, health, science and culture.

In addition to the more than 660-million ruble credit, our country receives gratuitous Soviet aid on a vast scale.

The importance of the fraternal help given our country by its true friend, the great Soviet Union, would be hard to overrate. This disinterested help goes into improving our people's standard of living.

The Soviet Union's all-round assistance and support inspire our working people with love for and gratitude to the country of the Great October Revolution, to the wise Leninist Party and the great Soviet people, who are building communism.

Other fraternal socialist countries will also help us carry out our Fourth Five-Year Plan.

Full utilization of the internal material resources and financial potentialities, and varied aid and support from fraternal socialist countries, chiefly the Soviet Union, will enable us to spend several thousand million tugriks on economic and cultural development from 1966 to 1970. Seventy per cent of this amount is to be spent on material production.

Technical assistance from fraternal socialist countries in the con-

struction of industrial, agricultural and other projects is important, among other things, because these projects will be supplied, on a guaranteed basis, with complete plant and machinery, building materials and designs plus adequate numbers of specialists and skilled workers.

Labor power resources and their proper distribution and judicious use are a burning issue. In this field we have a serious discrepancy between demand and supply.

In view of the increase in capital construction and the growth of industry and transport, there is a great need for labor power for these branches and, therefore, a growing outflow of labor into them, a development which tends to upset the labor power balance in the countryside.

There is a still greater shortage of skilled labor for the construction and operation of new industrial enterprises.

The Party and the Government are taking steps to train skilled labor in organized fashion for building projects and industrial enterprises that are to go into operation, by sending young people to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries to take training, and by setting up specialized educational institutions in Mongolia.

The Soviet Union helps us now, and will help us in the coming five-year period, both financially and technically, to establish training centers for Mongolian personnel for industry, construction and agriculture. This training will become more and more important as existing branches are expanded and new ones set up.

This year the State Planning Committee, the ministries and other departments, as well as regional organizations will have to work hard drafting the Fourth Five-Year Plan for the economic and cultural development of the MPR from 1966 to 1970.

It will be recalled that planning bodies of the CMEA countries have during the past two years held many consultations on the main lines of economic and cultural development and of the economic cooperation of the countries concerned from 1966 to 1970.

This work has enabled our planners to draw up better long-range plans, to use progressive methods of planning, and to chart optimum guidelines for the next five-year plan.

Having consulted socialist countries on the coordination of economic plans and visited the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries, we again came to the conclusion that if we want to draft long-range plans, determine the lines along which particular economic branches are to develop, and set up new industries, we must carry out an immense amount of work ascertaining the effectiveness of investments, drafting technically and economically sound plans, making sure whether this or that project is worth realizing, and so on.

Achieving the greatest results with the least outlay is a socialist

economic law. The CMEA countries strictly adhere to this law and strive to draft plans ensuring a high rate of production growth and a steady increase in its effectiveness. This suggests that subsequently, in deciding on the development of an economic branch or an industry, we will have to proceed, not from our subjective desire to have the branch or industry, but from the existence of adequate natural and economic conditions, from economic expediency and effectiveness, from the existence and development of international socialist division of labor, etc.

The extraction and processing of minerals, for example, should center on the most promising deposits, following careful calculations covering the whole range of relevant problems. The only explanation we can offer for the building of the Berkhe mine, which is far removed from railways, is that this principle was ignored. As a result, the cost of transport of one ton of fluor spar mined at Berkhe makes up as much as 75 per cent of the cost price, which exceeds the selling price of this product in the world market. At our request, the Soviet Union has for almost ten years been buying Berkhe ore at a price exceeding the world selling price, helping us to make the mine profitable.

Sometimes we are asked why we do not set up an iron and steel industry of our own. The answer is simple: because our demand for metal is still relatively small and we find it more advantageous to meet our requirements in the foreseeable future by importing metals.

Of course, we could build a small iron and steel plant, but it would not pay. Indeed, it would operate at great loss and would hamper the country's economic progress in general — in addition to diverting a substantial amount of manpower from the key branches.

That is why we — first and foremost the planners — are all faced with the important task of drafting a realistic plan for economic and cultural development for the next five years. The draft should take into account our actual potentialities, specifically our manpower, material and financial resources, and provide for the concentration of investments and materials on the decisive building projects. Every new building project included in the plan should be justified technically and economically. As a necessary element of the draft, we should work out inter-branch balance sheets of production and distribution.

Plan estimates should give synthetic indices of economic effectiveness: increment of the national income and product per tugrik invested, national income per working producer, output of the national product per tugrik of fixed capital, and so on.

The economic plan should envisage measures for more effective

social production and investment, in particular as regards fixed capital.

Plans and accounts should include standard and factual indices of the use of fixed capital. A substantial increase in the productivity of fixed and circulating capital should be a major principle of the new five-year plan.

We must remember that by increasing the productivity of capital we obtain additional resources for raising the people's standard of living. The following example shows how important this is. As a result of considerably increased investment, fixed capital in agriculture has been growing fast in recent years. Nevertheless, agriculture does not show a growth of total output approximating to the rate of increase in investment and in fixed capital. The main reason for this is incomplete and injudicious use of capital. Whereas this year fixed capital in agriculture is increasing by 140 per cent compared with 1960, total agricultural output is increasing by a mere 22.5 per cent.

With regard to capital construction, plans should provide for shorter time limits, lower costs and better quality. They should say when construction of the major projects should be started and completed.

The State Planning Committee and the State Committee for Construction should in drafting the five-year plan take steps to improve planning, designing, and organization in the building industry, drawing freely on the experience of fraternal socialist countries. Henceforward the results of capital construction should be judged, not by the investments made, but by the actual provision of new production capacities and the completion of building projects.

Measures for the improvement of quality should receive special attention in the long-rang plan. Our consumers readily buy imported goods while ignoring goods of Mongolian make. This is evidence of the poor quality of goods made at home. We do not pay proper attention to quality, often violate technological requirements and disregard state standards and other technical indices. As for control over the fulfilment of state assignments in this field, it is extremely inadequate.

We must steadily strive to make full use of industrial capacities, to ascertain and utilize latent opportunities in terms of both quantity and quality.

Our economic plan should provide for better planning of research with due regard to urgent economic and cultural needs. Research institutions, for their part, should not merely transfer their findings to industrial enterprises but should take an active part in putting their findings to proper use. No research should be considered complete unless its results are effectively used in production.

The socialist countries are passing more and more from the exchange of scientific and technical documentation to joint investigations. Our plans should provide for better use of this experience in cooperating with the research institutions of other socialist countries.

With regard to problems of vital economic importance the State Planning Committee should fully enlist the assistance of the Economic Research Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the MPR, which is only just beginning its work.

It should also pay special attention to the drawing up of balance sheets of manpower reserves, taking account of the demand for building and operating personnel for construction projects.

The role of planning agencies, primarily the State Planning Commission, in the exercise of control over the fulfilment of economic plans should be enhanced.

With a view to stimulating the growth of agricultural production, the Political Bureau of the CC considers it necessary to introduce a fixed plan for the purchase of agricultural products, valid for several years, and to pay higher prices for above-plan deliveries.

To afford greater material incentives for the agricultural cooperatives and state farms to increase output, the Political Bureau of the CC proposes providing in the five-year plan for a rise in the purchase prices of certain agricultural products.

The state of production planning in agricultural cooperatives and on state farms should be carefully analyzed and so should the plan targets set for these enterprises from above, with the aim of introducing appropriate changes.

In drafting the five-year plan, the State Planning Committee should discuss major problems of economic and cultural development with experts and scientists and take their proposals into consideration.

Our country is faced with tremendous tasks in developing its economy and culture and in raising the standard of living. It could not cope with these tasks unaided. It is a strong point and an advantage of socialism that the peoples of the socialist community, inspired as they are by a common goal and a common ideology, join their forces to solve economic, political and cultural problems, help one another in every way, and achieve remarkable results in building a new life.

The financial and technical aid of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries will greatly foster the social and economic progress of the MPR. It will strengthen the material foundations of our society, greatly increase our national wealth, raise the technical standards of various economic branches, and help ensure industrial development. All this will enable us to improve the material and cultural standards of our people.

We must steadily improve economic and cultural leadership by the Party and government bodies, the style, forms and methods of their work, if we want to cope with our economic and cultural tasks.

We must thoroughly improve the Party organizations' political and organizing work on building sites, in industry, and in every economic unit generally. In the final analysis, it is the Party organizations concerned, the regional or town committees of the Party, that will be held responsible for the state and progress of capital construction and for the proper use of machinery and equipment. We must see to it that regional and town Party committees analyze the course of economic and political campaigns carefully and in time, and that they take prompt measures to guarantee the fulfilment of current economic plans. They must make a close study of the state of political education of the working people and improve the Party organizations' work in this field.

The year 1965 is the closing year of the Third Five-Year Plan. We must promote socialist emulation in industry and construction, on state farms, at machine and animal husbandry stations, in agricultural cooperatives, and in all our organizations, to ensure the fulfilment of this year's economic plan.

We must greet the forty-fourth anniversary of the Mongolian Revolution and the twentieth anniversary of the victory over imperialist Japan with new achievements.

In every field of our work, particularly in economic and cultural construction, we must steadfastly carry out the decisions of the Sixth Plenary Meeting of the CC of the Party on improving Party and government control, as well as control by mass organizations.

We will improve the standard of the Party's political and organizing activities, and will work hard to fulfill the economic plan for 1965 as we prepare to enter the first year of the new five-year plan.

RESULTS OF THE MPR PARTY AND GOVERNMENT DELEGATION'S VISIT OF FRIENDSHIP TO THE USSR

RESOLUTION OF THE CC PLENARY MEETING

Having heard and discussed the report "Results of the MPR Party and Government Delegation's Visit of Friendship to the USSR," presented by Comrade Y. Tsedenbal, First Secretary of the CC MPRP, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the MPR, the Seventh Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party notes with deep satisfaction that this visit was an important event in the history of the traditionally friendly Mongolian-Soviet relations, which are developing

and growing stronger year after year on the great principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The great Soviet people, the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Soviet Government gave the MPR Party and Government delegation of the MPR an exceptionally cordial fraternal welcome which reaffirmed the deep respect and warm sympathy the peoples of the USSR feel for the Mongolian people and their socialist country, for the Party and the Government of the MPR.

The negotiations between the Party and Government delegation of the MPR and the Soviet leaders took place in an atmosphere of friendship and brotherhood, in the spirit of profound awareness of the common internationalist commitment to the triumph of socialism and peace. They again revealed the complete identity of views and the unity of action ofthe MPRP and the CPSU, on which the truly fraternal relations between the MPR and the Soviet Union are actually based.

The two sides summed up the results of the development of Mongolian-Soviet relations in recent years and agreed on measures for the further expansion and promotion of fraternal friendship and all-round cooperation between the two countries, for closer internationalist links and fraternal unity between the MPRP and the CPSU. They reached an agreement on the volume and nature of the assistance which the Soviet Union will render to help the MPR fulfil its Fourth Five-Year Plan.

Between 1966 and 1970 the Soviet Union will extend tremendous technical and economic assistance, which will be invaluable for providing the material and technical base for socialism in our country and for improving our people's standard of living.

The Soviet Union's all-round fraternal assistance and support inspire the working people of the MPR for further progress in socialist construction. They inspire them with sincere love for and gratitude to the Soviet Union, the wise Leninist Party and the great Soviet people, who are building communism.

The Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the MPRP resolves:

1. Fully to approve the fruitful results of the Mongolian-Soviet negotiations and the activity of the Party and Government delegation of the MPR led by Comrade Y. Tsedenbal, First Secretary of the CC MPRP, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the MPR, which went to the Soviet Union on a friendly mission.

2. To thank the Central Committee of the CPSU, the Soviet Government and the fraternal Soviet people as a whole most sincerely on behalf of the Mongolian people, the MPRP and the Mongolian Government for the cordial, truly fraternal welcome accorded to the Party and Government delegation of the MPR, for the keen attention to the further progress and prosperity of the Mongolian

People's Republic, which is advancing to the complete victory of socialism, for the great fraternal assistance which the Soviet Union will extend to our people to enable them to fufil the Fourth Five-Year Plan for the economic and cultural development of the MPR.

3. To set the following time limits for the drafting of the five-year economic and cultural development plan of the MPR for 1966 to 1970:

(a) the preparation of target figures to be completed by July 15, 1965;

(b) the draft plan to be completed by October 15, 1965, for submission to the CC MPRP and the Government of the MPR.

4. The Meeting considers that the draft of the five-year economic and cultural development plan should provide for the steady growth of socialist production, set realistic targets taking account of our potentialities, specifically our manpower, material and financial resources, and concentrating investment and material resources on the decisive construction projects.

With this aim in view, it is necessary to justify every new construction project from the technical and economic points of view, work out measures for more effective socialist production and capital investment, draw up inter-branch balance sheets of production and distribution, and balance sheets of manpower resources by economic branches, stating the requirements and indicating the sources from which they are to be met.

In the sphere of capital construction, it is necessary to work out measures for reducing costs and improving the quality of construction, and to specify when construction of the major projects should be started and when completed.

With a view to stimulating agricultural production, the Meeting considers it necessary to provide in the draft five-year plan for a fixed and invariable plan for state purchases of agricultural products, valid for several years, and for the payment of higher prices for above-plan deliveries.

To afford greater material incentives for the agricultural cooperatives and state farms to increase output, the Meeting considers it appropriate to provide in the five-year economic plan for an increase in the purchase prices of certain agricultural products.

5. The Meeting obliges all the Party, government, economic and mass organizations to do all in their power for the proper and effective use of the economic assistance rendered by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

This makes it necessary to hasten capital construction, ensure the fulfilment of building plans in time, and take steps to train skilled personnel for new building projects and for industrial enterprises going into operation.

The Meeting instructs all the Party, government, economic and mass organizations:

to watch unrelentingly over the registration, storage and use of commodities and other material values, in particular plant, machinery and other mechanical appliances, spares, raw and other materials received from fraternal socialist countries as part of credits or as imported commodities;

to work earnestly to improve the quality of industrial products, combat violations of technological discipline in enterprises and disregard for state standards and technical conditions, and exercise more rigid control over the fulfilment of government assignments;

steadfastly to promote the full use of industrial capacities; to ascertain and use latent opportunities for the complete fulfilment of production plans in terms of both quantity and quality.

It is a major task of the Party organizations to improve the standard of political and organizing work among the masses and to rally them for the fulfilment of economic plans.

6. To instruct all the Party organizations to popularize the materials of this Meeting and the results of the Mongolian-Soviet negotiations as widely as possible.

The Meeting of the Central Committee of the MPRP is certain that our people will do all in their power to fulfil the economic plan for 1965 and achieve further economic and cultural progress as they prepare to enter the first year of the five-year plan.

ON THE MOSCOW CONSULTATIVE MEETING OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

Having heard the report of Comrade D. Molomzhamtz, Secretary of the CC MPRP, on the results of the Consultative Meeting of Communist and Workers' parties held in Moscow from March 1 to 5 last, the Seventh Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party notes with satisfaction that that meeting was an important step toward promoting the unity and cohesion of the world's Communist movement on Marxist-Leninist principles.

The Consultative Meeting, which took place in a spirit of friendship, fraternity and equality, demonstrated the unity of views of the participants, who stressed the need for vigorous joint actions by all the fraternal parties against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism, against the domination of monopoly capital, in support of the liberation movement of the peoples, for world peace and the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems, for socialism and communism.

This was evident from the Consultative Meeting's adoption of the Statement on events in Vietnam expressing fraternal solidarity

with the heroic Vietnamese people, the Party of Working People of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam waging a just struggle against the U.S. militarists and their hangers-on.

The membership of the MPRP and the people of the MPR emphatically condemn the U.S. imperialists' armed intervention in the internal affairs of Vietnam, and their acts of aggression against the DRV. They consider it their internationalist duty to give the fraternal Vietnamese people the fullest help and support in their just fight for freedom, independence and peaceful unification of their country.

It was a most important result of the Consultative Meeting of fraternal parties in Moscow that it collectively formulated specific proposals aimed at overcoming the differences which have arisen in the Communist movement, at promoting the cohesion of its ranks on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, on the basis of the line determined by the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement.

The new step that was taken, and the conclusions drawn as to the rallying of the world Communist movement fully accord with the position of the MPRP as regards strengthening the unity and solidarity of the Communist parties and the socialist countries, a position which expressed itself in the decisions of the Fourteenth Congress and of subsequent meetings of the CC of our Party.

The Meeting fully supports the collective efforts which the CPSU and other fraternal parties make to improve relations between various contingents of the Communist movement, using every opportunity and method, bilateral and multilateral meetings, and other forms of inter-party contacts.

The fraternal parties attending the Consultative Meeting stressed the urgent need for active and comprehensive preparations for a new international conference, and the need to hold it in due course with a view to promoting the cohesion of the Communist and Workers' parties.

The MPRP has invariably favored the idea of convening a new world conference of Communists to overcome the difficulties which have arisen in the Communist movement and to evolve common internationalist positions of the Communists of the world on the basis of a collective Marxist-Leninist appraisal of the important events and great changes which have occurred in the world since the last conference.

This Meeting agrees with the idea expressed in the Communique that a preliminary consultative meeting of the 81 parties which took part in the 1960 conference should be held to discuss the question of calling a new conference.

The view expressed by the meeting that it is necessary to stop

open polemic, which is unfriendly and insulting to fraternal parties and injures the common cause, has the full support of the MPRP, which has always stood for strict adherence to the standards of inter-party relations set by the Moscow conferences of 1957 and 1960.

This Meeting holds that to strengthen the Marxist-Leninist unity and cohesion of the world Communist movement, it is necessary firmly to uphold the fundamental provisions of the Declaration and Statement of the Moscow conferences, which were carried forward in the Program of the CPSU adopted by the Twenty-Second Congress of that Party.

This Meeting fully approves of the results of the Consultative Meeting of fraternal parties, and the highly important documents unanimously adopted by it — the Communique of the Consultative Meeting and the Statement on events in Vietnam, as well as the activity of the MPRP delegation to the Meeting.

This Meeting states that our Party is resolved to do everything to promote the unity of the Communist and Workers' parties, to take an active part in the collective efforts recommended by the Moscow Consultative Meeting with a view to overcoming differences in the world Communist movement and to unifying its ranks and all the revolutionary forces of today for the victory of our common cause — peace, democracy, national independence, socialism and communism all over the world.

DOCUMENTS OF THE PLENARY MEETING, CC, IRAQI COMMUNIST PARTY*

PARTY DECLARATION

The Central Committee of the Iraqi Communist Party convened in April, 1965, to discuss the political situation and the overriding problems facing the country. The document for discussion by the meeting was the draft statement submitted earlier for discussion to a large network of party functionaries. When discussing the draft statement and deciding its ultimate formula, the CC took into account the views and remarks made by these functionaries.

Moreover, the party will draw conclusions from past experience. The CC will coopt a larger number of members and functionaries to discuss important party attitudes, and to participate in evolving party policy.

A STATEMENT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE IRAQI COMMUNIST PARTY FOR:

Solidarity among all patriotic and anti-imperialist nationalist forces in order to: overthrow the military-dictatorial Arif-Yehaya rule and install a provisional government of national coalition to liquidate the aftermath of dictatorships, establish democratic liberties, evolve a democratic settlement of the Kurdish question and transfer the country to genuinely democratic life.

The downfall of the fascist regime in November, 1963, was not attended — as the people had hoped — by a serious reorientation in policy and manner of rule, despite the subsequent modifications in the structure of the ruling junta in favor of the anti-imperialist nationalist wing.

The rulers of the present regime have continued the policy of gallows, prisons and detention barracks, persecution of liberties and beliefs and rude violation of the democratic rights of the people.

In the course of only one year, these rulers have put to death Communists and progressives exceeding in number those executed by Muri as-Saed during one quarter of a century. Languishing in the death cells are scores of other patriots condemned to death — not to mention scores of other similarly sentenced in absentia. Moreover, there is no guarantee as yet that this sanguinary policy will be discontinued.

*Abridged.

Notwithstanding that some eighteen months have already elapsed since the November coup, thousands of patriots are still held in prison and barracks encumbered with sentences adding up to scores of thousands of years imposed on them by outrageous military tribunals after unjust trials in which the accused were deprived of the right to defense, and the most elementary principles of justice trampled underfoot. In those prisons now live an elite of the most dutiful men and women, in ignoble conditions, subject to disease and death, and to all sorts of torture, coercion and degredation. The rulers flout the will of the people as well as Arab and world opinion in refusing to amnesty them.

In total disregard for the most elementary human norms and democratic principles, the authorities insist on the inglorious method of extracting "renunciations" innovated by the Baghdad Pact committee for combating subversive activity. What is more, they chose a form which is even more horrid: asking the patriots not only to disavow their political beliefs, but also to provide full information or framed-up evidence, and to pledge not to adhere to political parties or engage in political action.

The official propaganda allegations about "the availability of freedom for the people" were in practice only attended by police hunts, terror, illegal arrests, and denying patriots the means of subsistence and encroaching on their dignity. Whereas they directed all their organs of brutal suppression at the patriotic and democratic elements, they left unpunished the perpetrators of crimes of murder, torture and seduction — from among the Baathists and their nationalist guard.

Whereas they persecute all the patriotic forces denying them the right to association and political activity, they give free rein to the reactionary and feudal elements, and refuse to purge the main state organs inherited from the monarchical regime.

While dismissing from state institutions or sending to jails thousands of the best workers, intellectuals and servicemen owing to their patriotic leanings and political beliefs, they entrust key positions to reactionary and suspect elements and invoke communalism, kinship and nepotism as the basis for the allocation of posts and positions.

Rudely flouting public sentiment, the top rulers boast of their role in the imperialist-fascist February coup, find glory in the use of coercion and terror against the democratic forces, make utterances of instigation and revenge, and raise the banner of combating communism and vilifying the friendly socialist countries and disseminate reactionary thinking while combating any liberal and progressive outlook.

The rulers persist in seizing on methods of despotic and dictatorial rule thereby defying the will of the people and all their pat-

riotic forces. They are using what is called the "transition period" as a pretext to monopolize political power, maintain abnormal conditions and martial administration or state of emergency, to enact reactionary and freedom-inhibiting laws. They try to camouflage the dictatorial character of the present military rule by means of the so-called "consultative college" and by forming state security courts. The "transition period" was also used as a pretext for vesting legislative and executive — even judicial — functions together with the command of the armed forces, presidency of the republic and most of the cabinet portfolios in a small clique of high-placed military men bent on despotism and on invoking military procedure in administration and rule.

The condemnation by the present rulers of the one-man dictatorship does not prevent them from dedicating all the press and official information organs to deify the present president of the republic and to impose him as a military dictator with unlimited prerogatives.

In contradiction to the requirements of national interests, the rulers continue the policy of denying national rights to the Kurdish people, proceeding from a chauvinist-reactionary attitude to resume armed aggression against the fraternal Kurdish nation.

The important question bearing on the interests of two thirds of the whole population — i.e., agrarian reform — has not seriously attracted the attention of the present rulers. The process of executing the reform law is proceeding with a tempo which will require, if things are to continue as they are now, one quarter of a century to carry out the whole agrarian reform. This, despite the fact that even if and when the reform law is carried out, millions of donums of land will remain in feudal hands, and hundreds of thousands of peasants will still be denied land. To this should be added the reactionary amendments effected in the law according to which land is given to feudalists under the cover of leases. Law No. 17 was revoked in the interests of the lesser and big landlords. In Kurdistan, the agrarian reform was suspended and replaced by an open alliance with a handful of traitors to the Kurdish people from among the feudalists.

As regards the petroleum question, the rulers have taken stands in the face of foreign monopolists which do not harmonize with the principles of genuine patriotism nor with keenness on economic development. They have not agitated for securing any one of the legitimate rights of the country to its fundamental national resources. On the contrary, they have even dissipated the gains made by the people in the days of Kassem.

The policy of the rulers was attended by nationalist, religious and communal discrimination — which dangerously subverted na-

tional unity and impaired the traditions of solidarity and fraternity among diverse nationalities and communities.

In the domain of foreign policy, the top rulers did not go beyond verbal demagogy in their attitude towards imperialism. Their policy, in practice, did not respond to the exigencies of consolidating the independence of Iraq and reinforcing her international prestige. While rejecting the generous and unconditional aid offered by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the rulers received credits from and concluded agreements with imperialist countries and bodies the inequity of which has been proved, and opened loopholes for the penetration of imperialist capital into our country, thereby impairing prerequisites of independence. They evolved dubious ties with CENTO quarters with a view to combating the liberation struggle of the Kurdish people in Iraq.

The characteristic features of the present regime are chauvinism, political reaction and military dictatorship. That certain patriotic nationalist elements are party to the government or supporters thereof, does not alter this fact.

Continuing to support the present regime and following in the wake of the clique at the helm, nationalist quarters will only further isolate themselves from the people and do a disservice to their political record, past and present. And, whether they like it or not, they will be held partly responsible by the Iraqi people and the Arab nation. The patriotic and nationalist duty calls upon all anti-imperialist nationalists to withdraw from the present reactionary and isolated regime, and to turn to the side of popular opposition.

Events have proved that the overriding problems of Iraq will never find a settlement through the Arif-Yehaya reactionary clique. What is more, they have marched headlong towards civil war in the country, ignored, in their overall policy, the interests of the Arab liberation movement and impaired the cause of inter-Arab solidarity and union.

The masses of the people and all anti-imperialist forces, irrespective of nationality and political views, are therefore called upon to pool afforts:

FIRST. To overthrow Arif-Yehaya military dictatorship, and install a government of national coalition embracing all patriotic parties, groups and personalities—both from among the democrats and anti-imperialist nationalists.

SECONDLY. This government is to start forthwith the liquidation of the aftermath of the terror and emergency law of the previous dictatorships, ensure democratic liberties, evolve a peacefull and democratic settlement of the Kurdish question, hold free general elections to transfer the country to parliamentary-constitutional life as a prelude to forming a government emanating from

the will of the people, and take immediate measures to remedy the crisis of soaring prices, unemployment and other problems relating to the living of workers, peasants and the rest of the people.

We earnestly call upon all patriotic parties and groups not to allow differences of views concerning a number of questions facing the country to be an impediment obstructing solidarity for the performance of this task.

THE NATIONAL FRONT

While stressing the paramount and overriding importance of solidarity among patriotic forces for ending military rule and installing a provisional government of national coalition, our party simultaneously believes in the possibility and necessity of collaboration and pooling efforts on the part of all patriotic organizations and groups to resolve the urgent and great problems of our people. Our party, therefore, submits the following demands inviting the diverse wings of the patriotic movement — democratic and nationalist — to discuss and exchange views thereon, and participate in the realization thereof.

1—A solid democratic settlement for the Kurdish question on the basis of responding to legitimate Kurdish national rights, including autonomy within the framework of the Iraqi republic.

2—An amnesty for all those condemned to death as well as for political prisoners and detainees, to revoke decisions to forfeit citizenship of patriots, to end the policy of persecution and "renunciations" and an inquiry into the perpetrators of crimes of murder, plunder and seduction under the fascist regime.

3—Reinstatement of servicemen and civilians dismissed for political reasons, together with compensations for the losses incurred as a result.

4—Democratic freedoms, including freedom to publish and party and trade union organization, for all patriotic forces to the exclusion of none.

5—A purge of state organs of imperialist agents.

6—Resolve acute living problems of the people, provide foodstuffs at reasonable prices, combat speculation and meddling in prices of foodstuff for the people and raise their sanitary and cultural standards.

7—Resolve the problems of unemployment, end wanton dismissals, fix a reasonable minimum for wages and ensure social security for the workers and their families in cases of disease, old age and death.

8—Restoration of the legitimate rights of Iraq to petroleum, and put into effect the project for a national petroleum company.

9—Lower the present ceiling of land ownership, revoke payment for land received by the peasants, provide them with instructions and material aid, and form an effective body to carry out the agrarian reform.

10—Plan development of the national economy on a sound scientific basis and with active participation by the people, with a view to industrializing the country and developing the state sector of the economy taking into account the interest of national capital and its protection from foreign rivalry.

11—Consolidate Arab solidarity, provide effective aid to secure Arab rights to Palestine, Aman and Arab South, develop Iraqi relations with the UAR and the rest of the liberated Arab countries and gradually proceed along the path of realizing inter-Arab unity on a solid democratic basis and with reliance on the will of Arab peoples.

12—Pursue a constant policy in the struggle against imperialism, for peace and support of national liberation movements, and consolidate relations of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and the rest of the socialist countries.

DEMOCRACY AND THE ONE-PARTY SYSTEM

In the conditions prevailing in Iraq, democracy assumes a place of prime importance inasmuch as, in the modern history of Iraq, it has been a pivot of protracted struggle between the people and the reactionary rulers.

Experience has shown that the path to uniting national ranks is that of free party life and optional collaboration in a national front—not that of decrees and administrative orders imposing one particular form of organization. There can be no other substitute for allowing all anti-imperialist parties and groups—irrespective of nationality and political views—to enjoy equal rights to publication and political activity, and for allowing the people to choose the ideas and slogans corroborated by life in the course of application and to discard what is erroneous and futile.

The political parties in Iraq came into existence and their structures and objective were crystallized in conformity with historical and social dictates. There has, in the thick of struggle, accrued to each party a record of struggle which cannot be obliterated by means of decrees and coercive measures

"The Arab Socialist Unity" has the right to be one of the political parties in the country, but cannot be a substitute for party life under conditions in Iraq, which are distinct from those in other Arab countries.

In the period which has elapsed since the "Arab Socialist Unity" was formed, events have proved the failure of this experiment and

the incompetence of "one-party system" for Iraq. Founded 31 years ago, our party has become an inseparable part of the history of our country and a corner-stone of its political life. It has come into being to remain the embodiment of the basic interests of the working class, an instrument of its struggle and standard-bearer of its historical message and Marxist-Leninist outlook.

THE KURDISH PROBLEM

The settlement of the Kurdish question is organically bound up with that of democracy and the installation of a democratic regime in Iraq. The governments which denied the legitimate national rights of the Kurds and oppressed them are the selfsame governments which simultaneously ignored the democratic rights of the Iraqi people and oppressed citizens of diverse views and nationalities.

There will never be a just and solid settlement for the Kurdish question short of complete autonomy for the Kurdish people within the framework of the Iraqi Republic. National unity in Iraq cannot be maintained and consolidated unless account is taken of the legitimate rights of the Kurdish people.

The junta usurping the power have, through their outrageous policy, torn national unity asunder, and have not observed their former pledges nor the ceasefire agreement of February, 1964. Therefore, the Kurdish revolutionary movement has the right to disbelieve them and to refuse to down arms until their legitimate demands are met and constitutional and practical guarantees made to secure and respect these.

Taking into account the supreme national interests of the Iraqi people and the entire Arab nation, together with the legitimate interests of the Kurdish nation in Iraq, our Communist Party puts forth the following draft project as a basis for a just and peaceful settlement of the Kurdish question:

1—Halt military operations, withdraw army units from Kurdistan and demobilize the irregular forces "JAHSH."

2—Release prisoners and detainees and reinstate servicemen and civilians dismissed or transferred in connection with the Kurdish revolution.

3—Evict the Arab tribes from lands usurped from Kurdish citizens.

4—Freedom of publication, press and political and social organization for the Kurdish people.

5—Make Kurdish the official language in Kurdistan, and secure cultural rights for the Kurdish people.

6—Form a committee on which Kurdish national forces should be represented to allot compensations for those adversely affected,

and to repair damages caused by military operations and take measures for the development of the economy in Kurdistan.

7—Elect governors and municipal councils and appoint officials, from among the Kurds in Kurdish regions.

8—The Kurds to be represented in proportion to their number in central state organs, both executive and legislative.

9—Recognize national Kurdish rights, including autonomy within the framework of the Iraqi republic, and enact same in the constitution.

The prime guarantee for the success of the Kurdish liberation movement lies in: preserving and consolidating the unity of its forces and avoiding anything likely to impair it; establishing closest cooperation among the diverse patriotic forces in the area irrespective of political views, on the one hand, and between them and patriotic forces in Iraq, on the other; in drawing conclusions from various aspects of the experience of the revolution during the past years and in relying on the basic social forces behind the revolution and promoting their interests.

INTER-ARAB UNION

Our Party believes that, in contrast to the trust reposed in the leaders of the UAR by the people who support their policy, the present rulers in Baghdad do not enjoy the confidence of the Iraqi people, nor do they rely on its will or follow democratic procedure. Herein lies the great defect in any union step to which Iraq is a party, and which is concluded by the present rulers. Moreover, through its overall policy and conduct, the present regime impairs cordial relations and solidarity between our people and the greater sisterly UAR, and impairs the very cause of union itself.

The solid basis for any union to which Iraq is to be a party lies in: ending the military regime and the state of siege; unleashing political freedoms for all anti-imperialist forces; realizing a firm democratic settlement for the Kurdish question in Iraq; establishing a sound democratic and parliamentary order; taking into account the local characteristics of the country; and finally in consolidating the unity of the patriotic forces and allowing the representatives of their diverse wings--together with those of the Kurdish patriotic forces — to take part in discussing and deciding major issues facing the country, including the question of inter-Arab union.

Our Party resolutely combats the imperialist and Zionist propaganda aimed against inter-Arab union, and does its utmost to remove any manifestation of disaffection towards the leaders and people of the UAR.

The most intimate relations of cooperation are those founded

on mutual understanding and trust. Exactly as the representatives of the patriotic forces in our country are called upon to side with the government and people of the UAR in the face of imperialism, Zionism and reaction, likewise the leaders of that sisterly country are required to cooperate and exchange views with diverse wings of those forces in connection with the methods and forms for realizing inter-Arab union.

Our Party discerns in mutual fraternal criticism a factor favourable to the consolidation of mutual confidence and solidarity. While welcoming any fraternal criticism directed at itself, our Party, in its turn, criticizes the erroneous stands of UAR leaders vis-a-vis the democratic-patriotic movement of our people — particularly coalescence and support which they maintain towards the dictatorial regime in Iraq.

Baghdad, Mid-April, 1965.

STRENGTHEN THE COMMUNIST POSITION IN THE GENERAL ELECTION

STATEMENT BY THE CENTRAL BOARD, CP OF NORWAY*

The Communist Party of Norway has already called attention to the danger of the bourgeois parties winning in the forthcoming elections to the Storting.

Anxious to uphold the common interests of the working-class movement, the CB CPN demanded that cooperation of the working-class parties be established. We took a number of steps towards working-class unity in the elections, which were supported by some trade union organizations. By withdrawing its candidates from the lists in four electoral areas the CPN demonstrated its desire to help solve the problem and prevent the victory of the bourgeois parties.

But all our initiatives were rejected by the Norwegian Workers' Party and the Socialist People's Party, which refuse to see the danger and do not think of the common responsibility.

The CPN deplores the fact that this narrow-mindedness prevents the establishment of a united working-class front as opposed to the bourgeois bloc, even in the forthcoming election.

The entire responsibility for this split in the working-class movement rests with the NWP and the SPP.

The bourgeoisie may well win the elections thanks to the policy of concessions to big capital and the bourgeois parties, pursued by the government over a number of years. Such a policy, devoid of socialist content and prospects, is always fraught with dire consequences for the working people. Hence the urgent need for a socialist renovation of the working-class movement and Norwegian policy. The Communist Party of Norway is the vehicle of such renovation, and it declares its unchanged intention to work for unity in the working-class movement.

In the forthcoming elections, mindful of the common interests of the working class, we should do our best to strengthen the positions of our Party and to regain Storting seats for the Communists.

For the socialist renovation!

Let us strengthen the Communist position in this year's general election!

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*Friheten, June 14, 1965.

PROGRAM OF THE CPN FOR THE 1965 GENERAL ELECTION*

Nowadays every party in Norway speaks of a renovation of policy and asserts that it is the carrier of this renovation. This is a reflection of the people's demand for a new policy. But what kinds of renovation do the parties want and what kind of renovation is really needed?

Norway has made considerable progress since the war as a result of the labor of the working people and the struggle waged by the working-class movement and all the progressive forces. These successes, however, do not correspond to the present needs and the opportunities for technological and economic development. Many of the flaws of Norwegian society have become even more manifest, and the successes that have been achieved rest on a shaky foundation.

This state of things is due to the domination of a small minority over the economic life of society and the use of its power for narrow profit-seeking interests. No steps have been undertaken yet to abolish this anti-democratic concentration of economic power.

This is where a new course, a renovation of policy is needed.

The renovation talked about by the bourgeois parties means giving big capital still greater freedom of action. It will entail economic and social regress for the working people, block progress and facilitate the onslaught of the reactionaries. Therefore the Communist Party of Norway regards it as a common task of the Norwegian working people to prevent the elections from resulting in the formation of a coalition bourgeois government.

Our government is inconsistent in its policy and constantly retreats before the pressure of big capital. This enables the bourgeois parties headed by Heyer's party to regard seizure of state power as a real prospect. The renovation referred to by the Workers' Party will not bring about any departure from the present government attitude to big capital.

The time has come for major changes towards the extension and renovation of democracy in our country. Control over social development must pass into the hands of the majority of the people. A policy is needed which would restrict the power of big capital and indicate a clear socialist perspective.

Precisely such renovation of policy is needed. The Communist Party of Norway will do everything to make this socialist renovation a reality.

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*Friheten, June 30-July 3, 1965.

FOR EFFECTIVE DEMOCRACY

The working people can exert only an insignificant influence — or none at all — on decisions affecting wages, working conditions and other aspects of life.

It is contrary to all principles of morality that a handful of big capitalists should control the sources of finance and the big enterprises, deciding what is to be produced, where, and by whom, and decisively influence political life. There is the need to extend democracy in all fields of social life and to stir the masses into action for a greater say in vital decisions.

People engaged in production should have an opportunity of effectively influencing it. Participation in management should become their natural right.

The elective organs of the people — the Storting and the government — should be free to decide all questions of vital importance for the people and the progress of the country. This calls for making the big banks and other finance institutions the property of the state. The Storting and the government should be able to exercise more effective control over capital investments and other economic levers. The big industrial enterprises should be managed by society.

It is also necessary to give the people a bigger say in state and communal life. A more just electoral system should be established, under which the Storting would be formed in accordance with the number of votes cast all over the country. The right to hold referendums and to dissolve the Storting should be given legislative embodiment.

PUT PRICES UNDER CONTROL OF SOCIETY

The considerable increase in prices undermines family budgets and affects every household. While the monopolies freely pursue their own price policy, the authorities are carrying through a series of compulsory measures with regard to hired workers, aggravating the consequences of the price increase.

A policy is needed which would put prices under control by society. If the Storting and the government agreed to take the measures necessary for this, it would be possible to guarantee full employment and prevent inflation. They should use the powers granted them by the law on prices and check the development of inflation through direct measures designed to regulate it and aimed first and foremost against the monopolies and big capitalists.

The peasants too should have a say in decisions pertaining to their incomes. All wage-earners of town and country, small peasants and fishermen should be guaranteed the democratic right to

take part in determining the cost of their labor. Without waiting for decisions from above, they should be enabled to use the possibilities and influence their organizations have to secure the realization of their demands.

The rapid technological development accompanied by rationalization and automation makes the position of the wage-earners insecure. Dismissals, curtailment of production and radical changes in the character or location of production are a frequent occurrence. It is the workers who are hardest hit, even in boom periods. Society should provide every able-bodied person with long-term guarantees of employment. A law prohibiting dismissals should be enacted, as well as law on the 40-hour week.

BUILD NEW ENTERPRISES IN INDUSTRIALLY UNDEVELOPED REGIONS

Large areas in our country are economically undeveloped. This is one of the most evident and painful injustices responsible for the low living standard of a part of the population, and which does great harm to society as a whole. It is a central national task to right this injustice. The resources of our country should be utilized in such a way as to help solve this problem. This can be done if the state takes all the necessary measures to provide these areas with investment capital for industrial and other construction, such as regulation of investment, provision of credits and direct investments by the state itself.

Industrial construction can be conducted on both state and private investments. To democratize economic life, major industrial construction should take the form of well-planned public projects ruling out mistakes due to short-sighted calculations of profitableness patterned after private capitalist models. The social viewpoint should prevail. As regards minor projects, it would be expedient to entrust them to private initiative, and to extend guaranteed credits to them.

The problems of these areas will not be solved with industrialization, improvement of communications and the building of centers with schools and public-service establishments. What is also needed is a policy in agriculture which would guarantee favorable conditions to the working peasants. A simpler and less cumbersome system of financing should be introduced. The prices of agricultural products should ensure reasonable compensation for the labor put into them. The highhanded attitude to the small and middle peasants should be done away with. The state should also regulate the prices of farm implements and encourage forms of cooperation of peasants suited to the local conditions.

The policy towards the fishermen should guarantee their incomes,

improve their working conditions and defend their right to own fishing vessels and gear. Technological development should benefit the fishermen. Collective labor of fishermen should be given every encouragement. Fishing itself should be conducted on a broader scale. Given cooperation and support, the fishermen would be able to use big vessels and modern equipment.

FOR A JUST FISCAL POLICY

The entire fiscal policy should be reorganized to ensure that the bulk of the taxes and insurance and other fees should be paid by persons with large incomes and by big capitalists. When levying taxes it is necessary to differentiate between the incomes of the workers and capital gains which are not the result of labor, and profits. The progressive tax should be imposed chiefly on non-earned income and not on the ordinary incomes of the working people. Thousands of millions of kroner escape taxation every year, and strict control is needed to rule out any tax evasions.

The existing turnover tax is a great burden, especially for families with average or low incomes. Instead of going over from direct taxation to the turnover tax it is necessary to revise the latter once again with a view to ensuring a socially just taxation. There is particularly pressing need to abolish the turnover tax on foodstuffs.

The social security contributions paid by the employers should largely depend on the results of production and not the sum paid in wages. As things stand now, these deductions are particularly burdensome for enterprises employing large numbers of workers, whereas rationalized capitalist enterprises get off comparatively cheap. As regards the communes, they should be exempted from social security deductions.

FOR NEW SOCIAL AND CULTURAL PROGRESS. GREATER ATTENTION TO YOUTH NEEDED

Society should provide all young people with equal opportunities for education in accordance with their capabilities and interests, irrespective of domicile and social or economic position. Hence the need for a revision of the scholarship and tuition fees system.

All education should conform to modern demands. The elementary school should give equal general education to all, and the secondary school should be reorganized to enable everyone to continue their education. The state should contribute more to the construction of advanced-type schools specializing in trades or theoretical subjects.

BUILD MORE HOUSES

Housing construction should be brought to at least 40,000 new flats a year and maintained at that level, so that young people would not have to spend years waiting for a flat before getting married. State housing bank loans should be increased and carry a low interest if housing construction is to be carried on at an adequate level and cost not more than is socially admissible. Relief loans should be interest-free and in some cases cancelled altogether.

FOR HIGHER OLD-AGE AND DISABILITY PENSIONS

The implementation of the State Pension Law is one of the most important tasks, and it is nearing completion. Already steps have to be taken to preclude misunderstandings. All disabled and aged people, including those who have reached or are reaching the pension age, should be entitled to all privileges provided for in the State Pension Law. No one should be denied these privileges on the ground that he or she is "too old" already.

The transition to the full state pension can be completed within ten years without increasing social security deductions. Other tasks facing society should not overshadow the importance of this social problem.

The pension age in Norway is higher than in most other countries. It should be lowered to 65 years.

CULTURE AND SCIENCE

Substantial financial help is needed to promote culture and science. Economic difficulties should not be evoked as a hindrance to cultural development.

LEISURE AND RECREATION

The beauty of nature should be accessible to all people. Territories suitable for public use should be allocated on the seacoast, in the forests and mountains.

NORWAY AND PEACE

Within the lifetime of one generation we have lived through two world wars which brought great suffering and loss of human lives. The danger of a new world war, which will be waged with nuclear weapons, again hangs over us. This makes it a duty of every people to do everything to safeguard peace.

The Communist Party of Norway will fight to cut military expenditure considerably, prohibit the participation of foreign troops in military exercises on Norwegian territory, and remove from it

installations serving the troops of other states. The pledge to keep atomic weapons out should be kept under all circumstances.

Norway should in every way resist further atomic armament and any treaties in a NATO multilateral nuclear force which will mean nuclear proliferation of atomic weapons, whatever the form of this force. Norway should assist in solving the German problem by recognizing the existence of the two German states, categorically dissociating itself from any form of revival of German militarism, and rejecting any idea of a revenge and a revision of the borders.

It is a pressing task to make every effort towards a treaty on the establishment of an atom-free zone in the North, as a step to be followed in the rest of Europe and throughout the world.

Norway's membership of NATO restricts our independence and makes us share the responsibility for the imperialist policy of the great NATO powers. The Communist Party of Norway will exert every effort to pull Norway out of NATO and prevent it from being drawn into any other supranational blocs, which only restrict the Norwegian people's right to self-determination. It will depend on the Storting we elect whether Norway will take advantage of a right provided for in the North Atlantic Treaty and to withdraw from NATO. The CPN stands for using this right and for holding a referendum on this question before the Storting takes its decision.

Norway should become a neutral country, disalign itself and, jointly with its neighbors, make the territory of all the Nordic countries neutral. Freed from the influence of the great powers, a neutral North could greatly contribute to the cause of peace and mutual understanding among the peoples.

At the same time, the economic resources of the country could be used for peaceful purposes — both for Norway's own development and for help to economically backward countries. Pending general controlled disarmament, Norway should set up, to protect its neutrality, national defense forces based on the arming of the entire people and on local defense detachments, with the utilization of the natural conditions of the country.

The CPN will work for a Norwegian initiative towards easing international tension and securing disarmament. Norway should broaden cooperation with the socialist countries and the new states of Asia and Africa. In the U.N., Norway should strive to strengthen this organization as an instrument of cooperation of *all* the peoples, an organization based on the recognition of the sovereignty of each country.

* * *

In this program the Communist Party of Norway has stated the goals for which it will fight in the forthcoming general election. A policy in the spirit of this program would bring the genuine renovation demanded by our time — *socialist renovation.*

FOR UNITY OF ACTION IN DEFENSE OF THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

RESOLUTION OF THE MEETING OT THE CC, CP OF FINLAND*

The government's domestic and economic policy favoring the big proprietors hampers the development of the country. Thousands of workers have no permanent job; tens of thousands of skilled workers and even college graduates are compelled to look for employment abroad. Capital created by the labor of the people is taken out of the country, although it is badly needed at home for housing construction, ensuring permanent employment, building new educational establishments, promoting culture and improving social security. An incorrect foreign trade policy is pursued, with reliance on international cartel agreements which restrict export, import and production, create additional difficulties for the industries catering to the home and partially foreign markets, and result in unemployment and a growing foreign trade deficit. Hundreds of millions of marks are spent on advertising the national industry, but the government's foreign trade policy undermines it.

The Communist Party of Finland considers that all the progressive forces should unite and fruitfully cooperate to bring domestic and economic policy into conformity with our national interests.

The economic and political power of big capital should be restricted. Only then will it be possible to develop the national industry and improve the living standard of the people. Solutions to problems can be found through the cooperation of various social and political forces, above all that of the working class and its organizations.

Our Party proposed that the parties of the working class hold negotiations. Given unity of action, the working class and its organizations will be strong enough to win wage increases in step with the growth of prices, a 40-hour week, and satisfaction of their demands as regards the taxes and social and other problems.

Unity of action will develop from a frank discussion and talks between members of the parties and between party organs on the basis of the political and ideological independence of the sides. Any agreements involving the workers and their organizations should be decided upon by the workers themselves. Sound relations between represenatives of the different parties and all the working people will be strengthened in the course of everyday

*Kansan uutiset, June 15, 1965.

practical activity. Encouraging results in defending the interests of the working people have already been achieved in enterprises, public organizations, communal organs and parliamentary groups.

The Finnish people want well-paid work and good dwellings. They want their standard of living to grow steadily. They strive for broader democracy, for firm friendship with the neighboring countries, and for a policy of peace. Paving, together with the working people, the way for the achievement of these aims, the CPF urges every one to join in the struggle for ensuring a just and secure life to our people.

Central Committee, Communist Party of Finland

JOINT COMMUNIQUE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES OF BOLIVIA AND ARGENTINA*

The Communist parties of Bolivia and Argentina, represented by duly authorized delegations, exchanged opinions on some aspects of the situation in their respective countries, the aggressive policy of U.S. imperialism and especially its renewed open offensive against the peoples of Latin America.

Both parties consider that the U.S. imperialists' intervention and crimes in South Vietnam, their piratical armed aggression against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, their blockade of socialist Cuba and their constant threats to invade that country, the brutal invasion and occupation of the Dominican Republic by U.S. Marines, as a result of which 3,000 people are reported to have been killed and 10,000 wounded, testify that the U.S. government headed by Lyndon Johnson is pursuing more and more brazenly the aggressive policy of the ultra-reactionary imperialist monopolies, guided by the Pentagon's bellicose plans for world domination.

The Communist parties of Bolivia and Argentina note that, U.S. imperialism, as the facts show, refuses to tolerate any government which does not submit to it unconditionally. As can be seen from the events in Latin America, it inspires, prepares and stages coups whenever it wants to depose a constitutional government which does not fully obey its dictates. It employs diverse means of pressure to force such governments to capitulate; when it fails in this, it implants "gorilla" juntas, loyal servants of the Pentagon. Such was the case in Brazil, and such is the U.S. imperialists' aim in the Dominican Republic. The same threat faces other governments which do not draw on broad popular support to rebuff the U.S. colonialists.

As regards the Dominican Republic, whose people resisted and continue to resist this pressure, the U.S. imperialists have sent more that 40,000 troops to occupy part of its territory and to crush the heroic struggle of its people against the pro-U.S. Trujillist junta. Having failed to achieve their ends, they are seeking to form a puppet government of traitors as a screen for perpetuating the occupation and strengthening their hold on the island with the help of a Guantanamo-like military base to be set up for aggressive actions against any Latin American people rising to defend their freedom and national independence.

Acting in open violation of the U.N. Charter, the U.S. government uses the Organization of American States — its Ministry for

*Nuestra Palabra, June 2, 1965.

Colonies — to establish a permanent Pentagon-controlled inter-American force, which is a threat to Latin American and world peace.

What is now taking place in the Dominican Republic is a rehearsal in the use of such an occupation force. Its purpose is to camouflage the occupation of a part of Dominican territory by U.S. troops, to provoke fratricidal clashes between the troops of some Latin American countries, on the one hand, and the heroic Dominican fighters, on the other, and thereby sow enmity among the Latin American peoples and strengthen U.S. domination over them.

The peoples of Latin America and all the world are beginning to see that U.S. imperialism, already branded as the world gendarme, has became a butcher of the Latin American peoples, who must drive it out of their countries if they value their freedom and national independence.

The Communist parties of Bolivia and Argentina fully agree that the sacred duty of all who strive for freedom and national independence is to do everything in their power to foil this barbarous policy of neo-colonialist aggression; to demand the immediate withdrawal of the U.S. occupation force and the OAS troops from the Dominican Republic; to prevent Latin American governments from sending their troops against the Dominican or any other people who, like the people of Bolivia, are fighting for their freedom and independence; to enable the Dominican people to rid themselves of the aggressors and freely choose their political and economic system.

The Communist parties of Bolivia and Argentina consider that the large-scale offensive undertaken by the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen to suppress the liberation struggle of the Latin American peoples is an indication of weakness and not of strength. The aim of the U.S. imperialists, which they will never attain, is to prevent the success of the mounting struggle for bread, well-paid work, social progress, national independence and peace. The two Communist parties note with satisfaction that the struggle of the Latin American peoples is part of the common anti-imperialist struggle against the policy of aggression and war, and regard it as their duty to help intensify this struggle.

The delegation of the CC CPB informed the delegation of the CC CPA in detail of the grave situation in Bolivia, where the working class and the people generally are courageously resisting brutal repressions by the pro-U.S. military junta. The Communist Party of Bolivia declares that its country is faced with the threat of direct military intervention on the part of U.S. imperialism, which is out to prevent the victory of the working class and the people generally in their patriotic struggle to establish a popular, democratic and progressive government.

...e delegation of the CC CPA took note of the communication of the Bolivian comrades and assured them of its fraternal revolutionary solidarity and the firm determination of the CPA to launch large-scale work to explain what is happening in Bolivia and to rally the working class and the entire people for a campaign of active solidarity with the working class, the people and the Communist Party of Bolivia.

The delegation of the CC CPA informed the delegation of the fraternal Communist Party of Bolivia of the democratic and progressive nature of the struggle waged by the working class and the people generally of Argentina for their pressing economic, political, social and cultural demands, and to prevent the Argentinian army from being placed at the service of the U.S. colonialists. The delegation of the CC CPA told the Bolivian delegation how the working class, the militant students and the entire Argentinian people are resolutely fighting for their vital demands and for deep-going political and economic changes; how at workers' meetings, in universities (including the National University of Buenos Aires), in the National Congress and in street meetings and demonstrations the Argentinian people declare their unbending will to combat imperialism and demonstrate their active solidarity with the fraternal people of the Dominican Republic.

The two delegations consider that unity of the world Communist movement is decisive in the common struggle against imperialism. In this connection they reaffirm their support of the decisions of the Conference of the Latin American Communist parties and the proposal to hold a Consultative Conference of the 81 Communist and Workers' parties.

The Communist parties of Bolivia and Argentina emphasize the importance at the present time of the decisions of the Conference of the Latin American Communist Parties, which stress that "the unity of each party is a necessary condition for the further development of the revolutionary process in the country concerned," and which resolutely condemn all splitting activity, whatever its origin and purpose.

The delegations declare that they will do everything in their power to promote the coordination of the struggle of the democratic, patriotic and progressive forces in defense of peace, against U.S. imperialist aggression in any part of the world.

The delegations note with satisfaction the complete coincidence of their views on all the problems discussed.

DOCUMENTS OF THE SECOND CONFERENCE OF THE INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION COMMITTEE FOR SOLIDARITY WITH THE WORKERS AND PEOPLE OF VIETNAM AGAINST THE AMERICAN IMPERIALIST AGGRESSORS

RESOLUTION

The Second Conference of the International Trade Union Committee for Solidarity with the Workers and People of Vietnam against the American imperialist aggressors met from June 2 to 7, 1965 in Hanoi, capital of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The Conference was attended by representatives of the WFTU, Trade Union Internationals, the All-African Trade Union Federation and representatives of trade unions in 50 countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America, Europe, Australasia and representatives of the North American workers.

The Conference heard the report of activities of the Secretariat of the International Trade Union Committee, reports of the Federation of Trade Unions of Vietnam and the South Vietnam Labor Liberation Federation, as well as speeches by delegates.

The Conference noted with indignation that the American imperialists continued to step up and spread the war of aggression in Vietnam.

For eleven years the American imperialists have been systematically sabotaging the 1954 Geneva Agreements. They brought to South Vietnam all types of war equipment and tens of thousands of soldiers, they are making use of toxic chemicals and gas, destroying crops and massacring the civilian population. They are perpetrating the most abominable crimes against the South Vietnamese people in order to subjugate them, to make South Vietnam a colony of a new type and an American military base and to prolong the division of Vietnam indefinitely. They have started raids from the air and the sea against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and have declared Vietnam and the strip of sea along the coast "a combat zone" of the American forces, in violation of all standards of international law and threatening the independence and sovereignty of a democratic, free and peace-loving state.

The Conference energetically condemns these criminal acts of

aggression by the American imperialists and forcefully deplores the lying and hypocritical statements of President Johnson containing cynical proposals for "discussions without conditions" by which he seeks to conceal and carry on the American imperialists' criminal policy of aggression.

The Conference underlines that these facts demonstrate even more clearly that American imperialism is the major force of aggression and war, the worst enemy of all peoples.

The Conference greets the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front and its Liberation Army which is winning more and more striking victories every day and hails the fact that already four-fifths of South Vietnam with more than 10 million inhabitants has been liberated. It salutes the magnificent successes of the South Vietnam Labor Liberation Federation which rallies within its ranks workers in the cities still controlled by the American imperialists and those in the liberated regions in the struggle for national liberation.

While hailing the heroic fight of the South Vietnamese people, the Conference states its deep admiration for the splendid victories of the people and army of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam against the American imperialists' acts of aggression.

The Conference considers that the just fight of the workers and people of Vietnam against the American aggressors is a fine example and a great encouragement of the liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples, a considerable contribution to the preservation of peace in Southeast Asia and in the world.

It fully endorses the position contained in the five points of the Declaration of the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front of March 22, 1965, and in the four points of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam of April 8, 1965, and considers that these are the only valid proposals for the settlement of the Vietnamese problem.

On these bases, the Conference resolves to promote the struggle of the workers and their trade union organizations for:

—an immediate end to American aggression;

—the immediate withdrawal of American troops and the liquidation of their military bases in South Vietnam;

—an immediate end to the bombing, strafing and other acts of aggression against the DRV;

—respect for and application of the Geneva Agreements by the American government;

—the settlement of South Vietnamese affairs by the South Vietnamese people themselves without foreign interference and on the basis of the political program of the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front;

—recognition of the South Vietnamese NLF as the only and authentic representative of the South Vietnamese people;

—settlement of the problem of the peaceful re-unification by the people of the two zones of Vietnam without any foreign interference.

The Conference condemns and repudiates any maneuver towards intervention by the UNO, and all attempts towards the intervention of foreign armed forces in the problem of Vietnam, as well as any other solution contrary to the spirit of the position expressed in the Declaration of the South Vietnamese NLF of March 22, 1965, and in that of the Government of the DRV of April 8, 1965. It admires the determination of the Vietnamese people who will not stop their fight until the American aggressors put an end to aggression against their country.

The Conference notes that while endorsing the position of the workers and people of Vietnam, the workers of the world and their trade unions have undertaken and are multiplying all types of support and solidarity with the Vietnamese people.

The Conference notes that the most diverse campaigns are being organized all over the world: collections of money, medicaments, clothing, foodstuffs, letters and telegrams, meetings and protest demonstrations against American aggression and in support of the NLF as well as boycott movements such as the refusal to load American arms and ammunition going to South Vietnam. The workers of certain countries have sent money to the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front to purchase arms.

Inspired by the declaration of the South Vietnamese NLF of March 22, 1965, in many countries, workers, young people and women are enlisting to go and fight as volunteers by the side of the South Vietnamese people, should the need arise and should the South Vietnamese NLF so desire. The Conference appreciates this movement as a powerful demonstration of solidarity and working class internationalism.

The Conference notes that even in the United States trade union and other mass organizations as well as broad sections of the people and various personalities, who are increasingly aware that American imperialist aggression in Vietnam jeopardizes the prestige and national interests of the American people, are protesting against the American Government's policy of aggression and in support of the just cause of the Vietnamese people's struggle.

The Conference notes that the significant successes of the socialist countries, the fights of the working class in the capitalist countries against the imperialist monopolies, the growing fight of the workers and peoples on all continents against imperialism, headed by American imperialism, constitute an action which goes hand

in hand with that of the Vietnamese people for whom this is an important help.

Therefore, the Conference, while giving its unconditional support to the just struggle of the people of Laos against American aggression, for national salvation, insists on adherence to the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Laos by the United States, an end to American aggression in all its forms, the right of the Laotian people to settle their own affairs. It supports the Khmer people who are fighting courageously against provocations and acts of aggression by the American imperialists and their lackeys, in defense of their national dignity, neutrality, territorial integrity and peace. It supports the fight of the Chinese people against the occupation of Taiwan by the American imperialists and for its return to the mother country. It supports the fight of the people of Indonesia, North Kalimantan and Malaya against the British-American product of neocolonialism in the form of "Malaysia." It supports the fight of the Japanese people against American imperialism and reaction at home. It supports the fight of the Arab peoples against American imperialism and its instrument, the Government of Israel, and demands the return of the Palestinian Arab peoples to their country of origin. It supports the liberation struggle of the people of Oman, South Yemen and Cyprus, Congo (Leopoldville), Angola, Portuguese Guinea and Mozambique. It supports the fight of the South African people against racial segregation and discrimination. It firmly condemns American imperialist armed aggression against the Dominican Republic and supports the just struggle of that people against the aggressors. It supports the armed and political fight of the peoples of Venezuela, Colombia, Bolivia, Guatemala, Honduras and other Latin American countries against the political and economic domination by American neocolonialism. It supports the fight of the Cuban people against the military provocations and the economic blockade by American imperialism. It supports the fight of the Negroes in the United States against racial discrimination. It supports the fight of the people of the GDR against the revival of West German militarism and the plan for a multilateral nuclear force.

In order to stimulate solidarity and moral and material support to the Vietnamese people, the Conference calls on the workers and trade unions in all countries to organize vaster and more effective actions for the following:

1) More extensive propaganda activities, to condemn and deplore energetically American imperialist aggression against Vietnam as well as all political intrigues;

2) Popularize widely and thoroughly the position of the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front and that of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam;

3) Greater mass actions by the workers and other sections of the people by the use of all suitable forms: meetings, rallies, gatherings, street demonstrations, work stoppages, strikes, boycotting of transports of troops of the American aggressors as well as their arms, etc., to express solidarity and support to the Vietnamese people, against the criminal aggression by American imperialism against the entire Vietnamese people;

4) A wide and varied movement of support and solidarity to offer material aid by collections and subscriptions so as to provide the South Vietnamese Labor Liberation Union rapidly with medicaments, foodstuffs, clothing, etc., and especially funds giving the South Vietnamese NLF the means to reinforce its fighting force so as to achieve a speedier victory over the American aggressors.

The delegates at the Conference decided to organize on July 20, 1965, the 11th anniversary of the 1954 Geneva Agreements, and on December 20, 1965, the 5th anniversary of the establishment of the South Vietnamese NLF, vast campaigns in support and solidarity with the Vietnamese people's struggle.

The Conference is certain that fortified by the will for unity and struggle of the entire Vietnamese people, for growing solidarity of all peace and justice-loving peoples in the world, the workers and peoples of South Vietnam will most definitely triumph over aggressive American imperialism and that the people of the DRV will most certainly defeat the aggression of American imperialism. Vietnam is bound to be unified. Peace will be saved in Indo-China and in Southeast Asia.

APPEAL TO THE WORKERS AND TRADE UNIONS OF THE WORLD

Workers and trade unions throughout the world,

For almost eleven years the American imperialists have been and still are waging the dirtiest and most atrocious war of aggression in the world in the hope of imposing their domination over the people of South Vietnam, of changing South Vietnam into a colony of a new type and into an American military base and to perpetuate the division of Vietnam.

Now they have decided to intensify and to spread the war of aggression, which is an extremely dangerous war, in Vietnam, making the situation there especially grave and directly threatening peace in Indo-China, in Southeast Asia and in the world.

The heroic people of South Vietnam, who prefer death to slavery, have risen in a highly courageous fight, capturing arms from the enemy, delivering blows with their own weapons and going from

one victory to another, have caused them the greatest set-backs so that they are up to their neck in hot water.

In face of this desperate situation the American imperialists cling to South Vietnam with all their might. They are now feverishly bringing in thousands of tons of arms, tens of thousands of American soldiers and mercenaries from South Korea, Taiwan, the Philippines, Australia and Malaysia so as to involve the latter directly in the battle. They have gone so far as using toxic gas to massacre the people of South Vietnam.

In addition, they are openly sending hundreds of planes, warships to bomb and strafe North Vietnam round-the-clock, massacring the civilian population and killing women and children. Besides, they have started a blockade of the coast of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and are strenuously preparing their further military adventures. Moreover, they are systematically stepping up their war of aggression in Laos and are organizing provocations and threats to Cambodia.

All these latest acts of aggression and war provocations committed by the American imperialists have not only broken the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam, all standards of international law while cynically attacking the independence and freedom of the Vietnamese people and other peoples of Indo-China, but are a serious challenge to the socialist camp, to the liberation movement of all peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America and the whole of peace, freedom and justice-loving mankind.

In spite of this, President Lyndon B. Johnson has shamelessly dared to accuse the North of "invading the South," and has made statements on "peace" and "negotiations" to serve as a smoke-screen to conceal the American imperialists' crime. However, all these intrigues, ingenious as they may be, cannot deceive anyone. On the contrary, they only increase the hatred of the workers and all progressive forces throughout the world, they invigorate their solidarity and support for the workers and people of Vietnam fighting against the American imperialists.

Our Conference declares that in this situation the South Vietnamese people have the right to drive out the American imperialists, to liberate South Vietnam and restore its right to settle its domestic affairs alone. It declares that each Vietnamese, in the South as in the North, has the right to fulfil his sacred duty to his country, a duty which is to rise and take up arms to fight the American pirates who have seized his country. Vietnam is one, the Vietnamese people are one, nothing can divide them.

The American imperialists, furious and headstrong, cannot prevent the patriotic people of Vietnam from continuing their heroic fight until fintl victory.

Workers and trade unions throughout the world,

The fight of the workers and people of Vietnam against the American imperialists, for the salvation of their country, is a shining example and a significant and inseparable part of the struggle of the workers and people of the world against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism, headed by American imperialism, for peace, national independence, trade union rights, democratic liberties and social progress.

That is why the workers and peoples of the world regard this as their own struggle and have the urgent duty to support the patriotic fight which the workers and people of Vietnam are conducting against the American imperialists until final victory.

This explains why the Second Conference of the International Trade Union Committee for Solidarity with the Workers and People of Vietnam against the American imperialist aggressors met in Hanoi from June 2 to 7, 1965.

Workers and trade unions of the world,

We urgently call upon you to condemn and deplore to world public opinion the policy of intensifying and extending the criminal war and all sorts of political intrigues by the American imperialists in Vietnam, by using various forms of struggle such as meetings, declarations, letters of protest, demonstrations, work stoppages and strikes . . .

The Conference appeals to you to protest against the American imperialists' war of aggression in Vietnam, to support in every possible way the patriotic, just and inevitably victorious fight of the Vietnamese people, to demand that the American imperialists withdraw from South Vietnam, stop their raids on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and strictly adhere to the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam.

We call on all workers and trade unions in the countries under direct domination of the American imperialists or subjected to their influence to fight so as to stop the American imperialists from using them as cannon fodder in their aggressive war in Vietnam.

Refuse to transport arms, war equipment, American troops and those of the satellite countries sent to massacre your brothers in Vietnam.

Demand emphatically the dismantling of all American military bases in your country, to prevent the American imperialists from using them for their aggressive war in Vietnam.

In doing so, you will help to check and frustrate the policy of aggression and war of the American imperialists in Vietnam.

The Conference calls on the working class and on all working people in all countries to give their even stronger and more ef-

fective support to the just struggle of the workers and people of Vietnam against the aggressive American imperialists and more particularly, to endorse the Declaration of the South Vietnamese NFL of March 22, 1965, to offer aid both moral and material to the workers and people of Vietnam in different forms suited to the situation and conditions in each country, so as to increase their fighting capacity and achieve speedier final victory over the aggressive American imperialists.

Take an active part in the Week of Solidarity and Support in favor of the fight of the Vietnamese workers and people against the American imperialists, to be observed on the occasion of July 20, 1965, the 11th anniversary of the Geneva Agreements and December 20, 1965, the fifth anniversary of the foundation of the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front.

So as to coordinate your activities with the fight of the workers and people of Vietnam, encourage in your own countries the struggle against imperialism and colonialism, headed by American imperialism, the bulwark of the reactionary forces in the world.

In order to accomplish the historical and great mission of the working class and workers of the whole world, to assist the magnificent fight of the peoples for independence, democracy, peace and social progress, workers and trade unions of the world, let us try to fulfil our international duty towards the workers and people of Vietnam and let us add our great share to the fight so as to foil the criminal war of the warmongering and aggressive American imperialists:

—Firm support to the Vietnamese people to defeat the aggressive American imperialists!

—The American imperialists must withdraw from South Vietnam and put a stop to their raids on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam!

—Long live the liberation struggle of all oppressed peoples!

—Long live world peace!

—Workers of all land, unite!

MESSAGE TO THE WORKERS AND PEOPLE OF SOUTH VIETNAM

Dear Friends,

At a time when the American imperialists are intensifying and spreading their war of aggression in South Vietnam in a senseless manner, thereby seeking to find a way out from their desperate position and to escape their defeat, at a time when the Vietnamese people are winning increasingly striking successes in their patriotic resistance the *Second Conference of the International Trade Union*

Committee for Solidarity with the Workers and People of Vietnam Against the American Imperialist Aggressors met in Hanoi from June 2 to 7, 1965, to demonstrate a spirit of unshakeable international solidarity with and strong support of the workers and people of the whole world with your admirable patriotic resistance, as well as with all the workers and people of Vietnam in their fight against the American imperialists' aggressive war in Vietnam.

On behalf of the working class and the workers of the world, we send you our fraternal greetings and active solidarity.

We should like to express to you our admiration and congratulate you from the bottom of our hearts for the firm and indefectible fighting spirit of the Liberation Army, the workers and people of heroic South Vietnam who, under the banner of the National Liberation Front, have achieved magnificent results and far-reaching all-round successes, especially lately.

We are filled with enthusiasm by the fact that the working class and workers of South Vietnam under the leadership of the South Vietnam Labor Liberation Union, has promoted a continuous revolutionary vanguard spirit of their class and has made an exemplary contribution to the war of resistance against American aggression, for the salvation of their country. We particularly hail the spirit of the heroic fight of the working class, of the working people and of the South Vietnamese Liberation Army who have excluded from the fighting hundreds of thousands of enemy troops, destroyed almost all strategic hamlets, thus saving millions of inhabitants from camouflaged concentration camps, liberating a large part of the territory of the South, continuously attacking the many military bases, defeating many raids by the American imperialists and the puppet army, inflicting increasing defeats on the U.S. "special war" in South Vietnam.

Dear Friends,

Taking their place heroically in the front line of the fight against the American imperialists, the South Vietnamese workers and people are making sacrifices not only for their fatherland, but also for national independence, democracy and social progress of the working class and people of the world.

Your fight against the American imperialists for the salvation of your country is a shining example of ardent patriotism and iron determination of a people resolved to restore its right to live and to its independence; this offers a great contribution to the defense of world peace. By your struggle, you are illustrating this truth of our time, namely, that a nation, small as it may be, united and determined to rise in a struggle following a correct line, will inevitably triumph over any aggressor, including the American

imperialists. The war of the people you are waging with far more ingenious, varied and efficient methods, has caused the U.S. imperialist aggressors defeat after defeat. It proves that the force of war of a people, the force of men determined to fight for the independence and freedom of their country, is invincible. This explains why your victorious fight gives great encouragement and offers an invaluable lesson to the common struggle of the workers and peoples of the world against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, headed by American imperialism.

Your fine struggle, surrounded with the glory of a just cause, will most definitely be victorious. We consider your patriotic fight against American aggression as a common fight of the workers and peoples of the world, and our support of this fight as our sacred international duty.

We are pleased to note that the movement of the workers and trade unions in various countries to support the workers and people of South Vietnam has grown rapidly and has spread to all continents, taking on the most varied forms of struggle: resolutions, letters of sympathy, demonstrations, strikes, boycott movements to protest against the policy of aggression of the U.S. imperialists in South Vietnam, collections of money, medicaments, clothing and arms, the offer of volunteers to go and fight in Vietnam in order to support the heroic war of resistance of the South Vietnamese people until complete victory.

At this Conference of the Committee we decided to continue to give an even stronger impetus to the international movement of solidarity with the workers and people of Vietnam. The Conference unanimously approved the general resolution, the appeal to the workers and trade unions of the whole world, the message to the workers and people of the United States in order to stimulate to an unprecedented degree a movement in support of the Vietnamese people in their patriotic fight against American imperialism, both morally and materially. We entirely endorse the correct position towards a solution of the Vietnamese problem which has been clearly set forth in the 4-point proposals of the National Assembly of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and in the 5-point declaration of the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front of March 22, 1965.

We wholeheartedly respond to the appeal of the National Liberation Front for the necessary moral and material aid to reinforce its fighting capacity so as to achieve early final victory over the American imperialist aggressors, depending on the circumstances and special conditions in each country.

The Conference of the Committee launches an urgent appeal to the workers and trade union movements in various countries, especially the USA and in the countries whose governments are in the

wake of the Americans in their unjust war of aggression against South Vietnam, to take the most appropriate fighting measures as suited to their circumstances to give effective support to Vietnam.

We firmly assure you that in fulfilling their international working class duty, the workers and trade union movements in various countries are unflinchingly and energetically supporting the fight against American imperialism waged for the salvation of the country by the workers and people of South Vietnam until final victory.

We are confident that the force of the Vietnamese people's just cause will triumph over aggressive American imperialism.

With the firm determination to fight the U.S. imperialists for national salvation, with the tireless will for unity of the entire people, with the clear and just political line of the National Liberation Front, the only authentic and legal representative of the heroic South Vietnamese people, with the support of your North Vietnamese brothers who are with you body and soul, with the sympathy and strong backing of the workers and peoples of the whole world, you will most definitely triumph over the aggressive American imperialists. South Vietnam will definitely be free. Vietnam will be reunified. The working class and working people of South Vietnam will fulfil their historic role of national liberation with honor.

MESSAGE TO THE WORKERS AND PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Dear Friends,

The 2nd Conference of the International Trade Union Committee for Solidarity with the Workers and People of Vietnam against the aggressive American imperialists, held in Hanoi, capital of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, from June 2 to 7, 1965, sends its greetings of solidarity in the common fight to you, to the workers and various sections of the American people who are daily participating in ever greater numbers in the fight against the dirty war conducted by the Johnson administration in Vietnam.

As you know, the 1954 Geneva Agreements solemnly recognized the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Vietnam; they restored peace and stipulated that within two years, i.e., by July 20, 1965, there should be free general elections with the aim of the peaceful re-unification of Vietnam.

However, the American imperialists did not respect their commitments and did their utmost to make South Vietnam a satellite country. They prevented and sabotaged the peaceful reunification of Vietnam and launched the most cruel and ruthless war now being waged in the world.

In face of the acts of repression and oppression committed by the American invaders, during the past eleven years the workers and people of South Vietnam, under the leadership of the National Liberation Front, have been waging a heroic struggle against the American imperialists and their puppets for freedom and independence, under the most difficult conditions.

In the name of so-called "freedom" which in actual fact means the violation of the democratic liberties of other nations, Washington has employed the most modern weapons and all types of war equipment to massacre the people of South Vietnam.

In order to increase the aggressive war in South Vietnam the Johnson Government has brought in tens of thousands of American soldiers to participate directly in the war. It has furthermore brought in large quantities of modern weapons and war equipment, including bombers and rockets. It is organizing systematic raids, making use of napalm bombs and toxic chemicals to kill the inhabitants and to destroy crops and vegetation. Lately it has even gone so far as to employ toxic gas to kill the South Vietnamese people, a method of warfare long banned by humanity.

While showing complete contempt for the 1954 Geneva Agreements and for international law, the Johnson administration has deliberately spread the war to North Vietnam. It is sending dozens of bombers and warships to bomb and machine-gun populated regions, urban centers, villages and hamlets around the clock and has perpetrated further atrocious crimes against the people of North Vietnam. American planes have bombed and strafted indiscriminately schools, hospitals, churches, pagodas and markets, massacring old people, women and children on their way to school, sick persons undergoing treatment in hospitals and innocent people.

The American government's acts of war have considerably worsened the situation in Vietnam and there is the danger that the flames of war will spread throughout Indochina, Southeast Asia and the whole world. They will most definitely have disastrous effects for the American people.

In order to conceal and to justify this criminal war of aggression, President Johnson has on several occasions made fallacious statements on the so-called "good will for peace," on "peace negotiations" and so forth. However, these tricks will not deceive reasonable human beings, workers, intellectuals, scientists, students and all who have been fighting gallantly against the aggressive war in Vietnam and who have opened a public debate on this subject.

The American people themselves have laid bare Johnson's perfidious face and have fought his deceitful statements effectively.

We are confident that the American workers and people will

expose and repudiate all intrigues aimed at intervention by the United Nations as well as all attempts to use foreign troops to interfere in the domestic affairs of Vietnam just as any other solution which clashes with the position contained in the declaration of the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front of March 22, 1965, and in that of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam of April 8, 1965.

Following the repeated setbacks suffered in South Vietnam, the American imperialists have spread their war to North Vietnam. They are using the ridiculous argument of a "continued aggression of North Vietnam against neighboring countries." They also accused the DRV of "having attacked their military bases in South Vietnam" so as to justify the dirty war they are conducting.

Nevertheless, they had to acknowledge that their military bases have been established in South Vietnam in defiance of the wishes of the local population; that the Vietnamese are in their own country whereas the Americans are thousands of miles from theirs and that, consequently, the Americans are the aggressors in South Vietnam.

Under such an untenable situation it is not surprising that the workers and people of South Vietnam have risen in an extremely heroic fight to defeat their enemy. In view of the tremendous efforts made by an entire people, determined to fight to the very end, it is clear that Washington and its lackeys will not have the last say in the war in South Vietnam.

The policy of the United States on the Indochinese peninsula will inevitably end in a defeat and the American leaders know this perfectly well. They know that no military operation can bring them victory.

The adventurous and inhuman methods of the Johnson administration will definitely have far worse consequences for the United States. We are certain that you will step up the various forms of struggle in order to bring this adventure to an immediate stop. This adventure will not only damage the honor of the U.S. in the eyes of the peoples of the world and shed the blood of Americans, but it will soil the reputation of the United States and will directly and seriously menace the lives of the workers and people of the United States.

On behalf of the workers throughout the world we wish to state our moved feeling and joy at the growing struggle throughout the United States against the policy of the American Government which is intensifying its war in South Vietnam. This movement involves many sections of the American people: workers, young people, women, students, intellectuals, cultural personalities, artists, writers, journalists . . . The forms of struggle are more varied and more militant every day; thousands of teachers and students are

daily sending letters of protest to President Johnson. Some 30,000 American students from all parts of the United States came to Washington to demonstrate outside the White House against the aggressive war waged by the American government in Vietnam and to declare that they would never go to fight in Vietnam. Hundreds of young Americans courageously crossed barbed wire fences to prevent a ship from taking troops and war equipment to Vietman. Lately more than 3,000 well known American intellectuals published a declaration condemning the American Government's aggressive policy in Vietnam and describing this war as an act bringing shame to the honor of the human race. All the peoples of the world are deeply stirred at the news of the death of Mrs. Helga Hertz who burned herself alive in the United States in protest against the American Government's aggressive policy, giving the world an example of magnanimous sacrifice for peace, understanding among the nations and social progress.

The fight of the Vietnamese people against the American imperialists for the preservation of their country, safeguards not only the independence and freedom of the Vietnamese people, but to a large extent assist the common struggle of all peoples for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress. All workers and peoples of the world give their active and all-round support to the just fight of the Vietnamese people. They consider this as their sacred international duty.

We therefore call upon you solemnly to reinforce still further the movement fighting to put an immediate end to the policy of aggression and war conducted by the American Government, in your own interest and for the sake of the honor of the United States, for the cause of independence, freedom and world peace. We appeal to you to insist that the American Government:

1) Adheres strictly to the Geneva Agreements on Vietnam, immediately stops the aggressive war in Vietnam, withdraws all troops, military personnel, arms and other war equipment from South Vietnam.

2) Immediately stops all bombing, strafing and shipping blockade directed against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

3) Gives the South Vietnamese people the right to settle all affairs concerning South Vietnam alone without any outside interference.

4) Recognizes the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front as the only authentic representative of the South Vietnamese people.

5) Leaves the Vietnamese people in the two zones to reunify their country peacefully without any outside interference.

We appeal to you to reinforce the movement fighting for the following:

—Condemn the aggressive policy of the American Government against Vietnam and notify the American people as widely as possible of the truth about the just war waged by the Vietnamese people.

—Refuse to serve in the armed forces sent to Vietnam, refuse to participate in research, manufacture, production and transport of arms and other war equipment going to Vietnam.

—Support the Vietnamese people morally and materially by all means at your disposel.

Dear Friends,

We are confident that our appeal, inspired by the noble ideals of humanity, justice and the aspirations of the peoples for independence and freedom which you cherish dearly, will meet with response in your mind and in your determination, and will be warmly endorsed and vigorously supported.

NOTES

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TO NINTH CONGRESS
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D.N. AIDIT

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REPORT BY NICOLAE CEAUSESCU, GENERAL SECRETARY, CC RCP, TO THE NINTH CONGRESS OF THE RUMANIAN COMMUNIST PARTY*

JULY 19, 1965

The Ninth Congress of the Rumanian Communist Party, an event of historic importance in the life of our country, is taking place at a time of powerful upsurge of the people's creative energy. The documents submitted to the Congress for discussion and approval suggest guidelines for the further development of Rumania, and all the working people are therefore following the deliberations of the Congress with keen attention and boundless trust.

The five years which have passed since the previous congress have been years of great achievements and deep-going changes in the national economy, the structure of society, and the life of the working people.

These years have seen further powerful growth of the productive forces. Socialist industry has been developing at a high rate, ensuring progress in the national economy and in society as a whole. The cooperative movement in agriculture has triumphed completely. It marks a radical change in the life of our peasants and our countryside, a change extending socialist relations of production to the entire national economy.

The complete triumph of socialism in town and country, and the final abolition of the exploitation of man by man are the greatest political victory of our Party since the conquest of state power. It means attainment of the goals for which the finest sons of the working class, of the Rumanian people, fought and sacrificed themselves.

The alliance of the workers and the peasants, the unshakable foundation of our system, has become still more solid and risen to a higher plane. The working class has proved equal to its historical mission as the leading class of the whole of society.

The progress made in the years under review is a fruit of the collective effort of workers, peasants, intellectuals and other working people of every nationality, who are putting the policy of the Party into effect with the utmost resolve.

The Central Committee reports to the Party Congress that the

*Abridged.

main economic tasks set by the Eighth Congress (the Third Congress of the Rumanian Workers' Party) for 1960 to 1965 are being successfully carried out.

Proceeding from the Marxist-Leninist doctrine and taking into account the actual conditions in our country, the Party has focussed its policy on the country's socialist industrialization, which is the basis for the progress of the entire economy and for the all-round development of socialist society, and the decisive factor for national independence and sovereignty. With this aim in view, the Party had steadfastly directed the principal material means and natural resources of the country toward industrial progress, giving priority to heavy industry, primarily engineering.

This year industrial output is 124 per cent greater than in 1959, which means that the assignments of the Six-Year Plan will be exceeded.

Socialist industrialization has been going on at a high rate. The annual rate of growth of industrial production under the Six-Year Plan averages 14.4 per cent instead of the 13 per cent envisaged originally.

The priority given to the production of means of production is evident from the average annual rate of growth in this sector—15.7, which surpasses the growth rate of the whole of industry. Consumer goods production has been growing too—at the average annual rate of roughly 12 per cent.

The main industries have been developing as follows:

Power generation this year is 160 per cent over 1959, installed capacities going up from 1.6 million kw to roughly 3.5 million kw. Great progress has been made in the iron and steel industry; this year steel output is greater by 3.3 million tons, output of alloyed steel has increased three-fold, and the assortment of rolled steel and pipe has also increased. The non-ferrous industry has continued to grow. Special attention has been paid to engineering. This year's output in this industry is 160 per cent greater than in 1959, or more than one quarter of total industrial output. Today it meets two-thirds of the nation's demand for plant. The chemical industry has been allocated almost one-fifth of the total amount of industrial investment, with emphasis on setting up a petrochemical industry. Output of the chemical industry has gone up by 260 per cent and is growing faster than in any other industry.

The light and food industries have been growing simultaneously with the industries producing means of production. Light industry has registered a more than twofold increase and the food industry, an 80 per cent increase.

The use of new machinery and the improvement of production operations and skills have led to an increase of labor productivity in industry as a whole rising by roughly 63 per cent over 1959.

Costs per unit produced have decreased by 18-odd per cent in comparable prices.

The quantitative and qualitative changes which have occurred since 1960 have strengthened the key role of industry in material production. They have ensured the harmonious, proportional and rapid development of the economy and greater productivity of social labor and have contributed to the intensive development of a diversified agriculture, a steady rise in the people's standard of living, and overall advancement of the country.

The cooperative system in agriculture has made it possible to promote this highly important branch, to increase agricultural output in every part of the country and to improve the living conditions of the peasants.

We owe it to the progress of the cooperative system that production of vegetable and animal products has been growing. This is a result of the correct agrarian policy of our Party, of the Party's political and organizing work in the countryside, of steps to support the working peasants, of the industry and skill of the peasants, who have loyally followed the Party. It is also a result of the manner in which we have solved the special problem of well-do-do peasants. With regard to this category, our policy has been to limit its opportunities for exploitation and then to prevail on it to join in the cooperative movement.

The Party and the Government have done much to strengthen the material and technical base of agriculture and to organize production on scientific lines. This year our country has almost 82,000 tractors working in its fields, about 66,000 seeders, over 38,000 combine harvesters and other farm machines. As a result of measures taken by the Central Committee in April 1962, all the agricultural production cooperatives (APCs) have agronomists who in collaboration with animal husbandry experts and other specialists make a valuable contribution to the organization of labor and to increasing output.

Since the establishment of cooperatives was completed their collectively-owned property has increased by 36 per cent and their cash incomes by 37 per cent.

The Party and the Government have allocated ample sums for the material and technical equipment and development of state farms which take up 14 per cent of the farm land area and 16 per cent of the country's arable. State farms set an example of production organization for the APCs. They demonstrate the tremendous resources which our agriculture as a whole commands.

There has been a steady growth of grain production, primarily wheat and corn. Animal husbandry is also on the rise.

Economic progress puts up the national income by almost 65 per cent as against 1959. One-quarter of the national income has

been earmarked for the accumulation fund and three-quarters for the consumption fund.

In the total amount earmarked for accumulation, state investment under the Six-Year Plan has reached 193,000 m. lei, which is 13,000 m. lei more than the amount envisaged originally.

Economic activity has become more effective since 1960. This can be seen, in particular, from the fact that while fixed assets in industry have increased by 70 per cent, output has risen by 124 per cent.

The material and cultural standards of the people have risen with the increase in the consumption fund. Pay increases for all categories have resulted in real wages and salaries increasing by 35 per cent over 1959. The number of factory and office workers has grown by 1,300,000 and the wage fund has doubled. This year the volume of goods sold through the socialist trading network is 90 per cent greater than in 1959.

Since 1960 we have spent 108,000 m. lei, or about one-fourth of the annual budget appropriations, for the social and cultural requirements of the population. The state has financed the construction of 270,000 flats, which is 160 per cent more than in the previous six years. In the countryside, peasants have built about 490,000 houses with their own money. Large sums have been appropriated for improvements and additional facilities in education at all levels, for public health and social security.

Steady economic progress made it possible and necessary to increase foreign trade, which has registered a 130 per cent growth over 1959. Trade with socialist and other countries has expanded in these years.

We owe all our achievements to the devoted labor of our people. The path we have travelled was neither smooth nor easy. We have had to overcome difficulties, our work has not been free from shortcomings.

What should be stressed first of all is that economic efficiency has not always been uppermost in the minds of the economic agencies. In planning certain industrial projects, little was done to find ways of achieving the greatest economic results with the least outlay. A number of projects were long in going into operation, some enterprises did not attain the planned quality and cost indices within the time limits set, and operated below capacity.

You know that the Six-Year Plan targets in crop-farming and animal husbandry have not been reached. This is due, first of all, to the fact that the 9 to 10 per cent average annual rate of growth was too high, having been established without regard to the actual situation in our agriculture and its potentialities.

Economic management and planning bodies occasionally took a subjective approach.

We all know that criticism and self-criticism are an important factor in the development of socialist society. To use them is an objective necessity, for they ensure progress and help to raise our entire work to the level which the task of completing the construction of socialism requires.

We feel deeply satisfied in appraising our progress in socialist construction, in looking back on all that we have accomplished. But we Communists consider that we have to do much more if we want to promote our industrial progress and create a modern agriculture, to catch up with the economically advanced countries, to bring the Rumanian people high material and cultural standards

The Ninth Congress of the RCP will decide on guidelines fo Rumania's development in the next five years, with a view to carrying forward to a higher stage the process of completing socialist construction in every field of economic, scientific and cultural activity.

The Party sees further economic progress as the basis for the general advancement of society. Therefore the Directives, while bearing chiefly on economic activity, are a program for the all-round development of socialist Rumania as far as their content is concerned.

The documents which the Central Committee has submitted to the Congress for discussion and approval are the fruit of the collective thought and effort of the Party and Government leadership, of Party workers and statesmen. Many thousands of people, of specialists in every field, have cooperated in drafting them.

The draft Directives, which express the people's striving for well-being and happiness, were received by the whole country with enthusiasm. They were widely discussed at Party conferences and meetings, in the press, at meetings and conferences of workers, peasants and intelectuals — in short, by the whole people.

With regard to the fundametal problems of our internal development, as well as to international relations, our Party consults the working people by presenting important Party documents to the masses for discussion, by asking the people's opinion. This makes for increasingly close links between the Party and the masses and the for greater socialist democracy. It also puts the policy evolved by the Party on a solid basis—the experience and wisdom of those who implement this policy.

Our Party will continue to concentrate on industrialization, giving priority to heavy industry, primarily engineering.

As industrialization is taking place at a time of scientific and technological revolution throughout the world, we must carry it out by the most progressive technical methods. We must see to it that all the latest achievements of science are put to use in the production sphere, and give pride of place to mechanization and

automation, which are decisive for the establishment of a modern industry and economy.

As industry progresses our towns develop, becoming major economic and cultural centers, the working class grows and becomes increasingly proficient, and its leading role in our socialist society is enhanced. All this has a powerful impact on the life of our society.

Developments have shown that the Party's policy of socialist industrialization, based on the creative application of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine to the specific conditions of our country, is perfectly correct. The experience of the Rumanian people and the history of human progress suggest that industrialization is the only way to progress and culture, to a high standard of living, a way really leading to national independence and sovereignty.

Ever since the Rumanian working-class and socialist movement took its first steps, its prominent leaders have seen industry as an essential condition for the development of the country. But their progressive ideas, which anticipated the road to our people's well-being, could not be translated into reality under bourgeois and landowners rule.

It was the victory of the socialist revolution that paved the way for industrialization. A historical mission—to set up a powerful industry, and on this basis to embark our country on economic and social progress—fell to the lot of the Communist Party. In 1945, shortly after Rumania was freed from fascist tyranny, the Central Committee report presented to the National Conference of the Rumanian Communist Party by Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej stressed the need to industrialize the country. It said: "The development of heavy industry will provide ample opportunities to use the entire labor energy of our people and to create values needed for the rehabilitation and advancement of the country, for better living conditions in town and country."

Having taken power into its hands, and led by its vanguard, the Party, the working class set out in alliance with the peasantry to build a new Rumania that would have a developed industry and advanced agriculture. All the assignments of the new five-year plan are aimed at bringing our country nearer the level of economically developed countries.

The economic policy of the Party and the Government is seen in the planning of the distribution of the national income from 1966 to 1970. Over one-quarter will be contributed to the accumulation fund, to the reinforcement of the material base required for expanded socialist reproduction, and to the further development of the economy, science, culture and public health. The consumption fund, designed to raise the people's standard of living, will take up about three-quarters.

In the next five years the national income will be growing at an average annual rate of roughly 7 per cent. Industrial output will go up by 10.5 per cent a year, which means a continued high rate of industrial development. By the end of the five-year period our country will be taking only twenty-four days to produce as much as it did throughout 1938 — evidence of the tremendous growth of our industrial potential.

As the economic structure changes the role of industry, the key branch of the economy, will increase. In 1970 industry's share in the national income will be 60 per cent against 51 per cent today and 30 per cent in 1938.

In the next five years the number of factory and office workers will exceed five million — an increase of 900,000, of whom 400,000 will be people now engaged in agriculture.

The plan for 1966 to 1970 will ensure an increasingly balanced economic structure — and the harmonious development of every industry. To make expanded socialist reproduction possible, the plan will guarantee the priority growth of the production of means of production at an average annual rate of 11 per cent. Consumer goods production will increase by 10 per cent a year.

To ensure increasing use of new raw materials for the fullest and most effective exploitation of the country's resources will be one of the important plan targets. The Directives call for an expanded stock of raw materials.

We will make a special effort to increase our power resources. This task, which will take longer to fulfil, has necessitated a ten-year program. Power generation will increase at a higher rate than industrial production as a whole. It will be 32,000 to 34,000 million kwh. in 1970 and 55,000 to 60,000 million kwh. in 1975. These results will be achieved chiefly by building new power stations. The hydro-electric station under construction on the Arges will go into operation next year and the last of the twelve power stations of the Bistrita cascade will be completed. In 1970 and 1971 we will put into operation the large hydro-electric and navigation project in the Iron Gate area, which is being built in collaboration with the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. In collaboration with the People's Republic of Bulgaria, we are doing research and designing a hydro-electric station on the Danube, in the Islaz area.

In view of the growing demand for power and the limited supply of primary power, we will in the next few years draw on the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution to begin using nuclear energy for the production of electric and thermal power.

The iron and steel industry will make powerful progress — it will produce 6.3 million tons of steel in 1970. By the end of the

five-year period steel output per capita, which is an important index of a nation's economic power, will be roughly eighteen times as great as in 1938.

We will continue to devote considerable attention to engineering, whose output is to grow by an average of more than 12 per cent a year and will cover the greater part of the five-year program for increased production capacities.

The chemical industry plays an important role in our economic development. In 1970 its output will be increased by roughly 130 per cent, greater than now with the average annual rate of growth at 18.5 per cent. We will continue to lay special emphasis on the development of the petrochemical industry and the high-grade conversion processing of natural gas and oil products into highly valuable products.

The draft Directives provide for a number of measures that should enable the consumer goods industries to meet the growing demand still better. From 1966 to 1970 output in light industry will go up by 50 to 55 per cent and in the food industry, by half. The average annual rate of growth in the two industries will be 8.5 to 9 per cent.

We should do more to improve the quality of consumer goods in keeping with the requirements and tastes of the consumers.

In the next few years we must make a greater effort to improve the quality of products in every economic field, to raise their technical and economic standards. We will continue our effort to raise labor productivity and cut costs and circulation expenses.

By equipping and retooling the enterprises with up-to-date facilities and by improving the workers' skill and the organization of labor, we will by 1970 have raised labor productivity in industry by roughly 40 per cent and increased output by approximately two-thirds. The Five-Year Plan envisages a roughly 10 per cent reduction of production costs in the republic's industry, chiefly by saving raw and other materials, fuel and power.

While pressing forward socialist industrialization, we will do more to raise output in crop-farming and animal husbandry. In the next five years the state will invest over 35,000m. lei in agriculture, or 60 per cent more than from 1961 to 1965. To this amount we should add approximately another 9,000m. lei allocated for the production of chemical fertilizers, pesticides, tractors, farm machines, and building materials for irrigation works.

Total agricultural output in the next five years is planned to increase by roughly 20 per cent over the average index for the previous five-year period.

Greater output of grain and fodder is a major task in agriculture. The development of animal husbandry is another important task. If we make proper use of the favorable conditions we have, we

will be perfectly able by the end of 1970 to increase the cattle population to roughly five million head, including 2.5 million cows, the stock of pigs to more than 6.5 million head and of sheep to roughly 13 million.

In the next five years our state farms should strive to organize their entire production according to the latest scientific methods, so as to obtain increasingly high crop yields, raise highly productive livestock on a large scale and move into a still more important place in the building up of the nation's agricultural stocks. To this end, a substantial proportion of the investments will be spent on expanding the material and technical base of the state farms. To improve the operation of the machine and tractor stations, which are playing an increasingly important part in the implementation of the Party's agricultural policy, we should give them a good deal of attention. The draft Directives envisage setting up fifty-six new MTSs. This means that in 1970 there will be over 320 MTSs equipped with new types of machines and tractors catering to the agricultural production cooperatives. In 1970 the MTSs will have roughly 55 per cent more tractors and roughly 60 per cent more combine harvesters than this year.

Strengthening the APCs organizationally and economically is a constant concern of the Party, which renders them material, technical and scientific assistance. The continuous growth of production in crop- and livestock-farming is a sure way of steadily developing the APCs, raising the peasants' standard of living, and meeting the requirements of the national economy and of the people.

Better forms of organization and remuneration are an important means of consolidating collective property. The APC members' incomes should be more closely linked with production results, with the quality and quantity of labor, so that the public interest and the personal interests of the APC members should combine as harmoniously as possible.

In view of the great importance of the cooperative sector in agriculture, we must improve the management of the APCs by promoting their internal democracy to consolidate them and promote their further progress. This necessitates the formation of inter-cooperative organizations — district and regional associations of APs — and a central agency. Their function should be to coordinate the efforts of the APCs toward increasing production and carrying out such collective measures as land reclamation and irrigation, combating soil erosion, providing material and technical facilities, processing and selling produce, solving certain social and cultural problems, and maintaining contacts between the APCs and other socialist economic organizations.

Since the present model Rules of the APC contain many obsolete provisions, we should draft new Rules and submit the draft

to the membership of the APCs for discussion.

Under the Five-Year Plan, the country's material production will be encouraged and the economic potential increased through state investments totalling 250,000 m. to 260,000 m. lei, or as much as has been invested during the last ten years. This investment is necessary to guarantee a high rate of development of the entire economy. In the next five years we plan to put 750 industrial projects into operation and to carry out large-scale building in agriculture, transport, trade and the social and cultural spheres. The scale and distribution of investments indicate the main lines of the Party's economic policy. Over 80 per cent of the investment total is to go to industry, agriculture and transport.

We intend to invest 144,000 m. lei in industry. About three-quarters of this amount is to go to the power, iron and steel, engineering and chemical industries, for our aim is to give priority to increased production of means of production.

About 17,000 m. lei is to be spent for the light and food industries. The increase in investment in these industries will be greater than in others. To meet the requirements of the national economy in transport and communications facilities, we intend to increase investments by 80 per cent over the previous five-year period.

A special concern of our Party and government bodies is to heighten the effectiveness of investment and of economic activity generally.

In the next few years we will continue to promote all-round fraternal cooperation with the CMEA countries, with all the socialist countries, within the framework of international socialist division of labor. Mutually beneficial economic relations contribute to the development of each socialist country and to the consolidation of the socialist world system.

At the same time, with due regard to labor division on a world scale, Rumania is expanding economic relations with every country irrespective of its social system, on the basis of mutual benefit.

Our all-round economic development in the next five years will result in a more than 40 per cent increase in foreign trade over 1965.

Economic progress and higher productivity of social labor will lead to a growth in the national income in 1970 by roughly 40 per cent over 1965. In the closing year of the Five-Year Plan the per capita national income will be 350 per cent higher than in any pre-war year.

The entire policy of the Party is aimed at raising the people's standard of living. This is why the draft Directives provide for a 20 to 25 per cent increase in real wages in 1970 compared with 1965. Along with greater agricultural production, especially marketable output, there will be an increase in the peasants' real incomes,

which will go up by roughly 20 per cent between 1966 and 1970.

The people's standard of living will be improved through higher incomes for the factory and office workers and the peasants and through the expansion and improvement of social and cultural facilities, including better housing and public services. The benefits of socialism will be enjoyed in increasing measure by every family and every citizen, by the whole of our people.

The program for developing our socialist society in the coming five years and for meeting the growing requirements of the national economy calls for scientific progress, for more extensive and deep-going research, both theoretical and applied, in every field. The Five-Year Plan envisages a further effort to reinforce the material base of our science.

Over 30,000 people will be engaged in research by 1970. The emphasis will be on training research workers in mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, the technical and economic sciences, and some other fields. We propose to set up a National Council for Scientific Research under the Council of Ministers that will concern itself with evolving guidelines and a single program for research and the training of personnel, and with coordinating all activities in this field.

To ensure the success of research, we should encourage frank and constructive exchanges of views on a large scale and in strictly objective, scientific terms.

The cooperation which has developed between Rumanian scientists and those of socialist and other countries are very important. To ensure scientific progress in our country, we must see to it that the best achievements of world science and technology are used in scientific research practice and that there are closer links and more exchanges of experience, information and documentation, so that we should not work on scientific or technical problems that are no longer important.

An important object of the policy of our Party and our state is to expand and improve education at all levels.

In view of the complexity of the problems of economic, scientific and cultural progress, of the task of building the new society, it is an objective necessity to improve forms of organization and methods of leadership.

It is essential that the agencies responsible for economic management and planning should constantly take account of the objective laws operating in society, such as the law of value, or the law of planned and balanced development of the national economy, which is the fundamental economic law of socialism. Ignoring these laws or failing to take them into proper consideration leads to serious mistakes and prejudices the harmonious development of the economy and of society. We must end subjectivism and com-

placency, because they breed conceit and disregard for reality. To carefully study life and new developments is the principal and absolutely necessary requirement of proper economic management and planning.

Collective leadership is the guiding principle in economic activity and planning; it must be applied unfailingly in every field of socialist construction. The drafting of state plans and major economic measures should arise out of collective thought and collective effort by leading personnel, by the more experienced workers and specialists in the fields concerned. Experience shows that the individual cannot solve every problem all by himself, whatever his knowledge and ability; he will at best solve them inadequately.

The Central Committee considers that we must study and devise the most suitable forms and methods of organizing our work, such as will combine personal responsibility and collective leadership both in the central economic bodies and in every enterprise.

Democratic centralism will remain the fundamental principle of activity of the government bodies. It ensures the joining and concentration of all forces, from top to bottom, for the one purpose of promoting the socialist economy, science and culture and advancing the whole of society.

The final victory of socialism in our country has brought deep-going social and economic changes into the entire structure of society, with the result that the 1952 Constitution now in force is no longer adequate. The draft of the new Constitution submitted to the people for discussion reflects these changes and confirms the progress made in socialist construction.

The proposal that our country be called the Socialist Republic of Rumania fully accords with the present stage of development of our system. The draft Constitution bears in mind the unity of our state and stresses that our people, the sovereign holder of all power, are masters of their destiny and of the country's riches, and are consciously making their own history.

As our Party has won the love and unshakable trust of the people, the draft Constitution confirms the role of the Rumanian Communist Party as the leading political force of the whole of society.

Our society is based on socialist ownership of the means of production, which guarantees the all-round development of the country and the prosperity of the people. The draft Constitution guarantees, safeguards and ensures the further development of state property — the property of the whole people — and of cooperative property — the property of cooperative organizations.

Rumania's modern history is intimately linked with the struggles of the working class for political power and for a new society. Upon becoming the leading class of the state, the working class, allied with the working peasantry and led by the Communist Party,

competently carried out the construction of a new society and proved equal to its historical mission. Its numerical growth, improving its technical and general knowledge and its growing class consciousness enhance the role of the working class in building socialism. The draft Constitution confirms that the working class is the leading class of the whole of society.

Thanks to joint labor and the struggle for socialism, the alliance of the working class and the peasantry, the unshakable foundation of our socialist society has risen to a higher plane.

The cooperative system in agriculture has brought radical changes into the social composition of the peasantry, a sizeable segment of the population. Today peasants are a social class inspired by a common desire to foster and achieve the prosperity of cooperative property and to build socialism.

The intellectuals, who have grown in number under the people's democratic system, are contributing to the effort of the whole people shoulder to shoulder with the workers and peasants. The new society is being built according to the latest achievements in science and culture. This is why the intellectuals' contribution to the economic, scientific and cultural progress of the country will increase steadily.

The unity of the workers, peasants, intellectuals and other working people around the Party, irrespective of nationality, is the decisive factor for the splendid achievements of our people. To promote this unity means guaranteeing the success of our further advance to socialism.

With the disappearance of the exploiting classes, our nation has become stronger and more united.

The nation and the state will continue for a long time to form the basis on which socialist society will develop. The development of the nation and the consolidation of the socialist state are in keeping with the objective requirements of social life. Far from conflicting with proletarian internationalism, this is in perfect harmony with its interests, with the principle of the working people's international solidarity, with the cause of socialism and peace. The progress and prosperity of every socialist nation and every equal, sovereign and independent socialist state is an essential condition for greater unity and cohesion of the socialist countries, for their increased impact on mankind in its advance to socialism.

Now that socialist construction is in its closing stage, the state has to play a considerably greater role in organizing, planning and managing the national economy for the benefit of the prosperity of the country and the well-being of the people. The state is becoming increasingly active in education, science and culture, in making the population socialist-minded.

At the same time the state defends the revolutionary gains of

the working people, the interests of the whole people, the independence and sovereignty of the country.

The draft Constitution guarantees the further development of our nation, the growth of the role of the socialist state, which organizes the construction of socialist society.

The steady extension of socialist democracy and the people's participation in the discussion of major problems of home and foreign policy and in socialist construction are the main characteristic of our system. The draft Constitution safeguards the civil rights and liberties of the citizens and the full assertion of the individual.

The draft Constitution sets out the principle of collective leadership, which ensures the adoption of optimum decisions and measures in the interest of the people, the leading role in the state.

The whole country hailed the draft of the new Constitution which expresses the age-long aspirations of all the working people of town and country, and confirms the historic gains of the Rumanian people, of our beloved country, the Socialist Republic of Rumania.

Since the previous congress the Central Committee and the Party bodies and organizations have done a tremendous amount of organizing and political work to strengthen the Party and to improve the ideological training of the membership and the forms and methods of work. As a result, the Party has grown in numbers and become more united, the standard of its work has risen and its links with the people have become closer. The Party's leading role in economic, social and cultural activities has gained in importance.

Today the Rumanian Communist Party, which unites the foremost workers, peasants and intellectuals, has over 1,450,000 full and candidate members. One in every ten adult citizens is a member of the Party. This is evidence of the might of our Party, of the unqualified trust it enjoys among working men and women, among the people as a whole.

The workers' share is the greatest — their number in the Party exceeds 630,000 (44 per cent), which indicates that our Party is the vanguard of the working class.

From the standpoint of implementing the policy of the Party, it is very important that about 80 per cent of the Party membership are directly engaged in industry, building and socialist agriculture, that is, in the decisive spheres of material production.

More efficiently than ever since it was founded forty-five years ago, the RCP, which the whole people is following with devotion and boundless trust, is acquitting itself honorably in the role of the working class vanguard, of the leading political force of our society. The close cohesion of the Party and the unshakable unity of its ranks around the Central Committee are the main characteristic of our Party and an earnest of new victories in the fight

for socialism and communism.

The RCP carries forward the best traditions of the people's age-long struggle for national and social freedom. It has the progressive features of the proletariat and its roots go deep into the Rumanian working-class movement.

About eight decades ago Frederick Engels spoke highly of the activity of the Rumanian Socialist fighters who were spreading Marxist ideas in their country and paving the way for the founding of a Socialist party. In a letter which he sent to the Rumanian Socialists in 1888 and which appeared in the journal *Contemporanul*, Engels wrote: "I was deeply satisfied to be able to derive from your writings confidence that the Socialists of your country accept in their program the fundamental principles of the theory which has succeeded in uniting the vast majority of the European and American Socialists in a single contingent of fighters, the theory created by Karl Marx, my late friend."

In 1893 the Socialist Workers' Party of Rumania was founded. This marked the beginning of the organized political movement of our working class.

The victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution opened a new era in human history. It gave a powerful thrust to the revolutionary movement throughout the world.

The years 1918 and 1920 saw the working-class movement grow rapidly in our country. There was an upsurge of actions by the workers which culminated in a general strike in 1920. The growing revolutionary consciousness and fighting experience of the Rumanian proletariat hastened the clarification of ideological and political positions in the socialist movement. At the May 1921 congress, the overwhelming majority of the delegates voted for the transformation of the Socialist Party into a Communist Party, the revolutionary party of the working class, which made the Marxist-Leninist doctrine the basis of its activity. It was an historical turn in the development of the working-class movement in Rumania, in the life of the Rumanian people.

As a result of the struggle to overthrow the military fascist dictatorship, a united workers' front was established in May 1944. The unity of working-class action played the decisive role in the armed rising of August 23, in the working people's revolutionary fight for power. The merger of the RCP with the Social-Democratic Party at the March 1948 congress, on the organizational, tactical, political and ideological principles of Marxism-Leninism, put an end to the split which had persisted in the working-class movement for more than twenty years. It provided the working class and the people as a whole with a militant leadership capable of coping with the historical task of building socialist society.

The unanimous decision of our Congress to rename the Party

the Rumanian Communist Party is indicative of the historical development of our Party. It is in line with its characteristics of the vanguard of the working class, of the political leader of the people, with the stage which our country has now reached, and with the ultimate goal of the Party, the construction of communist society.

The draft Rules submitted to the Congress generalize the experience gained over the years. They take into account the changes that have come about in the life of the Party and in our society, the new historical conditions and the present stage of the struggle to complete socialist construction. Their provisions reflect the continuous growth of the Party's leading role in every field of socialist construction and the profound democracy which is typical of the activities of its bodies and organizations.

The draft of the new Rules stresses that democratic centralism is the leading principle of the organizational structure and activity of the Party. Consistent application of the principle of democratic centralism, the further extension of inner-Party democracy, and strict adherence to Party discipline, promote Party unity. It is the supreme duty of every Communist to work for the consolidation of the Party, for the unity and cohesion of its ranks.

The Central Committee has adopted the method of submitting important questions of its policy to the whole Party for discussion. We should continue to enlist the participation of the more active Party members in formulating the main political tasks of the Party and to have these tasks discussed by the rank and file, so that the decisions adopted should express the opinion of the entire Party and meet best the actual conditions and needs of our country.

The draft Rules stress that the Party bodies should in all their work adhere to the principle of collective leadership and collective work, the highest principle of Party leadership, which guarantees the democracy of the Party, of all its bodies and organizations.

With a view to distributing Party forces as judiciously as possible, ensuring that every Communist effectively fulfils his tasks, and guaranteeing effective control over the activities of government bodies by the Party, the draft Rules provide that every Party member may fill only one political post requiring continuous activity — either in the Party or in the organs of state power. This is a principle of collective leadership and collective work, and indicates consistent implementation of inner-Party democracy.

The new Rules will strengthen the Party, cement its unity, and increase its organizational and political power and its leading role in the completing of socialist construction.

In the years which have passed since the previous congress our Party has promoted cooperation with the Communist and Workers' parties in the spirit of proletarian internationalism. We have had meetings and exchanged visits and experience with the Com-

munist and Workers' parties of all the socialist countries and with the Communist parties of many capitalist countries. The meetings and exchanges have helped us to know one another better and have contributed to our fraternal unity.

You know that in recent years differences have arisen in the world Communist and working-class movement over some of the fundamental questions of present-day social development, the general line of the Communist movement, and the standards of relations between Communist parties.

In view of the diversity of conditions in which Communist and Workers' parties operate — a diversity determined by the level of socio-economic development, and by historical and national peculiarities of the countries concerned — there naturally arise differences over the ways of winning political power, and over the issue of socialist construction, as well as a great variety of forms and methods of work. The manner in which a given party solves its problems cannot be questioned. Every party has the exclusive right independently to shape its political line, devise the forms and methods of its work, and set itself various tasks as it creatively applies the general principles of Marxism-Leninism in the specific conditions of its country and contributes thereby to the common treasury of revolutionary thought and experience.

There may also be differences in approaching and interpreting questions of the world revolutionary movement and of development in modern society. To be sure, the Communist parties should state their points of view in analyzing these matters. As stressed in the Statement of the enlarged plenary meeting of the Central Committee held in April 1964, our Party considers that these matters should be discussed in terms of principle and in comradely fashion, with due regard to our common world outlook, Marxism-Leninism. In so doing, it is necessary to work patiently and steadfastly for mutual rapprochement and understanding, for unity on the main issues of the struggle against imperialism, for peace and the victory of the socialist cause.

To achieve and promote this unity, it is essential consistently to adhere to the fundamental standards of relations between parties, the principles of independence, equality, and non-interference in the affairs of other parties. It is vastly important to develop inter-party relations based on trust and mutual respect, and every issue of common interest should be directly discussed between parties, between their leaderships, sincerely and in a comradely fashion.

The Communist and Workers' parties of the socialist countries are responsible for achieving the cohesion of the socialist world system, steadily promoting fraternal friendship and cooperation between these countries, and seeing to it that inter-party differences do not spread to relations between countries. The more fully the

principles of proletarian internationalism are embodied in the relations between socialist countries, the greater the superiority of these relations over the relations in the capitalist world, which are characterized by lack of equality and by violations of sovereignty and national independence, will be demonstrated and the more the appeal of socialism on a world scale will increase.

Our era has faced the Communist parties with highly important tasks which can be accomplished provided there is unity of the Communist movement under the great banner of Marxism-Leninism. It is our unshakable conviction that what unites the Communist parties — a common ideology, common aims and interests, common struggles, a common historical mission — is the important thing and should be placed above any differences in views.

The 1960 Statement of the Communist and Workers' parties points out that it is the supreme internationalist duty of every Marxist-Leninist party to contribute steadfastly to world Communist unity. Accordingly, the RCP has done all in its power and will continue to work unflaggingly, to contribute to the defense and consolidation of the unity of the Communist and Workers' parties, of the cohesion of the countries in the socialist world system in the name of the fundamental interests of our great cause, the victory of socialism and peace all over the world.

In the ideological and cultural fields, our Party takes inspiration from Lenin's idea that it is not enough to learn the slogans and conclusions of the Communist doctrine and that it is necessary to acquire all the knowledge of which communism itself is the result.

The Party's ideological activity has helped the membership and the working people to assimilate the political line of the Party, improve the training of the Party cadre, increase the Party's capacity to solve the problems of socialist construction, promote the organizational and political unity of the Party and rally the whole people around the Party.

The main ideological and political task is to equip the Party membership and the masses with the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, with the political line of the Party on internal and foreign policy matters, so as to rally them to carry out their duties in socialist construction.

Marxism is a living science which is continuously developing and becoming enriched, and which synthesizes historical experience and the results of social development. In evolving this doctrine, whose fundamental tenets have been brilliantly confirmed by reality, the founders of Marxism could not give final answers to all the questions that the subsequent development of society posed. Living in a different period, they could not foresee solutions to the specific problems which arose as a result of the victory of socialism in a number of countries. Nor could they analyze the forms

and methods of socialist construction in all their diversity, or the problems of relations between socialist countries. It is the duty of every Marxist-Leninist party to study and solve these problems and thereby to contribute to the common experience of our movement.

The founders of Marxism-Leninism stressed more than once that our theory is not a dogma but a guide to action, that there is a need to do independent theoretical research, for the doctrine provides only guidelines, which should be applied differently from country to country. "We," Lenin wrote, "do not at all regard Marx's theory as something complete and immutable. On the contrary, we are convinced that it has only laid the cornerstone of the science which socialists *must* carry forward in every direction if they do not want to lag behind life."

To cope with the important tasks facing us, we must, while concentrating on the developing of the material and technical base of society, devote increasing attention to ideological work, to theoretical research into problems of the development of our society, and ensure close coordination of ideological and theoretical work, on the one hand, and the practical construction of socialism, on the other.

At the same time practical activity should be increasingly based on the more valuable achievements of science in every field of activity. But this exceedingly important task cannot be accomplished only by those active in propaganda or the social sciences. Research into theoretical problems, and generalization of the practice of socialist construction should be a product of the collective thought of Party activists in every field of work, of the leading Party bodies.

We should focus our theoretical work on the more pressing problems, such as the Party's role during the completion of socialist construction, the role of the state and the evolution of its functions, socialist democracy and the lines of its development, the evolution of the nation under socialism, objective laws and their operation in our society, the development and role of socialist consciousness, problems of the scientific and technological revolution, socialist industrialization of our country, the agrarian question and the role of agriculture in our national economy, material incentives and forms of remuneration of labor, problems of organizing relations between socialist countries, and the development of the socialist world system.

These are only some of the problems which should be studied with the greatest care in the light of our concept of the world and of society. Needless to say, the range of theoretical issues is much wider. We should stress that analyzing the new developments typical of the capitalist world, the present-day aspects of the contradictions of the capitalist system, and the aggravation of the general

crisis of capitalism is important if we want to understand the general problems of the modern world.

The theoretical generalization of new developments in society, and encouragement of creative work in the theoretical field also imply a sustained effort to maintain the purity of our Marxist-Leninist ideology, combating reformist, revisionist, dogmatic and every other kind of distortion.

One of the main requisites for steadily improving scientific knowledge and promoting theoretical thought in our country is to hold wide discussions and exchanges and confrontations of views from the standpoint of the proletariat's world outlook, to which narrow-mindedness and rigidity in thinking are foreign and which teaches us that every social phenomenon should be viewed as a process, in continuous change and development.

Under developing socialist democracy, the role of public forms of inducing the masses to observe the rules of the socialist community becomes increasingly important. Since certain habits and morals that are survivals of a past mentality and a result of the influence of bourgeois ideology, which makes its way into our midst through various channels and from without, continue to manifest themselves in various forms, it is necessary to be ideologically vigilant and to combat them all with a firm hand. They should be combated through extensive political education, and this effort should be one of the constant tasks of Party bodies and organizations.

Socialist cultural progress is based on the study and assimilation of all the most progressive achievements of world art and culture, on extensive exchanges of spiritual values between peoples. We must therefore encourage cooperation with men of culture and art in the socialist countries, as well as in other countries, and provide for continuous contact with contemporary cultural life, for our country's increasingly active participation in world culture and art. However, this does not imply an uncritical attitude toward whatever comes from abroad. On the contrary, it requires discernment and personal judgment in assessing artistic endeavor and works of art.

The revolutionary changes which have taken place in the world and the development of international relations are characterized by the growth of the forces of socialism, which play an increasingly decisive role in social development, by the continued decline of the colonial system, the increasing role of the newly-independent countries, and the growing scale of the struggle of the working class, of the democratic movements for social progress. Tremendous forces, unprecendented in history, are rising on every continent to fight with growing resolve against the imperialist policy of aggression, in defense of peace.

The socialist countries' important achievements in the economic, scientific, technical and cultural fields and in the people's standard of living increase the might of the socialist world system and the influence of socialism throughout the world. They are a mobilizing factor in the struggle which the working people in the capitalist countries are waging for the revolutionary reorganization of society.

Allow me, comrades, to convey from the rostrum of this Congress heartfelt Communist greetings to the fraternal parties of the socialist countries, which are leading the historical job of building socialist and communist society.

The Communist and Workers' parties have been growing during the past years and now have more than 43 million members. They have gained vast experience in organizing and political work. They have become more mature ideologically and are in the forefront of the working people's fight for their vital interests. They have become an immense force exerting greater influence on political life in their countries than ever before.

We send fraternal greetings to the Communist and Workers' parties of the capitalist world, which are leading the fight against exploitation and oppression. In many countries they operate in the harsh conditions of the underground, undaunted by persecution and terror and bearing aloft the banner of national independence and of the social emancipation of the working people.

The national-liberation struggle of the peoples is striking increasingly heavy blows at the decayed colonial system. On the political map of the world, colonial empires are giving way to new, independent states.

The newly-free countries step up their fight against new forms of colonialism, defending and consolidating their national independence. A number of new states are carrying out nationalization programs and agrarian reforms, carrying out progressive economic, social and political measures in the direction of socialist development.

The forces of socialism, the socialist countries, and the international working class led by Communist parties, are natural supporters of the liberation movement. The victories of this movement are inseparably linked with the changes in the balance of world forces in favor of socialism and with cooperation with the socialist countries.

The liberation movement and the newly-independnet countries, in their turn, are a reliable ally of socialism. They play an important role in international affairs as an active anti-imperialist force, a powerful factor for peace and the freedom and independence of the peoples.

We express our complete solidarity with the peoples fighting to

win and promote their national independence, for peace and social progress.

The aggravation of the general crisis of the capitalist system is a feature of the evolution of modern society. The growing omnipotence of the big monopolies in the life of society aggravate the contractions of capitalism on both the national and the international plane.

In the capitalist countries, the working people, led by the working class, are intensifying their fight against exploitation, for their economic and political demands. Large social strata, democratic groups and public leaders oppose the anti-popular policy of the monopolies and uphold democratic rights and liberties.

As a result of the policy of the imperialist countries, which ruthlessly exploit the peoples, the gulf between the economically developed capitalist countries and the underdeveloped countries is widening, and vast areas of the globe continue to suffer from starvation, poverty, and cultural backwardness.

As the imperialist countries contend for markets, raw material sources and spheres of influence and strive to preserve or capture positions enabling them to dominate other peoples, the antagonisms between imperialists are becoming increasingly acute.

The aggressive forces of imperialism seek to check the process of socio-political transformation of the world. They encroach on the independence and sovereignty of peoples and resort to colonialist repressions and to open armed intervention, jeopardizing world peace.

The U.S. aggression in Vietnam, the participation of U.S. armed forces in operations against the patriotic liberation movement in South Vietnam, and methodical bombings of the territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam have greatly alarmed and brought protests from all the peace-loving peoples. The U.S. imperialst intervention in the Dominican Republc is yet another manifestation of the policy of interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign state.

The Rumanian people, who emphatically condemn the imperialist intervention in Vietnam, have expressed, and express, their complete solidarity with the just cause of the Vietnamese people. Rumania insists that the U.S. intervention in Vietnam stop and that all foreign troops be withdrawn. The Vietnamese people should be allowed to settle their internal affairs by themselves. Our country has supported the Vietnamese people in their heroic struggle and will continue to do so.

What response can talk about "love of peace" and "international law" on the part of various U.S. officials bring and how can this talk be believed when acts of aggression and armed intervention, which in a number of countries prop up the most reactionary re-

gimes rejected by the people, are continued?

The U.S. imperialists' policy of strength and aggression is doomed to failure. Large sections of world opinion condemn this policy which can only lead to the isolation of its proponents and discredit them in the eyes of the world.

The cause of human progress and culture demands respect for the right of every people, whether big or small, freely to choose the road of their socio-political and economic development, uphold their national existence and settle their own affairs. This is also an important condition for preserving and promoting peace.

The intensification of imperialist acts of aggression shows that the very existence of imperialism is a constant threat to peace and a basis for starting a new world war. Today it is more necessary than ever to be vigilant and to strengthen the unity of the peace forces. By steadily promoting this unity and fighting in common, the socialist countries, the international working class, the newly-independent countries, the national-liberation movement and the world peace movement are in a position to maintain world peace and defend civilization.

A country active in the world arena, Rumania pursues a foreign policy of peace, steadfastly championing international detente, co-operation and peace.

In line with the vital interests of the Rumanian people and the cause of socialism and peace, our country concentrates in its foreign policy on close friendship and fraternal alliance with the socialist countries. In the years under survey, friendship and cooperation between Rumania and the other countries of the socialist world system have been developing in every form. We have exchanged visits by party and government delegations with the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic, the Hungarian People's Republic, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the Polish People's Republic, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the People's Republic of Albania, the Korean People's Democratic Republic, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the Mongolian People's Republic, and the Republic of Cuba. These meetings have enabled us to discuss various matters of common interest in a comradely atmosphere and have contributed to friendship and cooperation between the peoples concerned.

Our country regards it as its internationalist duty to continue promoting fraternal relations with all the socialist countries and to make an active contribution to the unity and cohesion of the socialist world system.

Acting in the spirit of peaceful coexistence, Rumania advocates cooperation with all countries irrespective of their socio-political systems.

In the years under review, relations, primarily economic relations, between Rumania and a number of West European countries have developed and improved, and old, traditional relations have been restored. We note with satisfaction that during the last years we have expanded or established relations with new states in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

We appreciate the positive development of relations between our country and Greece in the spirit of the friendship which has always existed between our peoples. We would like our relations with Turkey to take the same course. The development of good-neighborly and friendly relations between the Balkan countries is in the common interests of our countries. It benefits cooperation in this geographic area and promotes peace.

Our country will continue to develop economic, scientific, technical and cultural relations with all countries, for it considers that multilateral exchanges on the basis of mutual advantage, without political conditions, without restrictions and discrimination, helps to ease international tensions and to bring the peoples closer together, and is an important peace factor.

The principles of sovereignty and national independence, equality, non-interference in internal affairs, and mutual advantage constitute the solid and permanent foundation of our foreign oplicy. Rumania stands for the consistent implementation of these principles in international relations. It holds that adherence to them is an essential condition for growing cooperation and trust between nations, a condition ensuring respect for the inalienable right of every nation to shape its own fortunes.

In taking part in the activities of the U.N., Rumania has consistently declared for improving the functioning of this international forum so that it should reflect the actual state of affairs in the world of today. We consistently advocate as a necessity maintenance of the universal character of the U.N. and the restoration of the rights of the Chinese People's Republic, a great world power having the exclusive right to represent the Chinese people.

Our country stands for discontinuing the arms race, effecting disarmament, setting up denuclearized zones, unconditionally banning the use of atomic weapons and destroying all stockpiles of these weapons. Experience shows that the division of the world into military blocs increases international tensions, makes for distrust between countries, helps to preserve the aggressive NATO, SEATO and CENTO pacts, and encourages the desire of certain imperialist countries to dominate other countries. Our country insists on the abolition of all military blocs.

The presence of foreign military bases and troops on the territory of other countries has an adverse effect on international relations. The United States, which has been taking an increasingly

direct part in the struggle against democratic movements all over the world, has stationed about half its armed forces in various regions of the globe. To promote peace and eliminate every form of interference in the internal affairs of the peoples, Rumania advocates the abolition of foreign bases and the withdrawal of foreign troops.

The international climate would benefit greatly if the remnants of World War II were removed by concluding a German peace treaty recognizing the historical fact that there exist two German states.

While championing peace and international detente, our country makes a special effort to strengthen its defenses. The Party and the Government will continue to do everything to supply our Armed Forces with whatever they require and to train them properly, so that they can at any moment fulfil the sacred mission of defending the revolutionary gains of the people, the independence of their country, socialism and peace shoulder to shoulder with the armed forces of other Warsaw Treaty countries, of all the socialist countries.

As our people look ahead they feel certain that the joint struggle of the peoples and the collective actions of the peace forces will ensure the victory of the cause of peace, as the vital interests of all mankind require. Rumania will do all in its power to contribute to the triumph of this great cause.

The magnificent results of the work done for the advancement of our country and for better international relations show that the political and organizational line of our Party, of its Central Committee, is correct. In the interval between the two congresses the CC has stinted no effort to live up to the great trust placed in it. The documents to be adopted by this Congress, the Directives for the Five-Year Plan and for electrification of the country, the Party Rules and the main objectives and further tasks in our home and foreign policy decided on by the Congress will constitute a program for the further development of our society. The Ninth Congress of the RCP will be recorded in Rumanian history in golden letters.

By carrying out the assignments of the new Five-Year Plan, our people will contribute to the strength of the socialist world system and of the forces fighting for social progress, to the triumph of the cause of socialism and peace all over the world.

The entire activity of the Party bodies and organizations and of every Communist is devoted to the happiness of the people. We must work indefatigably to accomplish the tasks set by this Congress as effectively as possible. Let us give all our energies and talents in the service of our country, of socialism and communism.

We are certain that the workers, peasants and intellectuals, and

the people as a whole, will work with still greater enthusiasm to implement the policy of the Party, to carry out the great tasks set by the Congress. In the coming five years the Rumanian people will continue to build their new life and will draw still nearer the lofty heights of culture, of communist society.

STATEMENT BY REPRESENTATIVES OF THE FRENCH AND BULGARIAN COMMUNIST PARTIES*

A delegation of the French Communist Party composed of Comrades Roland Leroy, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC, Georges Gosnat and Gisèle Joannès, members of the CC, and Paul Rochas, Secretary of the Isère Federation of the FCP, stayed in Bulgaria from June 22 to 28, 1965, at the invitation of the CC BCP.

During its stay the French delegation had interviews with leading Bulgarian Communists, trade unionists, officials and workers in industry and agriculture. It visited industrial establishments, agricultural cooperatives, seaside resorts and other localities, familiarizing itself with the life and achievements of the Bulgarian people.

The delegation had political talks with Comrade Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the CC BCP, Comrade Mitko Grigorov, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC, and a CC CPB delegation composed of Comrades Boyan Bylgaranov, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC, Nacho Papazov, Secretary of the CC, Stoyan Stoyanov and Elena Gavrilova, members of the CC, and Stefan Ganev, Secretary of the Sofia Party Committee.

* * *

Meeting in an atmosphere of friendship and fraternal understanding, the two delegations exchanged information on the situation in their respective countries and on the activities and objectives of their parties. They exchanged opinions on the principal problems of the international situation and on those of the world Communist and working-class movement. They reaffirmed the identity of views of the two parties on the major issues of our time.

The representatives of the BCP informed those of the FCP about the guidelines of the country's economic and foreign policy, the main aspects and results of the experiment of the new system of economic planning and management, and the progress made by the Bulgarian people in twenty years in industrialization, socialist construction in agriculture, education, public health and culture. This progress is a fruit of the victory of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria, the effort of the Bulgarian people, the vast disinterested assistance of the Soviet Union, and fraternal coopera-

*L'Humanité, July 6, 1965.

tion with the other socialist countries.

The French delegation assured the representatives of the BCP of the French Communists' high opinion of the remarkable achievements of their Bulgarian brothers in building socialist society.

The French delegation informed the Bulgarian comrades about the struggle of the French working people for genuine democracy, for a policy of social progress, peace and national independence, for socialism. The FCP is waging a consistent struggle for the vital interests of the working class and other working people of France. It is working continuously for a united front of the Communists and Socialists and for an alliance of all the democratic forces. It is fighting unrelentingly for peace, disarmament and peaceful coexistence, and in support of the peoples who are fighting for complete liberation from imperialism and colonialism.

The BCP delegation voiced full agreement with the policy pursued by the FCP.

The two delegations expressed sentiments of profound reciprocal friendship on behalf of the Bulgarian and French peoples, a friendship symbolized by the undying memory of two great leaders of the world Communist movement, Georgi Dimitrov and Maurice Thorez.

The two delegations noted with satisfaction the growth of economic and cultural relations between France and Bulgaria, and expressed the hope that these relations would continue to develop in the spirit of the principles of the peaceful coexistence of all countries.

As regards the fundamental problems of the international situation, the two delegations unanimously confirmed their agreement with the view that the progress of socialism, the upsurge of the international working-class movement and the national-liberation movements, and the growth of the forces fighting to maintain and promote peace constitute the principal trends.

The representatives of the FCP and BCP confirmed the complete solidarity of their parties with the peoples fighting against imperialism and colonialism, for full economic and political independence.

They condemned the attitude of the imperialist forces and especially the U.S. imperialists, who are stepping up their aggression against the peoples, trying to take the offensive in several regions of the world, such as Southeast Asia, Central America, Africa, etc., in order to strangle the national-liberation struggle, at the risk of provoking a new world war.

They resolutely condemned the U.S. imperialists' aggression against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the people of South Vietnam and the people of the Dominican Republic.

The two delegations voiced their unqualified support of and

active solidarity with the heroic Vietnamese people and the Party of Working People of Vietnam. They hailed the heroism of the National Liberation Front, the leading political force of the people of South Vietnam, and declared again for the immediate discontinuance of the imperialist aggression in Southeast Asia, withdrawal of the U.S. troops, and respect for the Geneva agreements of 1954.

In connection with the events in Algeria, the two delegations expressed confidence that despite all difficulties, the Algerian people will safeguard the gains of the Algerian revolution and continue their advance to national independence, democracy and socialism.

Regarding the situation in Europe, the two delegations were unanimous in declaring for a greater effort to improve the atmosphere troubled by the activity of the West German revenge-seekers and the NATO plans aimed at establishing a multilateral nuclear force and at placing nuclear weapons at the disposal of these revenge-seekers. They consider that these plans constitute one of the chief obstacles to disarmament talks and greatly endanger world peace.

They re-emphasized that international disputes can and should be settled through peaceful negotiations between the powers concerned. They declared for general controlled disarmament and for atom-free zones, specifically in Europe.

In the face of the imperialists' aggressive policy, the two delegations were unanimous in considering that the cohesion of the revolutionary forces of the world — the socialist community, the national-liberation movement and the international working-class —is a pressing necessity. The cohesion of these forces, and above all that of the international working-class movement, can prevent the imperialists from carrying out their plans of aggression.

In view of this, the representatives of the French and Bulgarian Communist parties deplore the attacks on other Communist and Workers' parties, and particularly the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which the leaders of the Communist Party of China have again launched of late.

On behalf of their respective parties, the two delegations declared that they have always thought highly, and continue to think highly, of the vanguard experience of the CPSU in the liberation struggle of the peoples in the fight against capitalist oppression and in socialist construction, an experience which is an inexhaustible source of knowledge for all the Communist and Workers' parties.

Inspired by the principles worked out in common at the conferences of 1957 and 1960, the two delegations confirmed their full agreement with the Communique adopted by nineteen fraternal parties in Moscow last March. They expressed the determination

of the French and Bulgarian Communists to take, jointly with the CPSU and the other fraternal parties, every measure with a view to strengthening the unity of the world Communist and working-class movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism. They are convinced that a new conference of the Communist and Workers' parties would fully accord with the interests of the world Communist movement and that it should help rally the Communists of the whole world with a view to overcoming their differences by evolving common positions in their struggle for the common goal.

The two delegations expressed the wish that, in view of the present international situation, the Communist and Workers' parties should multiply joint actions in the struggle against imperialism, for the widest possible support for the liberation movement of the peoples, for universal peace and the peaceful coexistence of countries — big and small alike — with different social systems, in defense of the vital interests and historical objectives of the working class.

Lastly, the two delegations declared that increasingly close contacts between the BCP and the FCP for the purpose of comparing notes and improving their mutual knowledge would make for greater cooperation between the two fraternal parties. They provided for measures to promote this cooperation.

The French Communist Party and the Bulgarian Communist Party see it as their most imperative internationalist duty to devote all their energies to the struggle for the triumph of the cause of peace, democracy and socialism, for the happiness of their peoples and all the other peoples of the world.

RALLY AND UNITE ANTI-IMPERIALIST FORCES

AN APPEAL FROM THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY*

I

The forces of imperialism have launched a worldwide offensive against the peoples of the world who are striving for national liberation, independence, democracy and peace. The imperialists are continually committing fresh acts of aggression and spreading the area of warfare. They are sabotaging the United Nations and employing every form of pressure — military, political and economic — to check the course of progress and to re-establish colonialism.

United States imperialism is at war with the people of the whole of Vietnam, both south and north of the military demarcation line. Desperate at the victories of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, which enjoys mass support and has already liberated four-fifths of the country, the Americans are pouring in more troops and military supplies to sustain their puppet regime in Saigon. They have resorted to heavy and continuous air raids on the territory and people of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. These gangster acts of aggression, with their callous use of weapons of indiscriminate mass slaughter, are in defiance of the UN Charter, the Geneva Agreements on Vietnam, and every principle of international law and conduct. They have already cost a heavy toll in the lives and homes of the people of Vietnam; they threaten to widen the area of war in Southeast Asia and elsewhere.

U.S. Marines have invaded the Dominican Republic and are fighting to preserve a hated military dictatorship which has been overthrown by the people, and to frustrate their determination to establish a popular, democratic government.

British imperialism is intervening in Southeast Asia to help impose the artificial state of 'Malaysia'. In Africa, Asia and the Caribbean, the Labor government is continuing the colonialist policies of the Tories.

Throughout Africa the imperialist powers are conducting an all-

*International Bulletin of the South African Communist Party, July 1965.

out counter-offensive against the African Revolution. They have committed open aggression in support of the neo-colonialist Tshombe regime in the Congo. They are stopping at nothing in their efforts to disrupt the organization of African unity and to reassert political and economic domination in Africa. Corruption, intrigues and even assassination in the independent states are accompanied by support for Portuguese fascist colonialism in Angola, Mozambique and 'Portuguese' Guinea, and for the white terrorist dictatorships in Rhodesia and the Republic of South Africa.

The counter-revolutionary offensive of the imperialists contains grave dangers for all the peoples of the world. In resorting to force to prevent further social change and to defend the remaining bastions of capitalism and colonialism, the imperialists threaten to precipitate a nuclear war which would be a calamity for human life and civilization, endangering even the survival of mankind.

The forces opposing imperialism are, together, far greater than those controlled by the imperialists. The anti-imperialist forces are, principally, the governments and peoples of the socialist countries; the peoples of the newly-independent countries and the countries still struggling for national liberation and independence; the working-class, progressive and peace-loving masses and their organizations in the capitalist countries and throughout the world.

Division and disunity among these forces plays into the hands of the imperialist enemy. They give the enemy opportunities to embark on fresh advances in all fields, to delay the people's advance to national freedom and socialism, and to threaten the world with war. Disunity in the ranks of the anti-imperialists prolongs the sufferings and sacrifices of the heroic people of Vietnam and all victims of imperialist aggression and oppression. It delays the liberation of the people of our own country, enduring the tyranny and degradation of apartheid.

We call upon all the anti-imperialist forces of the world to unite; to rebuff all imperialist adventures and assert the people's will for freedom, independence and peace; to take fresh initiatives for human progress.

II

The Central Committee, having considered the statement issued by the consultative meeting of Communist and Workers' parties which took place in March this year, declares its support for a new international meeting of the Marxist-Leninist Parties at the earliest possible opportunity. The statement properly emphasized the common factors which bind all Communists rather than the temporary divisions which have arisen.

Everywhere, the Communist movement is the fighting vanguard

of the working class and of all who strive for national liberation, socialism and peace. Unity within the ranks of the Communists would be a powerful factor in rallying and uniting all the world's progressive, anti-imperialist forces.

Even if discords had not arisen in our world Communist movement the development of historical events since the meeting of 1960 has uncovered new problems and situations which urgently demand that we meet again and consult one another.

The primary purpose of such a meeting should not be to retrace the past, to apportion blame or to adjudicate ideological disputes. It should be, in the light of Marxist-Leninist theory and practice, to discuss new and fundamental problems facing the international communist, labor, national liberation and peace movements. It should be to evolve paths of action to overcome the threat of imperialism and war, and to advance to fresh victories for the people.

Every effort should be made to ensure that such a meeting is fully representative of the Communist movement as a whole. We appeal sincerely to all our fraternal parties not to allow questions of formal procedure or prestige to stand in the way of our coming together. At the same time, unwillingness or refusal of any section of the movement, however important, to join in consultations should not be allowed to prevent those who are willing to meet together from doing so. Short of unanimity, which remains our constant goal, we must secure the greatest measure of unity and joint action that is possible; otherwise we condemn our Communist movement to paralysis and inaction in the face of an all-out attack by the imperialist enemy.

Immediately, the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party makes a renewed and urgent appeal for common action of all Marxist-Leninists Parties. We call for the complete cessation of uncomradely and exaggerated polemics. We call for a halt in the tendency to turn international meetings of various kinds into forums for debating differences between Communists. We appeal for an end to any sort of activities of a factional character, or intervention by any party in the internal affairs of another. All such manifestations of disunity in our ranks do not only weaken and diminish our great movement, which has been built up at the cost of such devotion, heroism and sacrifice to be the shield of the people and the hope of all working and oppressed people. They also cause disarray and confusion in the ranks of the whole anti-imperialist front. They lead to mutual suspicion among comrades and colleagues, and open the door to adventurers and enemy agents who play upon our differences, at a time when the need is greatest for comradeship, confidence and brotherhood in the ranks of the fighters against imperialism.

III

We South African Communists are engaged in a relentless revolutionary struggle for the liberation of our people from white minority domination, the vicious South African form of colonialism. Thousands of the finest sons and daughters of our people have been imprisoned, tortured and murdered by the Verwoerd regime, which has imposed fascist laws and a reign of terror to crush the resistance of the African majority, the non-white population and all democrats. These methods have not succeeded and cannot succeed in breaking our people's will for freedom; their determination to unite all patriotic and democratic forces, Communist and non-communist; to strengthen all organs of resistance with heightened revolutionary vigilance; to strike back at the oppressor by all methods of struggle, including forceful retaliation against violence.

Our country has become a crucial battlefield in the international struggle between the forces of imperialism and reaction and those of progress and humanity. Our people are deeply conscious of and grateful for the many acts of solidarity with our people from our brothers and sisters in Africa and all over the world; we appeal once again for yet more effective measures to isolate, boycott and expose apartheid: enemy of mankind. We know full well that the apartheid regime rests on the continued backing of international imperialism.

Our main contribution to the cause of freedom and peace throughout the world will be to intensify and make more effective our struggle for a free South Africa which will be a powerful factor for progress everywhere.

At the same time we are ever conscious of our duty to advance working class internationalism, which is a basic principle of our Party. We shall do everything in our power to advance anti-imperialist unity in Africa and throughout the world. We shall make whatever contribution we can to strengthen and unite the great liberating army of which we are a part, our glorious international Communist movement.

Forward to unity of all Communists, and of all fighters against imperialism!

Forward to liberation of all peoples, to peace, democracy and socialism!

July 1, 1965

RESOLUTIONS OF THE CC, BRAZILIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

The Central Committee of the Brazilian Communist Party, which met in May, analyzed on the basis of an Executive Committee report the situation abroad and at home and the activities of the Party since the previous CC meeting.

The reactionary military coup of April 1, 1964, which led to the overthrow of President Joao Goulart and the establishment of a reactionary and traitorous dictatorship, was the outstanding event of the period under survey. It broke off the process of democratic development. The patriotic and democratic forces, particularly the working-class movement and its vanguard, our Party, suffered serious reverses. The internal political situation changed radically.

After the debate the CC BCP came to the conclusions stated below.

POLITICAL RESOLUTION

1. The Brazilian people's struggles are taking place in an international situation charactized by consolidation of the positions of socialism, upsurge of the national-liberation and international working-class movements, and growth of the forces striving to preserve and promote world peace.

The peace policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries — a policy based on their economic, technical and scientific progress and inspired by the principles of peaceful coexistence — is gaining increasing support among the peoples. The national-liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America are developing vigorously.

The economic situation in the most developed capitalist countries continues in general to improve. There is growing interest in the capitalist countries in livelier economic relations with the socialist countries, which creates greater opportunities for the policy of peaceful coexistence. At the same time, however, the antagonisms between imperialists are increasing — due, in particular, to the continuing aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism. They express themselves, above all else, in the fight for markets, and stand out in bold relief in the position and the foreign policy of the French government.

It is in these conditions that the imperialists, particularly the U.S. imperialists, are stepping up their activity in various parts of the world, resorting to acts of aggression against socialist coun-

tries, the working-class movement and the peoples fighting for national liberation. The international situation is worsening noticeably.

The intervention in the Congo by U.S. and Belgian forces, the repressive measures which the Portuguese dictatorship takes against the fighting people of Angola, Britain's interference in British Guiana, West Germany's provocations over Berlin, and the attempt to set up the MLF and to lay an atomic belt along the frontier of socialist countries are all measures not only violating the rights of the people but creating new perils to world peace.

Faced with the firm resistance of the South Vietnamese people, who are led by the National Liberation Front, Washington extends its aggression to Laos and North Vietnam, whose merchant vessels and warships it attacks.

To put down the Dominican people's fight against reaction and to uphold U.S. monopoly interests, Washington lands troops in the Dominican Republic, using the OAS as a cover for its monstrous aggression.

The so-called Johnson Doctrine, aimed at the forcible suppression of democratic and national-liberation movements, is an expression of the increasingly aggressive nature of U.S. imperialism. The imperialists also intend to provoke local and limited wars in order to prevent international detente — in keeping with the interests of the more aggressive circles of Wall Street and the Pentagon. These actions are resented by and bring protests from the peoples of the whole world, including the American people. On the one hand, they seriously aggravate the international situation; on the other, they increasingly expose U.S. imperialism as an oppressor and exploiter of the peoples and an enemy of peace, and rouse new forces to fight in defense of the oppressed peoples and against the threat of a new world war.

In Latin America, the contrast between the position of the Cuban people, who under Fidel Castro's leadership continue successfully to build a socialist society, and that of the other peoples of the continent, who suffer from increasing exploitation on the part of the U.S. monopolies, is becoming more and more striking. The poverty of the working people is mounting, the structual crisis is becoming more severe, and the antagonisms between the progressive forces of each country and the U.S. monopolies are growing. In some countries, such as Venezuela, Colombia, Guatemala and the Dominican Republic, anti-imperialist battles take the form of armed struggle. Although the United States continues the policy of the Alliance for Progress, which envisages some limited reforms for the benefit of the local bourgeoisie, it does not hesitate to intervene directly, using force, or to provoke reactionary coups and to back dictatorial governments in order to safeguard and consolidate

its predatory dominion. Since March 1962 coups instigated and supported by Washington have been carried out, in addition to Brazil, in seven countries: Argentina, Peru, Guatemala, Ecuador, the Dominican Republic, Honduras and Bolivia.

All this does not, however, deter the peoples of Latin America from advancing to democracy and national liberation. In Argentina the Communists have regained the right to organize and to promote their ideas. The Chilean government has established diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Mexico maintains relations with Cuba despite an OAS decision to the contrary. The people's hatred for U.S. imperialism, and their resolve to fight against internal reaction are growing. If the Latin American peoples unite and fight, and if they strengthen their solidarity and intensify their joint actions against the common enemy, they will be as invincible as the heroic fraternal people of Cuba, the glory of Latin America and an example to emulate.

2. In Brazil the April coup brought to power representatives of the most reactionary, anti-national forces, agents of U.S. imperialism, latifundists and big capitalists linked with the U.S. monopolies. A military dictatorship, reactionary and traitorous, came into being as the *de facto* government, run by a group in the service of the U.S. Embassy.

The submission of the country to U.S. monopoly interests is assuming unprecedented proportions. The law restricting the transfer of profits to foreign countries has virtually been repealed. The entire property of the Bond & Share Co. has been compensated for. The amount stipulated by the agreement on wheat with the United States has been doubled. The import of U.S. farm produce is being made easier. The policy adopted in the mining industry meets the demands of the Hanna Mining Co. An agreement on guarantees for private investments has been signed which grants privileges to U.S. interests and is a serious encroachment on national sovereignty. The U.S. military mission conducts aerial photographing of our territory. The country's economic and financial policies are dictated by the International Monetary Fund.

The dictatorial regime is pursuing a foreign policy of complete dependence on the U.S. government. It has severed relations with Cuba and serves as a tool and mouthpiece of the State Department and the OAS. It takes a stand against the peoples fighting against imperialism in Asia and Africa, and supports the Salazar tyranny. It identifies itself with the aggression against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and with the blatant infringement of the sovereignty of the Dominican people. Under the pretext of carrying out scientific experiments, it authorizes the construction of a nuclear missile base on Brazilian soil.

Acts of violence and arbitrary practices under the Institutional

Act, in particular the crippling of the National Congress and the state assemblies, are followed by military and police investigations designed to persecute, arrest and torture thousands of citizens — working people, students, lecturers, judges, writers, artists, journalists, servicemen, Catholic priests, MPs — in short, members of every class and every social stratum. Interference in trade union affairs continues. Yet another anti-strike law has been enacted. The activities of the National Union of Students and other student organizations are obstructed.

Working men and women, and the people as a whole, suffer greater hardships and privations than ever. Indirect taxes are growing. Price control over staple foodstuffs is being abolished. The new housing law leads to higher rents. While the cost of living is rising steadily, wages and salaries lag behind prices. The cost of living has gone up by more than 90 per cent, but the minimum wage has increased by only 57 per cent. Unemployment is growing.

The economic and financial policy of the dictatorship affects the interests of the national bourgeoisie, which is increasingly threatened by imperialist competition. Trade and industrial activity are declining, industrial stockpiles keep on growing, production is declining, there are more and more bankruptcies, and the denationalization of industry is gaining in pace.

3. The policy of the dictatorship aggravates the contradictions rending Brazilian society. The need for structural reforms is becoming more urgent. In an effort to mislead the nation, the dictatorship poses as a reformer, and even calls itself revolutionary. It makes out the Land Statute to be an agrarian reform although, apart from limiting rent, it does not go beyond the bounds of colonization and is, moreover, hard to enforce. Its "political reform" has a purely reactionary content. The drafts of the electoral law and of the Political Parties Statute are, in effect, designed to reduce the number of parties and to prevent the rise of new ones.. They would turn the parties into bureaucratic organizations controlled by the state machinery. They imperil proportional representation and make it virtually impossible for a minority to be represented. The stipulation that an absolute majority is required for election to the office of President of the Republic or state governor is a blow at direct popular suffrage, and leaves the final choice to Congress and the state assemblies.

The national interest calls for specific and effective reforms of the structure of Brazilian society, such as would strike at the imperialists' dominion in the economy and at the latifundists' land monopoly. The dictatorship, which represents the interests of the latifundists and the U.S. imperialist monopolies, will effect no such reforms.

The policies of the dictatorship are detrimental to the interests

of the nation. The contradiction between our people and the reactionary minority of traitors is growing. At the moment it is a peculiar expression of the main contradiction of Brazilian society and determines the essence of all political conflicts.

4. Resistance to the dictatorship, and opposition to its reactionary policy of betrayal are beginning to grow in breadth and depth.

The working people are fighting to maintain the rights gained and to prevent wage cuts, using strikes as a weapon. In the countryside, the trade union movement is becoming active again, if slowly. Clashes occur with the usurping landowners and the police, and conflicts break out between the workers and owners of sugar refineries in the north-east. The students oppose Law 4464 and uphold the autonomy of the student movement, of the National Union of Students and other student organizations. The intellectuals take a stand against terror in the cultural field, and insist on the restoration of democratic liberties and the resumption of the country's economic development. Large segments of the national bourgeoisie demand — chiefly through such organizations as the National Confederation of Industry — that the funadmental principles of the country's financial and economic policy be revised, and denounce the denationalization of our industry. Public revulsion against acts of violence and arbitrary practices on the part of the police and of those entrusted with carrying out police and military investigations is growing. The judicial authorities occasionally condemn these acts of violence and release political prisoners. Political parties and trends concur in demanding the restoration of democratic liberties and free elections.

Large social groups which originally supported or sympathized with the coup feel that they have been deceived and abused by the dictatorship's reactionary policy of betrayal. They are inclined to join those who are opposed to the dictatorship. The situation, which in April 1964 was propitious for the reactionaries and which made the coup possible, is changing in favor of the democratic and patriotic forces. The social base of the dictatorship is shrinking.

This situation tends to aggravate the antagonisms between the organizers of the coup and increases the instability of the government. Castelo Branco is trying hard to lend the dictatorship a constitutional character, to conceal it behind the facade of a "representative democracy." But the extreme Right persists in exerting pressure to bring about the complete suspension of constitutional rights and guarantees and to establish an undisguised dictatorship. Other backers of the coup, while supporting in the main the reactionary and traitorous orientation of the dictatorship, criticize its financial and economic policies, hoping in this way to exploit growing popular discontent in their own interests at the next elections.

Increased popular resistance and opposition will make the dic-

tatorship more and more unstable, deepening the split between the conspirators. There may be government crises and new military coups. In such a contingency, only active interference by the masses, who should advance slogans of their own, could forestall a reactionary settlement, that is, the mere replacement of one group of conspirators by another, and lead to the resumption of the democratic process.

5. The Communists have opposed the dictatorship from the outset. Through agreements with parties, political trends and individual leaders, and above all, by working among the masses, they have striven to contribute actively to the rallying of the forces fighting against the dictatorship. The facts prove this to be the right road.

The immediate tactical objective in this struggle is to isolate and defeat the dictatorship, and to win a broadly representative government of anti-dictatorial forces that will bring the people democratic liberties and guarantee the resumption of the democratic process interrupted by the reactionary coup of traitors. The Communists will strive to make that government as progressive as possible, but they realize that its composition will necessarily reflect the level attained by the mass movement, and the balance of forces that will exist when the government is formed.

The success of this struggle will depend, fundamentally, on unity of action of all the political forces, trends and groups that are opposed to the dictatorship. This broad anti-dictatorial front of resistance, opposition and struggle can be established in fighting for democratic liberties, in defense of national sovereignty, for the rights and immediate interests of working men and women and of the people as a whole, for the development of our economy and the progress of our country. The important thing in this struggle is to uphold democratic liberties. Being inseparable from the struggle for all the other demands, it is the broadest mobilizing slogan that can unite and channel all the movements advancing social demands in a broad front fighting the dictatorship.

6. In present conditions, the fight for free elections and our active participation in every election campaign are vastly important for the progress of the struggle for democratic liberties and for a new government. It is for this reason that we must take part in the municipal and federal elections in 1966, in addition to those held in municipal districts. Of special importance are the elections in such states as Guanabara, Minais Gerais, Goias and Parana, as well as the municipal elections in Porto Alegre.

In taking an active part in election campaigns, the Communists should bear in mind that as they proceed these campaigns become a means of rallying forces against the dictatorship, of unmasking it in the eyes of the masses, winning positions from which to fight

against it and ultimately to defeat it. Hence it is in the interest of the proletariat and other forces opposed to the dictatorship to fight for genuinely free elections and to insist on the right of every political opposition trend to free expression and uncensored propaganda, as well as to combat all political and ideological discrimination under the Institutional Act or new incompatibility laws that would enable the dictatorship arbitrarily to strike any citizen it does not trust off the list of prospective candidates.

The Communists should throw themselves with determination and enthusiasm into the election campaign in the state or municipality where they are active. They should concern themselves already with the elections of 1966, for which the various political trends are making preparations. The Communists should become primarily a unifying factor. They should be able in each particular instance to find the best way of rallying the broadest anti-dictatorial forces around unitary platforms and trustworthy candidates.

The election campaign should be lent a mass character and should become an unrelenting fight for democratic liberties, so that the dictatorship will be unable to use the elections for "legalizing" the power it has usurped. Wherever this aim should prove in effect unattainable the opposition forces can cast blank ballots in protest against the reduction of elections to a farce designed to drape the government of April 1, 1964 in the garb of spurious legality.

Only by making the election campaign a campaign of the masses is it possible to ensure free elections and the assumption of office by the elected, and to create political conditions for their activity.

7. We must use the most diverse forms of struggle against the dictatorship. It is for the Communists to encourage the initiative of the masses and to promote the struggle in any manner that will lead to the resumption of the democratic process. To this end, we must use every legal opportunity, which does not mean confining ourselves to the "legality" conceded by the dictatorship. We must encourage the masses to reject the restrictions which the dictatorship puts on their right to hold meetings, strikes or public demonstrations, to carry on propaganda, and so on. An upswing in the struggle may lead to violent clashes, including armed ones, with reaction. It is the duty of the Party to prepare itself and the masses for this eventuality.

The Communists should concentrate on intensifying their work among the masses, on defending and strengthening mass organizations, on organizing and extending the struggle for the rights and demands of the masses.

Whatever the form which the struggle against the dictatorship may take, the actions of the masses will always be the decisive factor in ensuring the development of the political process according to the interests of the people. It is through action that the peo-

ple will gain confidence in their own strength. Strong though reaction may be, action will always enable the masses to achieve partial successes that will encourage the masses to strengthen their organizations, promote their unity, and go on to increasingly vigorous actions. The Communists must be well aware of the level of political consciousness of the masses if they want to rouse them to action and induce them to adopt advanced political positions.

Passivity toward the dictatorship is a serious danger threatening the popular forces and our Party. Our duty is to combat passivity, bearing in mind that it is due to overestimation of the strength of the conspirators, as well as to the illusion that the dictatorship will fall of itself, undermined by its own contradictions. We must understand that our intervention in any government crisis can produce useful results provided we mobilize the masses. This means that we must be vigilant and keep abreast of developments. However, our work among the masses, our sustained effort to strengthen our links with the masses, to enlighten and arouse them, to rally them for action, to organize and unite them, is the important thing, the urgent and decisive task.

8. To rouse the masses to action, we must advance demands that will enjoy the greatest support in every segment of the population. We must step up the fight for the repeal of the Institutional Act, for an end to encroachments on the rights of the individual committed under the Act;

for the release of political prisoners;

for solidarity with the persecuted and their families;

for a general amnesty;

for the freedom and autonomy of labor unions, student associations and other organizations of the people;

against terror in the cultural sphere;

for freedom of the university.

The struggle against the economic and financial policies of the dictatorship, the high cost of living, rising taxes, the rapid devaluation of the cruzeiro in relation to the dollar, and declining real wages is another factor in mobilizing the masses. In common with other forces, we must show a maximum of initiative and must fight for a higher standard of living for the working people, against the high cost of living and unemployment, for rights won, for labor legislation and social security. We must participate, actively and in a unitary spirit, in trade union elections and in meetings, with a view to strengthening the unions and also to organizing the working people at their work places.

Of special importance is the struggle of the working people of the countryside against latifundist exploitation, for an agrarian reform, for their gains and immediate demands, particularly for the enforcement of the Rural Worker Statute, for guaranteed access to

land and the right to own land, for the normalization and reduction of the land tax.

We must pay more attention to the specific demands of women. The women's participation in the struggle to preserve peace, against the high cost of living, for democratic liberties, for solidarity with the political prisoners and the persecuted, and for an amnesty is of great value.

The struggle of the staffs of government and autonomous bodies for their rights and demands, above all for the readjustment of salaries, deserves the fullest support.

The dictatorship's traitorous policies are an affront to the patriotic sentiments of the mass of our people, who can be rallied to fight in defense of national sovereignty, against concessions to the U.S. monopolies and the subservience of Brazil to Washington, against Congress ratifying the agreement on guarantees for private investments. The grave menace to the state enterprises, primarily to Petrobras, makes it possible to mobilize the masses on a vast scale to defend them.

The fight for the progress of the country, against economic and financial policies leading to the denationalization of our industry and to economic stagnation, and refusing appropriation for public works, the economic development of the North-east (SUDENE) and the North (SPEVEA), public education, cultural progress and scientific research makes it possible to mobilize large sections of the population.

The U.S. military aggression against Vietnam and the Dominican Republic requires, for its part, a more vigorous struggle for peace, against the U.S. government's policy of war, for the right of the peoples to self-determination, for solidarity with the peoples under attack, against the dispatch of Brazilian troops abroad. The Communists must find new forms of activity which in the conditions prevailing today would enable them to reorganize and extend the struggle for peace. The Latin American Congress of Solidarity with Cuba and for the Liberation of the Peoples should promote the continuing struggle for solidarity with the Cuban people and for the re-establishment of relations with Cuba.

9. It is by intensifying our work among the masses in factories, farms and schools and in large communities that we can establish a broad united front against the dictatorship. With this aim in view, we should reach agreements with individual leaders and with political trends and parties, with all who are against the reactionary usurpers of power.

As the dictatorship becomes increasingly unstable and the masses become more and more active, the various political forces, bent on upholding their interests, give more and more thought to the near future and to the eventuality of a change of government, try-

ing to chart the path they will have to follow in keeping with their particular interests. We who represent the proletariat must offer our own tactical concept and strive to win the support of advanced forces for it.

While stepping up their fight for the overthrow of the dictatorship and the establishment of a government representing the forces opposed to it, the Communists envisage the prospect of a nationalist democratic government that could initiate and promote structural reforms, bringing our people nearer to the attainment of the objectives of the present stage of our revolution. With this prospect in view, the Communists are putting themselves at the head of the masses, showing them the way to the solution of Brazil's problems and striving to ensure that the proletariat comes to play the role of leader of the revolutionary process by strengthening its unity and organization, and promoting its alliance with the working people of the countryside.

10. Having studied the position of the Party and the problems to tackle, the CC stressed the need to continue pressing forward and deepening the present process of self-criticism we are engaged in, a process which should culminate in the convening of the Sixth Congress.

The CC welcomes the critical and self-critical concern which the whole Party has shown in analyzing our mistakes and the causes of our reverse. It sees this concern as evidence of a healthy revolutionary spirit of love for the Party, and of a heart-felt desire to raise the ideological standard of the Party ranks.

To stimulate this self-criticism, we inform the Party of the initial conclusions to which the CC has so far been able to come, in analyzing the events linked with the victory of the April 1 coup, as regards the shortcomings of the Communists' activities and the mistakes made.

The victory of the military coup brought out many of our more serious weaknesses. The events took us unawares — we were unprepared not only to counter the events, but also to continue our activity in the new situation confidently and efficiently. The confidence put in Goulart's "military apparatus" turned out to be unfounded. The prospect of an early and easy victory, of which we had assured the Party and the masses, proved just as groundless. Our class illusions and the fact that we had trailed behind the ruling section of the national bourgeoisie became evident.

We must analyze the development which brought us to such a situation.

The line approved by the Fifth Congress after an arduous ideological and political battle was a powerful revolutionary weapon which enabled the Party to establish closer links with the masses and to take an active part in political life. Thus it contributed to

the development of the revolutionary process to such an extent that the enemies of the revolution rose in fury against our Party. But after a compromise between the national bourgeoisie and the reactionary forces had resulted in Goulart coming to power we began to abandon that policy, being anxious to combat conciliation. This process was completed in the last months of the Goulart government, when we virtually stopped fighting for the proper implementation of our line.

It was no doubt indispensable to combat the policy of conciliation with firmness. Our stand against the Three-Year Plan and the deal with the Bond & Share Co. was correct. It was by fighting against the policy of conciliation that we succeeded in foiling the reactionaries' attempts in April and October 1963, when Goulart tried to contain the development of the popular movement under the pretext of attacking the Right. But the form in which we fought against conciliation was inadequate.

Our activity with regard to the Goulart government proceeded, in fact, from the assumption that his policy was almost entirely negative. We underrated such highly important positive aspects of his policy as the advocacy of peace, the right of nations to self-determination and the principle of non-interference, the development of diplomatic and commercial relations with the socialist countries and, in the sphere of home policy, the existence of democratic liberties and the satisfaction of the working people's demands. Our opposition to the government assumed the character of a fight against a government of betrayal. Our chief aim was to expose it in the eyes of the masses.

We were prompted in our work by the idea that in the conditions prevailing at the time the fight against conciliation was a concrete form of combating U.S. imperialism, the chief enemy of our people. Such a political position was bound to divert the main blow toward the national bourgeoisie. Instead of concentrating on the fight against the U.S. imperialists and their agents at home, we directed our attacks chiefly against the policy of conciliation, hardly hitting imperialism. Hence inattention to the fight against such outspoken agents of U.S. imperialism as Lacerda and Ademar de Barros. Hence inattention to the maneuvers and manipulations of imperialism itself, to its increasing aggressiveness toward the peoples dominated by it. Hence underestimation of the danger of a Rightist coup, which we regarded as a mere bugaboo used for intimidating the masses. Having concentrated our fire on the government, we demanded increasingly far-reaching measures, forgetting about our own weaknesses and the weakness of the nationalist democratic movement, as well as about the actual balance of forces at the time. All this shows that our activity was persistently influenced by subjectivism.

Needless to say, the very development of the democratic process was threatening the privileges of the foreign monopolies, the latifundists and the traitorous big bourgeoisie, who still held strong positions. Our misappraisal of reality made us overlook the fact that in the last months of the Goulart government the balance of social forces was becoming less and less favorable for the nationalist democratic forces. The traitorous reactionareis were rallying, winning the support of large sections of the national and urban petty bourgeoisie who were dissatisfied with the situation and unaware of the growing threat to the constitutional regime in power. The Rightist forces were arming themselves, making vigorous preparations for the coup.

When, early in 1964, Goulart attempted for his own political ends to establish closer links with the popular forces, our activity departed still more from the political line of the Fifth Congress. We underrated the importance of the elections for the Brazilian people and did not take care to carry out the CC resolution on elections. At the same time we stimulated Goulart's unconstitutional effort to stay in power. Instead of alerting the masses and calling on them to fight against the threat of a Rightist coup of which the activity of Lacerda, Ademar de Barros and their backers in the army was an unmistakable sign, we issued on March 27, 1964, an Executive Committe memorandum in which we not only demanded the immediate formation of a government that "would put an end to the conciliation" but attacked Parliament, insisting on a reform of the Constitution and threatening Congress. "The plebiscite," it said, "should be held by Congress or by the executive authority itself should Congress leave it out, procrastinate, or refuse to act." Thus we enabled the reactionary forces to pose as defenders of legality, to mislead large sections of the population and induce them to back the reactionary coup. We virtually renounced the tactical orientation envisaged by our political line.

At the root of our mistakes is a false, petty-bourgeois, conspiratorial conception of the Brazilian revolution which manifested itself with particular force at the decisive moments of our revolutionary activity, irrespective of whether the political line adopted by us was right or wrong. This conception does not regard the revolution as a mass movement but as a product of the activity of top groups or, at best, of the Party. It leads to rashness, to petty-bourgeois haste, and diverts us from the perspective of steadfast and continuous struggle for our strategic and tactical objectives through the mustering of forces and the conquest of hegemony by the proletariat.

A self-critical examination of our mistakes and an analysis of their intimate causes are of decisive importance in fighting for the proper implementation of our political line.

11. The victory of the military coup and the establishment of a reactionary and traitorous dictatorship placed our Party in a new situation and confronted it with new problems. The task of Party building is of decisive importance now in its every aspect.

We must do all in our power to re-establish the old primary organizations and to form new ones, above all in factories, farms and schools, to strengthen them politically, ideologically and organizationally, so that they should be able to fulfil their difficult tasks.

It is essential for the entire Party to be convinced that the Communists must play the role of vanguard in the struggle to defeat the dictatorship, and this requires a revolutionary spirit, selfless devotion, and a readiness to make sacrifices. We must combat adventurism and petty-bourgeois haste. On the other hand, we must understand that political inertness is just as detrimental to the cause of the revolution. As matters stand today, we cannot fulfil our duty unless we succeed in making our Party the organizer and leader of the movement to restore democratic liberties. This means that every Party member must be keenly aware of his responsibility and must be truly militant.

More than forty years of activity have shown that our Party can succeed only if we are united, if we adhere firmly to the line laid down by the Central Committee and other leading bodies and resolutely uphold democratic centralism, collective leadership and the most rigid discipline. The strength of the Party lies in political, organizational and ideological unity.

Guiding ourselves by the science of the proletariat, by the invincible doctrine of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism, and the resolutions adopted by the world Communist movement in 1957 and 1960, we will successfully lead the historical struggle of our people for complete national liberation, for peace, democracy, socialist progress, and the victory of communism.

RESOLUTION ON THE MOSCOW CONSULTATIVE MEETING

The nineteen Communist and Workers' parties which took part in the Consultative Meeting held in Moscow from March 1 to 5 last adopted a Communique whose text has been conveyed to us.

The Plenary Meeting of the CC BCP has resolved to support the Communique. It stresses the importance of the unitary spirit which permeates that document and is a fruit of the atmosphere of friendship and fraternity in which the meeting took place, and of the pledge to promote the cohesion of the world Communist movement.

In passing this decision, the Central Committee intends to do all in its power to contribute, in the spirit of the Communique and of the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement, to the cohesion and unity of the world Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-

Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The CC BCP notes the importance which the Communique attaches to the use of every opportunity and every constructive initiative in searching for solutions to the common problems facing the Communist movement as a whole, with full respect for the principles of absolute equality and independence of each party, and of non-interference in one another's internal affairs.

The CC BCP declares for an end to open polemic, which is hostile and insulting to fraternal parties. In view of the need to strengthen the Marxist-Leninist unity of Communist ranks in the struggle against imperialism and coloniailsm, for national liberation, peace and peaceful coexistence, democracy, socialism and communism, the Central Committee of the Brazilian Communist Party favors the holding of a new international conference at a suitable date as recommended by the Communique.

SPEECH BY D.N. AIDIT, CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDONESIA*

Your Excellency, President of the Republic of Indonesia, great leader of the Indonesian revolution, dear Bung Karno,

Your Excellencies, Deputy Prime Ministers, Ministers-Coordinators and Ministers,

Dear Comrades, heads and members of the delegations of the fraternal Communist and Workers' parties of Albania, Japan, Korea, Cuba, Rumania, China, the Soviet Union and Vietnam,

Citizens, dear friends and Comrades,

Militant workers and the people of Jakarta,

Today, May 23, 1965, we have assembled at the splendid main stadium of the Bung Karno Sports Center to celebrate the forty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of Indonesia.

Among us, at this, the celebration of the forty-fifth anniversary of the Communist Party of Indonesia, is Bung Karno. The clear sky above us is witness to it. Thousands of eyes see him. Millions of people are listening to him over the radio and watching him on their TV screens. The imperialists, colonialists, neo-colonialists and their puppets are listening to him and watching him. This has caused confusion among the imperialists and their lackeys. In the last two weeks the imperialist press and radio have made a great noise about Bung Karno's intention to attend and address this mammoth meeting. "Malaysia" has roused its puppets in Indonesia to action and they have raised a hue and cry over the fact that at the celebration of the forty-fifth anniversary of the CPI Sukarno's portrait hangs beside those of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

Of course, the point is not that Sukarno's portrait has been put up. It lies deeper than that and concerns relations between Sukarno and the Communists. This is what scares the imperialists and their puppets. This is why they are making such a fuss and are so confused. This is why they have lost sleep and appetite and even rave in their sleep.

As a matter of fact, everything has been clear for a long time. As Bung Karno himself said at the reception on the occasion of the Sixth Congress of the CPI in 1959, the Communist Party is a "friend and brother, and it would be a loss to me if this party ceased to exist." It was none other than Bung Karno who said, addressing the CPI at the closing sitting of the Seventh Congress

*Delivered at the celebration of the 45th anniversary of the CPI, Jakarta, May 23, 1965. **Harian Rakjat**, May 24, 1965.

of the Party in 1962: "Forward, march on, let us complete the Indonesian revolution by joint effort." The Indonesian Communists responded to Bung Karno's words and appeal with complete understanding and awareness of their great responsibility. President Sukarno's connection with the Indonesian Communists is not unlawful or secret. It is a clear and legitimate connection between revolutionaries who want to affirm Marxism and serve the cause of the revolution.

I repeat that the imperialists and their puppets are confused, that they have been making a lot of noise. It is a good sign when the imperialists and their puppets are hysterical about our activities. This shows that we are right, that our actions are correct. If the imperialists liked what we do, if they praised us, it would be a great misfortune. How unfortunate are those whom Radio "Malaysia" and other imperialist propaganda media praise again and again!

The Indonesian people regard it as natural that Bung Karno, a friend of the CPI, should attend the celebration of the anniversary of his "friend" and "brother." And although this is how things are, and although it is perfectly natural, the Indonesian Communists nevertheless wholeheartedly express their deep gratitude to Bung Karno, who is present at this meeting and is going to address it.

Availing myself of this opportunity, I should also like to express, on behalf of the Central Committee of the CPI, profound gratitude to all the Deputy Prime Ministers, Ministers-Coordinators, Ministers, leaders of the nationalist and religious movements, leaders of mass organizations, and military and civilian leaders of central and local bodies. In a word, I should like to thank all citizen friends who have sent us messages of greeting and provided material and moral support to ensure the successful celebration of the anniversary of the CPI.

I express heartfelt gratitude to all the working people of Indonesia, who have made a moral and material contribution and consciously devoted their thoughts and efforts to creating a warm atmosphere and ensuring the success of the celebration of the forty-fifth anniversary of the CPI. From the bottom of my heart I sincerely thank all the representatives of the people who have joyfully celebrated this event by holding various social functions.

I also express profound gratitude to all the members, activists and functionaries of the CPI who have been working day and night everywhere, from the center to the factories, plantations, villages and other localities, to build up a warm atmosphere and ensure the success of the celebration. Specifically, I should like to thank the revolutionary artists who have done everything in their power to ensure this success. From the bottom of my heart, I say: Thank you, Comrades! All the participants in this meeting,

especially those who have come on foot from remote areas, please accept the deepest gratitude of the Central Committee of the CPI.

I should like to say a few words to the fraternal Communist and Workers' parties which have eagerly responded to the invitation of the Central Committee of our Party and sent highly representative delegations. This testifies to the high regard of the fraternal parties and peoples for the CPI, the Indonesian people and the Indonesian revolution, and it will inspire the Indonesian Communists and the Indonesian people to fight even more resolutely to destroy imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. On behalf of the CC CPI, the Communists and working people of Indonesia, I express deep gratitude to the fraternal parties for their thoughtfulness and love. We also thank the Communist and Workers' parties which are not taking a direct part in celebrating the anniversary of our Party but have sent messages of greeting. We wish good health to the leaders of the fraternal Communist and Workers' parties and wish their parties ever greater success in implementing the principles of Marxism-Leninism in the conditions of their countries, in serving the interests of the people and the revolution, and in the common struggle to destroy imperialism and to build a new world where no nation and no man will exploit another.

Dear Bung Karno,

Citizens, Dear Friends and Comrades,

Why is the CPI celebrating its forty-fifth anniversary on so large a scale? Before answering this question, I want to refute the foolish assertions of the imperialists and their lackeys. The imperialists, feudals, and their hangers-on allege that by spending money on a large-scale celebration of its anniversary, the CPI wants to make the Indonesian people starve. Our experience in mobilizing money and effort to celebrate the forty-fifth anniversary of the CPI shows that the level of awareness of the working people of Indonesia is very high both politically and organizationally. With such people, we not only can combat hunger, but will surely succeed in eliminating the cause of this hunger—imperialism and feudalism. After the celebration the CC CPI will still have more than 60 million rupiah from the total sum of contributions. And if we have adequate transport facilities, we shall be able to stock many storehouses with the coconuts, manioc, sweet potatoes and fruit that have been sent us. The Indonesian people will not suffer from hunger, they will certainly not starve as long as there is no long drought or serious floods. Indonesia is perhaps the only country where manioc is used to dam water or burned to keep mosquitoes away. The fact is that we have plenty of manioc, and it is only means of transport that we are short of.

If poverty so far exists in Indonesia—and I do not deny that—it

is not a result of the "lavish celebration of the tenth anniversary of the Bandung Conference held by Sukarno" or the "celebration of the anniversary of the Communist Party of Indonesia." It is due to the survivals of imperialism and feudalism and to the existence of capitalist bureaucrats, as well as to the existence of evil forces in our country and abroad. The Indonesian people will no doubt sweep them away before long.

The CPI is celebrating its anniversary on a large scale for the following reasons: first, the forty-fifth anniversary has, no doubt, to be celebrated as a very special occasion; second, in order to hail and consolidate the great victories of the Indonesian people, namely, Indonesia's withdrawal from the U.N., the success of the Third Session of the Provisional People's Consultative Congress, the successful celebration of the tenth anniversary of the Bandung Conference, etc., and third, in order to enhance revolutionary enthusiam to carry on the struggle and to go over to an even more resolute revolutionary offensive in every field.

On the eve of this anniversary, May 11 to 13, the CC CPI held its Fourth Plenary Meeting. At this meeting the Indonesian Communists unanimously voiced their determination to pursue the general line of the revolution still more firmly, in keeping with the teaching expounded in the Political Manifesto, namely, together with the National Front, whose nucleus is composed of the workers and peasants inspired by NASAKOM, guided by the spirit of Pancha Shila, to accomplish the national-democratic revolution aimed at building Indonesian socialism. As it implements this line the CPI will step up its revolutionary offensive aimed primarily against the "five devils," namely, (1) "Malaysia," (2) the seven rural devils, (3) U.S. imperialism, the world devil, (4) the economic dynasty of capitalist bureaucrats, and (5) modern revisionism.

If we want to build our country in security, we must frustrate and completely destroy the neo-colonialist plan for setting up "Malaysia," a plan designed for the express purpose of impeding our revolution. There is no other way. This is why the Indonesian Communists applaud President Sukarno's decision not to go to Tokyo to meet Abdul Rahman but to remain with the Indonesian people. To crush "Malaysia" and counter the growing support which the British and U.S. imperialists are giving it, the CPI has already demanded arms for the workers and peasants. The CPI is convinced that only an armed people, particularly armed workers and peasants, can prevent an attack of the imperialist army and repel any aggression should they venture to attack us. The imperialists are not afraid of regular armies, because they have such an army themselves, and even better arms. An armed people will make it impossible for the imperialists' army to conduct oper-

ations, it will not allow them to sleep peacefully. The struggle of the people of South Vietnam is the best proof of this. Of course, the imperialists will be even more scared if they are met with a combination of a regular army and an armed people. We are perfectly capable of creating such a combination because the links between our people and the armed forces are growing stronger day by day as the tasks of the Indonesian revolution are carried out.

I should like to use this opportunity to thank President Sukarno for his promise to arm the workers and peasants should the need arise.

If we want to supply ourselves with food and clothing, a necessary condition for this is to release the productive forces in the countryside. There is no other way. We should begin by at least eliminating the seven devils existing there: (1) the perfidious landowners who refuse to abide by the fundamental agrarian law and the law on crop-sharing; (2) the usurers; (3) the buyers-up of rice seedlings; (4) the rural capitalists-bureaucrats; (5) dishonest middlemen; (6) rural bandits, and (7) venal officials. Complete removal of these seven devils is indispensable for realizing the slogan "The land belongs to those who actually till it" and the proposition of the Economic Declaration which treats of the need "to eliminate the survivals of feudalism."

As they celebrate the forty-fifth anniversary of their Party, the Indonesian Communists are determined to unite still more closely with the peasants, to help them do away with the seven rural devils and to increase the output of farm products. If these seven devils are not promptly destroyed, it will be impossible to carry out the decision of the Provisional People's Consultative Congress to effect a turn enabling us to stand on our own feet in the economic field and to implement the principle "Make agriculture the foundation and industry the backbone."

If we want to destroy the survivals of imperialism in Indonesia, we must offer still more stubborn resistance to U.S. imperialism, the world devil and leader of all the imperialists. There is no other way. In the present international situation, it would be a sad mistake to oppose imperialism in general and not to fight U.S. imperialism. The Indonesian people's staunch struggle to defeat U.S. imperialism proves that we mean business in pursuing our anti-imperialist policy. The most urgent task for the Indonesian people today is to secure the confiscation and nationalization of all the U.S. enterprises, oil companies included, in order to counter the "active aid" rendered by the USA to "Malaysia" and its barbaric actions against the people of Indonesia and other countries. Besides, the Indonesian people are firmly resolved to give, jointly with other progressive and revolutionary forces, still greater sup-

port to the peoples fighting against U.S. imperialism — such as the peoples of the Dominican Republic, the Congo, Southeast Asia and especially the Vietnamese people — in order to make the United States get out of Vietnam before the end of the year.

If we want to develop the Indonesian economy properly and, above all, to carry forward the revolutionary and progressive policy of our country, we must step up the revolutionary offensive against the economic dynasty of the capitalist-bureaucrats. There is no other way. The capitalist-bureaucrats are sapping the wealth of our country. Pursuing their criminal aims, they have allied themselves with the imperialists and Trotskyists. The "holy alliance" between the capitalist-bureaucrats, Trotskyists and imperialists must therefore be completely destroyed. The Indonesian Communists consider that the measures President Sukarno and the Indonesian government have taken against the Trotskyist elements, namely the banning of the Murba party, the bulwark of the "Organization of Supporters of Sukarnoism," are of decisive importance for saving the NASAKOM principle and saving the Republic of Indonesia and President Sukarno from a disaster such as nearly befell our Republic late last year. The Indonesian Communists express their special gratitude to President Sukarno and the Indonesian government for this.

If we want to continue to march firmly along the revolutionary road, we must steadfastly broaden the revolutionary offensive against modern revisionism and at the same time continue the struggle against dogmatism. There is no other way. To speak of anti-imperialist struggle without combining it with struggle against every kind of opportunism would be nothing but idle talk. Modern revisionism is at present the most dangerous type of opportunism for the world Communist movement and the revolutionary movement generally. As they celebrate the forty-fifth anniversary of their Party the Indonesian Communists are resolved to press forward their offensive against modern revisionism in every sphere. Only in this way can the CPI remain a revolutionary party and retain a place of honor both in the movement for national unity, of which NASAKOM is the basis, and in the world Communist movement.

Such are the five main decisions the Indonesian Communists stand by as they celebrate the forty-fifth anniversary of their Party. In carrying out their decisions, the Indonesian Communists are greatly helped by the ideas concerning national independence President Sukarno expounded in his speech on August 17, 1964, namely, "independence in policy, standing on our own feet in the economic field, and a distinctive national culture." The Indonesian Communists have therefore adopted these three principles of national independence as an important component of their general

program. It is these principles that have become the main slogans for the forty-fifth anniversary of the Party.

Independence in policy means liberation from all political dependence. It means consistent pursuit of a domestic and foreign policy fully expressing the interests of the Indonesian people.

Standing on our own feet economically means complete liberation from all economic dependence and reliance on our own real economic possibilities. This means complete destruction of the survivals of feudalism and consistent implementation of the line of making "agriculture the foundation and industry the backbone" and the principle of "regarding agriculture and the plantations as the most important thing and stressing the importance of the mining industry." It means that we must free ourselves from all survivals of imperialism in the economic field and eliminate the pernicious influence of imperialism on our economy.

A distinctive national culture means liberation from all dependence in the cultural field, i.e., affirmation of national originality. This means that the country must free itself from the survivals of imperialism and feudalism in the cultural field, adopt and develop what is progressive in world culture, and promote our literature, art and science in the interests of the people and the revolution.

Bung Karno has given the people effective means of struggle, among them the idea of NASAKOM in 1926. Bung Karno himself has said that his idea is now a "living reality." Later, in 1945, came the Pancha Shila, in 1959, the Political Manifesto, and this year, the idea of Berdikari ("Standing on our own feet"). These weapons were not often used by the people prior to the adoption of the Political Manifesto, but now the situation is different. The people have mastered these weapons, both the old and new ones, and apply them actively, ably and accurately. They have also created new weapons and learned new ways of using the means of struggle given by Bung Karno.

In accordance with Bung Karno's NASAKOM theory, the Indonesian people are now working hard to put this theory into practice in every sphere. Carrying NASAKOM into reality in every field is the basic condition for upholding and developing political sovereignty, implementing the idea of "standing on our own feet economically" and promoting a distinctive national culture. It is also the basic condition for the rapid execution of *Dwikora* (the President's two commands to the people), for the rapid consolidation of national defense, for rendering more effective assistance to the liberation struggle of Malaya and North Kalimantan, for crushing "Malaysia." The application of the NASAKOM principle in every field is also essential for us in promoting the struggle of the new emergent forces against the old forces and in realizing the NASAKOM principle on an international scale. We shall begin imple-

menting NASAKOM on an international scale at the conference of the new emergent forces to be held next year. The implementation of the NASAKOM principle in every field is decisive both for ensuring the progress of the Indonesian people and for enabling them to make a positive contribution to the struggle of the Asian and African peoples and all the new emergent forces of the world. In short, to realize the NASAKOM principle in every field will mean realizing the call Bung Karno issued almost forty years ago —the call to turn cooperation of the three forces into a powerful irresistible stream.

The CPI is not alone in its struggle against the enemies of the Indonesian people, namely, imperialism, feudalism, capitalist bureaucracy and compradore capitalists. Because it is loyal to the idea of NASAKOM, the CPI has good comrades-in-arms among the national and religious groups. Because it is true to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the CPI enjoys the support of the Marxist-Leninist parties and the revolutionary and progressive movement of the world.

The CPI belongs not to the Indonesian Communists alone; it also belongs to the entire people, to the entire nation. If the CPI acts correctly, the whole people, the whole nation, gain from it. If the CPI makes mistakes, the whole people, the whole nation suffer. This is why the Indonesian Communists are ready to accept criticism from those who are not in our Party. At the same time it continues to study Marxism-Leninism and to implement it creatively.

As they celebrate the forty-fifth anniversary of their Party, the Indonesian Communists feel it necessary to reaffirm their determination to be a good component of the NASAKOM. They are convinced that as long as the CPI remains a revolutionary party, i.e., free from dogmatism and revisionism, its role in the NASAKOM unity system will grow in importance and become even more positive. The CPI, not dogmatic or revisionist, but a revolutionary party; a nationalist grouping free of chauvinism which is also a revolutionary grouping; a religious grouping free of orthodoxy which too is revolutionary—these are the guarantee of the "living reality"—NASAKOM.

On the forty-fifth anniversary of the CPI the Indonesian Communists consider it necessary to declare their determination to remain a loyal Marxist-Leninist contingent of the world Communist movement, to fight for the unity of its contingents on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and the tasks of the world revolution.

A dynamic, creative and original synthesis of patriotism and proletarian internationalism — this is what the Indonesian Communists must constantly work for.

The people of Indonesia are living in the conditions of a maturing

revolutionary situation. The masses are playing an increasingly important and decisive role in the political life of the country. The imperialists are losing one position after another. As they retreat they offer increasing support to the domestic counter-revolutionaries. In these conditions only a revolutionary policy pursued with vigor and skill can promote the revolutionary development of our country. Only if we observe strict, iron discipline will we be able to achieve success in this revolutionary offensive.

I therefore call upon the Indonesian Communists to be not only courageous, able and cultured Communists, but also disciplined members of the Party. Observe both Party and national discipline. This is our reply to the numerous provocations of the imperialists and their lackeys.

Born forty-five years ago, the CPI has travelled a long and rugged path of struggle, legal and illegal, armed and non-armed, and has now become an important factor in the political life of the country. It owes this solely to the Indonesian Communists' loyalty to the revolutionary traditions of the Indonesian people, to the heroic, undying traditions of the national rising of 1926, to the heroic traditions of the revolution of August 1945.

In 1951, when the CPI resumed its activity, it had less than 8,000 members in 1951. Today it unites more than three million people in its ranks. With the three million members of the Communist Youth League, the total number exceeds six million. Besides, about 20 million Indonesians support the CPI. In numerical strength, the CPI ranks third in the world and first outside the socialist camp. *Therefore every Communist bears a great responsibility both to the Indonesian people and to the world revolutionary movement.*

Friends and enemies alike follow with great interest the development of the CPI. To study the activities of the CPI, the imperialists send many scholars, mostly pseudo-scholars, to spy on us. Some of them, having visited our villages and towns, have written multi-volume works.

Our friends and our enemies want to know why the CPI has grown so fast. The answer is simple. Bung Karno provided it in his speech on the occasion of the conclusion of the Seventh Congress of the CPI in 1962. He said: "The Communist Party of Indonesia has become big and strong because the Communist Party of Indonesia consistently defends the workers and peasants, consistently fights for the poor man's destiny, consistently strives to improve the life of ordinary people, consistently fights against imperialism, consistently defends the unity of the Republic of Indonesia, consistently works to ensure that the red-and-white flag of Indonesia should fly over the entire land of Indonesia. That is why the CPI has grown so big."

I call upon all the Indonesian Communists to consider very carefully these words of Bung Karno's about the reasons for the growth and strength of the Communist Party of Indonesia. Bung Karno's statement is absolutely correct and precise. The Communist Party of Indonesia has become big and strong also because it carries in its heart the Behest of the Suffering of the People.

Therefore, let us march forward in the spirit of revolutionary offensive, with the Behest of the Suffering of the People in our hearts!

Long live the great Communist Party of Indonesia!
Glory to Marxism-Leninism and the world Communist movement!
Long live the working class and the people of Indonesia!
Glory to the Party and the country!
Long live NASAKOM!
Long live Bung Karno!

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RESOLUTIONS OF THE CC, SYRIAN COMMUNIST PARTY*

At an enlarged plenary meeting held from the middle of May through June 1965, the Central Committee of the Syrian Communist Party discussed the situation in the country and in the Arab world, the Moscow Consultative Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, and the situation in Vietnam and in the Dominion Republic.

ON THE SITUATION IN THE COUNTRY

The Central Committee noted that Arab Syria has made signal progress, especially in the recent period, effected far-reaching economic and social reforms and secured the first positive changes in the political field.

Early this year decrees were issued on the protection of the oil and other natural wealth of the country and on the nationalization of more than 100 industrial companies, including all big and most of the medium factories, as well as cotton ginneries, the sale of medicines and oil products. In addition, the state took over the import of important industrial and commercial goods, the export of vital agricultural goods (wheat, barley, cotton, etc.) and control over some branches of domestic trade. At the same time the implementation of the agrarian reform has continued and in some regions much headway has been made in the confiscation and distribution of land.

All these measures, along with those undertaken earlier — the nationalization of foreign companies and enterprises (railway lines, big power plants, tobacco factories), banks, flour mills, big textile mills, woodworking plants, the construction of a number of state projects, such as the Latakia port, an oil refinery, dams, etc. — have ensured the leading role of the state sector in industry and in the development of the national economy.

These measures inflicted a telling blow at the remnants of feudalism as well as at the big bourgeoisie and the local reactionaries. The inevitable result of the failure of the capitalist system to ensure the prosperity of the country, they created the essential prerequisities for advance along the road of progress and socialism. They provided the way out of the difficulties Syria had been experiencing for a long time. These changes were also due to

*Nidal al-Shaab, Damascus, June 1965.

other important factors such as the intensification of the popular and class struggle in Syria for freedom and progress, against exploitation and backwardness, the influence of the international forces of progress and socialism and the consolidation of their position in the Arab world, and the preponderance of progressive nationalist and pro-socialist elements in the government apparatus.

These economic and social measures were accompanied by a relative relaxation of political tension in the country. Imprisoned democrats and progressives were released; the restrictions imposed on some representatives of the progressive and democratic forces were partially abolished; trade union elections were held after a long interval, though certain shortcomings came to light in the course of these elections. The masses began more actively to exercise the rights and freedoms granted them by law.

The authorities took a tougher stand against imperialist, Israeli and Zionist conspiracies and the criminal designs of the Arab reactionaries collaborating with imperialism and Zionism. This was clearly shown by the condemnation by high-ranking Syrian officials of the encroachments of the U.S., British and West German imperialists on the rights of the people and by the sympathy Syrian statesmen have voiced for the countries fighting against aggression, for their independence — such as Aden, Bahrein, South Arabia, Vietnam, the Congo and the Dominican Republic. This attitude was expressed in the death sentences passed on U.S. and Israeli spies. At present important steps are being undertaken to strengthen cooperation and solidarity with the socialist and newly-free countries. In the Arab world, Syria has been working hard to avoid being forced into isolation and to improve and make normal relations with all the newly-free Arab countries in order to make these relations genuinely fraternal. Syria displays readiness to help find a solution of the Yemen problem that would guarantee the security, stability and development of the Yemeni Arab Republic.

Syrian progressives and democrats have been supporting and defending all progressive measures. They make constructive proposals calculated to ensure the success of these measures, to remove the obstacles in their way, and to strengthen the country's progressive policy. They regard these measures as a significant change in official policy. The Communist Party called upon the workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals and all progressives, irrespective of their views, to support them and declared its readiness to cooperate and work in every field to ensure the success of these measures, which confirm the correctness of the Communist stand with regard to the course Syrian development should take. The Communists have made a constructive contribution to the realization of these measures and to their defense against the

attempts of the imperialists and reactionaries to nullify their effect. The Communist Party has upheld Syria's prestige in the Arab world and on an international plane. The reforms were also approved by representatives of certain other progressive forces and trends, regardless of their relations with some elements and groups in power.

The reaction of the enemies of Syria was different. The imperialists and reactionaries stepped up their conspiratorial and subversive activities. The U.S. imperialists intensified their struggle against Syria, seeking to bring about changes in the system and policy of government to suit their own ends. Israel, aided and abetted by the big imperialist states, is committing acts of aggression on the Syrian border and in the area of the Jordan River irrigation project, and threatens to carry out this policy on a still bigger scale. Of late West Germany has discarded its mask, exposing itself as an enemy of the Arab striving for independence and progress, as a supporter of Israel, which it supplies with money and weapons, to the detriment of the interests of all the Arab countries. This policy was supported by imperialism and Zionism, as well as Arab and world reaction. All these forces hoped to check the country's progress. Seeking to subvert the progressive reforms, they played on the difficulties experienced by the small and middle shopkeepers and the people's discontent with the policy and methods of the previous government. And although the struggle of the workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals, patriotic-minded soldiers and officers and all progressives inside and outside the state apparatus frustrated the reactionaries' designs, this does not mean that imperialism and reaction have been completely defeated. The threat to the country and to the progressive reforms, whose implementation is encountering numerous difficulties, remains. Fear of progressive reforms in Syria unites imperialism, Zionism and reaction in a single front. They scorn no means in their desire to check the country's advance.

These evil forces support the isolationist trends to be found among some government circles and progressives, and constantly seek to engineer a split, to sow discord and suspicion among the supporters of progress in Syria and in the whole Arab world, to prevent their cooperation and alliance. They realize that the cooperation of all progressives, patriots and democrats will defeat their sinister and criminal designs. They are exploiting mistakes and economic difficulties and trying to aggravate them in every way. They encourage the subversive activities of their agents and the export of capital from the country, sabotage economic activity and disseminate rumors and tales calculated to evoke the discontent of the masses. They are exploiting the postponement by the authorities of the realization of major projects, their failure

to expand the production base and utilize the natural wealth of the country and the absence of any clear-cut plans in this field. They have agents in the government apparatus who are sabotaging the progressive reforms.

Some of our statesmen cannot but be aware of the pressure exercised by the imperialists and their henchmen. But they consider that this pressure can be resisted with the help of maneuvers, compromise and hedging, by avoiding everything that may anger the imperialists. However, the Syrian people know well from their own experience that they cannot expect anything from the imperialist states and their agents but subversion and conspiracies. Therefore any attempt to appease the imperialists can only weaken Syria's internal and international position, disunite the patriotic and progressive forces, aggravate the difficulties and isolate the country from the world forces of socialism and progress.

The masses, all the progressive forces both in and outside government are in duty bound to be on their guard against the intrigues of the imperialists and reactionaries and the criminal expansionist designs of Israel. The Left trends in the country are gaining ground. Progressive phenomena in economic and social life are becoming ever more manifest. But the masses realize that everything that has been done is merely the beginning of a long road, that there are many obstacles to progress and development which have to be removed. The people's dream of a prospering socialist Syria will not materialize spontaneously, but as a result of a hard fight for further political reforms, against all restrictions on the progressive forces and their spokesmen whose devotion to the cause of freedom and progress the people do not question. This would enable them to take a direct part in consolidating the country's independence, in the struggle to overcome the difficulties and to foil the intrigues and conspiracies of the imperialists and reactionaries.

The need to strengthen the progressive and patriotic trend characteristic of the present political development in Syria and of the country's international position, to realize our people's dreams of a bright socialist future, poses before the authorities a great many pressing tasks, the most important of which are as follows:

1) to intensify the fight against imperialism; bolder resistance to imperialist conspiracies and intrigues; strengthening the bonds of friendship with all the progressive countries opposing imperialism and colonialism, especially the socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union, a loyal friend of the Arab peoples and a reliable champion of peace and mankind's emancipation and progress;

2) continued struggle against the attempts to isolate Syria; improvement and normalization of relations with all the newly-

free Arab countries, above all Algeria, the UAR and Yemen, with the Arab peoples and all the progressive forces in the Arab world, in order to make these relations genuinely fraternal, as an essential condition for stepping up the fight against imperialism and Zionism, saving the natural wealth of the Arabs against plunder, liberating the parts of the Arab world that are still under the colonial yoke, frustrating Israel's criminal plans, and guaranteeing the rights of the Palestinian Arabs in their long-suffering homeland;

3) democratic and correct guidance of the public sector, with reliance on the working people and all those devoted to socialism; prohibition of any exploitation in this sector; scientific utilization of its funds and substantial profits to improve the condition of the working people, expand production and build new enterprises;

4) elaboration of a scientifically-based financial and economic policy to increase the national income, prevent the squandering of public funds and the growth of the cost of living, bring down the prices of staple foods, promote medical care and public education on a new basis, and improve the material and cultural standards of the people;

5) implementation of the principle "the land belong to those who till it." This obliges the authorities to implement the agrarian reform law more rapidly and resolutely, securing the participation of the broad masses of peasants, and to advance towards an even more deep-going agrarian reform which would eradicate big land ownership and the survivals of feudalism and ensure the interests of the small and middle peasants. It is also necessary to give every assistance to the peasants and promote and encourage all forms of cooperative farming on a strictly voluntary basis;

6) defense of the gains of the workers; improvement of their material and housing conditions as well as medical services; satisfaction of their demand to bring the labor and social security laws into conformity with the new Syrian realities and the interests of the working class; extension of Law No. 49, which bans arbitrary dismissals, to state employees and the employees of the nationalized enterprises, and of the decree of the minimum wage to all workers; respect for trade union freedoms; provision of jobs to the unemployed;

7) consideration for the interests of the small shopkeepers, artisans and peasants; extension of credits and loans to these sections; immediate compensation to the small shareholders of the nationalized enterprises;

8) a sound and clear-cut policy of development and industrialization based on our financial and material possibilities and on assistance from socialist and other states without any political strings attached; priority to be given the independent exploitation

of our oil deposits in our own interests; construction of a dam on the Euphrates, a fertilizer plant and other projects indispensable for combating backwardness, promoting economic progress and tangibly improving the living conditions of the working people;

9) democratic freedoms, such as freedom of speech, assembly and demonstration, the right to strike, and others, for all the progressive socialist forces, so that representatives of the people should be able to exercise all legitimate rights, especially the right of control over the authorities and administration, to take part in developing and governing the country and to shape its policy, and to combat manifestations of national discrimination and the police methods still used by some officials.

Success in the realization of all these tasks depends primarily on the degree to which the authorities recognize their importance and on their ability to carry them out. The measures enumerated above conform to the objective requirements of development and to the needs and aspirations of the people. All progressives, whether they are in power or not, should unite and cooperate in the realization of these vital tasks, which will launch us on the road to progress and provide a reliable guarantee against any return to the past so eagerly awaited by the imperialists and reactionaries.

The unity and cooperation of all these forces in a single patriotic progressive front or any other alliances necessitated by the political and social situation in the country and not by subjective trends and wishes; removal of the remnants of mutual suspicion and distrust among these forces; establishment of Left unity; rejection of the ideas of monopolization and isolation; confidence in the people, and the guaranteeing of their democratic freedoms —all this is essential for accomplishing the important tasks facing the country and for repulsing the external and internal enemies of Syria.

A correct understanding of the role of the Syrian working class, the main progressive and constantly developing force whose interests coincide with the interests of socialism, is one of the main prerequisities for success in the struggle to safeguard and extend the gains of the people and create the political, economic and social conditions for the country's advance to socialism. This class is objectively the most revolutionary class in our society, in the struggle for the goals of the national-liberation revolution aimed against imperialism and capitalism, for carrying this revolution to a victorious conclusion and turning it into a socialist revolution.

The Syrian Communists, who believe in the socialist future of the country, who are devoted to the ideas of scientific socialism, the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, and who have participated and

continue to participate in all the social and national battles waged by the country, declare their readiness to fight still more resolutely for the cooperation and unity of all the progressive and patriotic forces, for building an atmosphere of mutual confidence and respect among them.

The Syrian Communists will bend every effort to beat back the imperialists and reactionaries, to consolidate and deepen the gains of the masses, to continue the great struggle for socialism, to establish the anti-imperialist cooperation of the Arabs and Arab unity on a sound basis which would conform to the interests of the peoples of the Arab countries striving for democracy and socialism.

ON THE SITUATION IN THE ARAB WORLD

The Central Committee has come to the conclusion that national and social struggle is mounting in the Arab countries. Such Arab countries as Algeria, Syria and Egypt, which are carrying out far-reaching progressive reforms, are strengthening their positions in the Arab world and in the international arena and exerting increasing influence on the neighboring Arab countries. In Syria itself, progressive changes are taking ever deeper root, extending to the most diverse areas of socio-economic life.

The working class, the patriotic forces and the masses of the Arabian Peninsula, Bahrein and Aden in particular, are waging a political and armed struggle against British imperialism and the oil monopolies, against the puppet governments in the Arab emirates and principalities. The working class, the laboring masses and progressive forces in Yemen, the Sudan, Morocco, Lebanon, Libya and other Arab countries are exerting increasing influence on the national and social struggle in this part of the globe. They are fighting against reactionary and monarchial regimes for the establishment of independent, republican, democratic governments.

It is indisputable that the character of the present epoch, the major achievements of the countries of the socialist system in different fields, the growth of the national-liberation movement throughout the world, and the disintegration of the colonial system give impetus to the national-liberation movement and deepen its patriotic and progressive content. It is equally indisputable that the successes of the Arab countries marching along the road of social progress, their numerous achievements in the sphere of industrialization and socio-economic development likewise serve to promote the growth of this struggle.

This progressive national and patriotic upsurge has dismayed the imperialists and Zionists, specifically U.S., British and West

German imperialism and their outpost, Israel, which are doing their utmost to stem the tide. In some places, such as Bahrein or Aden, the imperialists employ old brutal methods of suppressing the national and patriotic movement. In other countries, such as Tunisia, Morocco, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia and Libya, they use other methods. Specifically, they exploit the differences and contradictions in each Arab country and the disagreements between one Arab country and another. They also use their aid, including the delivery of arms, to bind some Arab countries to the European Common Market, and their traditional influence through their monopolies, military bases and agents in this part of the world.

The imperialists resorted to these methods in the battle which flared up after the exposure of the U.S.-West German arms deliveries to Israel. In an attempt to undermine Arab unity and strengthen the positions of the imperialists and Zionists in the struggle against the national and progressive movement in the Arab countries, they induced Bourghiba to undertake a series of visits to a number of Arab countries, urging reconciliation with Israel and maintenance of relations with West Germany. Bourghiba's statements during his tour caused jubilation in the imperialist and Zionist circles as valuable support for Israel, on the one hand, and to West Germany's claims, on the other. The United States and the FRG gave their blessing to these pronouncements and intensified their attempts to bribe Tunisian rulers and the rulers of a number of other Arab countries with financial and military aid, in order to dissuade them from recognizing the German Democratic Republic and breaking off political and economic relations with West Germany and also to weaken hostility towards Israel and safeguard imperialist interests in the Arab East.

With the help of pressure and handouts, the imperialists managed to prevent the recognition of the GDR by the Arab governments and to preserve economic relations between these countries and West Germany. The propaganda organs of some Arab countries try to justify this by pointing to their unanimity on this question, although collective or individual recognition of the German Democratic Republic is clearly in the national and progressive interests of the newly-free Arab countries.

The U.S., British and West German imperiailsts pursue the following primary objectives in the Arab East:

1) to retain control over oil deposits, seize new ones and preserve the unequal economic relations with the countries of this region;

2) to keep Israel as a base of imperialism in the center of the Arab East, as an aggressive force threatening the movement of the Arab countries along the road of national liberation, and

social progress, as a geographical barrier dividing the Arab world into two parts;

3) to retain the imperialist military bases in Aden, Libya, Saudi Arabia, Bahrein, Morocco and some other Arab countries;

4) to undermine friendship and cooperation between the Arab and socialist countries;

5) to strike a blow at the patriotic and progressive forces, in particular the Communists, to prevent an alliance of these forces and to isolate them one from another.

In the pursuit of these aims the imperialists rely on reactionary elements in the Arab countries, on provoking disputes between them on their armed forces in this region, on the threat of aggression.

All these maneuvers of the imperialists and their agents are bound to fall through. The progressive and patriotic forces in Syria and the other Arab countries can and must unite and work together to frustrate them.

The consolidation and extension of the socio-economic reforms that have been and are being implemented in Syria, Egypt and Algeria as these countries advance to socialism, the extension of democracy for the workers, peasants, all toilers and the revolutionary intellectuals, the joint actions of the patriotic forces, the growing cooperation with the socialist countries, specifically with the Soviet Union—all this serves to strengthen the national and democratic movement in the Arab world.

Defense of the Yemeni Arab Republic and consolidation of its positions, cooperation between the patriotic forces devoted to the republican regime, and the liquidation of reactionary elements in Yemen open up before the Yemeni people broad prospects of socio-economic progress and encourage the progressive forces in different Arab countries in their struggle for liberation and social progress.

Disagreements in the Arab world and particularly between newly-free Arab countries greatly harm the national-liberation movement and the struggle of the Arab masses for socialism and divert the progressive forces in the Arab countries from the struggle against the chief enemy—imperialism, Zionism and reaction. The removal of these disagreements in the interests of the national struggle and the struggle for socialism in the light of the objective situation in the Arab world, recognition of the role each progressive detachment plays in the national-liberation movement, abandonment by one or another group of claims to the monopoly right to the role of vanguard, renunciation of interference in the internal affairs of fraternal countries—all this would help rally the progressive forces, strengthen Arab solidarity and bring genuine Arab unity nearer.

The interests of the Arab countries demand settlement of the general national Arab problems along democratic progressive lines, on the basis of recognition of the national rights of the Kurdish people in Iraq within the framework of the Iraqi Republic. Given cooperation on a national, democratic and progressive basis, the newly-free Arab countries will be able to play an important role in liquidating Israel's aggression and Zionism, defending Arab water resources, carrying out their Jordan River project and restoring the Palestinian Arabs' rights to their despoiled country.

The Syrian Communist Party, together with the masses of the Syrian people and the patriotic progressive forces, will continue the struggle for the following objectives:

1) to consolidate the profound progressive reforms in Syria and support the patriotic anti-imperalist policy;

2) to support the deep-going socio-economic reforms in Algeria and the UAR;

3) to continue to strengthen the Yemeni Arab Republic and defend it against imperialist and reactionary conspiracies;

4) to support the actions of the patriotic and progressive forces in the Arab countries;

5) to intensify the fight against the U.S., British and West German imperialists, for the return to the Arabs of their wealth seized by the oil and other monopolies, for wresting other Arab natural resources from the imperialists, for establishing control over them to promote the economic and social progress of the Arab countries themselves and the struggle against imperialism and Israel;

6) to support the just struggle of the Palestinian Arabs for the restoration of their rights to their despoiled country; to repulse the aggression of Israel, which serves as a base of imperialism, an outpost for constant aggressive acts against the Arab countries and a weapon for defending imperialist interests in this region;

7) to ensure the development, on a sound basis, of each Arab country and all the Arab countries generally; to strengthen and extend national progressive gains; to consolidate cooperation and friendship with the socialist countries, the Soviet Union in particular; to draw upon the experience of the socialist countries in the field of economic development and social progress, in keeping with the concrete objective situation in the Arab countries;

8) to strengthen the unity and cooperation of the national progressive forces in the Arab world and in each Arab country;

9) to fight untiringly for universal peace; to expose the warmongers and spare mankind the horrors of a global nuclear war.

The Syrian Communist Party extends a fraternal hand to all the national progressive forces in Syria and in the entire Arab world and urges them to cooperate in accelerating changes in the

Arab world and its advance along the road of genuine national liberation, social progress and socialism, in establishing genuine Arab unity.

ON THE MOSCOW CONSULTATIVE MEETING OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

The CC SCP heard a report on the Consultative Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow on March 1-5, 1965, and on the work of its delegation at the Meeting.

The CC regards the Meeting as a major contribution to the unity of the world Communist movement and to the struggle against imperialism, for national independence, peace, democracy and socialism.

The Meeting took place at a time when U.S. imperialism is doing its utmost to stop the growth of the forces of socialism, the national-liberation movement and the world working-class movement. Supported by their West German and British partners, the U.S. imperialists engage in feverish activities aimed against the freedom of the peoples and universal peace. These activities clearly manifest themselves in Asia, Africa and Latin America, as well as in our Arab region. Hence the need for still greater vigilance and mobilization of the patriotic, revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces.

The Central Committee supports the Consultative Meeting's appeal for assistance to the heroic Vietnamese people with a view to putting an end to all acts of armed aggression against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and securing the withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Vietnam. It condemns the U.S. intervention in the Dominican Republic and demands the withdrawal of aggressive U.S. forces from that country as well.

The Central Committee shares the conclusion of the Consultative Meeting that what unites the Marxist-Leninist parties outweighs that which disunites them. It is necessary and possible to act jointly in the fight against imperialism, in supporting the liberation movement of the peoples and in the struggle for the vital interests of the working class and for peace. Unity of action for these puropses is the most reliable way of overcoming the existing differences and cementing the unity of the Communist movement. This unity is the basis for the cooperation of the revolutionary forces of all the world.

The disagreements in the Communist movement harm the national-liberation and working-class movements and play into the hands of the imperialists and reactionaries.

The CC considers that the new pressing problems, such as those of the national-liberation movement at the present stage, call for

discussion at bilateral and multilateral meetings. The conferences that the Arab Communist parties have held are proof of this. In present conditions international conferences, which should be held on the basis of mutual respect and equality and independence of every party, are a correct method for exchanging opinions and experience with a view to overcoming disagreements and working out a common line of the world Communist movement. Therefore the proposal for a new international conference, to be convened at a suitable date, fully conforms to the interests of the world Communist movement.

To create a favorable atmosphere for a new international conference, it is necessary to discontinue all actions that may lead to a split among the Communists in the various countries, observe the principle of non-interference in the affairs of other Communist parties, and conduct all discussions in the spirit of mutual respect.

Organization of a preparatory consultative meeting of the 81 parties that took part in the 1960 Conference will play an important part in preparing the new international conference.

The Syrian Communist Party will do everything to contribute, jointly with all the other fraternal parties, to consolidating the unity of the world Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and the historic documents of the Moscow conferences of 1957 and 1960.

The Central Committee fully approves the activities of the CC delegation at the Consultative Meeting and its efforts to ensure the success of the Meeting.

MESSAGE OF GREETINGS TO THE NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT OF SOUTH VIETNAM AND THE PARTY OF WORKING PEOPLE OF VIETNAM

The Central Committee considers that the intervention by U.S. imperialists in South Vietnam, their participation in the war being waged there against the will of the people, their aggression against the DRV, expressed in the savage bombings of peaceful towns and villages, and their intervention in the Dominican Republic are yet another proof that the United States is intensifying its offensive against the freedom of the peoples and assuming the role of world gendarme, thereby causing international tension.

The U.S. aggression, the brutal killing of women and children, and the use of chemical weapons (in violation of international agreements) have evoked the wrathful protests of people everywhere, the American people included. The heroic resistance of the Vietnamese people and the People's Liberation Army, which is inflicting heavy blows on the U.S. invaders and their agents, has aroused the admiration and sympathy of all the peoples. It shows

that imperialism is unable to check the national-liberation movement even by most barbarous methods. On behalf of all the Syrian Communists and progressives, the CC SCP condemns the U.S. interference in South Vietnam and aggression against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and joins the millions demanding an end to these acts.

The Central Committee pays tribute to the solidarity displayed by the Syrian people and government in protesting against this aggression, and urges the people, and all the patriotic and progressive forces of the country to intensify their efforts and broaden the movement of solidarity with the Vietnamese people.

The Central Committee greets the Party of the Working People of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam who are leading their people's struggle against U.S. imperialism, for the sovereignty and unity of the Vietnamese people.

ON THE SITUATION IN THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

The Central Committee considers the armed intervention by the U.S. imperialists in the Dominican Republic, their support of the reactionaries and their complicity in the killing of Dominicans to be a flagrant violation of the sovereignty of the Dominican people and their right to self-determination. These facts show that the U.S. imperialists have assumed the role of international gendarme and are doing everything to prevent the liberation of the peoples and check their development.

This intervention has aroused the indignation of all the Latin American peoples and of all right-minded people, who have denounced it and demanded "Hands off the Dominican Republic!"

The CC SCP hails the Dominican people's struggle against U.S. imperialism, for their freedom and sovereignty, and wishes them complete victory. The CC SCP extends greetings to the Central Committee of the Dominican People's Socialist Party, which works jointly with all the progressive national forces of the republic for the realization of the aspirations of the people, for the withdrawal of the invading U.S. troops, for ousting the reactionaries and agents of the imperialists from their positions, and for the establishment of a national government which can give the people the long-awaited freedom and sovereignty.

KIM IL SUNG, CHAIRMAN OF THE CC KPL, CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE KPDR, INTERVIEWED BY CUBAN JOURNALISTS*

Q. What are the prospects of unification for Korea, including the possibility of hastening unification by settling the question of correspondence and economic exchange after the plan which you, Comrade Chairman of the Council of Ministers, submitted last January?

A. As you know, our Government, in accord with the desire and will of our whole people, has persevered in its efforts to bring about the unification of the country.

However, we have met with no success so far. The territory of our country is still divided, and the national split continues. This is due to the interference in the internal affairs of Korea by U.S. imperialism, which, under the flag of the United Nations has occupied South Korea, and to the policy of division it pursues.

Our Government's position on the question of unification is quite clear. We consistently adhere to the view that the unification of Korea must take place without any outside interference, and by peaceful means, on democratic principles. Proceeding from these principles, we have repeatedly offered the South Korean authorities to hold free democratic elections—after the withdrawal of the U.S. forces—throughout South and North Korea and to establish a Korean government representing all sections of the population.

These proposals, feasible and acceptable for all concerned, are evidence of our unprejudiced position. They meet not only the national interests of the whole Korean people but also the interests of peace in the Far East and the rest of the world. But the American imperialists and their South Korean puppets are opposed to this reasonable plan.

In view of the opposition of the U.S. imperialists and the ruling clique in South Korea to the establishment of a single Korean government through free democratic elections, we have proposed confederation as a transitional form of the settlement of outstanding issues of vital importance for our entire people, and for the gradual achievement of full unification. We have also proposed settling the question of economic and cultural exchanges and of correspondence between South and North Korea to alleviate the misery and suffer-

*Nodon Sin-Mun, June 7, 1965.

ing of the people caused by the present division of their native land.

The South Korean authorities, however, have obdurately refused to accept even these proposals.

To this day there exists the abnormal situation in which — in addition to the division of the territory — parents and children, relatives and friends living in the North and South of Korea are unable to correspond.

Moreover, the puppet government of Pak Chong Hi, on orders from the U.S. imperialists, recently conducted negotiations with the Japanese militarists and concluded a number of treacherous "treaties" and "agreements" which raise an even greater obstacle to unification.

The "treaties" and "agreements" signed in the course of the "Korean-Japanese negotiations" serve the aggressive aims of the U.S. imperialists, who are bent on forming a "Northeast Asian military alliance" with the revived Japanese militarism as its backbone in order to step up aggression against the peoples of Asia, prevent the unification of Korea and perpetuate the division of the country. The entire Korean people are bitterly opposed to this move.

The chief obstacle to Korean union is the occupation of South Korea by the U.S. imperialists and their policy of interference in Korea's internal affairs. There are no grounds whatever for the continued presence of U.S. troops in South Korea. The American army must get out of South Korea and leave the Korean people to settle their problems themselves.

The surest way to secure the withdrawal of the U.S. troops from South Korea and to hasten unification is to press forward socialist construction in the northern part of the country, to strengthen our revolutionary base politically, economically and militarily, and rally the South Korean people in a united anti-American front for the salvation of the homeland, and in this way augment the revolutionary forces of South Korea.

At the same time the solidarity of the Korean people with the international revolutionary forces should be strengthened.

When our own forces have been consolidated, when a vigorous anti-American struggle for the salvation of the homeland has been launched and international support for our people's struggle intensified, the aggressive forces of the U.S. imperialists will have to get out of South Korea. When the U.S. army has left South Korea, the Korean people will themselves unite their country.

For centuries the Korean people lived together in peace and harmony as one nation, with a common language and common customs. The Korean people cannot remain divided. The U.S. imperialist aggressors will be driven out of South Korea as certainly as they have been driven out of other countries and our people will

settle their problems themselves. This is the logical course of history, and no power on earth can stop it.

The heroic Cuban people are constantly rendering our people active assistance and support in their struggle for the withdrawal of the American forces from South Korea and for the right to settle the issue of unification. This support is of inestimable value to us, it is an inspiration to our people.

I take this opportunity on behalf of the Central Committee of our Party, the Government of the Republic and the entire Korean people to express our deepest gratitude to the United Party of Socialist Revolution of Cuba, the Revolutionary Government and the heroic Cuban people headed by Comrade Fidel Castro, for their continuous and active assistance and support of our just cause.

Q. What can you say about the relations between the Korean People's Democratic Republic and the Republic of Cuba at the present time and the possibilities of expanding trade and cultural intercourse between our two countries?

A. The relations between the Korean People's Democratic Republic and the Republic of Cuba are very good at the present time. The relations of friendship and cooperation between our countries are relations of a new type, founded on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The Korean and Cuban peoples are militant friends and brothers who are fighting shoulder to shoulder for the great revolutionary cause of the international working class against the common enemy —U.S. imperialism. That is why our peoples understand each other so well, that accounts for their sympathy and support for each other.

The Korean people have been on the side of the Cuban people from the first day of the victory of the Cuban revolution and have vigorously opposed the aggressive designs of the American imperialists to crush the Cuban revolution. Our people have always actively supported the Cuban people's struggle.

Our Party and Government fully support the policy of the United Party of Socialist Revolution and its Revolutionary Government aimed at consolidating the gains of the revolution and promoting socialist construction in Cuba.

The Cuban people have always vigorously supported the Korean people's struggle for socialism and for the independent reunion of their country

This mutual support in the spirit of proletarian internationalism not only accords with the interests of the peoples of our two countries but is also in harmony with the interests of the unity of the socialist camp. The relations of friendly cooperation between Korea and Cuba grow stronger from day to day. Economic exchange and trade relations will expand as socialist construction progresses in

both countries. We for our part shall do everything to step up trade with Cuba.

We must also expand cultural exchange between our two countries. The culture of every country has its distinctive national features and each contributes its share to the treasure store of world culture. Cultural intercourse makes for mutual understanding between nations, and is of tremendous value as a means of mutual enrichment of national culture.

I am convinced that the relations of friendship and cooperation between our countries in the sphere of politics, economy and culture will continue to expand.

Q. How does the Government of the Korean People's Democratic Republic regard the systematic offensive of American imperialism against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the transfer of troops from South Korea to Vietnam?

A. The U.S. imperialists have long been waging a barbarous war of aggression. They launched their "special war" in South Vietnam without warning and have gone so far as to use poison gas and chemical weapons there. Now they have embarked on gradual escalation of the war and are stepping up their aggression against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

The war which the U.S. imperialists are waging against the Vietnamese people is a war of aggression. In resisting the aggressor, the Vietnamese people are fighting a just war, a war of liberation.

The U.S. imperialist aggression against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam is an act of provocation against all the countries of the socialist camp, against the independent countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, against progressive people everywhere.

The U.S. imperialists are encountering the heroic resistance of the Vietnamese people and are suffering defeat after defeat. In an effort to find a way out of the impasse, they are feverishly maneuvering, intensifying their military build-up in South Vietnam and even drawing the armed forces of their satellites into the conflict.

At the dictates of the United States, the South Korean clique of Pak Chong Hi, despite the protest of the entire Korean people, has already sent more than two thousand puppet troops to South Vietnam and is planning to send several thousand more.

This is an act of intolerable treachery, a betrayal of the interests of the entire Korean people. The dispatch of troops to South Vietnam clearly shows that the Pak Chong Hi clique is a puppet of American imperialism carrying out imperialist plans of aggression in Asia. By taking part in the criminal war of aggression in Vietnam, the Pak Chong Hi clique stands exposed not only as an enemy of the Korean people but as an enemy of all the peoples of Asia and the rest of the world who are fighting for freedom, independence and progress.

Peace-loving people the world over wrathfully condemn the U.S.

imperialist aggression against Vietnam and are rendering active assistance and support to the Vietnamese people. The people of Vietnam are fighting a just war and they are bound to win. The U.S. imperialists cannot escape ignominious defeat.

Q. What position would the Korean People's Democratic Republic adopt if the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam were to need more effective aid from the socialist camp?

A. Today the Vietnamese people are fighting the American aggressors in defense of their independence and sovereignty, but at the same time they are safeguarding the security of the socialist camp, safeguarding peace in Asia and the rest of the world.

This imposes upon all the socialist countries, all the independent states of Asia, Africa and Latin America, progressive people the world over, the obligation to take a firm stand against the aggressive actions of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam and to render the embattled Vietnamese people effective assistance. The Vietnamese people are entitled to such assistance.

Our people regard it as their internationalist duty to render active assistance to the people of Vietnam in their just war.

We fully support the statement published on March 22, 1965, by the Central Committee of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam in connection with the escalation by the United States of their war of aggression in Vietnam, and also the four conditions for settling the Vietnamese question advanced by the National Assembly and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

In its statement of March 26, the Government of the Korean People's Democratic Republic made its position quite plain: it fully supports the struggle waged by the people of South Vietnam and is prepared to render the South Vietnamese people all possible material and moral assistance, including arms, and is ready at any time to send volunteers should the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam wish it. Later we again clarified our position in the decision of the Supreme National Assembly on May 20.

At the present time a nationwide movement for active aid to the Vietnamese people is under way in our country. Many young people have asked to be sent to the Vietnamese front as volunteers.

The Korean people have decided to share the struggle of the Vietnamese people and will continue to render every possible support and assistance to the Vietnamese people in their just struggle.

Q. What do you think of the international implications of U.S. intervention in the affairs of the Dominican Republic?

A. In April the people of the Dominican Republic took up arms to fight for freedom and democracy, and overthrew the military dictatorship. It was an eruption of the Dominican people's pent-up

hatred for the military dictatorship. It is the internal affair of the Dominican people and no one has any right to interfere.

By landing their marines and the troops of satellite OAS ccuntries in Santo Domingo and launching hostilities against the Dominican patriots, the U.S. imperialists are brazenly interfering in the internal affairs of that republic.

The U.S. invasion of the Dominican Republic is an act of provocation against the peoples of Latin America who are fighting for national independence and social process. It is a serious threat to peace in Latin America and to world peace. The peoples of Latin America and progressive people the world over are therefore waging a courageous struggle against the flagrant interference in the internal affairs of the Dominican Republic, against the aggressive actions of the United States in that country.

The victory of the Cuban revolution has had a tremendous and inspiring effect on the struggle the Latin American peoples are waging for independence and progress. It has instilled them with faith in their ultimate victory over the U.S. imperalists and their myrmidons.

Today the rapid spread of the popular struggle for freedom and independence on the Latin American continent is cutting the ground from under the feet of the U.S. imperalists.

In an effort to wipe out the revolutionary gains of the Cuban people, the U.S. imperialists are resorting to one act of aggression after another, installing fascist-type military puppet regimes in Latin American countries and brutally suppressing the liberation struggle of the peoples. But all their attempts to subjugate the peoples of the Dominican Republic and Latin America are unavailing. The more the aggression is expanded, the more violent the emnity and hatred of the peoples of the Dominican Republic and all Latin America for the U.S. imperialists, who are becoming more and more isolated and are bound to be beaten.

Q. What progress are the people of the Korean People's Democratic Republic making on the Seven-Year Plan?

A. The Seven-Year Plan targets set by the Fourth Congress of our Party are to effect a technological and cultural revolution, build a solid material and technical base for socialism and radically improve the material and cultural standards of the people.

The first four years were to be devoted to consolidating and modernizing the existing heavy industry in order to concentrate on the rapid development of light industry and agriculture, as well as on substantial improvement in the living standard. During the subsequent three years attention is to be focussed on expanding heavy industry, improving its technological equipment, strengthening the material and technical base of socialism and at the same time raising the living standard.

During the past four years we have made significant headway with the first half of the Seven-Year Plan, and have begun this year to carry out the second half of the plan.

During the past two or three years, owing to the intensification of U.S. imperialist aggression in Asia and elsewhere substantial sums have had to be spent on strengthening our defenses. This has affected the fulfilment of the seven-year program to some extent. Nevertheless, we are determined to fulfil the program by concentrating on promoting the production of the iron and steel, fuel, power, chemical, engineering and other key industries, with a view to raising their productive capacity.

At the present time, besides building big plants, we are putting up more small and medium-sized works of local significance, endeavoring to lower production costs and improve quality, increase labor productivity and institute more rigid economy.

At the same time, we are continuing to increase our investments in agriculture in order to speed the development of this branch of the economy. In the specific conditions of our country, which has very little arable and fertile soil, it is extremely difficult to ensure an adequate supply of foodstuffs. However, thanks to our Party's policy of increasing investments in agriculture since the war, a solid material and technical base has been built in agriculture. Major successes have been achieved in the matter of irrigation, mechanization, electrification and chemicalization, with the result that agricultural production has rapidly increased and we have been able to satisfy our own food requirements.

At the present time our Party is concentrating on the chemicalization of agriculture.

A number of measures relating to the fulfilment of the Seven-Year-Plan were discussed at the Tenth Plenum of our Central Committee held at the end of last year.

The principal task set by the Plenum was to achieve a radical advance in the fulfilment of the Seven-Year National Economic Plan by adhering more consistently to the general line of the Party in every branch of the national economy, promoting the technological revolution, improving labor organization and management at the enterprises, enforcing more rigid economy and making maximum use of reserves.

As you see, our Party is mustering all its forces for the successful completion of the Seven-Year Plan. And we are confident that our people will carry out the second half of the program as successfully as they reached the target of the first half.

I take this opportunity to congratulate you on the tremendous progress made by the Cuban people in building socialism in your country, and especially on the harvesting of the record sugar cane crop this year. I wish the Cuban people, rallied still closer around

its Revolutionary Government headed by Comrade Fidel Castro, still more brilliant victories in their struggle against U.S. imperialism, for the construction of socialism.

STATEMENT BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ARGENTINA*

Once again, public opinion is struck by a well-organized McCarthyist smear campaign. This campaign, directed chiefly against the Communists, is in the last analysis designed to strike the Left Peronists, the working class and the people as a whole, all the democratic, patriotic and anti-imperialist forces.

The main object of the campaign is to provide conditions for suppressing the working-class and popular movement for economic, political and social demands, against the transfer of oil, power and other resources of the nation to the U.S. imperialists.

1. WHO IS BEHIND THIS McCARTHYIST CAMPAIGN?

While Senator Gelsi is the most conspicuous and noisy figure, the hands pulling the strings behind the scenes are clearly those of the U.S. imperialists operating through the U.S. Embassy.

No one doubts any longer that U.S. imperialism, which is so hated by the peoples and whose aggressiveness is growing as the peoples cast off its domination, has become the world gendarme of the declining system of capitalist exploitation.

After the Congolese massacre and the aggression against Cuba the U.S. imperialists attacked Vietnam and the Dominican Republic to bring them under their sway, and overran part of their territories' soil by sending troops there. The imperialists perpetrate atrocious crimes and outrages in those countries. The danger of aggression is also threatening the other Latin American countries. But at the same time hatred for imperialism—above all U.S. imperialism, for the peoples have come to realize the true nature of this imperialism, which is the successor of fascism and Nazism—is surging high.

Those vandal aggressors must be stopped. The unity of every people, and the solidarity and unity of all the Latin American peoples, as well as of the peoples of the rest of the world, will help curb the imperialist beast and make it retreat to its lair.

Today the U.S. imperialists have turned their guns against Latin America — against Argentina, Chile, Uruguay and other countries, against all those countries where it has so far been unable to put in power completely subservient governments that will help them plunder national riches, crush popular movements, and attack

*Nuestra Palabra, July 14, 1965.

the countries fighting for their freedom and independence and building socialism.

The U.S. imperialists operate through their agents and their obedient accomplices—various espionage and repressive agencies like SIDE, DIPA, organizations like ACIEL and the Rural Society, which represent the interests of the landed proprietors and big monopolies, who exploit the people and are responsible for unemployment, poverty and the high cost of living, through the reactionary elements in the armed forces and the military and civilians in and outside the government who are making preparations for a coup to overthrow the Illia government and instal a fascist regime on the Brazilian or Bolivian pattern that would unquestioningly serve U.S. imperialism and the landed oligarchy.

The men behind the new coup preparations for which are rumored, are intent not on improving the situation at home but on hastening the enslavement of the country, aggravating the crisis, lowering the standard of living and stepping up repressive measures. The reactionaries preparing the coup in and outside the Army are on the offensive. The reactionary press has carried numerous ominous articles, speeches, statements, manifestoes and demands by military and civilian leaders. Recently General Aramburu, whose name is associated with prisons and shootings, gave vent to his hatred for the workers, Communists and Peronists by calling for repressions against the people, the transfer of the oil deposits to the imperialists, and the formation of a reactionary "coalition" cabinet that would carry out the anti-popular measures he proposes. Otherwise he threatens to effect a new coup.

The offensive of the imperialists, militarists and putschists must be stopped. Solid unity and firm struggle by the working class and the people as a whole can remove this new danger and guarantee the nation's progress.

Unfortunately, the government and, in particular, Minister Palmero, who recently made a number of anti-democratic statements and adopted measures directed against democratic order, are hesitant. They retreat before the reactionaries, thereby promoting the schemes of the putschists. Their position is detrimental to democratization of the country, national independence, and the well-being and progress of society, for which the working class and the people are fighting.

The criminal intention of using the Criminal Code against the Communist Youth Federation deeply angers the people and the democratic forces. The Federation has been outlawed. It is obvious that the gorillas and other agents of imperialism are trying to avenge themselves on the Communist youth for its patriotic activity, for leading the struggle of students, young workers and other young people.

2. WHY ARE THE COMMUNISTS ATTACKED FIRST?

The reactionaries' plans are well known from national and international experience. The reactionaries begin by attacking the Communists, taking advantage of the anti-Communist prejudices and calumnies shamelessly spread by the oligarchy and the imperialists, and then take the offensive against all the democratic working-class and popular forces.

The reactionaries begin with the Communists because our Party is one of the staunchest and most indomitable defenders of national sovereignty and independence against imperialist aggression and plans for subservience and national betrayal, because our Party is one of the most zealous defenders of Argentina's oil, power and other national resources. It has always marched in the van of and together with the whole people. Its members stake their lives in organizing struggles against the dispatch of Argentine troops to Vietnam and the Dominican Republic.

The reactionaries begin with the Communists because our Party has always marched, and will always march, with the people, in the van of the struggle against the high cost of living, for price curbs and higher wages, against layoffs and for full employment, for better housing, transport, medical care and the satisfaction of other requirements of our people.

The reactionaries begin with the Communists because our Party has been, is, and will remain an incorruptible defender of democratic liberties, which the bourgeois parties aspiring to power proclaim and which they invariably ignore after forming a government; because our Party has always marched, and will always march, with the people in the van of unrelenting struggle against persecution and discrimination for political, ideological or racial reasons, against prosecution or imprisonment for political or trade union activity, against tortures and outrages, for equal rights for every party and every citizen, for free and independent trade unions, for the genuinely democratic system envisaged by the Constitution.

The reactionaries begin with the Communists because our Party consistently points out the urgent need to solve major problems of the Argentine countryside through a far-reaching agrarian reform that will give the land to those who till it, on terms stimulating increased production and leading to immediate improvements in the living standard of the peasants; because our Party has always been on the side of the people and the peasants in the fight against the landed oligarchy—that scourge of our country—and against its allies and accomplices, the imperialist agricultural and meat monopolies, which plunder the peasants, enrich themselves at the expense of our agricultural production and doom the people to starvation.

The reactionaries begin with the Communists because our Party upholds the people's culture against imperialist cosmopolitanism and its unfair competition, which corrupts national consciousness; because it advocates mutually beneficial trade with every single country, particularly the Soviet Union and other socialist countries; because it fights against dependence in foreign trade that ties us to the imperialists, with their unacceptable economic, political and military conditions; because it champions an independent foreign policy of peace and peaceful coexistence, opposes the policy of subservience to the Pentagon and participation in its plans for military aggression (Congo, Vietnam, Cuba, Dominican Republic, etc.) and the formation in Latin America of multi-national armed forces intended to suppress the peoples of the continent.

The reactionaries begin with the Communists also because our Party not only fights for popular, democratic, patriotic and anti-imperialist objectives, but also shows the only road which can lead the Argentine people to victory. In reply to the actions of the enemies of the people and the nation, who foment anti-communism and provoke division to weaken the people and the working class, our Party again declares that victory depends above all else on the broadest unity of the working class and the whole people.

On the strength of its ample experience, our Party maintains that it is necessary to fight anti-communism, which the reactionaries are fanning, and the policy of division, to seek solid unity of the working class in its struggle for pressing demands. It is necessary to establish a solid alliance of the working class and the peasants and on its basis to create a powerful national democratic, anti-imperialist, anti-oligarchic front of the peace forces that would lead to the establishment of a new, truly democratic and popular government capable of realizing a program for national salvation in keeping with the demands of the people.

3. WHO ARE THE TRUE PATRIOTS AND WHO THE ENEMIES OF THE COUNTRY?

It is necessary to answer the question: who is Celestino Gelsi, what does he do for the country and the people, of whose interests does he speak, and whose interests does he serve? What are organizations like SIDE and DIPA (espionage and repression centres), what do they do for the country and the people, whose interests do they serve? What are ACIEL and the Rural Society? What is the role played by the big landowners and monopolists who belong to these organizations, and what do they do for the country and the people, on whose behalf do they usually speak? Who are the gorillas—the military and the civilians—what do they do for the country and the people, and whose interests do they actually serve?

No one can have any doubts on this score. Today as yesterday, in 1965 as in 1810, the patriots are those who fight for national and popular objectives. In other words, it is the workers, peasants and other working people, men and women of progressive, anti-imperialist convictions, who are the real patriots. The Communists are proud to be in their front ranks.

Today as in the past, the enemies of the country and the people, whatever the disguise they may use, are those who take part, directly or indirectly, in the McCarthyist, fascist, anti-Communist, anti-democratic, anti-labor and anti-national campaign to pave the way (as they have always done) for a coup, for a policy of persecution, super-exploitation, arrests, unconditional surrender, aggression and war.

Today the effort of the reactionary elements—the gorillas and non-gorillas, the military and the civilians, from the Right radicals to the fascists—to unite in a single front is perfectly obvious. It is therefore necessary to counter them with a labor, democratic and popular front.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party calls on the working class, the peasants, all the democratic and patriotic forces, the advanced sections of popular parties, men of science and art, students and specialists, tradesmen and progressive manufacturers, to unite and to form committees for the defense of democracy at all enterprises, educational institutions and places of residence in order to fight against the fascist campaign of scandal and slander encouraged by the imperialists and the oligarchy, and directed not against the Communists alone but against the whole Argentine people and the nation itself, to fight to prevent a reactionary coup, for the satisfaction of their economic, political and social demands, with a view to promoting democracy and progress, to strive for the establishment of a working-class and popular front, for the formation of a new type of government that would really be a government of and for the people.

Central Committee of the Communist Party

Buenos Aires, July 10, 1965.

PROBLEMS OF THE UNITY OF THE WORKING-CLASS AND SOCIALIST MOVEMENT IN ITALY*

The question of socialist unity was raised at the last plenum of the CC and CCC. The plenum appointed a committee — made up of Comrades Longo, Amendola, Berlinguer, Ingrao, Rossana Rossanda, Secchia, Li Causi, Gerratana and Bufalini — to draft a document which could serve as a basis for discussion in the Central Committee. This important and complex document, which does not claim to analyze every problem of the political situation and our work, and still less to offer ready-made solutions, concerns itself, nevertheless, with the substance of the major problems.

The tasks facing our Party today may be summed up in one general proposition: stepping up our unitary activity aimed at achieving and promoting the working-class, democratic and popular unity, such as would meet the new requirements in both form and content.

This is a fundamental and permanent requirement in the fight for the democratic and socialist renovation of the country. The need for unity has become particularly urgent in the present situation, due to the retrogression and failure of the Center Left policy, which has spent itself.

It will be recalled that the failure of the Center Left was not only that of a definite government formula, but also that the perspective, the long-range plan, advanced by those forces of the Center Left bloc which would have liked to initiate a new course in Italian politics. The question is also of the failure of a reformist, virtually Social-Democratic plan, and hence of the illusion that the most serious problems, the sharpest contradictions and the worst imbalances can be resolved without carrying out radical social reforms and political decisions, without substantial shifts in the balance of forces in favor of the working class and other working people, and consequently, without a qualitative change in the political leadership of the country. The failure of this plan expresses itself in the assertion about "the historical value of the meeting of the Christian Democratic Party and the Italian Socialist Party" and in the "democratic challenge" to communism made at the Naples congress of the CDP, now an event of the distant past. This failure again raises all the basic questions of our society.

*Report to the June 1965 Plenum of the CC and CCC of the Italian Communist Party. Condensed from **l'Unità**, June 4, 1965.

Recent years have seen a crisis of the kind of development which began with the capitalist boom in Italy. Changes in business conditions aggravated the crisis, but its main cause was structural. The theory of steady economic progress on the basis of the current type of capitalist development, which allows little scope for manipulating the resources required to remedy the more serious effects of territorial and social imbalances engendered by the system, proved wrong. What turned out to be illusory was, first and foremost, the policy presuming to cope with these imbalances without discovering their causes and without infringing relations of production and the machinery of accumulation.

In fact, the entire activity of the Center Left confirms the need for a new policy capable of resisting and repelling the counter-offensive of the ruling classes, and of paving the way for a kind of development that would no longer be based on monopoly expansion and could give rise in the country to a movement for the unification of the political and social forces in keeping with the tasks.

Working-class and democratic unity, and hence renunciation of discrimination against the Left, is more necessary than ever if the tasks in question are to be accomplished. Monopolistic development at this stage and the policy designed to support it put heavy burdens on the working class and other working people. They are accompanied by increasingly serious inroads on the foundations of democratic life and the democratic institutions themselves, to say nothing of the threat to national independence. They lead to the abandonment of an independent foreign policy and to steady processes and trends of an authoritarian nature. They degrade political life and provide a favorable environment for fascism and reaction.

It follows that while, on the one hand, there are groups in the working-class and democratic, lay and Catholic movement that are being incited to forego their independence, on the other hand, the numbers of the socio-political forces whose interests, aspirations and ideals are injured by this development are growing. Hence a greater urge than in the past to fight against the major capitalist forces and against imperialism, an urge for unity. Indeed, the Center Left experiment made the need for a policy leading to a deep-going transformation and renovation of society and implemented as such by a large-scale unitary rallying of forces more obvious than ever. This is evident from the increased militancy of the masses, the tendency to radicalize social and political struggles, and increased socialist consciousness along with the renewed demand for unity.

Politically, the evolution of the Center Left was a twofold process. On the one hand, there was a shift to the right, to a position of support for monopolistic development — on the part of the political axis of the CDP leadership, and also of the ISP leadership, if

in a more contradictory form. On the other hand, there was a shift of substantial forces to the left, primarily in the ISP (birth of the Italian Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity, split of the autonomist majority), and the deep-lying causes of the political crisis in the Catholic world, as well as in the CDP, came out. Undoubtedly, the maturing of these new conditions for the upswing of the unitary struggle was appreciably furthered by the activity of our Party.

It was in this context that our last plenum raised and presented the problem of organic unity of the working class. We are in the presence of a complex situation in which the requirements and objectives of promoting joint actions and achieving a new unity appear on different planes and have different if interlinked aspects.

The immediate task is to use all possible points of contact, all opportunities for cooperation and agreement between democrats in order to fight for particular aims and to attempt evolving in the course of this fight a political program that would make it possible to solve the pressing problems of social progress and democracy. But popular and democratic unity can develop only to the extent that working-class unity is achieved simultaneously, for the working class is the force which must play the leading role in organizing a broad movement for democracy and renovation.

Working-class unity is not limited to organic political unity but is much broader than that. It implies unity of action realized in struggle and through various initiatives.

In the field of struggle for immediate economic and allied demands, this unity is realized thanks to the autonomy and democracy of the trade unions and all the unitary workers' organizations — through unity of action which the trade unions bring about by their autonomous initiative as they strive for organic trade union unity. In the political sphere, working-class unity is realized in political actions, through interaction, cooperation, greater understanding between the parties, political forces and ideological trends operating among the working class.

Organic political unity of the working class, a unity which calls today for unification of all the genuinely and consistently socialist forces, is the main factor in working-class unity. It would no doubt be a great mistake to confuse different aspects and different stages of joint action, but it would be just as wrong to overlook their interconnection and mutual influence. Indeed, we see how adversely division and the process of fragmentation of the socialist forces affect the progress of unity of action and the activities of all the unitary organizations.

This means that the persistence of differences — real or imaginary — over fundamental long-range issues, and uncertainty about the ultimate goals hamper the practical activity and exchanges of views which would enable us to tackle serious problems of today.

For it depends on their solution, and on the way in which they will be solved, whether the demands of the masses will be met and how their near or distant future will shape. But the immediate problems and tasks cannot be discussed specifically and in the right direction unless linked up with the issue of perspective.

The committee appointed by the CC and CCC has answered in the affirmative the question of the "timeliness," lawfulness and importance of the problem of reorganizing Italy's Left forces and reunifying the socialist forces.

The initiative of calling for a new unitary development does not belong to the Communists alone, and the beginning of this discussion was greeted with satisfaction and even enthusiasm. Even the initiative of merging the ISP and the Italian Social Democratic Party was a peculiar reaction to the demand for unification which is widespread and strong among the working people. Moreover, it takes advantage of this demand and tries to throw it off the right track.

As for the present CDP leaders, they continue to declare that a dialogue with the Communists is out of the question. But their gloomy statements, couched in terms of intolerance, merely betray their concern. They show that the dialogue is on already, that it is expanding and that the responsible, and in part new, conversation now going on arouses profound interest in the Catholic world and the CDP itself.

On the other hand, the Center Left has virtually become a formula for conservative policies. It can survive to the extent that it contributes to the process of adapting, subordinating and uniting certain sections of the working-class and democratic movement within the state, to the process of the further fragmentation of the socialist forces. This is a reality. This retrogressive development has to be offset by a different policy based on resistance and counter-offensive by the working class and the popular and democratic forces, and on struggle which will be effective and victorious given a new unity.

Hence the imperative need to stop the drift toward fragmentation of the socialist forces and toward Social-Democratization of a part of them, and to begin unifying the socialist forces.

In our opinion — and we neither ignore nor underrate difficulties — there already exist in part conditions (or, at any rate, it is possible to provide conditions) for the successful development of struggles aimed at eliminating the Center Left and paving the way for the formation of a new majority, as well as at initiating the unification of the socialist forces. Nor are we the only ones to think so.

New ideas and demands are really widespread. The problem of forming a new majority, which until recently was posed by the Communists only, is becoming an object of discussion and joint

political study. The questions to decide concern the political and ideological principles on which a bloc ranging from progressive Catholics to the Communists should be built, and Left unity, which is indispensable, among other things, for a constructive dialogue with the Catholic movement.

In the light of the foregoing, all artificial contrasting of the policy of Left unity with the policy of a dialogue with the Catholics—a constrasting which we reject—becomes pointless. In fact, the stronger Left unity and the greater its progress, the more necessary it will be to have a dialogue with the Catholics. This affirmation should not be taken in its elementary sense alone — in the sense that the more closely united the Socialists and Communists are, the more opportunities they will have of causing a beneficial crisis in the CDP — but also in a broader sense.

The removal of integralist temptations, which are always present in the Catholic movement, a decisive failure of the Catholic claim to an inter-class position, and favorable progress of the dialogue between the Church and the "modern world" — and hence with the working-class movement first of all — will be possible in our country only to the extent that the working-class movement succeeds in uniting around its independent concept of social transformation, barring the attempt to Social-Democratize the working-class movement and integrate it within the framework of the present system and policy of imperialism.

We Communists are aware that an agreement between Communists, Socialists and Catholics involves important and complicated questions of principle. We are willing to join boldly in an unselfish dialogue during which the most complicated questions of principle could be brought out openly and without prejudice and everyone's autonomy adequately guaranteed.

The task facing us today is not merely to unite, in one party and on the basis of the lowest common denominator, all the forces striving for socialism, and to shelve all the fundamental issues dividing them (granting that such unification is possible) but something entirely different. The problem is to draw on the experience gained by the Marxist and truly class forces in the past years in order to form a new political organization that could raise the entire struggle for socialism to a higher plane and enrich the strategy of the advance to socialism.

That is why we see the task of a united party, not so much in serving as an instrument of resistance to the process of fragmentation of the socialist forces and to their unification on Social Democratic lines, as in carrying forward the common revolutionary legacy and completing the unitary process which has been going on all these years despite grave crises and reverses.

The struggle for the socialist transformation of society must

proceed from the actual conditions in our country. One of the major peculiarities of the struggle for socialism in our country and other West European countries today is that the struggle to recast the structure of production and the political system cannot be put off to the time when the working class becomes the leading force in government and state. For big capital exercises its political rule, not only by controlling the traditional state machinery of coercion, but largely through definite forms of organized exploitation at the work places, and through a complex system which carries the pressure and influence of monopoly groups into every section of society. This is one of the important reasons for the connection which exists between reform and revolution in the conditions of our country.

Consequently, a political program for the near future, providing a basis for unification of the socialist forces, is required in order to undermine the multiform domination of the bourgeoisie, secure real partial gains and take a step forward in the struggle, in order to create the first elements of the social and political transformation we want to accomplish.

The more partial reforms affect big capital's key positions, changing the balance of forces, the more they increase tension and aggravate the crisis of the old equilibrium. It is all the more necessary, therefore, that they be effected on the basis of a common policy and a new type of development. This is the meaning and importance of the struggle for democratic programming as a perspective which could give an outlet and lend a continuous character to the fight for reforms and lead off a new type of anti-monopolistic development, with the working classes, the middle strata involved in production and all the democratic forces displaying maximum activity.

One of the problems which the vanguard of the Italian working class must grapple with, especially in view of the present economic crisis, is to impose a policy that could ensure the growth of the productive forces and, consequently, provide resources for full employment and for the renovation of the country by promoting and not restricting (as is the case now) the bargaining system and the political role of the masses, by extending and not emasculating democracy.

That is why, to us, the struggle for democratic programming cannot be reduced to the demand for increased state interference in the economy but must be waged along with the struggle to democratize the whole of state power, which should really enable the citizens to take part in the decision of major questions and be an expression of the new role of the w o r k i n g class in economic orientation and management. Democratic programming cannot by its very nature be imposed from above by an oligarchic or techno-

cratic authority. We consider that its economic and political content involves a number of questions bearing on the very perspective of building a socialist society.

The three important elements of this perspective for which we are working, are, in our view, the building of socialism in conditions of peace, the extension of democracy, and the method by which economic planning is based on autonomy.

We believe that in the conditions of our country the road to take is that of the socialist transformation of society, ensuring the solution of certain important problems — such as full employment, an end to the poverty of the masses, the provision of housing, and so on — through technological progress, high productivity, which is indispensable in an "open" economy, a well-developed economic structure of society, making possible to derive the greatest benefit from the professional knowledge of people and to control also the lever of private initiative in keeping with the public interest. The leading role of the working class should manifest itself in an ability for such programming.

We are striving for a democratic programming of the economy that would allow and encourage participation of the mass of producers from below, on both the territorial and the production principle.

We regard the autonomy of class trade unions as a condition for drawing the middle classes into the struggle for socialism today, for showing them the way to deliverance from their present subordinate position, in order to guarantee the socialist state a definite level of production, proper technical opportunities, and the necessary popular consent regarding the content and aims of socialist society in our country.

With socialist power organized in this way, it is very important for the class trade unions to have autonomy and lead a democratic life. We reaffirm the general and fundamental importance of such autonomy, not only at the present stage of the struggle, not only as under a capitalist regime, but at the stage when a socialist society has been built. In socialist society, that is, in entirely different conditions completely changing the aims and role of the trade unions, trade union autonomy and democracy fully retain their validity as one of the main and indispensable stimuli for development, as a condition for the working people directly expressing their demands, which, of course, can raise problems for the socialist state but is a necessary element of socialist democracy.

It is on this realistic basis — which should ensure democratic development also under the economic structure of socialist society — that the formation and confrontation of political aspirations, the free formation of a majority, and the opportunity for a minority to

become the majority — which should also occur under socialist democracy — should take place.

We are fighting for a perspective enabling the working class and its allies to win power and to govern in the interest of a democracy allowing and providing for the multiformity of political forces, to strengthen and renovate democratic institutions and parliament. We are fighting for this perspective, not only because these principles are recorded in the Constitution, which is a product also of our volition and our struggle, but also because the extension of democracy is an integral and necessary part of the strategy of our advance to socialism.

We consider that the establishment of political unity of the working class and the formation of a popular bloc which could ensure complicated and manifold struggles against the system of capitalist rule can be based today only on popular consent resulting from a free comparison of positions, on knowledge and initiative stemming from the intrinsic dialectics of democracy.

From this point of view, establishing the principle of autonomy in culture is not a pragmatic concession or a sign of tolerance. We are convinced that freedom of quest in the cultural sphere — with all the problems which culture can pose also before socialist power — is essential to the working class because it will raise the workers' struggle to a higher plane, for socialism is the science of building a new and higher civilization.

It is in the light of this that we are also fighting to ensure that in the socialist society which we want to build the state is "lay" in character, that freedom of religion is respected, and that the polemic between atheistic philosophy and religious views develops through independent discussion of cultural and ideological matters.

We know that all restriction of freedom, even when it is needed to throw off the heavy burden of conservative privileges and destroy the various weapons used by the oppressors threatens to impair the inner development and creative power of the working class, and its ability to resist bureaucratic evolution.

We know — from the gains we have scored and the mistakes we have made — that today we can and must safeguard oureselves more effectively against this risk, and must work now to make the connection between socialism and democracy closer and more solid.

The international working-class and Communist movement has always come out, in its ideals as well as in its struggles, for peace, against war, which in our time is rooted in the nature and policy of imperialism.

This fundamental line became even more important when the creation of atomic and hydrogen weapons changed the character and the very concept of war, and when the formation of a socialist

world system brought a qualitative change into the balance of forces. War, which has always been inhuman, now demands a price which no nation can afford to pay — the atomic destruction of the very foundations of civilization. It has become absolute negation. Socialism as the highest form of humanism and civilization not only condemns war but assumes the historical mission of saving mankind from nuclear catastrophe.

Specifically, in the conditions prevailing in the world today, peace can be safeguarded only by an international order based on the principle of the peaceful coexistence of countries with different socio-political systems, on respect for the independence of every country and for the right of every nation to shape its own fortunes.

But a new international order based on the principle of peaceful coexistence must be the result of a process which is not limited to a dialogue between the two principal world powers. It implies active participation, on an equal footing, of all the countries of the world. It can be only the result of achievement, of a struggle making it possible to remove the objective causes of conflicts, to isolate and defeat the forces urging aggression and war.

That is why there is no contradiction between the defense of peace, which we have always advocated as the supreme goal, and the growth and progress of the revolutionary and liberation movement, between peaceful coexistence, which is the only alternative to the prospect of atomic disaster, and the struggle against imperialism and every form of national and social oppression.

The dramatic turn which international developments have lately taken, particularly the imperialists' wanton aggression against the peoples of the Congo, Vietnam and the Dominican Republic, really confirm that armed conflicts and the war danger, the menace of a world nuclear catastrophe, are due to the desire and attempts of the imperialists, primarily those of the USA, to retain their positions of domination and strength in the world at any cost and to prevent new peoples by hook or by crook from winning freedom and indepedence. The imperialists counter the irresistible liberation movement with armed intervention, with attempts to preserve the status quo by exporting counter-revolution. They deliberately use atomic blackmail to back their policy of escalation. This is why the chief aim of the world democratic and socialist movement today is to repel the U.S. offensive and to establish a genuine system of coexistence that would free mankind from atomic blackmail, safeguard peace and guarantee the self-determination of nations.

For these reasons, the transition to peaceful coexistence, which calls for steady and earnest effort to negotiate an equitable solution of all the outstanding international problems, necessarily implies a change in the status quo, an alteration of the present economic, social and political relations. It implies a fight against im-

perialism and all its acts of aggression — a fight using the contradictions of imperialism and the differentiation going on inside the imperialist bloc, and isolating the more aggressive forces. It implies the growth and progress of the liberation struggle of the peoples, and full support for this struggle by the democratic and popular forces of the whole world. It implies international unity of all the anti-imperialist, democratic and peace-loving forces, above all unity of the international working-class movement.

It is in this sense that we have to face the issue of our country's role on the world scene, and of Italy's foreign policy.

We trust there is a basis for a common position and common struggle of the entire working-class and democratic movement of our country on the main foreign policy issues. The aim should consist in securing a policy of renunciation of atomic weapons, nonalignment and neutrality.

To pursue this aim means enabling Italy to play an active role in a process leading to disarmament and to the abolition of military blocs and all limitations or discrimination as regards extensive economic and political cooperation with all countries.

The unity of the Communist movement and the socialist countries is an important factor for the unity of all the working-class, socialist and democratic forces of the world.

The experience of recent years, above all the adverse effects of the contradictions between the Soviet Union and People's China, confirms that all weakening of this unity encourages arbitrary actions and aggression on the part of the imperialists.

This reaffirms the fact that internationalism is an unavoidable necessity determined by the present world situation. And this is why our Party, while resolutely combating the Chinese comrades' erroneous position, has been striving to prevent all aggravation of contradictions in the world Communist movement in order to preserve and safeguard its unity, despite differences, in the common fight against imperialism, for peace, and its solidarity with all the peoples fighting for their liberation.

At the same time we have affirmed that the unity of the working-class and Communist movement in present conditions should be seen and realized in a different way than in the past, as the very crisis which the old formula of unity has been experiencing for several years now has shown. We therefore have insisted on the principle of "unity in diversity," saying that there could no longer be a leader party or leader state, and have fought to ensure that the autonomy of each party was reaffirmed and the development of this autonomy guaranteed.

Questions of the international working-class and Communist movement should be considered in the general historical context in which the present differences and problems have arisen. This con-

text is characterized by rapid changes and development. Internationally, there has been, first of all, an expansion of the sphere of socialism and the liberation movements, resulting in great differentiation, new difficulties, and a crisis which is, in effect, a result of this growth. It must be added that the effects of the shortcomings, mistakes and lags in the movement as a whole and in its various sectors are added to the new problems posed by the revolutionary process and by objective changes.

The Communist movement should not be seen as an isolated movement. It should be seen, and should proceed, as part of the world revolutionary working-class movement. The aim is precisely to achieve better mutual understanding and greater solidarity between all the components of the movement, abandoning all claims to uniformity and, moreover, acknowledging that distinctions and autonomy, which manifest themselves more and more in the views and actions of each party, are not only inevitable but may benefit peace, democracy and socialism all over the world.

This concept also guides our policy toward international mass organizations.

Establishing a new, broader and more complex concept of internationalism is of decisive importance for the main problem that faces the working-class, Socialist and Communist movement of our country and the other countries of Western Europe today — the problem of ensuring the growth and progress of the process of democratic and socialist transformation also in that part of the globe where capitalism has attained, or is about to attain, the highest degree of development.

The Social Democratic parties of various European countries have held, or hold, a dominant position in the working-class movement and in the leadership of the state. Nevertheless, they have not only failed to solve this problem but have repudiated the very idea of socialist transformation, confining their role to the management of capitalist society, often going as far as to openly support conservative and reactionary home and foreign policies. The experience of more than five decades has shown that the Social Democrats cannot and do not know how to direct the working-class movement in the West toward fulfilling its historical task.

It should be admitted, however, that the solution which the Communist movement and Communist parties have offered for the problem of socialist revolution in the West has on the whole been, and still is, inadequate, for it does not answer the conditions in which the struggle for socialism has to be waged in the developed capitalist countries.

To ensure the progress and triumph of the cause of democracy and socialism in the developed capitalist countries, we need new

and original quests taking into account the entire experience of the past but rejecting biassed preconceived formulas.

Incidentally, this is what makes the process of socialist unification in our country important for Europe and the rest of the world. It is the basis for a policy designed to make possible a dialogue with the more politically conscious forces of the Catholic world and the exertion of positive influence on the elements of crisis and ferment that are making themselves felt in the Social Democratic parties — a policy extending the unity of action of all the working-class and democratic forces also in this sense.

It is within these bounds that the role of the working-class and socialist movement of our country in the world scene can be properly specified.

In this connection, we fully agree that it is necessary to establish, promote and guarantee complete political and organizational autonomy and independence of the working-class movement in our country, an autonomy needed both for charting the road to socialism in line with the conditions and peculiarities of Italy and for assessing with complete freedom the experiment which has been, or continues to be, carried out in the socialist countries and throughout the international working-class movement.

However, autonomy cannot mean isolation, shutting oneself up in one's national shell and renouncing active and living internationalism. Without the internationalist concept and practice there can be no vanguard party of the working class, nor can revolutionary strategy make progress.

We consider that the beginning of the process of socialist unification in our country — and the prospect of the socialist forces forming one party — afford our working-class movement new and more concrete opportunities to promote contacts and cooperation with the working-class and democratic forces of other countries, particularly in Western Europe.

We consider that the ICP as it was brought into being after more than forty years of struggles, of organizing and theoretical work, is the greatest democratic and revolutionary factor in the life of our nation. This is not to say that we are going to offer our Party to other socialist forces as the model of a new, united party. Neither are we thinking of such unity as would be merely the sum total of the organized forces or of part of them. On the contrary, whatever the organizational forms in which unification may proceed, we think it should give rise to something new that would not only remove shortcomings but, more important still, overcome the limited scope of each particular socialist force, including our Party, and assimilate all the experience, all the real achievements and all the energy. We are thinking of a new formation that would pave the way for a truly unitary movement originating in the working

class and other working people advancing to socialism, and which at the same time would be a result of this movement. And we mean not only the more active members of the organized forces, but also the workers, women, young people, intellectuals, anti-fascists and democrats, people who long for a socialist renovation of their country—all who have found no place for themselves in the existing Left political formations but would like to make a constructive and more effective contribution, would like to work and to fight.

We, for our part, intend to contribute to this unification process by defining the characteristics of our Party more specifically, especially as regards the development of its democratic life and internal system. These questions also constitute an important aspect of the Italian road to socialism.

There can be no revolutionary party which does not apply the principles of its activity in its life as well. It is therefore necessary to fight both against the tendency to empiricism, to corporative, reformist concepts, and against the tendency to turn principles into dogma. Principles exist and operate in so far as they live, develop and assert themselves in contact with reality, in political and ideological battles.

The chief and distinctive peculiarity of our Party is that it is a large working-class popular party representing the leading national role which the Italian working class has won over a whole century of socialist battles, in the struggle against fascism, in the Resistance, in the struggle for the Republic and the Constitution, for the rebirth of Italy and for the country's democratic progress toward socialism.

This Party is part of the working class and the people. It expresses their interests and is at the same time their vanguard, their political and revolutionary consciousness, their "collective mind."

This party is an organization and weapon of struggle, an instrument of the everyday activity of the masses. In this sense, membership of the Party is militant activity, everyday active struggle. This characteristic sets it apart from other parties, which are electoral parties, and from parties of the Social Democratic type.

The Party should achieve the maximum development of democratic life with maximum unity, active initiative and discipline in struggle. How these two requirements (maximum democracy and maximum unity), which are equally essential for a revolutionary party can be combined is a problem hard to solve. As far as our Party is concerned, we consider that it has made notable progress in solving this problem, chiefly during the last ten years. On the basis of our progress and experience, we intend to remedy shortcomings and take up problems of the further development and renovation of the Party, which would strengthen it and contribute to

the development of broader and more effective democracy and to more deep-going unity.

The principle of so-called monolithic unity is foreign to our concept and the realities of our Party. This does not mean that there were no elements of such a concept and practice in our Party, or that vestiges of such a way of thinking cannot persist. They must be completely eliminated.

The principle of democratic centralism is something different from "monolithic" unity. It calls for free exchange of views that would culminate in the adoption of political and practical decisions. Hence it should not preclude further political and ideological quests, and once a decision has been taken as a result of free voting, the minority is also expected to adhere to it and carry it out.

The more the free participation of every Party activist in the working out and choice of political and organizational decisions (in forms specified by the Rules) is encouraged and guaranteed, the more strict will discipline be and the greater the contribution to the implementation of the political line.

To make this participation more effective, it is necessary not only to guarantee freedom of discussion, but also to ensure that every ordinary member of the Party is aware through what analysis and exchange of views (including those in the highest Party bodies) a certain conclusion was arrived at, even if there was disagreement.

When discussion fails to eliminate differences, every member of the Party is entitled to voice his disagreement by voting. In our Party, this right has never been questioned, and has been freely exercised in both the leading and the lower bodies. True, our Party came into being in sharp and well-founded conflict with Social Democratic anarchy, and has always emphasized Party cohesion, particularly when the concept of "monolithic" unity was dominant in the Communist movement. For these reasons, the prevailing practice in our Party at one time was the unanimous adoption of decisions, in favor of which the majority was won before the voting. Obviously, this did not at all mean lack of discussion, and still less everyone's mechanical acceptance of everything. Nevertheless, there was always a desire to appear before the country as a solid unit. We consider that this practice may complicate the expression of possible disagreement and may even lend a sharp and extraordinary character to differences which are in themselves perfectly normal developments. We must therefore set it right to prevent an appropriate search for unity from becoming mechanical, nominal unanimity.

The organization of trends in a party may in some cases be a form of internal development and democracy. But we do not think it would be the most favorable form of comparing notes and ex-

changing views. Experience shows that organized trends give a definite form to existing differences, shackle the freedom of each, and turn creative discussion into a struggle for power between groups.

Trends are apparently inevitable in a socially and politically heterogeneous party like the CDP. Not so in our Party, which is homogeneous ideologically, politically and socially, and in which democratic life today is considerably more real and more extensive than in any other party.

We realize that in forming a single socialist party these questions may be posed in a different way depending on the situations that will arise, on the forms which unification will take, and on the problems which will crop up. But they will all have to be considered on their merits and discussed among all concerned.

It goes without saying that the organizational forms, principles and institutions of any unified party should spring from the unification process in which all the forces concerned will take part, and not merely from a general discussion among them, as well as from the experience of cooperation and various forms of organizing unitary relations. Guarantees of the democratic character of the party of the working class and other working people should be sought, to our mind, not only in the institutions regulating the inner life of the party, but also in the political line of the party and in the perspective of socialist democracy. The democratic character of this line and this perspective is an earnest and basis also of inner-party democracy.

* * *

You have been acquainted with the main conclusions to which the committee came after careful discussion. These conclusions will be discussed by the entire Party. Discussion will also be held at the congress. At the same time they will serve as the starting point for discussion with other socialist forces, with all the working people and citizens who adhere to a socialist orientation, and all sincere democrats.

When we speak of socialist unification we are setting ourselves a political objective which we consider perfectly attainable. Of course, we do not know when and in what form it will be attained. But we intend to work specifically for it.

We know that this calls for discussion, not only among the leaders and spokesmen of the various socialist forces, but also, and chiefly, among all the Party members, among the workers and other working people, among women and young people. We need a discussion linked up with present reality and with unitary struggles: the struggle for wages, employment, freedom, a higher standard of

living for the masses; the struggle against imperialist aggression, for peace; the struggle for the renovation of the school, for the promotion and renovation of Italian democracy.

So let us tackle this task with the same enthusiasm and thoroughness with which twenty years ago Comrade Togliatti showed the high road of the struggle for victory, for the abolition of fascism and the renovation of Italy, for the founding of a new Communist Party on which we pride ourselves and which is a great force serving the cause of the working class and the Italian people, the cause of peace, freedom, democracy and socialism.

FERNANDO CLAUDIN'S PLATFORM: AN EXERCISE IN FACTIONALISM*

Nuestra Bandera, theoretical and political journal of the Communist Party of Spain, carried in its January issue "Critical Notes" commenting on the factional platform of Fernando Claudin, former member of the CPS Executive Committee, now expelled from the Party.

Following are excerpts from the "Critical Notes." They are of interest because they afford a better idea of the Spanish scene, and also because certain sections of the world press have made out Claudin's factional document to be expressive of an "innovating" policy, whereas it is no more than a relapse into the shabbiest revisionism.

THE CONTENT OF THE PRESENT STAGE

Claudin says that the divergence of views which has led him to factional activity concerns the *actual content of the present stage* of the Spanish revolution. It is, therefore, not a difference in shade of meaning, nor does it concern the estimation of some particular aspect of the present situation. We Marxists use the term stage in its historical sense, meaning a *stage* in the revolution. So did Claudin in the discussion. Thus the question is of a fundamental divergence.

When the discussion was only just beginning and its subject seemed to be the significance and possibilities of the *Development Plan***, as well as the means the oligarchy had of securing a solution favorable to it, the General Secretary of the Party made the following statement:

"We should criticize the Plan from three angles. First, we should explain and reveal whose interests the Plan serves and whose it prejudices. This is the important and pressing aspect of the matter. Secondly, we should show the country the economic steps necessary and opportune at the moment for democratic socio-economic development. In other words, we should work out a *counter-plan* and launch an earnest propaganda campaign for it. We should draft it in collaboration with economists and, if possible, with politicians representing other groups and trends. Thirdly, we should study the likely social implications of the plan, the opportunities for its fulfilment, and its socio-political repercussions. We do not deny

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*Abridged from **Boletin de Informacion,** CC CPS, March 1963.

**Reactionary, anti-popular plan drawn up by the government to ensure the state-monopoly development of the country.

the possibility of growth or development, nor are we against it. We are against achieving it at the expense of the people. We should make it perfectly clear that we do not associate the abolition of either the dictatorship or oligarchic rule in general with lack of economic progress.

Santiago Carrillo did not rule out the possibility that pressure by the masses might force the oligarchy to effect certain changes, including Franco's resignation or transfer to a post of secondary importance, and that over a certain period the oligarchy might succeed in retaining power in one form or another. But if the Party followed the correct policy, these changes would make it possible to reinforce the working-class and democratic movement and enable it to impose a democratic solution after passing through various phases which cannot be foreseen in detail today.

At that stage in the discussion it looked as if its conclusions were leading to unity in the Executive Committee. But the subsequent course of the discussion showed that they were not, that as far as Claudin was concerned, there was only a "partial consensus."

According to Claudin, the question is not only that the oligarchy can maneuver in attempting a solution of its own but that at *this stage in history a solution in favor of the oligarchy is more likely than one in favor of democracy.*

Basically, Claudin's platform rejects the Party Program adopted by the Sixth Congress, which describes the present stage in history as a stage of the democratic, anti-feudal and anti-monopoly revolution. It sees the present stage as a stage of the development and effective domination of monopoly capital in other political forms.

The whole of Claudin's subsequent argument, his analysis of the political and economic situation, the balance of forces and the international situation, rejects the entire Party line and the actual state of affairs, as we will see. It is permeated with a pessimistic, defeatist subjectivism implying that what we are advancing to is not a democratic revolutionary situation but a *"new stage"* in capitalist development and oligarchic power.

THE CONDITIONS FOR DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENT

Claudin emphasizes his definition of the present stage in history, alleging that *"political power will remain in the hands of monopoly capital"* and that *"the development of Spanish capitalism will enter a new stage."*

Undoubtedly, the plans of the oligarchy's "neocapitalist" sector have this aim, whose attainment Claudin regards beforehand as certain and inevitable. But anyone who carefully reads bourgeois writers who advocate this solution and listens to what they have to say will satisfy himself without difficulty that few of them are

as blithely confident of the fortunes of Spanish monopoly capital as Claudin.

Our Party does not consider that a democratic solution will automatically gain the upper hand over the monopolistic oligarchy's "liberal" solution. It maintains that the forces championing deep-going democratic change are potentially much stronger than those of the oligarchy, and that a democratic solution can be forced through a series of struggles in which the politically conscious factor, that is, the Party and the foremost groups, should play an active and dominant role, guiding, uniting and mobilizing the people.

Thus there are two ways of development as we see it, and the struggle will decide which is to win. Claudin contends that the democratic way is foredoomed. Were the revolutionary party of the working class to accept Claudin's thesis and decide that at the present stage the consolidation and development of monopoly capital is fatally inevitable while the democratic way is out of the question, this would mean:

that the Party had no choice but to put off the fight for the revolution to a distant future;

that it must resign and adapt itself to the solutions imposed by monopoly capital;

shrink and reduce itself to the role of a sectarian group paying lip-service to socialism,

or degenerate into a reformist party.

These are the reasons for which the Central Committee condemned Claudin's position as a Right-opportunist deviation.

Claudin claims that the Party "rules out the possibility of a democratic political regime representing rule by monopoly capital, as is the case in other capitalist countries." His whole line of reasoning suggests that he thinks the establishment in Spain of a democratic political regime of the "Western type" perfectly possible, with monopoly capital in power.

This concept of Claudin's is a pure abstraction, for the point at issue is whether or not the Party should fight for democratic anti-feudal and anti-monopoly change at the present stage in history.

Claudin speaks of Spain but thinks of Europe, the Europe of the Common Market and the Free Trade Area, with its high level of economic development. It is an attitude typical of every Spanish "liberal" and opportunist.

THE PROCESS OF FORMATION OF THE DEMOCRATIC FORCES

Claudin quotes the passage in the Party Program which defines the content of the present stage in history as "a democratic anti-feudal and anti-monopoly revolution." And he deliberately shuts his eyes to the radical difference between this definition and the

one he proposes in his platform. He disregards the fact that his statement is in striking contrast with the Program approved by the Sixth Congress.

He claims that the Program "does not deal with the class content of the regime possible in Spain." In other words, he says to everyone's amazement that the Program "does not deal with" *the class content of the democratic anti-feudal and anti-monopoly revolution.*

Claudin contradicts himself by saying about another passage in the Program: "This approach, therefore, creates the impression that the possibility of a democratic state is conditional on monopoly capital relinquishing political power."

What, then, is the inference? Does the Program deal with the class content of the democratic *anti-feudal and anti-monopoly* revolution or does it not?

To call the revolution a *democratic anti-feudal and anti-monopoly revolution* is to define its class content. It is precisely this formula which defines and specifies the *class content* of this revolution, which is anti-feudal because it will do away with the latifundium and other remnants of the feudal system, and anti-monopoly because it cannot strike at feudal survivals without limiting and reducing the privileges of the monopolists, and without eliminating them at a later and advanced stage of the struggle.

To support his thesis, Claudin questions the Program proposition which speaks of *a democratic regime* emerging from the democratic *anti-feudal and anti-monopoly* revolution, not of a situation such as exists in the "European countries with democratic regimes answering more or less the description given in our Program, that is, a bourgeois democratic republic," etc., etc., serving as "the instrument of the state power of monopoly capital." The reference is to something different—a regime under which political power will not be wielded by monopoly capital.

The meaningless "liberal" plans for "democracy" in the distant future—which Claudin seems to accept, as we will see later—are based on a formal pattern. According to this pattern, public opinion is divided between two major parties, Christian Democratic and Social Democratic, which are included in monopoly capital's system of domination and have no political competitors or rivals.

The difficulty lies in carrying this formula offered as a prerequisite of so-called democracy into practice. By what process will these two parties come into being and win the unqualified support of public opinion?

Today new forms of organization of the masses, supported and created by the masses themselves, such as the movement of workers' commissions, which has a certain following among the intellectuals and which will soon spread through the countryside and

may become an organized form of broad popular opposition, are developing faster in Spain than the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties. It is this movement that can create, at a time when the regime has spent itself, a revolutionary situation in which certain new parties can come into being. But they will not fit into the "liberal" pattern.

The process of organizing the masses from below, through the commissions, is a distinctive feature of the situation in Spain—so much so as to have few precedents. We hardly find anything in the records about such an experience in Western Europe. This is why bookworms and chance "erudites" find it difficult to understand it. Its significance can be appreciated only if approached in a creative, Marxist-Leninist spirit, from the Spanish and not the "European" standpoint. One can easily make a mistake if one tries to squeeze this process into "European" patterns, and above all if one ignores the actual antecedents, the actual roads which have led to these European patterns.

The Spanish revolution has had, has now, and will have many original features all its own. Spain is the first country to have had a dictatorship of the workers, peasants and the petty and middle bourgeoisie exercised by a variety of political forces ranging from Communists to Catholics and based on a parliamentary regime. That was from 1936 to 1939. Spain is the first country where a typical fascist regime representing the power of monopoly capital is decaying and going down because of its own internal contradictions and the struggle of the masses, without military intervention from outside and without armed struggle. There will no doubt be many diverse and original situations in Spain that will bear out Lenin's brilliant prediction regarding the ways to the revolution. The decisive thing will be for the Communist Party to adopt a clear-cut and definite policy in keeping with the given stage — the policy of abolishing the fascist dictatorship and accomplishing the democratic anti-feudal and anti-monopoly revolution.

THE REVOLUTIONARY POTENTIAL OF DEMOCRACY IN SPAIN

Reality is so rich and varied that no pattern, however good, materializes in every detail as conceived by the human mind. The abolition of the fascist forms of power will go through phases which are very hard to foresee accurately. Some of the more infamous of these forms may gradually disappear even while Franco is in power. Indeed, this is already happening to some of them. It is a result of concessions by a weakened regime to the struggle of the masses and to the pressure of world democratic opinion.

It accounts for the phenomenon known as "liberalization." But there is a limit to the concessions which a political regime can make. No fascist regime can transform itself completely and become its own negation, that is, a regime of democratic liberties, unless there comes a fundamental qualitative change, a leap occuring, resulting in the disappearance of the regime and in its replacement by another. However peaceful this transition (what we mean by *peaceful* in this case is that there will be no civil war), the time will come when the change will cease to be *gradual* and the accumulation of *gradual* changes will lead to a qualitative change. There is no escaping this law of historical development for the fascist regime of the monopolistic oligarchy.

It is too early to say what phases the dictatorship will pass through before giving way to a regime of democratic liberties. There may be a gradual retreat of General Franco, a military junta, a government of "personalities," or an attempt to restore the monarchy. Or there may be nothing of the kind—at a certain moment, the dictatorship may collapse as a result of the struggle of the masses and the issue of government may be settled under the pressure of the people.

This will depend on how fast the working class and other democratic forces regroup themselves while the regime disintegrates.

Whatever the conditions and situations that may develop, the meaning of the historical process in its *present phase* is clear: it is the abolition of the fascist forms and the introduction of democratic political liberties.

But to abolish fascism and introduce political liberties, even by *peaceful methods,* means initiating a *revolutionary process.* To introduce universal suffrage, political liberties and democratic institutions in the Spain of today — a country which has experienced a civil war and a long period of terroristic dictatorship, a country with sharp social contrasts, with the problem of agrarian structure, with the contradictions between a developed monopolistic superstructure and a backward economic basis, which accentuates the parasitic features of Spanish monopoly capital, a country badly in need of rapid economic progress — will mean creating a revolutionary situation.

In other European countries, democratic liberties may at a certain moment imperil the social system, or they may not threaten it for years. In Spain, the existence of the present social system will be called into question the day those liberties are introduced.

That is precisely why, twenty years after the worldwide defeat of fascism, the Spanish ruling classes have not yet got rid of Franco. That was why these classes resorted to civil war and fascist dictatorship.

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PRESENT PHASE

To say that at the *present phase* there are no conditions for the winning of power by the proletariat heading a coalition of anti-monopoly forces is a truism. These conditions will develop in the course of an entire historical stage. But Claudin juggles with the concepts of *phase* and *stage*. As he goes on to define the features of the *stage* he takes it for granted that the features of the present phase, or what he assumes are its features, will undergo no changes throughout the stage. From the Marxist point of view, this static concept of the features of a whole stage from its initial phase onwards, this failure to see that these features will change or be modified in the later phases of the stage, has nothing to do with the dialectical method, and is more in the nature of the dogmatism and ossified Marxism of the opportunists.

How does Claudin generalize the features of this phase, which he extends to the entire stage?

To him, the salient feature is that Spanish capitalism has entered a phase of more rapid development, economic growth and improvement of the system of state-monopoly capitalism, which opens up important prospects for the latter although not leading to a miracle of the Italian type. The real extent of this "development," this "growth" and this "improvement" will be shown further below in these "Critical Notes."

As regards this part of Claudin's document, it should be stressed that he is much more "dialectical" when considering the opportunities of capitalism than when considering the opportunities for the development of the working class and other anti-monopoly forces. He sees "important prospects" for monopoly capitalism at this stage. He sees it develop.

Another feature of this stage is that the proletariat has "grown in numbers" and become more concentrated, "which makes its struggle easier." But for the proletariat and *its* struggle, Claudin sees neither "important prospects," "growth," nor "rapid" development. He paralyzes, freezes the proletariat in the present phase, and sees nothing but that it "is still far . . . from the level of class consciousness and organization which the struggle to remove monopoly capital from power will require." He virtually eliminates the proletariat from the battlefield for duration of the stage.

As regards our Party, he acknowledges that it has "grown," but he does not see "important" prospects for it either. He merely makes the categorical statement that the Party "is still far from being a party of the masses, a party capable of leadership," etc., etc. Thus he holds that the Party will stagnate for the duration of the stage.

Another feature to which he points is the influence of other forces — Catholics, Socialist reformists, nationalists, etc. — which "are hard to size up" at the moment. But while they are hard to size up, Claudin thinks these forces, as well as monopoly capital, are capable of growth and development. He thinks it "likely," "at least during a certain stage," that "their influence will not be negligible" and "will serve as a basis for maneuver by monopoly capital."

He dismisses the other anti-monopoly classes and strata in the same way as he does the working class and the Party, since, he says, "they are at a much lower level of class consciousness and organization."

Anyone who reads Claudin's platform document with anything like a critical eye is bound to be amazed at this obvious contrast: he sees all the negative factors — monopoly capital, bourgeois influence over the masses — as developing, as being on the rise and having "*important prospects*" while, on the other hand, the positive factors — the class consciousness and organization of the working class and the anti-monopoly forces, the Party — seem to him to be in a state of paralysis and stagnation, to have no prospects.

This contrast in assessing the two sets of factors reveals an important feature of Claudin's platform document: pessimistic, opportunist, anti-revolutionary subjectivism. Campaigning against "optimistic subjectivism," Claudin lapses into the blackest pessimism.

The fact is, however, that the *features* which Claudin attributes to the *stage* are not characteristic even of the *phase*. He dismisses the most characteristic and most important features of the phase to justify his Rightist, subjectivist platform.

What are some of these features forgotten by Claudin?

1. The fascist regime, which represents the rule of an oligarchy of landed proprietors and monopoly capitalists, is nearing its downfall after twenty-five years of terroristic dictatorship, due to its own internal contradictions and the regeneration of the revolutionary and democratic forces of society which it suppressed. This is the important feature of the situation which Claudin absent-mindedly forgets in his argument. This omission breeds others.

2. Despite the current economic boom, the discrepancy between Spain's economic development, retarded by fascism, and European and world economic development continues to increase. This is occurring at a time when the growing role of socialism in the world, the abolition of the colonial system of imperialism, the scientific and technological revolution, and the trend toward internationalizing the productive forces and the market confront the less developed countries with socio-political options of a decisive,

revolutionary character. The magnitude of this discrepancy and the problem it poses account for many of the reasons why the regime's crisis is so grave.

3. This discrepancy aggravates the contradiction between the monopolistic superstructure and the backward and antiquated economic basis of the country, the contradiction between the social character of production and the private system of appropriation. Within the oligarchy itself, this discrepancy sharpens the antagonisms among the groups linked with this or that particular branch of production.

4. This discrepancy and the need for further development accentuate the contradiction between town and country, between the requirements of economic development and the structure of property in land, a sphere still dominated by the latifundia, which makes the democratic anti-feudal and anti-monopoly revolution all the more pressing.

5. Along with this there is an advanced process of regeneration of the working-class and other democratic forces defeated in 1939, a process of reconciliation of the two armies which clashed on the battlefield from 1936 to 1939 and of their descendants. This reconciliation expresses itself in joint action against the present regime. Later on in these "Notes" we will point out the more salient features of this process.

These, then, are the general characteristics of this phase, which must not be left out of any objective analysis.

CONFUSING THE PEACEFUL PATH WITH EVOLUTION

Claudin still clings to the dogmatic concept that there can be no revolution without a war or a severe economic crisis, that is, a *catastrophe.* On this point, his concept comes close to that upheld by the Chinese comrades and departs from that of most Communist parties.

To him, international detente and peaceful coexistence are not revolutionary factors — in spite of what international experience shows. In his view, peaceful coexistence lends political life in Spain an *evolutionary* and *peaceful* character, and is favorable to the continued domination of monopoly capital.

This misrepresentation of the effect of the policy of coexistence on the situation in Spain makes Claudin—objectively and whether he wants it or not — an advocate of cold war among the Spanish working people. He sets himself against the Statement of the 81 Communist and Workers' Parties, which says: "In conditions of peaceful coexistence, favorable opportunities are provided for the development of the class struggle in the capitalist countries and the national-liberation movement of the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries."

Coexistence or detente affects the process taking place in Spain in a way different from that described by Claudin.

To begin with, the movement for peaceful coexistence and its impact, which Spain's ruling classes cannot avoid, have deprived the fascist regime of one of its main political and ideological weapons: "justification" of a terroristic dictatorship as a "necessary" means of keeping the nation "in a state of preparedness" against "Soviet aggression," for the "inevitable" and "fatal" armed showdown between the socialist and the capitalist worlds. This has been the *keynote* of Franco's and Arias Salgado's policy for years. It enabled them to keep the Communist Party in a state of isolation and to maintain widespread and specific anti-Soviet and anti-Communist sentiments among various segments of society. Consequently, peaceful coexistence has created favorable conditions for establishing a broad democratic front. It has helped to end our isolation while isolating the Franco regime, and has made for a lessening of repression and terror.

Also, peaceful coexistence has to some extent promoted the struggle of the masses against the regime and facilitated the creation of more favorable conditions for the regeneration of the democratic forces.

The maintenance of peace and peaceful coexistence aggravates the antagonisms between the various imperialist groups, particularly their fight for markets. Spain's feeble economy comes up against competitors who are better equipped for competition, and this constrains the Spanish oligarchy to search for an outlet for its products in the socialist market. But this is no indication that peaceful coexistence creates favorable conditions for the monopolistic oligarchy. On the contrary, it is a sign of the difficulties, of the new and complicated problems facing the oligarchy.

The policy of the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems does not imply the use of peaceful means to remove the fascist regime. Whether the struggle will develop on peaceful lines depends primarily on internal factors, of which Claudin names one — the moral and political effect which the war of 1936/39 still has on the situation in the country. The forecast which the Party made in 1956 and to which Claudin refers in no way interlinks peaceful coexistence and the peaceful way.

A PROCESS OF DECAY, NOT A "PERIOD OF FORMATION OF DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS"

The Party declared that "a movement to eliminate the fascist forms of the dictatorship of monopoly capital is getting under way, if slowly and through a complex and contradictory process." It

warned that this phase was only just beginning and that there might yet be various alternatives. But Claudin goes much further than that. A hopeless pessimist when estimating the possibilities of the democratic forces, he shows himself to be a great optimist when sizing up the present situation. He says that *"a period of formation of democratic institutions is setting in already."*

In political terms, the concept "period of formation of democratic institutions" leaves no room for doubt: it means the period of organization of a new socio-political regime. But the overthrow of the old regime is a necessary condition for the *period of formation* of a new regime to set in. As far as we know, Franco's fascist regime has not disappeared as yet.

Let there be no mistake; this is not a slip of the pen on Claudin's part. He knows what he is talking about—it took him long to work out his ideas. What his concept actually amounts to is that the Franco regime will not be eliminated but will modify itself. Without letting the reins of power go, the ruling monopolistic oligarchy will perform a miracle by transforming the fascist regime into a democratic one from above. Unwittingly or otherwise, Claudin is aligning himself with those who advocate a "revolution from above." A phoenix of monopolistic "democracy" is expected to rise from the ashes of the phoenix of the monopolistic dictatorship.

Like the entire line of Claudin's reasoning, this concept shows that his position reflects in the working-class movement the position of the "liberals" linked with monopoly capital.

Who would today venture the assertion that Spain has already entered the period of formation of democratic institutions? Probably Franco, who calls his regime one of "open formation." Also, some of his Ministers, such as Solis and Fraga, and, in general, all those who want to prevent all democratic change and to substitute for it some sort of "liberal reorganization" of the present regime, such as would enable the various groups linked with monopoly capital to have their say.

But how can a democrat, let alone a Communist, regard the policy of "liberalization," the "reorganization" of the regime planned a thousand times but never carried out, as a *period of formation of democratic institutions?* How can attempts to lull the Party and the people with this sort of palaver be tolerated? How can anyone declare in all seriousness that this "reorganization" will lead to a more or less democratic "new political system"?

The difference between our point of view, which is not only that of revolutionaries but also that of every true democrat, and Claudin's liberal point of view is that we consider the changes which those in power today may effect under the impact of the struggle of the masses and the objective situation to constitute, not "a period of formation" of a "new political system," but

merely an episode, an incident, in the process of decay and disintegration of the present regime.

The fascist regime has to be eliminated before we can say that the period of formation of democratic institutions has begun in Spain. Until we end Franco fascism, any "liberalization," "reorganization" or whatever else there may be will remain within the bounds of this regime. Only when it has been removed will it be possible to say that the period of formation of democratic institutions is in.

A POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CRISIS

Claudin draws a subtle distinction between *crisis* of the political regime and *crisis* of the social system. Denying that "we are advancing to a revolutionary crisis in which the ruling classes will be unable to continue ruling by the same methods as before," etc., etc., he amends the wording to: "will be unable to rule by the same *political methods.*" He is at pains to prove that the crisis of fascism is only a *political* crisis and that this crisis in no way affects the "prosperous" system of monopoly capitalism, which, indeed, feels so "strong" that the Franco regime no longer suits it and it therefore needs "democracy."

From this point of view, Claudin claims that "the unsettled problems of the democratic anti-feudal revolution are aggravating the *political,* and only the *political,* crisis of the Franco regime, without leading to a crisis of the [social] system."

First of all, it is fair to ask: is there a type of political crisis, if only the most ordinary goverenment crisis under a parliamentary system, that does not in the vast majority of cases reflect a more or less grave social crisis?

Secondly, are the problems of the democratic anti-feudal revolution exclusively *political* problems or chiefly and primarily social problems affecting the social system?

The fact that the Party speaks of a democratic anti-feudal and anti-monopoly revolution is neither a whim nor an anachronism. In Spain, the *fascist regime represents the domination of monopoly capital and the landed oligarchy,* although the latter now plays a secondary role.

The point is that the social system in Spain is an unusual combination that exists in no developed country: *the most marked state-monopoly capitalism and the most anachronistic latifundism.* One cannot strike at the latifundia-owning oligarchy without hitting the monopolies—anyone who raises one's hand against the former is raising it against the latter.

That was what happened under the Second Republic — a blow at the landed estates injured the finance oligarchy. That was what

happened in 1939, when the first measure taken by the fascist dictatorship was an agrarian counter-reform. And that is what is happening today, when the dictatorship of monopoly capital cannot bring itself to attack the latifundia even though the most competent economists admit that the agrarian structure shackles economic progress.

THE WORKING CLASS

Claudin's argument, circumlocutory though it is, is designed to prove that the working class stands low as far as its political consciousness is concerned and cannot be the leading force at the present stage.

Claudin says that vast numbers of people from the countryside have joined the industrial proletariat. This is true. But he does not say that they are no longer what they were—the most backward among the working people, the mainstay of the yellow trade unions and pawns for the employers to maneuver with. The example of Asturias, Biscay, Guipuzcoa, Catalonia and Madrid shows that today they are in a militant mood and are fast gaining proletarian class consciousness. To describe them as a handicap or hindrance means distorting the facts and slandering this important segment of the Spanish proletariat.

Claudin paints the brutal exploitation of the Spanish working people in rosy colors. He says that they have gained "material improvements" in standard of living and are perhaps *afraid* to "imperil them" by joining in struggle. How can he advance such an argument when everyone, from official statisticians to Church hierarchs, admits that the workers' standard of living is outrageously low?

Besides, how have the workers managed to wrest economic gains in spite of everything? Is it by fighting or by being "afraid" to join in struggle? Claudin says that improvements gained "within the framework of the present system" delude the workers into believing that they can continue to seek improvements without "deep-going changes." Had this been true, the influence of the vertical trade unions would have grown as the workers won improvements. Today we would have powerful vertical unions to which the workers would look with confidence. But what we have is the exact reverse. Solis himself admits that the vertical unions are in crisis. In reality, the workers gain improvements, not "within the framework of the present system", as Claudin says, but by *breaking* with this system, holding strikes and demonstrations, protesting —using legal opportunities, it is true, but using them as a means enabling them to unite and organize, to set up their commissions, to drive the vertical unions into an impasse and wrest definite concessions through their struggles, by their own effort.

Claudin also claims that emigration to other European countries is another factor lowering the level of class consciousness of the Spanish proletariat. But what is the actual situation? What do the hundreds of thousands of working people who leave Spain full of hatred for the Franco regime, which compels them to leave their country and part with their families, find in other capitalist countries? True, they find higher wages than in Spain. But they also experience the various aspects of capitalist exploitation. They are discriminated against and harassed, and attempts are made to humiliate them and turn them into second-rate people. This reality makes them hate capitalism still more intensely and consciously to embrace socialism, and to draw near the Communist Party. There is the impressive example of the demonstrations and strikes that Spanish workers hold in various European countries, where they win the admiration of the revolutionary workers.

Claudin mentions the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU, the denunciation of the impermissible methods of the period of the personality cult, as another factor lowering the level of class consciousness of the Spanish workers and encouraging reactionary trends among the more backward, as well as reformist trends "in other, politically more mature circles." On this point Claudin, who is prompted by an opportunist pessimism that leaves him defenseless in the face of the anti-Soviet attacks of bourgeois propaganda, ends by subscribing to the dogmatic theses advanced by the Communist Party of China. All he sees is the speculation of enemies and opponents around this issue. He ignores the important and decisive thing, namely, that the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU, the political courage displayed by the CPSU in denouncing Stalin's gross errors, and the efforts aimed at rectifying them, at restoring Leninist methods—all this great renovating process helped considerably to enhance the prestige of the Soviet Union and the influence and appeal of socialist ideas among the proletariat and, in general, the people of Spain. It helped to strengthen the Party and heighten the class consciousness of the proletariat.

Speaking of the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU, Claudin uses a formula which is not accidental, for its spirit pervades the rest of his statement. We must therefore dwell on it. He says that the "politically more mature" workers speak of "the need to advance to socialism by a road that will not lead to such developments (those typical of the personality cult) and will bring the working people themselves freedom and democracy, which is more or less vaguely associated with the perspective of evolution."

Evolution! It follows that the conclusion to draw from the mistakes of the personality cult is that we must *renounce the revolution.* Neither more nor less. It implies that the reformists are right, that if we want to advance to socialism in conditions

of freedom and democracy, we must take the evolutionary and not the revolutionary road. Claudin expresses here the idea of advancing to socialism by *evolution*, even though he does not say so explicitly but attributes the idea to the "politically more mature" workers. This means rejecting the very essence of Leninism. The idea of evolution has nothing to do with the idea of the peaceful road to socialism. The socialist revolution can be violent or peaceful, more or less violent or more or less peaceful. But there is no passage to socialism *without revolution*. Evolution means negating revolution, violent *and peaceful* alike. The idea is that capitalism can become socialism through a gradual, evolutionary process, without a break, without a qualitative leap, without revolution. The evolutionary idea is the gist of reformism and opportunism.

DE-POLITICIZATION?

Taking a pessimistic view of the working class, Claudin does not speak of the present only but alleges that the working class will be unable to assume the leadership for a long time to come. His chief argument is that the struggle *tends* objectively to become de-politicized.

This contention is so far removed from the most obvious facts that one might well doubt whether he who made it was in his right mind. But this is beside the point. Claudin shows that he has lost all faith in the working class and is speechless with admiration at the supposed abilities of the neo-capitalist oligarchy, which uses the *most flexible* method, that of agreement to "de-politicize" the workers, to divide them, to prevent them from coordinating their actions, and so on. It is deplorable that Claudin should praise the oligarchy for this while ignoring the realities of the struggles and sacrifices of the working class.

How can one speak of "de-politicization" when there are great battles going on in Asturias, vast demonstrations in Bilbao, Guipuzcoa and Madrid, agricultural strikes in Cadiz, when thousands upon thousands of working people demonstrate in the streets, demanding trade-union freedom, the right to strike and democratic liberties, and when the foreign press has already noted that the workers' struggles center on political demands?

But keeping silent about certain things is probably the grossest distortion of which Claudin is guilty. Lately, above all since 1962, the Party's policy toward the working class and, more particularly, toward the trade unions, has produced impressive results. First it was Asturias, then came Biscay and Guipuzcoa, and this year it is Madrid. In fact, thanks to the correct orientation of the Party and to the devoted effort of thousands of Communists and workers holding other views, a *new working-class movement* is emerging,

one full of vigor and looking to the future. It includes thousands of young militants steeled in anti-fascist battles, and hundreds of workers' commissions typifying working-class unity and organization. This new working-class movement is one of the most noteworthy developments in Spain today, one of the decisive factors in the crisis of the Franco regime, the mainstay—today and in the future—of a vast revolutionary and democratic movement destined to regenerate the country.

But Claudin does not say a word about this movement. As far as he is concerned, it does not exist. He does not see it because he does not *want* to, because he has shut himself up in his subjectivist formula, which makes the oligarchy the inevitable leading force in Spain's future. Taking a typically dogmatic stand, Claudin dismisses the reality which does not square with the "logic" of his opportunist formula.

POOR AND MIDDLE PEASANTS

Claudin's analysis of the various classes and strata of Spanish society leaves out the agricultural proletariat.

The existence in Spain of a mass of agricultural workers among whom Communist influence predominates and who constitute a solid, seasoned and militant contingent of the revolution is a factor of prime importance for making the countryside an arena of mounting peasant action, protest and struggle against the dictatorship of monopoly capital. Claudin's failure to mention this factor is just another indication of his persistent effort to deny or minimize every element favorable to the democratic cause, while extolling those factors which he thinks are likely to help the finance oligarchy stay in power.

The passage dealing with the poor and middle peasants furnishes another example of this persistence. Claudin's main thesis is that we *cannot* count on these peasants for mass actions at this stage. The first reason he gives is that these peasants, while largely proletarianized, find an "individual way out" by migrating to the towns or by emigrating. And this diminishes the "political effect."

Claudin refers to his disagreement with the Party leadership over the slogan "The land for those who till it," a disagreement which first came out in 1962.

What is the main point of disagreement?

Hard as he may try to disguise his opinion, Claudin considers that the Party should not call for an agrarian reform and the abolition of the latifundia either in the present conditions or at the stage following the abolition of the Franco regime. This specific thesis is in keeping with his whole position, according to which

we should not oppose the political and economic rule of the oligarchy but should fit the Party slogans into the framework of this rule. In Spain, where monopoly capital and latifundism have been fused to a high degree, it is impossible to abolish the latter without clashing with the former. This is why Claudin's position in effect leads him to renounce the "massive attack on archaic structures" he himself speaks of. It makes him withdraw the agrarian reform from his policy platform, as we will see.

Claudin admits that the agricultural workers and the poor and middle peasants *"want land."* It must be added that one of the reasons why the mass of the peasantry has a deep faith in the Communists is that they see in us a party which is fighting unwaveringly to get land for them. More, they regard our Party as the only one in Spanish history to have given the land to the peasants—through the October 1936 agrarian reform, which carried the slogan "The land for those who till it" into practice and which was ruthlessly abolished by the Franco regime. The Party has championed this slogan ever since it was founded. This slogan features in the agrarian programs of the Communist parties of all those countries where the problem of land distribution is acute. It expresses the Communist position on the peasant question more fully and profoundly than any other. It is a necessary connecting link for any serious policy of alliance of the workers and peasants.

What would renunciation of this slogan mean in the Spain of today? It would mean that the Communist Party had made an about turn, giving up its fight for the alliance of the workers and peasants, accepting the policy of the "more dynamic" section of monopoly capital, and allowing it to "eliminate" this "backward" class, the peasantry, as it saw fit. This has always been at the root of reformist policy on the agrarian question. And today it is the focus of Claudin's position.

Besides, in view of the acuteness which the problem of agrarian reform has acquired under the pressure of the peasants themselves, certain political forces, including the Catholics, emphasize the need to abolish the latifundia. Were the Party to take the road suggested by Claudin, it would be pushing the peasants away from us and letting them fall under the influence of other forces. This would mean giving reaction free rein and enabling it to retain its political strength in the countryside.

On the other hand, it is evident that a slogan of seven words cannot encompass the complexity of an agrarian reform law. The Party's June statement suggested guidelines for such a reform. The idea uppermost in our every action is full respect for the will of the peasants. Let them decide for themselves!

In the present conditions the slogan "The land for those who till it" has an *anti-feudal* and *anti-monopoly content.* It is aimed

at ending the latifundia and simultaneously at protecting peasant property from the depredations of monopoly capital. Our Party has repeatedly declared that its policy is to respect and protect the property of the peasants, including that of the *well-to-do.* Today many well-to-do peasants see that their property is threatened due to the exactions of the government and of monopoly capital. We Communists are fighting to protect also these well-to-do peasants. This means that our policy in the countryside is in complete harmony with our overall policy of bringing about a broad anti-monopoly coalition.

THE RURAL BOURGEOISIE

Claudin describes as a *class* "the rural bourgeoisie, the well-to-do peasant proprietors, and the capitalists of joint-stock companies and other agricultural enterprises." The use of the term *class* seems out of place here. What we Marxists generally mean by *class* is the bourgeoisie *as a whole,* and this class we divide into various strata.

What is the main division of the bourgeoisie to which the Communists pay special attention? It is the division into monopoly and non-monopoly bourgeoisie. This basic division is missing from the terminology used by Claudin, for he lumps together as "one class" a number of sections of the rural bourgeoisie, mixing *together* groups of the monopoly and non-monopoly bourgeoisie.

Is that a simple methodological error or something else? All indications are that it is something else, for Claudin strives to *minimize* the antagonisms between the rural non-monopoly bourgeoisie and monopoly capital. Indeed, he says that the interests of this "class" "essentially coincide with the principal political trend of monopoly capital." This and other assertions of Claudin's misrepresent the real breadth and depth of the opposition which Franco's policies and the policies of monopoly capital in general encounter in the countryside.

This concept of Claudin's is disproved by reality. It is the opposition of the well-to-do peasants to the policies of monopoly capital that expresses itself nowadays in protests from official corporate trade unions and in numerous articles published in the press. This contradiction is most obviously growing, becoming a serious political factor which today contributes to the decay of the regime and tomorrow will help the anti-monopoly coalition front in the countryside acquire great breadth and involve sections of the rural bourgeoisie.

Claudin asserts that the social and political importance of the rural bourgeoisie "will grow" with the disappearance of the Franco dictatorship. This is a disputable opinion. We do not pro-

pose to deny the importance of this segment of the peasant class. But we wish to note Claudin's inclination to stress and exaggerate the importance of the bourgeoisie in the overall balance of forces, even when he is speaking of a hypothetical future. On the other hand, he apparently ignores that the agricultural workers and the mass of the poor and middle peasants will be — in conditions of democratic liberties — those rural strata whose political importance really will grow.

Claudin writes that *"we will be able to maneuver* in certain situations" by taking advantage of the contradictions between the rich and middle peasants and the monopoly enterprises. This phrase reminds us of old sectarian formulations long since discarded by our Party. The Party's policy of alliances is not based on "maneuvering" with one group against another. It consists in revealing the *objective* coincidence of interests wherever it exists. In this case they coincide in the struggle against the latifundia and monopoly capital. The duty of the Party is to tackle the solution of problems affecting all the anti-feudal and anti-monopoly classes and strata of society. It is to evolve constructive solutions to the country's major problems, such as will satisfy these forces, and thus to lay the foundations for a genuine coalition based on a common program and a real coincidence of fundamental interests.

THE PETTY AND MIDDLE URBAN BOURGEOISIE

Claudin admits the existence of antagonisms between these sections and monopoly capital. It is plain, however, that he is striving to stress the existence of coincidences, of "common interests in a number of cases," "in addition to the *fundamental coincidence,* namely, the fact that they (i.e., monopoly capital and the middle strata of the bourgeoisie) are historically doomed to disappear when socialism has triumphed." According to this idea, increasingly solid unity of the petty and middle bourgeoisie and monopoly capital based on the "fundamental coincidence" which Claudin stresses and which would be directed against socialism would be logical. This implies that the possibilities of alliance of the proletariat and these strata would be extremely limited, and that they would be accidental and transient.

But no such thing happens in reality—for the following two important reasons:

(1) It is not "when socialism has triumphed" that many enterprises of the petty and middle bourgeoisie will go out of existence, for they are disappearing *now,* daily, as a result of the domination of the finance oligarchy. As far as these groups are concerned, the supposed "fundamental coincidence" does not exist. What does exist is their basic antagonism to the monopoly octopus that is crushing them.

(2) The triumph of socialism will have an entirely different effect on monopoly capital than on the petty and middle bourgeoisie.

In dealing with this question, Claudin confines himself to a dogmatic concept. He completely ignores what our Party has done, especially since the Sixth Congress, to chart the ways of socialist construction with a view to the gradual integration with the new economy of the enterprises of the petty and middle bourgeoisie whose owners could continue working by shifting from the status of proprietors to that of technicians, managers or engineers, without prejudice to their living conditions. The concept that socialism could be a favorable solution for a number of social classes and strata is in line with the Party's position that the Socialist Party, progressive Catholic groups, trade unions and other democratic elements can cooperate with the Communist Party in building the new, socialist system.

It is not for the future alone that the prospects which the policy of the Party affords are important. They have their effect today, for they help dispel anti-Communist prejudice among groups of the petty and middle bourgeoisie and pave the way to mutual understanding with the working class and the Communists on joint action against Franco fascism and the finance oligarchy.

THE INTELLECTUALS AND DEMOCRACY

The tactic which Claudin attempts to employ in his factional activity is to use groups of intellectuals as "pressure groups" of a sort inside the Party in order to secure "greater democracy" in its ranks. What he means by "greater democracy" is his right to advocate his opportunist ideas, to hold factional meetings, to engage in activity that, if responded to, would lead to the disintegration of our Party, a party which has been hard hit by fascist repressions. The mass of the Communist intellectuals has rejected this maneuver.

The idea of using the intellectuals as a "democratizing pressure group" in the Party is just another indication of the opportunist basis of Claudin's entire position.

Obviously, a fair number of intellectuals joining the Party find it hard to adjust themselves to democratic centralism, discipline, underground methods, and "Party secrecy." The burden of petty-bourgeois individualism, the tendency to feel superior to the "less cultured" workers, the inclination to go to extremes of one kind or another, and other features of a petty-bourgeois mentality cannot disappear overnight. The Party is aware of this difficulty and patiently and flexibly helps the intellectuals to merge completely with the Party, to become better Communists, to identify themselves with the working class, to assimilate Marxist ideology.

On the other hand, now that the demand for freedom and democracy is paramount with the Spanish people, the idea of "extending democracy" in the Party may tempt some intellectuals. But things should be seen as they are. Repressions and the clandestine conditions put certain limitations on the Party's democratic standards. This is inevitable at the moment. The struggle to restore democarcy in Spain is the only way if we want Party democracy to have full scope.

THE CATHOLICS

Let us take Claudin's cardinal idea: "From the activity of Catholic workers' organizations . . . to that of specifically political groups around Martin Artajo y Herrera, Ruiz Giménez, Gil Robles, Jiménez Fernandez, Lain, Aranguren, and others. All this ideological and political activity has made it possible to create *one* new political force." And a few lines further: "The social base of this Christian democratic movement, an instrument of monopoly capital."

A more superficial, grossly extremist and sectarian dictum would be hard to imagine. Claudin *lumps together* the extraordinary complexity of the present Catholic movement in Spain, all the trends existing in its ranks at a time when the proximity of democracy is already felt, the new Catholic workers' movement, which has nothing in common with that of the past, a movement which is being born in struggle against Franco fascism and is cooperating with the Communists, a movement involving priests who, like the Mieres priest, plead the cases of Communists in court, on one hand, and the diversity of political and ideological positions, ranging from those who are willing to cooperate with the revolutionary Marxist forces, to those who, like Herrera or Martin Artajo, are against severing their ties with Franco fascism, on the other hand (all these, Claudin says, form a "new political force"). And all of them he condemns alike, branding them as an "instrument of monopoly capital."

Whereas the Communist Party of Spain and other Communist parties are making an earnest, creative effort to approach the issue of relations with the Catholics in a new way in order to find avenues enabling certain Catholic groups to make common cause with us even in socialist construction, Claudin's insistence on crude patterns is reminiscent of times long past when representatives of the Communist movement, taking a sectarian stand, often condemned as "bourgeois agents" all who disagreed with us.

From what Claudin says about the present-day Catholic movement and the future Spanish Christian Democratic Party, it might seem that it is a question of a mere revival of the old CEDA (Span-

ish confederation of autonomous Right-wing organizations), which played so reactionary and pernicious a role between 1934 and 1936. He ignores all that is *new* in influential Catholic circles in Spain today.

FERNANDO CLAUDIN FALSIFIES LENIN

Claudin says it is "ambiguous" to speak of social changes, whereas the only real *ambiguity* is the one he falls into by dissociating political from social changes. To support his contention he has to falsify Lenin, which he does very unambiguously and light-heartedly. He affirms, for example, that Lenin's famous formula, the lower classes cannot live in the old way, any more than the upper classes, is a formula corresponding to the social revolution.

But Lenin said quite the reverse. "The fundamental law of revolution," he wrote, "which has been confirmed by all revolutions, and particularly by all three Russian revolutions in the twentieth century, is as follows: it is not enough for revolution that the exploited and oppressed masses should understand the impossibility of living in the old way and demand changes, it is essential for revolution that the exploiters should not be able to live and rule in the old way. Only when the *'lower classes' do not want* the old way, and when the 'upper classes' *cannot carry on in the old way*—only then can revolution triumph," etc.

This means that the law of revolution formulated by Lenin is not exclusively a law of socialist revolution, as Claudin alleges, feeling confident of his own wisdom, but *a law of all revolutions,* confirmed by *all revolutions,* and particularly by the three Russian revolutions of the twentieth century, two of which were *bourgeois revolutions.*

Carrying forward his thesis, which denies our advance to a revolutionary situation, Claudin trots out what he thinks is a great argument, namely, that "the lower classes can live in the old way within the framework of capitalism, by fighting for partial improvements, and the upper classes, by *changing the forms of their rule.*"

When Lenin wrote of the ruling classes being no longer able to rule in the old way he meant, specifically, this: "it is essential . . . that the ruling classes should be passing through a government crisis, which draws even the most backward masses into politics (a symptom of every real revolution is a rapid, tenfold and even hundredfold increase in the number of members of the toiling and oppressed masses — hitherto apathetic — who are capable of waging the political struggle), weakens the government," etc.

In other words, Lenin did not deny — nor does anyone deny it now—that the upper classes might be able prolong their exist-

ence by changing the forms of their rule. But he said that the coincidence of these two factors — the need for changes in the case of the upper classes and the will to bring about changes on the part of the lower classes — is a law of every revolution.

Claudin admits that at least one of these two factors is present in the Spanish situation, that the ruling classes need political changes.

There remain the "lower classes." According to Claudin, they *"can continue to live in the old way."*

If they *can continue to live in the old way,* why do the workers demand higher pay, making Ullastres "cry out" and speak of "infiltrators" who want "everything to collapse"? Why is it that they demand, not a forty-eight, but a forty-four-hour week, a four-week holiday, a sliding wage scale and a number of freedoms?

Why is the rural population — for all the class distinctions and the differences in the interests of the various strata — almost unanimous in condemning the regime's agrarian policy? Why is the problem of the agrarian structure posed so emphatically?

Why is it that even the extreme Right groups today don "socialist" garb to come close to the working people?

Can the fact that the people have a deep desire for change be denied?

Of course, speaking abstractly, the "lower classes" can continue to live in the same way as they have had to live for years. But the important thing is that, in spite of Claudin, they *do not want to continue living in this way, and say so more and more forcefully.*

The crisis of the regime, which is going from bad to worse, the increasing resolve of the people to secure changes, and the political concern felt by increasingly large sections of the people, are all leading Spain towards a revolutionary crisis which Claudin persists in denying or tries to squeeze into sterile *political* bounds.

THE POLITICAL AND UNIFYING ROLE OF THE SLOGAN "GENERAL POLITICAL STRIKE"

This section of Claudin's platform is designed to "smash" the slogan of general political strike to smithereens. As for the national strike, Claudin apparently does not think it necessary to so much as mention it. The reason why he proposes withdrawing this slogan as a guide to mass action leading to a democratic solution is that it is a "slogan overburdened . . . with revolutionary meaning," which "makes an isolating maneuver easy."

On the strength of "our own experience" over the last five years, Claudin asserts that the possibility of this kind of action does not depend on agitation and propaganda, which "sow fear in other social forces and make the maneuver to isolate the Party and the working class easy."

It must be recalled in reply to these flippant assertions that a certain unity of the Party and other opposition groups was *first achieved during preparations for the national strike in 1959.* This refutes Claudin's conclusion that the slogan leads to our isolation.

In case that is not enough, let us recall that a certain degree of unity with other groups was reached for the second time during the strikes of 1962, when a Coordinating Committee was set up in Madrid (this committee was disbanded shortly after the strikes). Even some elements of the former CEDA established relations with this Committee.

If we take into account real experience instead of indulging in speculative abstractions, we find ample evidence that the slogan of general political strike makes for unity and contact, even with Rightist groups.

Of course, we were unable in both 1959 and 1962 to call a general strike, although we were close to it in 1962. This is clearly the reason why unity from above, initiated in both cases, was not consolidated.

Nevertheless, reality shows that the slogan of general political strike was a powerful stimulus for important strikes and demonstrations held in Spain. The vanguard forces led them in Asturias, Euzkadi, Madrid and elsewhere, knowing that that was the way leading to the general strike. These forces realize that since the conditions do not exist for overthrowing the regime by force of arms, the general political and national strike is the only way.

The slogan of general political strike has been making progress, with more and more contingents of workers adhering to it. Its progress, while less rapid than we could have thought in 1959, has a strong impact on the development of the political situation. It has helped to make the ruling classes realize that they cannot continue ruling in the old way. It spurs the "liberals" to make concessions.

To withdraw this slogan as a factor in polarizing all partial actions, a decisive factor in effecting a qualitative change in the struggle, would benefit only Franco fascism and the oligarchic groups. The Communist Party could not do this without renouncing its duty as a Marxist-Leninist party, the vanguard of the revolutionary democratic forces.

It would be just as wrong to call for the general strike every day. Nor has our Party issued this call since 1959. It has limited itself to explaining the significance of this slogan in our tactic of popular struggle against the dictatorship, and to showing its connection with strikes, demonstrations and other political actions. This slogan can be placed on the order of the day the moment the unity and organization of the new working-class movement attain the required level and the overall situation becomes favorable.

This perspective is necessary even for organizing partial actions and for raising their political level. To renounce this slogan would mean leaving all political initiative to monopoly capital. And this, in substance, is Claudin's concept.

FERNANDO CLAUDIN'S REFORMIST PROGRAM

We are at last coming to the policy conclusions of Claudin's factional platform. They are deliberately vague. Politically, they coincide more or less with the conditions already pointed out as being necessary in the first phase of the present historical stage. The only difference is that, judging by the content of Claudin's whole document, these political conditions are, to him, the essential aspect of the stage.

But the social demands for which Claudin proposes fighting throughout this stage, without even hinting that we can go further, are the same as the working people are fighting for today, under fascism, sometimes successfully: "higher wages, a sliding wage scale, social security, holidays, etc."

The agrarian demands for which Claudin proposes fighting are the same as are already being fought for effectively, and are advanced even by the official corporate trade unions: "protection of prices for agricultural produce, credits and other forms of aid to peasant farms," as well as other "agrarian demands" which are contained in the "declaration of the trade unions" and even "in our program, and *can be made within the bounds of the present stage.*"

The demands regarding the middle strata are also exceedingly vague. In fact, they are less progressive than those advanced today, for they do not call for a university reform on which a large body of public opinion insists already.

Thus, to Claudin, the aims of this entire historical stage are not those of the democratic anti-feudal and anti-imperialist revolution. They are timid "liberal" reforms, which are on the order of the day even now when fascism is still there, many of them openly, which is significant in view of the restrictions imposed by the fascist regime.

It is this program that characterizes Claudin's entire Right-opportunist position. He has *lost sight of the chief objective which can rouse the masses in the countryside to fight for democracy: the agrarian reform, and with it the slogan "The land for those who till it."*

He has lost sight of the need to solve the problem of the national autonomy of Catalonia, Euzkadi and Galicia, which is also fundamental at this stage.

He has lost sight of the issue of reforms and changes in the monopolistic economy of the country.

He has lost sight of the need for a genuine cultural revolution. He has lost sight of the need for democratic economic planning with the cooperation of the state, workers' unions, peasant organizations and representatives of non-monopoly capital.

All the cardinal problems of the present stage have vanished from Claudin's "program," which is vulgar reformism of the first water.

This program even leaves out the Communist Party, for which it substitutes an organization of the EDA type, discounting the difference between Spain and Greece. It is fair to ask: does not Claudin apply the honorable name of EDA to something entirely different, to what circles professing "liberalism" are talking about as a substitute for the Communist and Socialist parties, namely, a "tame opposition" in the interests of the oligarchic perspective?

In conclusion it must be said that Claudin is an "historical" optimist, but at the moment he is no more than a vulgar Right opportunist. It is no accident that all Right opportunists disguise their pessimism and capitulatory position with optimistic talk about a distant future. The Communist Party is giving an appropriate reply to Claudin. We are certain that in the end all genuine democrats will endorse the substance of this reply.

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PROBLEMS OF ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT*

Rezso Nyers

ALTERNATE MEMBER OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE CC HSWP, SECRETARY OF THE CC HSWP

I

Last December the Central Committee of the Party decided on a critical revision of our economic management system and on the drafting of proposals to improve it.

The CC decision calls for more efficient management. It stresses the need to improve the economic machinery, particularly for the future.

However, the essence of the problem is often misunderstood and misinterpreted.

Some say that all that we have been doing so far was wrong and bad and we need a new economic machinery precisely because the present machinery is good for nothing. Connected with this is the erroneous notion that the introduction of a new economic machinery will automatically necessitate renunciation of the present economic policy.

Others think that criticism of the economic machinery is criticism of planned economy, and shows that we should, or would like to, fall back on market economy. This is precisely how our opponents and critics in the West try to misconstrue the measures we are contemplating.

Lastly, there are those who misinterpret the very concept of economic machinery. Some believe that the economic machinery means only the sum total of money, credit and prices, and excludes planning. Hence the incorrect view that development of the economic machinery means the development of money, credit and price relations as opposed to planning. Others regard the economic machinery as something automatic. They consider that we are making the economy, economic practice, so automatic as to render centralized management superfluous.

According to yet another erroneous view, the economic machinery is primarily, or perhaps exclusively, the sum total of definite

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organizational problems, of means of organization, and hence anyone who concerns himself with the economic machinery is grappling with organizational problems.

Certain comrades take too broad a view of the economic machinery. They not only believe it to include ordinary economic practice but, in the last analysis, regard it as the socialist mode of production. In other words, they identify the economic machinery with the whole range of problems of the socialist, planned economy. And this implies that the economic machinery must not be tampered with or socialism itself will be affected. This approach would prevent us from introducing the required changes, and would fetter our economic life.

What, then, is the economic machinery?

It is the concrete form of the manifestation of production relations and of the interconnection of their various elements. In popular terms, the economic machinery may be described as the "economic management system." These two definitions do not quite mean the same thing, but to all intents and purposes they may be considered identical. The economic machinery covers the system of economic planning and the operation of enterprises, the system of finance, credits and prices, market relations, and the system of material incentives. It encompasses the economic institutions and problems of the redistribution of functions and tasks among them.

Economic policy, however, is not a component of the economic machinery.

There is a close connection between economic policy and the economic machinery. We see elements of economic policy in plan targets and measures for economic development and the basic economic relations, tasks and decisions bearing on the living standard of the population, and the distribution of money and material means throughout society. The relationship between economic policy and the economic machinery may be defined as follows: the socialist state and its economic policy play the decisive role in the functioning of the economic machinery, for it is an aspect of economic policy to evolve the most expedient system of economic management.

The economic machinery has to be revised for various reasons of principle as well as practical reasons.

The main reason of principle is that socialist relations of production provide conditions for the continuous development of the productive forces, which outgrow the existing economic management system, necessitating periodical modifications of the economic machinery. Naturally, these modifications are effected on socialist lines, since the contradictions that arise are non-antagonistic. What the productive forces clash with is not property or

class relations, but methods and institutions brought into being by practice. It is, therefore, necessary from time to time to carry out reforms and other changes to ensure that the concrete form of the manifestation of production relations, that is, the existing economic machinery, corresponds and contributes more effectively to the further development of these relations. This also means that socialism has no permanent, immutable form of economic activity, no permanent economic machinery.

Our desire to reform the economic machinery is associated with developments in the other socialist countries, where similar trends are in evidence.

From the practical point of view, we are about to undertake the reform, first of all, because the present economic machinery no longer provides the best conditions for the attainment of definite economic and political objectives. It does not provide the optimum combination of personal interests with the interests of enterprises and of society as a whole.

Another practical reason for which we want to carry out the reform is that in ten to fifteen years of socialist economic activity we have come to know socialist economic methods and problems so well that we are in a position to change these methods and solve these problems on the basis of the progress made in science. Moreover, we can do this without undue haste, bearing in mind the future rather than the present. Besides, we are now familiar enough with the experience of other socialist countries.

Without the reform in question, centralized economic management would probably slacken. Renouncing the reform would eventually lead to greater lack of planning in the activity of enterprises than is the case today. There would be a greater danger of discrepancy between the tasks set by the center and those tackled by each particular enterprise. In short, failure to carry out the reform would lower the efficiency of centralized management and affect realization of the objects of the entire society.

On the other hand, we should beware of turning our socialist economy into an experimental field for endless reforms, which would cause uncertainty and make orientation difficult.

The drafting and realization of the proposed reform will not conflict with our previous economic development. They will follow logically from the measures initiated in 1957, the latest of which was the reorganization of industry. In 1957 we carried out the initial reforms by abolishing the system of obligatory deliveries and obligatory approval of the monthly and quarterly plans of the enterprises from above, and took many other measures. Thus the question is not one of something new but of the desire to complete, so to speak, what was begun earlier, so that our economic machinery can for a long time to come serve the purposes

of judicious and efficient management of the socialist economy.

Let us see what are the economic policy factors inducing us to revise our economic management system.

One of the factors for the revision is that the program for reorganizing the Hungarian national economy by sectors has, in effect, been completed. Consequently, we no longer need to take such steps as we have taken in past years with a view to reorganizing the economy and ensuring the triumph of socialist relations of production. The existence of the state, cooperative and private sectors in the present proportions, with the socialist sector decisively in the lead, may be considered stable for a long time to come.

Another economic policy factor is that the sources of extensive economic development are running out in our country, and hence those of intensive development are gaining in importance.

What do we mean by extensive development?

It is characteristic of this type of development that the growth of the national income is increased mainly by enlisting more labor power and creating more jobs. Another characteristic is that the home market is under-supplied and the scale of export relatively small while export opportunities are all but unlimited. A third characteristic is that the available production capacities are not used to the full although they could be.

With the intensive method of development, labor productivity is the chief, and subsequently the only, source of increased output and national income. The home market is relatively well supplied and there is a special demand for new, modern articles. Exports increase considerably, and it takes serious effort to maintain them at the right level and to expand them steadily.

The present economic machinery is mainly geared to extensive development, which it has so far served more or less effectively. But now that intensive development has come to the fore, there arise contradictions hampering our progress.

A third factor is the existence of substantial internal economic reserves. They are not national reserves whose utilization depends on the center always or in most cases, but mostly reserves at the disposal of enterprises.

One of these reserves lies in the uneven functioning of our industry and transport. At the beginning of the year they operate at low capacity, but the nearer the end of the year, the more production and transport operations are stepped up. The same is true of the three-month period. Uneven operation leads to high expenditures and low profits.

Another internal reserve lies in production being carried on in the conditions of a relatively large increase in the stocks of finished articles exceeding the demand. This is due, among other

things, to the low standard of production coordination between enterprises. We have yet to ensure that production strictly accords with the actual requirements. This goes not only for output of finished articles: certain surpluses occur in home trade also.

A third major reserve lies in better organization of production, labor and the enterprises. This improvement can be achieved by shortening the production cycle, that is, using the fixed and circulating capital of the enterprises, as well as their labor power, in optimum combinations. We should stimulate the activity of the enterprises in this respect much more vigorously.

The elements of economic risk have visibly increased in recent years.

Foreign trade, for example, is playing an increasing role in economic development. It is growing faster than the national income. We can say that in Hungary the national income can increase provided foreign trade develops faster. This is due, first of all, to our natural conditions, to the fact that our country is poor in raw materials. Ten years ago our exports were worth almost 30 per cent of the national income. By now they have reached 36 per cent and in another decade will climb to 40 per cent.

But some of our foreign trade drops out of the planning sphere. We cannot plan foreign trade in the same way as we plan the production activity of our state enterprises. And this circumstance involves a certain risk. This risk is much greater on the capitalist market, but the socialist countries are also exposed to a certain risk because long-range trade agreements do not fully predetermine the commodity turnover.

The changing requirements of the consumer are another element of economic risk. The consumer's attitude affects the economy more strongly than before. More than before, we run the risk of the consumption pattern at the close of the year not being what our plan had envisaged at the beginning of the year. We plan beforehand the consumption of various commodities in definite proportions, but the actual situation shapes differently, resulting in a surplus or a shortage.

Fluctuation of labor power is a third element of risk. It is increasing under the present level of employment. Already we may speak of a labor shortage—not in the absolute sense, but in terms of political economy. It is evident from the fact that for ten years now we have been unable to meet the building industry's demand for labor even though our plans provided for meeting it. On the other hand, the demand for administrative personnel is met although we had not planned it, with labor power shifting to the administrative sphere.

A fourth risk, which is increasing in the conditions of a com-

plex, diversified economy, stems from the difficulties which production coordination presents.

Our economy has become more complicated and we have numerous industries. Besides, due to specialization, the sphere of production coordination has considerably expanded and will continue to expand, for specialization is an important means of rationalizing production. Yet present conditions are not favorable enough to the normal process of coordination, which, again, shows the need to reform the economic machinery.

The socialist reorganization of agriculture—mechanization, irrigation, more up-to-date production operations, measures to control crop pests, and so on— has undoubtedy reduced the elements of risk in the production and sale of farm produce, but it could, of course, not have removed all risk. Weather conditions still have a tremendous effect on crop yields, so that both a good and a bad harvest still influence other economic branches.

It must be said that we have never ignored the growth of elements of risk. Since 1957 economic management and planning bodies have been taking these elements into increasing consideration. We have made our methods more flexible. In home trade, for example, we have provided conditions for the sale of goods at reduced prices, and have set up a special clearance sale fund. More, we encourage in various ways increased exports and the saving of imported goods. We strive to balance labor power more judiciously. And we have lent greater flexibility to transport contracts.

We take account of the growth of elements of risk but our effort in this respect is still less than enough. In some sectors, and in terms of the entire national economy, we still fail to take account of every circumstance. Enterprises should take stock of the situation more efficiently, doing it almost daily. They are not flexible enough in this sense as yet.

Thus the shortcomings of the present economic machinery from this point of view lie in its not ensuring a sufficiently flexible readjustment of enterprises. On the other hand, the economic organizations and enterprises lack proper autonomy and powers as regards production coordination.

II

What are the problems that confront us when we consider the main elements of the economic machinery?

Let us take planning first. There are two points of view concerning our present system of planning.

One view is that planning is, in effect, activity at one level—on the plane of the entire economy. The plan of the enterprise is only

part of the national economic plan, no more than an auxiliary to planning.

The other view is that every form of economic activity can be planned from above, that is, regulated through centralized planning. (I would like to remark that in our present economic planning and activity we reject both views.) This view is wrong for two reasons. In reality, economic activity takes place at two levels —that of the national economy as a whole and that of each enterprise. There are things which can be planned only by the central body or only by the enterprise.

Some economists, particularly abroad, contend that each particular process should be regulated and planned at the center, by means of computers. But computers are not yet equal to this task. Undoubtedly, centralized planning will in the long run expand, but hardly in the sense that everything will be planned somewhere at the center and all economic activity at the enterprises will depend on the pushing of a button in some central body.

The second view does not distinguish between short-range and long-range economic activity. The annual plan is, therefore, derived from the long-range plan or the intermediate plan, such as the five-year plan is. From the annual plan the quarterly plan is derived and from this the monthly plan, although the plan cannot be broken up indefinitely. The result is not a plan but a program for the specific activity of each enterprise, unit or individual.

The concept of a national economic plan should comprise only long-range and intermediate plans.

At present the center can guide decentralized activity through national economic planning only at the price of considerably reducing effectiveness. Centralized guidance of the economy today is not, but can be made, efficient enough. In this connection, we had a debate on whether the system of directives should be used in the national economy, whether there is a need for instructions as to ways of fulfilling economic plan assignments. A critical survey and analysis of the situation led us to the conclusion that it would be wrong to abolish directives in socialist economic practice. The trouble is not that directives exist, that the central body can issue directives. Directives are necessary in a socialist economy. But it is by no means immaterial what they are, or when and how they are issued. When they affect the greater part of the activity of an enterprise, they are tantamount to the center managing the enterprise, and then local initiative and responsibility dwindle. This is what happens now.

Planning is not yet scientific enough. As we plan we make little effort, if any, to find alternative economic solutions. We do not take proper account of changes necessitated by technological progress or shifts in the market situation.

Besides, the plan is aimed, strictly speaking, at regulating simple reproduction. This was necessary at first, when we were only just setting up a socialist economy. Today it is bureaucratic practice and it will become worse as time passes.

A related problem is the uncommonly exacting character of our planning system with regard to decision-making. In the planning stage, when the conception of the plan already takes shape, we are compelled to adopt innumerable decisions. By the time the plan is submitted to the higher economic bodies, the government and the Party there is already a mass of decisions affecting the entire concept of the plan. Yet should the higher bodies decide to reject the draft plan, it has to be rehashed. This rehashing takes months while the economy operates without plan. If, however, the planning bodies ask the central bodies for well-grounded economic policy guidelines when the plan is only just being drafted, they often get no such guidelines.

Under the present system of planning, elaboration of major conditions for economic management does not receive adequate attention. However, it would be wrong to say that the system is in crisis. The roots of the problem lie deeper. While the shortcomings of the present system of planning hamper progress today, it is mainly from the point of view of the future that we must eliminate them. The system is worthy of respect despite its imperfections and shortcomings. While admiting them, we should avoid all rash steps.

III

In examining the machinery of economic activity of the enterprises, we maintain that industrial reorganization has been carried out in the right direction and has in the main led to positive changes throughout the production sphere.

As we speak of the economic activity of the enterprises we should remember that we have two different types of enterprise. One is the state-owned enterprise and the other the cooperative, which is a collective enterprise.

The state enterprises merit criticism because the sphere of action of cost accounting today is narrower than necessary and the very principle of cost accounting is enforced inconsistently, so that the enterprises are not self-supporting enough. The sphere of their action is determined by the center, and growth of output hardly depends on their economic indices. In the field of investment, for example, the enterprises merely do as they are told. With regard to modernization measures, they enjoy a degree of autonomy, which, however, is inadequate. The enterprises are not responsible, or bear very little responsibility, for technical progress.

The cooperatives have other problems to cope with. They are not run in sufficient measure as industrial units. What I mean here is the agricultural production cooperatives, not the producers' or land-cultivating cooperatives. The production cooperatives' present system of planning and accounting is still overburdened with the features of natural economy. For example, they plan circulating capital only on the basis of natural indices although, in principle, they should plan them also in monetary terms. They disregard depreciation, although their fixed capital is already considerable and will go on increasing. As a result, a proportion of the investments is spent, not on extending production, but merely on covering expenditures entailed by wear and tear. As for cost accounting, the cooperatives are only just beginning to adopt it.

In the case of the industrial enterprises, the remuneration system is open to criticism, for it visibly tends to wage-levelling—there is little differentiation according to the quality of labor. Besides, the wage scale in use is too narrow. This applies to both the worker and the manager of the enterprise, and sharply reduces material incentive. The principle of distribution according to labor should be enforced more effectively and consistently.

A few words about enlisting the working people in economic activity.

The working people take part in the activities of the socialist enterprise as its owners and as its workers. Their participation as workers is organized in the main, if not fully, through the trade unions. But the working people's share as owners is still too small. This problem requires some hard thinking. We must find ways of affording greater inducements to the working people as owners of the enterprise.

We cannot blame the state enterprises for not implementing the so-called principle of self-government, according to which each collective should be regarded as the owner or employer. We cannot do this because the collective of an enterprise is not its owner —the enterprise belongs to the state, which is, in effect, the employer providing all conditions for the operation of the enterprise.

It would be wrong to criticize the present economic machinery merely because the state enterprises do not ensure adequate participation of their staffs in management as owners of the enterprise. We may criticize it for not providing partly the personnel of the enterprise and partly everything else that its activity concerns (consumers of its products, state enterprises connected with it, the bank, planning bodies) with the opportunity to take a more effective part in the activity of the enterprise as its owners.

In the agricultural cooperatives, the reverse is the case. There ownership relations have in the main been settled and are known to the membership. This expresses itself in the system of demo-

cratic election of the leadership and in general meetings. But the relationships of the members as workers have yet to be settled in full.

A word about the price system. There are two principal problems here. One is that prices do not properly reflect social expenditures. In other words, costs per unit produced, on which prices are based, are calculated very narrowly and do not include many social outlays. This unhealthy discrepancy stands out all the more when we compare the prices of various articles. The fact that socially-necessary outlays are not properly reflected in prices affects social consumption as a whole.

We do not strive to reflect social outlays correctly—the prices of imported goods are often wrong. As a result, imported goods sometimes cost the state either more or less than their prices show. Prices are fixed according to the prices of similar articles manufactured at home. This situation makes orientation difficult for both the enterprises and the central bodies.

It is also deplorable that prices are not flexible enough and do not react properly to the ups and downs of demand. This complicates their stimulating role. For example, the demand for Csepel sewing machines showed a sharp drop because they fell short of the technological standards of the day. But their price was unchanged, and the factory had an interest in increasing their output.

There are also instances of enterprises having no interest in manufacturing new, modern articles. This is because mastering the manufacture of new articles at first entails considerable extra spending which the prices of the articles do not make up for in the initial stage. The fact is that costs per unit produced and the price are calculated in terms of the period of quantity production. And the enterprise is bound to operate at a loss until it launches quantity production.

Prices valid for a long period—five or six years—have not justified themselves. During this period production costs undergo such changes that often profit declines, as early as the second or third year, to such an extent that no expert, however skilful, could prevail on the enterprise to divert most of its means to modernizing and perfecting production.

Excessive interference in price fixing by the central bodies—which not only fix prices for finished products but interfere in this even in the course of production coordination and fix prices for incomplete articles or semi-manufactured goods—is just as unwarranted. The result is terrific bureaucracy with regard to prices.

Let us see how prices for consumer goods are fixed. There is excessive centralization in this matter also. The Ministry of Home Trade fixes prices for 95 per cent of the consumer goods, while

the enterprises fix only 5 per cent of the prices. But it is unable to cope with so many (120,000) articles. It is physically impossible simultaneously to supervise the calculation of their prices and to ensure that there are no concealed price increases.

This is not to say, of course, that we have discovered these problems only now and that formerly we took no resolute steps to remove shortcomings in our price-fixing system. In fact, we have done away with many of them. For example, by normalizing production price-fixing in 1959 with due regard to the criticisms mentioned above, we improved the situation. But the system is still inadequate. We have taken steps to make it more flexible.

We cannot renounce centralized price fixing. What we are criticizing, therefore, is not that the price policy and system are shaped by the center, but merely that control by the central bodies is slackening because we do not allow for a certain flexibility and do not permit the enterprises to fix some of the prices. We cannot safeguard the consumer against concealed price increases by the mere device of prices being fixed and controlled by the center. A correct economic policy is important, in particular, because it ensures proper flexibility in the production of consumer goods in relation to both variety and quantity. This is an effective measure against concealed price rises.

Concerning our investment system, the following basic criticisms should be made.

A shortcoming of the system is that it identifies different investments and therefore regulates them in the same way. For example, it regulates by what is in effect the same method the provision of new major capacities, the extension of existing enterprises, and investments aimed at keeping production abreast of demand.

It merits criticism that we virtually finance all investments out of the budget, gratuitously. The enterprises, which get them "free," strive to get as much as possible, but not to pay them back. Bank credit plays a very insignificant role in investment. Investment decisions are taken by the center even when the enterprise itself should act, taking account of the prevailing economic conditions. In the case of large investments, the question is seldom decided in its entirety — plans rarely make adequate provisions for various supplementary investments.

Speaking of the trade machinery, I wish to say only this much, that production and trade today are not interlinked closely enough and that their interests coincide less than they should. Commercial and production enterprises are generally left each to its own devices, and each proceeds from its own interests only.

Both foreign and home trade are still not commensurate to the market, although we have done much in this respect and trade now meets market requirements better than ten years ago.

The possibilities of home trade in terms of influencing production are inadequate. As regards the import of consumer goods, it lacks sufficient freedom of action and is unable to make proper use of the opportunities of importing the necessary items at the most propitious time and in the best variety when consumer demand cannot be met inside the country.

Lastly, it must be pointed out that competition between trading agencies, which occurs within certain bounds even today, is a positive fact, for it benefits the consumer. It prompts shops and enterprises to offer a wider range of goods and to improve service so as not to lose customers. But competition is still limited. Of course, it should not be artificially expanded where there is no need for this, but still socialist organizations should compete more than now.

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So much for the shortcomings of our economic machinery.

The future will show what conclusions these criticisms will lead to. In any case, they will lead to a definite, clear-cut concept, which, however, will have to be elaborated and presented to experts, and later to a larger public, for discussion before the final decision is taken.

It is much easier to notice mistakes and point them out than to remedy them. We make more mistakes than we correct. When we introduce the new economic machinery it will certainly not be flawless, for it could not possibly operate without meeting difficulties. But it is very important that we should not snatch this or that element — say, only trade or only investment — out of this machinery and set about revising it thoroughly. The question is of intricate economic interconnections which demand that we should critically revise the whole economic machinery and that our decision on the necessary changes should cover the entire machinery.

The main lines of these changes are: further development of the socialist, planned economy, expansion of the socialist market, optimum coordination of measures adopted by the central bodies and those taken locally, cost accounting, the promotion of accounting in the operation of enterprises and in economic activity generally in the interests of the entire national economy, and lastly, greater enlistment of the working people in economic activity.

Our house is not on fire. But because we are Communists we must look deeper and see better in order to be able as we encourage criticism to make a more accurate analysis of our tasks and to act accordingly. The introduction of new economic machinery will take time. The question is not of a few months but of one, two or possibly three years, during which we will have to introduce it step by step. But we must conceive this machinery in its entirety,

as an integral whole. Its purpose is to realize the aims of society more effectively, and hence to ensure greater success for each individual and make the entire socialist economy more effective.

URGENT PROBLEMS OF ECONOMIC PROGRESS AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC RELATIONS*

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Before and after the Congress, with the Constitution adopted, we took a number of legislative measures and other decisions which influenced the development of our society. But those were limited measures and decisions concerning isolated questions in isolated spheres. Secondly, they could not be entirely effective in the given situation. Only the reform on which we are now starting covers the whole range of problems and provides a general basis for the continued all-round development of our entire social, economic and political system, for intensified production and steady improvements in the people's standard of living. This is why the proposed changes should be regarded as a broad and specific long-range program for the fuller and more consistent implementation of the approved general line.**

1. A few days ago Skupshtina committees discussed proposals of the Federal Executive Council for the fundamental solution of certain pressing problems of economic policy and system. The question is of a reform in the price structure, distribution methods, foreign exchange and foreign trade.

Specifically, the proposals envisage the following:

Further restriction of direct state interference, and consolidation of the material base of self-government, so that the working organizations, and hence the working people, can play the key role in the joint process of simple and extended reproduction, and that the entire commodity-money-commodity as well as money-commodity-money cycle can be directly controlled by the producers; since the abolition of the investment funds of socio-political associations and the modification of the system of expanded reproduction this is the second important step toward eliminating the material base of state

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**Here and further, the speaker means the decisions of the Eighth Congress of the LCY.—Ed.

influence and excessive administrative interference in economic affairs, that is, toward uprooting state bureaucracy; it will extend the basis of integration, of various forms of cooperation and association prompted by the economic interests of the labor collectives, and will stimulate these collectives' interest in them;

freer and more economically expedient distribution of accumulations through the market and prices; identical working conditions, and the autonomous development of every field and branch of the national economy, which will make for the increased activity and further development of the new credit and banking system, of the entire system of extended reproduction;

fuller and more consistent implementation of the principle of distribution according to labor, which will in itself go a long way toward accelerating the growth of labor productivity; it should be plain to anyone who takes a broad view of these measures that they will contribute in economic terms to more appropriate relations between nations as regards distribution of the social product;

rapid replacement of the extensive method of economic development and abolition of the autarchic trend, which is very strong, will considerably stimulate the working organizations' use of up-to-date technical and scientific methods for organizing labor, and this, in turn, will result in speedier specialization and better operation of the enterprises;

freer operation of the market, a realistic price structure and a more realistic rate of exchange for the dinar; elimination of excessive and unnecessary administrative regulation of foreign exchange and trade with a view to rationally gearing our economy to international division of labor and gradually removing the balance of payments deficit;

more economically expedient distribution between consumption and accumulation, in addition to appropriate alterations of the production pattern; this means steadily and reliably raising labor productivity and promoting the service industry, particularly public utilities; it will enable us to develop municipal services and relations more rapidly;

a more stable material base for the intensive development of the service industry according to the requirements and possibilities of society, and for the development of social relations in this sphere;

a realistic basis for an appropriate planning system and for the drafting of the social development plan till 1970; the continued successful implementation of the reform implies and calls for the early introduction of a new planning system ensuring effective regulation of the process of social reproduction; the reform provides for the timely shaping of long-range development policies.

2. The Eighth Congress stressed in a resolution that the level of development attained by our society already enables it to eliminate

old relations and practices, and makes it imperative for us to steer a steady course toward building up an adequate economic system. In effect, the true cause of the present instability of the economic processes and of the economic and social imbalances and difficulties we have is that we did not estimate the present historical stage in our development properly and in time.

In assessing our potentialities, we must not merely proceed from what our production capacities, educational system, science, health service, etc., provide today but must see what they could provide and how fast they could develop given more stable material, social and other conditions. The fact that per capita income in our country already exceeds 500 dinars speaks for itself, but as we appraise our real potentialities we should remember that thousands of our enterprises could produce far more with the staffs and the experience they have, provided they improved the organization of labor, production coordination and specialization, and put investments and credits on a more judicious basis.

True, we are still short of highly competent specialists. But we have 25,000 students graduating from college or secondary specialized school every year, and secondly, these results would have been better both quantitatively and qualitatively had the educational institutions concerned been financed on a stable basis and had their staffs been able to find new, more progressive methods of teaching young people and adults.

Speaking very generally, it is fair to say that as far as our economic progress, in particular industrialization, is concerned, we are somewhere near the level reached by the industrially developed countries before World War II. At present we are entering a stage in which we will have to cope with two tasks simultaneously: the task which the industrially developed countries accomplished before or after the war, and a new industrial revolution, which the developed countries have already begun on the basis of the latest achievements in science and technology, despite the limitations of capitalist society.

In other words, the next stage will necessitate a new approach to every field of social development. We must firmly discard our old manufactory—we might even say cottage-industry—and scrap all that is primitive, conservative or downright obsolete.

3. Our production has attained a level at which export and import and a bigger foreign market are among the main conditions for further progress. I would call it a level at which the volume of exports is becoming a real objective criterion of production growth rates, and of the quality and stability of our economic progress. In other words, we should increasingly estimate inputs and outputs, the real quantity and quality of our commodities and services, and our labor productivity from the standpoint of the world market.

Our economic system makes it possible and indispensable to set up a system of foreign trade, currency, credit and other operations that would be a logical and organic component of the economy, making it free and enabling it to establish the closest and most comprehensive, stable and prolonged cooperation and integration on an equal footing with the economies of foreign countries, whether socialist or capitalist, developed or developing, not only through trade, but through coordination of production and through technical, financial and other agreements.

To be sure, there are, and will be, difficulties of a different nature.

In the capitalist countries, these lie in the trend toward discrimination, monopoly, and economic or other supremacy in bilateral relations, as well as in the existing regional associations, aimed at preserving the old forms of export of capital, etc.

Economic cooperation with the socialist countries is making increasing progress, although certain forms of centralized management and planning in many of them somewhat complicate the introduction of the various forms of direct coordination listed above, and restrict the initiative of the production enterprises themselves. True, the changes in economic system which are already being carried out in a number of socialist countries will increasingly remove hurdles of this kind and make coordination and economic integration easier for our countries.

The forms and methods of prolonged cooperation with the developing countries can be evolved only through a comprehensive approach to the problems, interests and possibilities of these countries.

The rapid process of international economic integration, industrial, scientific and technological cooperation, and links and interdependence in the technological field are supplementing old forms of trade and credit. This is an objective reality which exists despite political and other extra-economic obstacles and complications. We should, therefore, be prepared to take a concrete new initiative or to support such an initiative if it is of mutual interest. So far we have done little in this respect.

With this aim in view, our economy should be equal, in terms of production techniques, to such broad and open international cooperation. We can achieve this by modernizing production, circulation and specialization, improving the quality of goods and cutting production costs. This, of course, means readjusting progress in production accordingly and introducing an appropriate investment and credit policy. Besides, we will have to use economic methods to prepare our working organizations for cooperation and competition in the world market on an equal footing. These preparations cannot be carried out in conditions of isolation and autarchy but call for direct economic cooperation and competition.

If we want to implement this policy — a policy approved by the Congress — we must show greater determination in our ideological battle against autarchy, which we encounter in theory and practice, in numerous publications, in official documents and analyses. Surely an indication of the autarchic trend is the persistent demand that we should safeguard ourselves at all costs against competition from almost every industrial commodity of foreign make, or the much too obvious insistence that we should produce almost every raw material and means of production by ourselves, on the plea that we need a harmonious structure.

Yugoslavia's standing in international economic relations will depend on the extent to which goods marked "Made in Yugoslavia" will enjoy popularity and command respect. But we must insist in no uncertain terms that the Communists and other working people approach problems of our foreign trade with a sense of responsibility.

4. The measures I have listed will improve the conditions for agricultural progress. Although agricultural production has been growing at a relatively high rate during the last seven or eight years, which proves our general line perfectly correct, we were right in pointing out that agriculture is still one of our main structural problems, for on it depends the success of our policy of steadily raising the standard of living and, besides, it is a notable factor in our foreign trade. The coming years will be decisive for the reorganization of agriculture, and we have no right to cling to petty and short-sighted pragmaticism. We must free the agricultural organizations, as far as possible, from state interference in current production, investment, and so on. Their material and social position should be regulated primarily through prices and credits and by other economic means, in accordance with the entire socio-economic system. This will separate the agricultural organizations from the state, dissociate them from budget and other centralized appropriations, and impel them toward intensified production and higher labor productivity. The fairly extensive network of agricultural collectives today is a powerful factor which can and must modernize and reconstruct agriculture, provided they strive for high labor productivity and operate at a profit, and provided their overall conditions are stable.

However, there is a trend toward extensive rather than intensive production in this sphere as well. It is generally believed, for example, that the socialist farms must expand their land area to increase production. Last year, when comparatively little land was purchased, the working organizations' arable increased by 8 per cent, while the number of tractors went up by only 5 per cent. Our farms are clearly developing by extensive methods because the machinery at their disposal is obsolete, incomplete or inadequate.

The main obstacle to the expansion of the land area through purchase and so on is not the peasant but the present state of the socialist economy, whose productivity and profits are low. As the labor productivity and incomes of the agricultural worker and the industrial worker grow in comparison with those of the non-cooperated farmer, the process of concentration of capital and land in the hands of working organizations will be hastened. All other ways are uneconomical and unreasonable, and would mean forcible collectivization of, or surrender to the non-cooperated, mainly small-scale farming.

Two trends are still evident in our country: some think agriculture should develop above all through large state investments in drainage, reclamation, irrigation, etc., whereas large investments produce little effect, and that at a comparatively slow rate. Others, seeing the notable successes achieved in the early stage of production coordination with the non-cooperated farmer, overrate the production reserves and potentialities of private farming.

The progress made in cooperated production should stimulate our effort to use all the reserves, which are considerable. Statistical data show that the marketable output of individual farms is growing faster than overall agricultural production. This is a normal economic process in our conditions — there is a differentiation going on of a considerable number of individual farms which are already prepared to cooperate and expand production, and our cooperatives should count on them.

We should carry on our work in two equally important directions. We should press forward cooperated production, particularly through the cooperatives, which brings into our self-government system also the non-cooperated farmer, that is, includes individual direct producers in a single socialist system. We should also strive more vigorously to develop the socialist farms as intensive and highly productive enterprises.

5. Economic changes will undoubtedly lead to many direct and indirect changes in every non-production sphere, particularly the public services. The very fact that the roots of state influence on production relations in the sphere of material production will be seriously cut is bound to hasten a similar process in education, science, culture, the health service, and other fields. Greater self-government rights imply greater obligations and responsibility for free labor and creative effort. The exemption of these spheres of activity from state tutelage with due regard to their peculiarities will foster the integration of the service industry and material production.

Our people are right in speaking of low labor productivity in industry and agriculture. Sometimes there is still better reason to speak of low productivity in the educational system, health service,

and other non-production spheres. The usual complaint is about the lack of adequate material and technical facilities, which is no doubt correct. There are also complaints about the inadequacy of the material and technical base of production, which, again, is beyond question. Everyone needs funds and facilities. But to achieve greater results in labor, to raise labor productivity through more judicious organizations and better material facilities, we need greater effort by both society as a whole and its every member.

The state and its administrative bodies are least of all able to say how this process will go on in the various spheres of labor. It is for the working people themselves to find the answer, each in his own field and by mutual agreement and in collaboration with the parties concerned. The Communists active in the fields concerned should be the foremost champions of this line and should, of course, contribute to the solution of these problems. This does not at all mean giving rein to spontaneity. Administrative and budgetary tutelage should be replaced by planned social regulation and guidance. The entire socio-economic system of distribution should provide a stable and definite basis for independent sources of income in every sphere, so that they can develop unhampered, in keeping with the requirements and possibilities of society.

6. To remedy the present serious economic imbalances and adopt extensive administrative measures toward establishing freer and more stable relationships and processes is an arduous task that will require joint efforts, intelligent work and universal discipline for months or perhaps for a year or two. In addition to increasing output and raising labor productivity, one of the main tasks is to exercise economy and keep every form of consumption within planned bounds, that is, in line with the material resources. Large sections of public opinion have approved even of so extreme a measure as a price freeze precisely because they expect that after months of continual changes and sharp fluctuations in prices decisive steps will be taken to normalize both the family budget and social production, to stabilize and safeguard them.

The question should be not only of the amount but also of the pattern and expediency of investments. If investments were to be aimed primarily at modernizing the existing enterprises, with the power industry developing harmoniously, at making machinery and technologies as efficient as possible, and at automation — which would make for higher labor productivity and greater output with little or no increase in labor force — they would first and foremost play a stabilizing role, for they would help to increase commodity stocks, which, in turn, would create a real basis for the more rapid growth of personal incomes and for a more stable balance on the market between supply and demand. But we have been investing

in a different way, by the extensive method, that is, with a view to providing more jobs.

High demand, a favorable market situation, has stimulated the extensive trend of investment, resulting in the creation of a large number of jobs while labor productivity remained low. This is how we have increased employment. It follows that an unstable market has entailed excessive investment and the wrong pattern of investments, that is, has aggravated the negative trends stemming from the very system of extended reproduction we have practised, or, in other words, from the fact that a tremendous proportion of the investments has been outside the working organizations, being concentrated in the non-economic sphere. Consequently, it has not been under the direct control and operation of objective economic laws that could have had a positive effect on the profitableness and pattern of investments. The measures we are going to adopt should bring about this effect.

7. Changes in the price structure, higher prices for raw materials, imported goods and various services, higher personal incomes, and at the same time the need to preserve fixed purchase funds, particularly in the early months, because of the instability of the conditions in which the reform is to be carried out, and the fact that our material and currency reserves are limited will all cause major difficulties at many enterprises, which will probably offer resistance in various forms. All this will give rise to political and other problems.

To find a solution in each particular case, we must be prepared beforehand to take a constructive approach and to render concrete assistance. On the other hand, we must be firm and uncompromising in implementing our fundamental policy and the decisions it involves.

Everyone should realize that redistribution between various branches and fields should be effected within the limits of the existing national income, and that some are bound to lose if others gain. What each will gain is greater self-government rights, more favorable conditions for raising labor productivity, and the guarantee that first to benefit will be the working people. But at the beginning everyone should be ready to face difficulties.

Stabilization of the market and prices under the new relations, and a drastic cut in state investment mean that all the working organizations will have a single regime and will find themselves in more similar general conditions than before. The peculiarities of each enterprise, and the shortcomings and potentialities of each working organization will become more obvious, for the new conditions will make each take stock of itself first and foremost. The measures we envisage will do away with many an illusion, especially in the case of people who have been trying to improve their

position solely by putting up prices and improving other external conditions, and not by raising productivity. The Communists and the other social forces in the working organizations will therefore have to muster their internal reserves. This means that the organization of labor, investment, designing, research, etc., should all be aimed at cutting production costs, improving the quality of products and raising labor productivity. It also means combating various mechanical calculations and scheming, opportunism, demagogy and selfish, speculative methods used to the detriment of others and of society as a whole.

Since, however, the main burden will have to be shouldered by the working organizations, we must render them every assistance in line with the policy we have charted. Our credit policy too should be geared to this task. In the event of objective economic necessity, enterprises should be granted both financial aid (credits) and technical assistance. We must take special care in planning transitional measures and assistance to enterprises that are lagging, unprofitable and poorly organized and are on the verge of liquidation, so as to help them back to their feet if possible.

On the other hand, we must firmly put an *end to the tendency to save all and everyone by adatping policy and economic means to specific conditions. To yield to this kind of pressure means foredooming the whole reform.* This should be made perfectly clear to all. Such a practice would not benefit even those who were granted privileges, and would merely encourage unfounded hopes and hold up the adoption of long-range decisions. It is time to get rid of the illusion that one can support production, however expensive, by merely boosting prices. The price is by its very nature a category beyond anyone's subjective control. Price fluctuations in our country reflect a voluntarist subjectivism, which affects the economy, the ineffectiveness of certain planning and regulating factors, or both.

Given a stable price structure based on balanced demand and supply and on adequate export opportunities, every enterprise and industry will have objective conditions for efficient operation. If despite these conditions an enterprise cannot keep accumulations at the present level or even maintain its income, something must be wrong with its labor productivity and it had better not count on high prices or on subsidies. Because of its poorer quality, our bacon, for example, is sold in Britain 10 to 15 per cent cheaper than Danish bacon. In Vienna and Munich, our fruit sells 10 to 20 per cent cheaper than Italian fruit because of its poor quality and packing. Many of our machines and other manufactured goods also sell 10 to 20 per cent cheaper because their design is obsolete or their quality lower. This shows the real value of our goods, and artificial

prices at home will get us nowhere — they will only breed errors and imbalances.

The problem of overall growth of production is bound to give rise to debates. It may well be that at first our high annual rate of growth will decline somewhat, drawing certain criticisms. But we should bear in mind that in view of the vast scale of the economic consolidation, rationalization of production, trade and distribution involved there may be a temporary two or three per cent drop in the present high rate of growth. This would in fact mean that this two or three per cent had been the source and cause of an imbalance, and not an indication of growth of our economic potential.

8. The new measures will allow the working organizations greater autonomy, but then they will place on them greater responsibility. The main field of the battle for an intensive economy and democratic socialist relations will shift more and more to the working organizations.

The relations between the members of a working organization form the basis on which the overall system of socio-economic relations develops. They should develop steadily as does the whole of society, and even faster, for conditions in a working organization change faster than the average conditions in society as a whole. In a working organization socialist relations are determined by its position in society and in the general process of social production. Yet the dynamic development of socialist relations, and an increase in the working people's role in the working organization, for their part, are bound to lead to more rapid consolidation of self-government in the working organization and of its position in society, and to shape the forms of social relations and the trend of development as a whole. Today internal relations in the working organization are lagging behind general opportunities and overall development.

We have not been doing enough to promote new relations in the working organizations. Taking decisions over the heads of self-government bodies is a common practice, as we all know. Furthermore, many decisions are passed through these bodies in a purely formal way, ignoring the substance of the matter, and failing to ascertain whether the suggested decision is progressive or not, whether it will induce the collective concerned to raise labor productivity or will yield the opposite result. Communists should not idealize any self-government body or put up with negative trends and ill-advised decisions, no matter where they may have been taken.

The reform we are going to carry out will inevitably require from economic organizations more rapid progress in raising labor productivity, cutting production costs, making the economy more efficient, and providing more favorable conditions for specialization and

various forms of coordination by encouraging the effort of the working organizations.

In the past our main task was to resist state influence and administrative centralism at Federal and republican level and to guarantee proper autonomy for the working organizations in laying the material foundations of self-government and in taking economic decisions. Now that this problem is growing in scope, it is becoming increasingly urgent to settle the question of free links between autonomous working organizations, which are logically interconnected technologically and have a reciprocal material stake in the production process, in exchange, scientific and technological improvements, and so on. This process is clearly hampered by general problems that are largely unsolved, as well as by the unstable character of the economy, which necessitates periodic intervention and promises of false ways of raising wages and salaries, and breeds false hopes of easy earnings, whereas the need is for an earnest and persevering effort to create accumulations and raise labor productivity. These general factors are outside the domain of the working organizations and are not their direct responsibility but that of the central bodies.

However, there are certain subjective obstacles to positive integration processes in the working organizations themselves. Most of the conflicts arising in the course of integration due to the supremacy of the strongest or to the separatism of the weakest are caused by bureaucratic trends in the working organizations, by the fact that people intent on retaining their privileged position, upholding their personal prestige, and so on, ignore the true interests and requirements of production and labor productivity and disregard the interests of the working people and the self-government bodies. Interference by socio-political organizations in the economic integration process sometimes has the same root. Hence the fight for a sound integration process is logically linked with the fight to promote self-government and democratic relations. One in every five persons engaged in production, the service industry or administrative activity is a member of the LCY. When, therefore, we speak of subjective factors and developments in working and socio-political organizations we mean chiefly the Communists, that is, their activity and influence.

9. The Eighth Congress emphatically reaffirmed the policy decided on earlier — to work for a speedy rise in personal incomes, that is, to redistribute the national income with an eye to improving living standards in general and personal incomes in particular. There were certain changes in 1964 and 1965. The new reform will enable us to bring about even more favorable changes in this sense.

However, along with positive results, which we owe to the rapid rise in living standards and personal incomes, there were certain

negative developments. To begin with, the ratio of the growth of personal incomes and labor productivity was upset in many working organizations. This is why the sum total of personal incomes has been growing faster than commodity stocks and material opportunities, which has also tended to make the economy unstable, raise the cost of living and aggravate inflationary trends.

The reason for this is the lack of constant and methodical social influence through contracts and agreements, and secondly, the difference in the conditions in which the various branches were run, which provided a material basis for differences in personal incomes. Inadequate comprehension or misconception of the general line with regard to personal incomes and living standards merit special mention.

Redistribution in favor of personal incomes, and the steady growth of incomes were seen, not as an objective socio-economic necessity, but as an invitation to spend — or should we say waste? — more. Some mistook the general line for the green light to demagogy and similar tendencies. The issue of personal incomes gave rise to unhealthy competition aimed at winning cheap popularity among the working people. Despite excessive investments in extensive economic development, changes in personal incomes and living standards irrespective of material resources and the commodity structure inevitably resulted in a nominal growth of personal incomes and a higher cost of living.

We must counter demagogy, which has assumed enormous proportions and has led to various excesses — unwarranted increases in the personal incomes of unskilled workers at the expense of skilled workers and specialists at some enterprises and an excessive and unjustified discrepancy at others, etc., depending on the power of the ignorant or bureaucratic elements who had been eagerly looking forward to just such an opportunity.

We must not only revise the exchange rate and prices but introduce appropriate changes into the general level of personal incomes in such a way as not to reduce people's real personal incomes. The economic consolidation program should be pressed forward hand in hand with further improvements in the standard of living — in step with rising labor productivity. This will pose numerous problems both in the various working organizations and throughout the economy. The position of the low-income workers and working organizations will be particularly delicate, for in the period under survey it was the weaker and poorer organizations that were hit hardest of all by the rapid growth of prices and the cost of living.

We now hold special conferences to help in evolving social criteria and to reach agreement on the policy of distribution and personal incomes. These conferences should result in adopting on a permanent basis the method of exerting social influence on the

foundation of personal incomes and on changes in them. Administrative interference should be ruled out, for it would be very dangerous and harmful. But this is precisely why we must through plan measures achieve such a growth of material reserves for personal consumption as will enable personal incomes to change stably in our free socio-political practice, within bounds fully determined by the results of production. For, as we know, compulsion and excesses in any sense in this sphere inevitably cause serious economic, social and political damage.

10. The shaping of our economic system and our policy involves all — from the working man at his work place and the collective in any sphere of social activity to the Federation. This is why all who are engaged in social activity are responsible for the character of decisions concerning general development, particularly the measures we plan and their realization. Of course, I am not trying to say that there should be no more personal responsibility. On the contrary, our system demands that we should know who is responsible for what. And this is why everyone should do his social duty so as to have the right to ask as much of others. There is nothing like government and opposition in our country, and still less are there masters and wage workers. No one has a right to stand on the sidelines. Furthermore, no one should advance general arguments virtually relieving him of all responsibility or making it indeterminate by trying to put the blame on, say, objective conditions, imperfections of the system, and so on. For the perfectly concrete persons who perform specific individual functions should analyze and understand the objective conditions, trends of development, etc., and propose appropriate decisions. They should carefully improve the system, for it can never be so perfect as to exempt from all responsibility those who should steadily promote it in keeping with current requirements.

Timely measures, taken with due regard to the actual situation, remain the duty of every member of the self-government system and of government bodies at all levels, as a permanent factor in our society, which is conscious of itself and the law-governed aspects of its development and, therefore, continuously regulates its development. This means that the more consistently we carry out the measures agreed on — each of us in line with his specific function in society — the more effectively and fully we will achieve our objectives.

11. The measures we are planning are far-reaching, almost revolutionary in scale and depth, and very complicated. They require the greatest concentration of all forces. To overcome difficulties the more easily, we need unity of attitude and action, and should view these measures from the angle of our entire socio-economic and political development. It stands to reason that the question is, first

and foremost, of the ideological unity and unity of action of the LCY, of the politically conscious socialist forces, which is an earnest of general unity.

In view of the difficulty of the process and of various ideological and political contradictions, dilemmas and resistances, the LCY should show greater perseverance in combating adverse developments, above all in the economic field. We must see to it that every organization accepts the line and decisions of the Eighth Congress and, moreover, adopts the style of work of the Congress. The impression is that the activity of the LCY is occasionally overburdened with debate and didacticism.

Most of the LCY organizations got to work right after the Congress. But here and there people merely declare allegiance to the principles of the Eighth Congress rather than taking practical steps to carry them forward and put them into effect. Besides, a certain segment of the cadre is sceptical of the measures aimed at normalizing the market, and of economic measures generally. This scepticism is partly due to omissions, sluggishness and ineffective economic interference on our part, to actions which have bred illusions, and to the sceptics' own failure to see how very complicated economic and social development is today. We must work more efficiently, explaining the situation and the measures we adopt in a realistic spirit and accurately forecasting prospects.

There is yet another thing to stress. All the republican and communal conferences of the LCY have confirmed that a large number of Communists and a sizeable proportion of working people have the right idea of the decisions and the democratically critical, creative spirit of the Eighth Congress of the LCY. They all expect with good reason that the LCY will be the first to insist on vigorous and consistent execution of these decisions, especially those bearing on the further development of the democratic social system, self-government, and stabilization of the economy and the standard of living.

While the task in hand is the responsibility of all the working people, the Communists should take the initiative and display particular activity through the self-government bodies. In other words, the Communists should feel responsible for the policy and decisions, for the economic and other results achieved by the working organizations they belong to, as equal members of these collectives and self-government bodies, exercising their influence by the force of example and by persuasion, and combating negative attitudes and tendencies wherever they encounter these.

We must continuously extend and deepen socialist democracy as the economic base of society expands, and must fight two kinds of obstacle and resistance in doing so. One is survivals of a bureaucratic spirit, not only in the life of society but in the habits of peo-

ple, who find it hard to realize the need for social, democratic and specific responsibility before the self-government bodies and the working people of their every practical step in social labor. We mean not only certain heads or staff members of communal committees, but many prominent functionaries of the LCY, who merely keep drifting along.

Other obstacles to democratic development are the lack of a sense of responsibility with regard to society, lack of discipline, criticism for criticism's sake, demagogy, anarchic liberalism, etc.— in short, misconception or abuse of direct socialist democracy, for the democratic right to participate in decision-making implies the duty and obligation to respect and carry out the decisions taken by the majority.

Our democratic self-government system as a whole shows that today socialist society is the only society which must and can revive and promote democracy, freedom and humanism. With the development of monopoly, particularly state monopoly, the bourgeois society of today largely renounces scholastic forms of bourgeois democracy, but it cannot evolve new forms of democracy unless it effects radical social reforms. Socialist society in many countries has advanced, in terms of both material conditions and other objective and subjective, internal and external conditions, to such an extent that the development of freer democratic relations and forms — meaning not only political democracy, but the relations between production and distribution, that is, "economic democracy" based on social ownership of the means of production— is becoming an urgent need and the prime requisite for all further development of the material base and socialist relations in the socialist countries, as well as of the world socialist process. Socialist democracy is a characteristic of the very essence, and one of the qualities of development, of the socialist society of today.

What else is the meaning of the lively debate on a new economic system that is going on in almost every socialist country of Europe? Definite, almost identical economic problems have arisen in all these countries, which are trying to solve them by changing the economic system on principles close to or identical with those on which our own economic system has been developing.

Evidently, the time has come for socialism to take the banner of democracy and humanism into its own hands, in both theory and practice. Consequently, now is the time to go over from unjustified retreat to the offensive and really to do away with the bourgeois countries' utterly unjustified monopoly on democratic slogans. This is why our internal development today is also of special international importance. It obliges us more than ever to steadfastly promote our social system and rapidly consolidate our present economic development.

RESOLUTION OF THE FIFTH NATIONAL CONFERENCE, IRISH WORKERS' PARTY

ADOPTED JUNE 13, 1965

1. The developments since our Fourth Conference in March 1962 have proved the correctness of the estimations and conclusions made by the Party at that Conference. The Program "Ireland Her Own," adopted then, has stood the test of political life. Its propositions are more than ever valid in the current situation.

2. The Fifth Conference inspired by the time proven clarity of our Program approaches the problems of the current situation with deep resolve and confidence to build the Irish Workers' Party, increasing its membership and deepening its roots in all of the organizations of the people, particularly in the Labor and Trade Union Movement, in order to win the fight for jobs and better living standards for the people, to advance the cause of national independence, to forge the unity of all progressive forces in order to hasten the advent of a Progressive Government under working class leadership.

THE CURRENT SITUATION

3. Since our last Conference there has been a considerable degree of economic expansion. This has been most marked in the past year, 1964, when the rise in the gross national product — the value of all goods and services produced — was 4.2 per cent compared with 3.7 in 1963. Production in transportable goods industries rose by 9½ per cent, an increase of 3¾ per cent more than in the previous year. In agriculture the increase was 3¾ per cent. There was a record level of production also in manufacturing, mining, quarrying and turf activity.

4. This was largely through the efforts of the working people, with output per worker increasing by 3.8 per cent thus making possible the realization of many of the forecasts of the Second Economic Program. Despite their significant contribution to economic expansion, it is the policy of the Lemass Government that the main benefits go to the employers and not to the workers. Wages, salaries and pensions in 1964 were an estimated 55.6 per cent of the national income: the forecast for 1965 is that they will be reduced to 54.9 per cent. On the other hand profit, income and professional earnings are to increase from 20.7 to 21.3 per cent.

5. Though there has been economic expansion and the achievement of production targets, and a 7,000 increase in the numbers engaged in the manufacturing industries plus a further 6,000 in other non-agricultural work — there has not been the corresponding increase in the overall numbers at work because of the 10,000 decline in agricultural employment. Emigration, estimated to reduce to 18,000 per annum, was 25,000 in 1964.

6. The expansion that has taken place is insufficient if the target of 78,000 new jobs between 1960-1970 is to be realized. To date 4,000 extra jobs have been created, leaving a balance of 14,800 to be provided per annum for the next five years if the target is to be reached.

7. This is a tremendous but overdue task. A new approach is needed as it is unlikely to be achieved on the basis of the Second Economic Program which lays stress on the attraction of foreign capitalists to Ireland and on so-called beneficial effects to our economy of membership of the Common Market.

8. There have been very harmful effects already from this policy of the Lemass government. British monopoly influence which has always retarded our economic development and our aim of national independence has been strengthened by a whole series of takeovers in industry, property, the distributive trade, hotels and carhire concerns, etc.

There has been an increase moreover in general foreign capitalist penetration. More than half of the new investment in the last two years is under the control of foreign speculators. Supermarkets of an international stature are extending in the retail trade. Irish mineral wealth is being profitably exploited by Canadian-European consortiums. Large acreages of our land have been bought up by wealthy outsiders. Foreign financial concerns have immigrated. U.S. banks are moving in. A big proportion of the milk supply service to the capital has passed over into American ownership.

9. A stable expansion of the economy will not be achieved by reliance on foreign industrialists who can at any time depart from Ireland as in the case of the Japanese Sony Company from the Shannon Industrial Estate or GEC from Dundalk. Foreign concerns should be limited to a minimum of the development of industries which would eventually revert to native control.

10. Neither will expansion be achieved by competition with the monopoly giants, either in the arena of the Common Market or "in the harmonization of the two economies" of Britain and Ireland which is a declared aim of the Lemass Government. There must be a reversal of the tariff cutting poficy of the Government which has increased imports to the detriment of our balance of trade and to employment in our industries.

11. The present political, economic, and social situation de-

mands an intensification of the struggle for national independence rather than a slackening. It calls for a Declaration of Independence — for the need to develop a strong national economy on the basis of the country's resources, capital, and manpower organized through State Planning as distinct from the present unreliable programming policy of the government through the means of:

—state companies in industry,
—a diversified cooperative agriculture,
—control of our financial resources,
—normal relations and vastly extended trade with all countries.

NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE

12. Ireland was once in the van of the national liberation movement which has now developed on a mighty scale. In many of the countries where the former oppressors have been forced to concede independence they still manage — as they have done to a certain extent in Ireland — to maintain their domination by means of neo-colonialism which enables them by means of financial and economic power to exercise considerable influence on the political and economic development of their former colonies. In other countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America the former oppressed peoples, as part of the struggle to consolidate their independence, have carried out profound national and social changes on the basis of the non-capitalist road of development; through policies of nationalization of foreign concerns or by legislation curbing their power; by direct state industrialization and land reform.

13. Ireland — the pioneer of the national liberation struggle — won a limited degree of freedom. Armed national struggle, constitutional reforms and economic development (the latter principally through state action) have considerably improved our position in relation to Britain. These actions however have been insufficient; the failure to take national control of our banking and finance system means that we still remain within the sphere of influence of British imperialism. Our country also still remains divided into two states.

14. The position of political leadership in the 26 counties is held by the Fianna Fail Party which is mainly representative of the Irish capitalist interests that at one time played a positive role against British Imperialism. On the whole these are now acquiescent to the sell-out of Ireland to monopoly capitalism given the right price. In foreign policy the government representative of such interests

plays less and less a role consistent with the anti-imperialist interests of the Irish people.

15. Fianna Fail succeeds in securing the support of the majority of the people including many workers, small farmers and small businessmen because of the absence of any clearcut comprehensive political alternative.

16. Yet there is much opposition to many aspects of Fianna Fail's policy — and to the situation created by the effects of British and and other monopoly capitalism which these policies fail to counter. Such opposition is being waged by:

The working class in struggles for a greater share of the prosperity which they create.

The Labor Party which fights against its social policies and those increased votes in the last general election reflect the popular demand for more progressive social policies.

Republicans to its policy on national independence.

Small farmers in organizations like the "Defend the West Committee" and the emerging rural co-ops.

Retail Grocers & Allied Trade Association against the penetration of foreign supermarkets, combines and property purchasers.

Tenants and leaseholders against foreign ground and property owners and Irish speculators.

Organizations like Sceim nag Ceardcumhainn and Misneach who demand a more vigorous national cultural policy.

WORKING CLASS LEADERSHIP IN THE INDEPENDENCE STRUGGLE

17. All the constituent forces for a national political alternative to the Fianna Fail government's policy of national surrender exist but they lack unity and leadership in the common popular struggle.

18. Only the Irish Labor Movement can play the decisive and leading role in knitting them into a mighty national movement. For Labor to fulfil that role and responsibility however there must be a vigorous fight within the movement for:

(a) The political affiliation of all trade unions to the Labor Party.

(b) The rejection of all attempts to foist an incomes policy or any hamstringing industrial agreements on the Trade Unions.

(c) The formulation of a National Program with which the Labor movement consciously sets out to rally on one united platform the Republicans, small farmers, tenants, small traders and all progressive and patriotic elements.

18. Such a program should be for:

(i) Independent national development. Against entry into EEC or economic integration with Britain.

(ii) Government control over banking and credit.

(iii) Provision of loans for national and local development at a rate of 3 per cent interest.

(iv) Legislation to prevent the export of capital and to compel insurance companies and other investors to radically increase their investments within the state.

(v) Legislation against foreign take-overs; the sale of land to outsiders and the movement of foreign supermarkets into Ireland.

(vi) The setting up of state industries that would engage in mineral exploitation; machine building; general engineering; chemicals; building industry equipment; ferro-concrete and prefabricated building units; electronics and electrical instruments and equipment and in the manufacture of a whole range of items that are at present imported, such as plastics and leather work, whose import value in 1964 was £6.2 and £2.3 millions respectively.

The development of such industries, and an expansion in the food processing industry based on a diversified cooperative agriculture should be through the means of a State Plan.

(vii) The establishment of a close alliance between the workers in towns and the small farmers in their fight for land and better living standards, in a joint effort for the construction of rural co-operatives and of urban consumers co-ops — both linked together in a National Cooperative Society.

(viii) A really independent policy in foreign affairs. Utmost solidarity with the peoples fighting imperialism. Initiative in rallying opposition to aggression and the possibility of escalation into a nuclear war.

(ix) The diversification of our markets in order to provide new outlets and so overcome the officially estimated decline in the growth of our exports. There should be normal diplomatic relations as the basis for extensive trade relations in a mutually beneficial form with the socialist countries.

(x) The development of the home market by (a) Increasing the puchasing power of the people through higher wages and a further 25 per cent increase, without means test, in the still inadequate 1965 budget levels of Social Welfare and Assistance payments.

(xi) The immediate implementation of a free Health Scheme.

(xii) A new Education Act based on the principle of free education up to university level with the sole qualification of ability for the latter. The raising of the school leaving age to 16 years.

(xiii) Abolition of ground rents. Acquisition of land earmarked for development. Opposition to the proposed increased rents in local authority houses. A national house-building program of erection by the local authorities of 13,000 homes per year as an essential social service activity.

(xiv) The establishment of a Price Control Tribunal with public hearings, with the right to refer to this tribunal of bodies such as

trade unions, housewives associations, etc. with complaints. In the investigation of any proposed price increase all factors including profits would be taken into account.

(xv) A new system of taxation. The abolition of the turnover tax. The raising of necessary revenue by direct taxation on the wealthy sections. A capital gains tax.

THE UNITY OF IRELAND

19. The implementation of such a program by the efforts of a united national movement, under Labor leadership, would ensure the development of the economy; the realization of the target of 74,000 new jobs by 1970; it would weaken foreign monopoly influence: strengthen national independence and lay the basis for further national advance.

20. It would have inevitable profound influence on the course of developments in the northern part of our country.

21. Concurrent with the fight for such a program there must be the development of the closest fraternal relations between all the political organizations of the Labor movement in the North and the South. To this end there should be the establishment of contact between the two Labor parties of the two states on the basis of:

(a) The re-establishment of joint consultative machinery.

(b) Exploratory discussions on the means and ways of ending the divisions in the N. Ireland political Labor movement.

(c) A joint drive on both governments to ban the export of capital from both areas; and for the establishment of joint state companies for turf and sugar beet development and for the creation of a deadmeat industry.

Proceeding on such a policy — of mutual benefit to the Irish people in the North and South — would quickly establish Irish Labor's national statesmanship. It would confirm it in its leading role in the forces of progress in the South and create a new basis for unity of all the anti-Unionist forces in the North.

THE IRISH WORKERS' PARTY

22. Our Party presents this program for a united movement as part of its contribution to the Irish Labor movement and the struggle for independence and for national political and economic development.

23. The Irish Workers' Party emerged from the ranks of the Labor, trade union and Republican movements composed of those who saw the need for a Socialist vanguard organization of the working class — the leading force in the fight for Irish national freedom. In contemporary Ireland the Party represents the politi-

cally organized continuation of the Socialist movement that expressed itself in the Irish Socialist Republican Party and the Irish Citizen Army. Inspired by the teachings of Connolly and the class attitude of Larkin, the Irish Workers' Party bases itself on the principles of scientific socialism.

24. The IWP is not a rival organization to the Irish Labor Party, rather it is a complimentary fraternal partner in the Irish Labor movement. It aspires to the role and responsibilities of an advanced section that precedes the main army of Labor into battle. From its formation in October 1948 it has pioneered many policies that have subsequently been adopted by the Labor movement as correct ones, viz., opposition to coalition with Fine Gael; the fight to safeguard our neutrality; opposition to nuclear weapons; to the foreign purchasing of Irish land; the positive exposure of the class character of our taxation system; and the fallacy of basing economic development on the attraction of foreign capitalists.

25. The IWP is neither a rival to the Republic movements' organization. As an Irish revolutionary organization, Socialist in character and outlook, it is a comrade organization in the struggle for Irish freedom. It believes that such an anti-imperialist fight can only be concluded by the unity in action of the Republican and Labor forces; town and country; in a common movement led by the organized working class movement in association with the anti-imperialist forces the world over.

26. Since our formation in 1948 there have been substantial changes in the general world and Irish political situation. 1948 was the period of the height of the cold war; the period of the disastrous involvement of the Labor Party in a coalition with the reactionary Fine Gael party. It was the period of the nuclear superiority of the U.S. imperialists.

27. Since then world imperialism has been considerably weakened. Many countries have won their national independence. A socialist state has arisen in the American continent. There has been a wide development of a progressive trend in the capitalist world for peace and social progress and for struggle against the monopolies. There has been a great increase in votes for working class parties in Italy, France, Belgium, Sweden, Britain and in Ireland.

28. A most significant change was the adoption of the Catholic Church under Pope John of a changed attitude to socialism. This development has begun to put discussion on social problems on a new level in Ireland. Our Party welcomes this development and earnestly declares its attitude to be one of cooperation with all forces and schools of thought which genuinely desire social justice in general or in particular social issues.

With James Connolly, the Irish Workers' Party states that socialism is not a religious question. As Connolly wrote in his "Labor,

Nationality and Religion": "Socialism is neither Protestant nor Catholic, Christian nor Freethinker, Buddhist, Mohammedan nor Jew; it is only Human." Far from being in conflict with Christianity it is only through socialism that the basic social idea of Christianity, the brotherhood of man, can be fully realized.

29. Ireland is faced with many problems. These can only be solved by the unity in action, under the leadership of the organized working class, of all the progressive national, social and patriotic forces; of all individuals who seek social justice and national advance; socialist and non-socialist.

The Irish Workers' Party pledges at its Fifth Conference to work for the attainment of the unity of all such national forces confident that it can be achieved.

MOHAMMED ENNAFAA, TUNISIAN COMMUNIST LEADER, INTERVIEWED BY L'HUMANITE*

Q. The General Union of Tunisian Working People is passing through a new crisis. Its former General Secretary has been arrested and replaced by another person. What is the reason for the crisis?

A. Indeed, this is the second time in less than one year that a crisis has broken out in the GUTWP. Last September there was a clash between it and the government when, following devaluation measures, the Union leaders responded to the workers' demands and insisted on compensating the wage workers. Besides, the Union has gone through other crises since the country won independence. Each time an attempt was made to reduce the crisis to a personal matter to be settled from above. But the real problem, the fundamental one, is that of the trade union organization itself and of its role in developing Tunisia.

In line with the false concept of national union which ignores the objective reality of social classes, attempts have been made since the country gained independence to put this trade union center under the control of the ruling party, to make it an instrument of this party, so much so that some trade union leaders who once accepted the idea are now compelled to denounce it.

Strange as it may seem, this concept persists despite the option for socialism and the transformation of the Neo-Destour into the Socialist Destour Party. It leads to the suppression of democracy, the supremacy of self-seeking and authoritarian practices, all of which impels the working people to stay aloof. At any rate, it by no means lightens the task of rallying the working class for conscious participation in the national fight against backwardness.

But what is the solution to be adopted now? It is necessary to discard the authoritarian methods used so far and proved untenable by experience.

The Tunisian Communists have always maintained that the trade union center should be an organization of the working people themselves, independent of the government and the ruling party. This in no way implies hostility to the government or the Socialist Destour Party. Nor does it imply a refusal to cooperate with other classes or social strata within a democratic alliance of all the popu-

*L'Humanité, July 23, 1965.

lar forces advocating the development of the nation along non-capitalist lines.

The GUTWP should be in a position to solve its problems in an atmosphere of respect for democratic liberties and guarantees, through free discussion in the trade unions, without government interference or pressure. It should concern itself with upholding the interests of the working people and see to it that they have a material stake in production and effectively take part in managing state and semi-state enterprises. In fact, this is the basis on which the working class can be rallied to fight intelligently for economic and social progress.

Lastly, the Union should sever its links with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, whose role in the Tunisian trade unions as an instrument of U.S. neo-colonialist penetration cannot but hamper the development officially chosen by our country.

In upholding this point of view, the Tunisian Communists want the working class to play, in alliance with other popular forces, a role of primary importance in radicalizing the policy of development and in ensuring that this policy leads to economic, social and cultural progress, which our country needs so badly.

Q. Tunisia has been known, particularly of late, to take a stand favorable to Western policies. Yet officially the Tunisian government declares for non-alignment. What do you think of that?

A. Tunisia is indeed one of the non-aligned countries. As a newly-independent African and Arab country, it objectively plays an anti-imperialist role. It is a member of the Arab League and the OAU. It attends Afro-Asian and neutralist conferences. Its government is among those that have signed the appeal for a peaceful settlement of the Vietnamese problem. It has declared for negotiations with the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam.

It is regrettable, however, that the Tunisian government's official policy of non-alignment is tarnished with pro-Western sentiment, which is a serious obstacle to our country's international role and apt to isolate it from the advanced countries of the third world. Thus, whether the question is of the Congo or Vietnam, official Tunisian statements tend to support U.S. imperialist aggression.

Until recent months there was reason to believe that there would be a far-reaching rapprochment between Tunisia and other advanced Arab states, and that broader relations would be established between our country and the socialist countries. President Bourguiba's trip to the Middle East and later to Yugoslavia warranted this belief. But these hopes have not been realized.

Yet it is certain that, whatever the differences over the Palestine problem, Arab solidarity remains a major factor in defeating all imperialist schemes. Consequently, Tunisia should contribute to this solidarity. It should also strive to promote Afro-Asian anti-

imperialist solidarity. The effectiveness of this solidarity in the peoples' fight for independence and to preserve world peace requires no proof. Our people remember that they were among the first to enjoy solidarity in various circumstances, and more particularly during the battle of Bizerte.

To be sure, there is a divergence between Communists and Destour Socialists over the content of the policy of non-alignment. We take different views of imperialism and the actions of the U.S. imperialists, on the one hand, and of the role of the revolutionary forces in the world of today, on the other. But the Communists do not consider this divergence final. There may be changes. Drawing on historical experience and using the method of democratic discussion, progressive Tunisians who cherish the real interests of their country can ensure that the policy of non-alignment acquires a positive content corresponding to the world realities of our day and to the international role which Tunisia should play in the front rank of the advanced countries of Africa and the Arab world.

Q. You have had occasion to say that despite certain well-known differences there seemed to be points of agreement between the Communists and Destour Socialists. But has the official attitude to the Tunisian Communists changed since then?

A. So far it hasn't, for it is two and a half years since the Tunisian Communists have been subject to emergency measures. Their Party's legal activity remains under a ban and so does, indeed, their press. And while the government officially declares in favor of opting for socialism and while historical evolution reveals that the Destour Socialists and the Communists share similar views on some questions of importance, it is the Communists, that is, the staunchest partisans of socialism, who are an object of police surveillance. It is the Communists, as well as other progressive-minded people, that are harassed in the pettiest manner, to the point of being denied passports.

But the Communists are still there. The political trend and the ideas they represent have not disappeared. The Communist point of view is well known, and it is discussed by supporters and opponents alike. Sometimes their stand in favor of positive government measures gains official publicity.

Many working people, progressive intellectuals and forward-looking patriots of our country realize that this situation is abnormal. There is no valid reason for it other than an anachronistic anti-communism, which it is high time to drop. Anyway, this situation is incompatible with the necessity for rallying the social and political forces advocating the progressive, democratic development of Tunisia. It is incompatible with the renown of our country among the world revolutionary forces, whose sympathy for our people is far from negligible.

The Tunisian Communists' activity in the service of the people, their positive criticism and serious constructive proposals have contributed to the maturing of new ideas and to the development of a progressive trend in their country. The Communists propose to continue their contribution. This is why they insist on the abolition of the administrative measure which still hits their party and on the right to enjoy freedom of association and the press, which is among their constitutional rights.

Without trying to anticipate the return of the Tunisian Communist Party to legality, I have as a citizen speaking on his own behalf asked permission to publish a newspaper. It will be called *Dialogues.** Its aim will be to bring about a fruitful, constructive dialogue between all those Tunisians who want their country's progress and advocate socialism in some form or other.

*The Tunisian National Security authorities have refused permission.—**Ed.**

GENERAL RESOLUTION OF THE FIFTH PLENARY MEETING OF THE CC, MEXICAN COMMUNIST PARTY*

On June 4-5, 1965 the Central Committee of the Mexican Communist Party discussed at its Fifth Plenum a report on the present international and internal situation presented by Arnoldo Martinez Verdugo, First Secretary of the CC, on behalf of the Presidium of the CC, approved it unanimously and adopted the following resolution:

I

The invasion and occupation of the Dominican Republic by U.S. troops is a manifestation of U.S. imperialist policy. These events show that the struggle for the national sovereignty, freedom from interference, self-determination and complete economic and political liberation of the Latin American peoples, and in defense of peace, is entering a new stage. Today it is more necessary than ever to intensify the struggle and unite all the forces of the people in order to foil the criminal designs of the U.S. imperialists.

As a result of the actions of the U.S. government, the international situation is worsening and becoming more strained and complicated.

The extraordinary events of recent months are a grave menace to peace. They indicate how real is the danger of nuclear catastrophe, which may break out unless the imperialist warmongers are stopped.

We are led to this conclusion by the intensified aggression of the United States in South Vietnam, the sustained bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam by the United States, attacks on Laos, the occupation of the Dominican Republic by U.S. troops and other world events.

Alarmed by the successes of the national-liberation movement in Latin America and other continents, the strengthening of the socialist world system and the victories of the working-class movement in the developed capitalist countries, U.S. imperialism is desperately trying to take the counter-offensive. It resorts to armed violence as its chief tactical device to paralyze the revolutionary, democratic and anti-imperialist movement of the peo-

*La Voz de México, June 20, 1965.

ples. This confronts the peoples with the urgent task of stopping, before it is too late, the development of the world situation in the direction wanted by the imperialists.

All this is taking place at a time when the countries of the socialist world system are winning important victories in socialist and communist construction, when the whole of mankind hails the Soviet Union's scientific and technological achievements, when a Soviet man has been the first to step out into outer space, and when the socialist world system has become a factor determining the trend of world events.

The national-liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America is growing and making progress. The African peoples are achieving more and more victories in the struggle for national independence. Some of them have already taken the non-capitalist road of development which will lead them to socialism. In Asia, the courageous Vietnamese people are winning increasingly convincing victories. The National Liberation Front already controls 80 per cent of the territory of South Vietnam. There is no doubt that thanks to the gallant struggle of the guerrillas and the entire people, the solidarity of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, and the resolute support of all the peoples of the world the day is not far off when imperialism will suffer in that region of the world one of its worst defeats.

The conference of the Latin American Communist parties held at the end of last year showed that the working-class movement is growing and gaining strength in this part of the world as well. It is bound to win despite the fierce resistance of the imperialists and their local lackeys. The Cuban revolution, the culmination of this development, is consolidating its gains and successfully coping with its economic, political and cultural tasks in socialist construction.

The working-class and democratic movement in the capitalist countries of Europe is also making notable headway. In some of these countries, the masses are clearly shifting to the left. The Communist Parties of Spain and Portugal, despite the difficult conditions in which they have to operate, successfully accomplish their tasks, promoting the advance towards the triumph of democracy. In the United States itself, the citadel of world reaction, the popular movement for civil rights, against racial discrimination and fascism is achieving signal successes. There is every reason to expect that its every action will bring further gains. Opposition to the U.S. aggression against the Vietnamese and Dominican peoples is mounting.

This is why the imperialists' aggressive militarist policy can be frustrated by merging the principal forces of the revolutionary movement — the socialist world system, the working-class move-

ment in the capitalist countries, and the struggle for national liberation—into a single stream and by organizing a broad joint struggle of the masses for world peace, non-interference, self-determination and democracy. We can greatly contribute to the preservation of peace if we launch in time an effective mass struggle against all warmongering and adventurist actions.

Today, when the more aggressive circles of U.S. imperialism are going further and further as they pursue their policy of unleasing a thermonuclear war, which is a grave menace to all mankind, the need to uphold peace is more urgent than ever. This task can be realized through broad and vigorous mass actions, by organizing and uniting all those who are ready to bar the aggressors' way and uphold peace, national sovereignty, independence and social progress.

While fully realizing the gravity of the danger and the aggressive and criminal nature of the imperialists' policy, we should not forget that today, when the superiority of the forces of socialism is growing from day to day, the imperialist warmongers and aggressors find it more and more difficult to achieve their ends.

We should bear this in mind when the fight for peace acquires added urgency. At the same time we should guide ourselves by the correct proposition that active, organized and joint struggle of the masses is needed to force the aggressors into abandoning their war plans.

The recent World Congress for Peace, National Independence and Disarmament was therefore of exceptional importance.

The need to reorganize the national peace movement with the cooperation of all the forces and circles concerned is growing. This calls for overcoming the obstacles greatly hampering the realization of this important task.

It is essential to take concrete steps towards an alliance of the various circles interested in launching a broad, active mass national peace movement that would not only have the specific national content necessary for the struggle for peace, but could rally the broadest strata opposing war and ready to uphold peace, a movement which could draw the mass of the Mexican people into concrete actions against the aggressors and warmongers.

All the peoples of Latin America were shocked by America's monstrous military intervention in the Dominican Republic and resolutely came out against this aggression which testifies to a serious change in the U.S. imperialists' tactics with regard to the Latin American countries. Pushing into the background the method of superficial reforms which were to have been effected, specifically, through the Alliance for Progress, a method which in Kennedy's time seemed to underlie his tactics, the U.S. government is returning to the big stick policy in an effort to stop the

democratic movement in the Latin American countries and to conceal the obvious failure of the Alliance for Progress.

In a matter of hours the imperialists tore into shreds all agreements establishing the principles of non-interference and self-determination. The Organization of American States, Articles 15, 16 and 17 of whose Charter have been openly trampled underfoot, is entering a profound crisis. The illusions about imperialism entertainment by the conciliatory sections of the Latin American bourgeoisie, which counted on U.S. "aid" to consolidate their positions and effect "reforms" warding off the danger of popular revolutions are being dashed.

The OAS has fully exposed itself as a tool of the U.S. State Department and an organization incapable of defending even the most modest interests of the Latin American countries. It is therefore necessary to strive for the disbandment of the OAS and to ensure that all the international problems of the continent are referred to the U.N.

The peoples of Latin America and the rest of the world have given a very eloquent reply to all these actions of U.S. imperialism. Despite repressions against democrats, the masses in many countries go into the streets to defend the right of the Dominican people to shape their own destiny. For the first time in many years large sections of the bourgeoisie have joined, in one form or other, in this worldwide protest. Some Latin American governments have come out against the U.S. acts of aggression and against the formation of a permanent inter-American force designed to invade any country of the continent rising to fight for its national liberation.

In our country, all the national forces have protested. Of special significance were the statements of the Constitutional Revolutionary Party, Popular Socialist Party, National Liberation Movement, National Peasant Confederation, Electoral Front of the People, National Center of the Working People, Independent Peasant Center, Revolutionary Workers' Federation and other mass organizations. So were the popular demonstrations held throughout the country and in the capital, where on May 11 one of the most powerful demonstrations of the recent period took place thanks to the unity of action of different youth organizations, especially those of university faculties, Socialist and Communist youth, students of teachers' colleges and the Polytechnical Institute, etc. But these demonstrations in support of the Dominican Republic do not exhaust the possibilities of considerably extending the movement of solidarity with the heroic fraternal people of that country and carrying it deeper, especially considering that this struggle meets the interests of the Dominican people as well as of all the other peoples suffering from imperialist exploitation, our people

included. Consequently, these anti-imperialist demonstrations accord with the national interests of both the Dominican and the Mexican peoples.

The Mexican government's attitude to the U.S. aggression in the Dominican Republic has undergone a positive evolution. Timid and diffident statements which plainly did not help to stop the aggression have given place to more outspoken and consistent statements. Therefore we can say this warrants the conclusion that the position of the Mexican government is, on the whole, positive and merits the support of our people.

The indignation the U.S. aggression against the Dominican people aroused all over the world and even in the United States; the resolute actions of the democratic forces of our country against this aggression; the contradictions between the Mexican ruling big bourgeoisie and U.S. imperialism; the balance of world forces, which at the moment when the aggression was committed was unfavorable to imperialism; and the historical traditions of Mexico —these were the main factors that determined the positive stand of our government on this event, a stand which may evolve towards further improvement. But before this becomes a reality the Mexican government must:

(1) withdraw from the OAS;

(2) call upon the peoples and governments of the whole world to launch a worldwide campaign for the immediate withdrawal of the U.S. occupation troops and the OAS forces of intervention from the Dominican Republic;

(3) urge all the Latin American countries to oppose the formation of an OAS interventionist force and take effective joint measures against the threat of new encroachments on the sovereignty and independence of the Latin American peoples;

(4) recognize the constitutional government of the Dominican Republic headed by Colonel Francisco Caamano;

(5) categorically reject the "Johnson doctrine";

(6) denounce all the military assistance treaties between Mexico and the United States and bring about the dissolution of the Mexican-U.S. joint defense commission through which the Americans exert influence and pressure on the national army;

(7) respect freedom of speech, assembly and the press, so that our people can freely express their views on internal and international problems.

Despite the aggressive nature of U.S. imperialism, which pursues a reckless militarist policy extremely dangerous to all the peace-loving peoples, the international situation is favorable to the forces of peace, democracy and social progress. But the people must not expect a favorable outcome to ensue by itself. They must act with a sense of responsibility and carry out tasks on whose

accomplishment depend the preservation of world peace and the progress of our country.

The Central Committee resolves:

1. To promote an active and multiform movement of solidarity with the people of the Dominican Republic with a view to ensuring the withdrawal of the U.S. troops and inter-American OAS forces from our fraternal country.

2. To intensify our solidarity with the people of South Vietnam and to demand an end to the aggression against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the withdrawal of the U.S. invaders from that region, and respect for the Geneva agreements.

3. To continue developing the solidarity movement with the Cuban socialist revolution, which is threatened with direct aggression on the part of imperialism and its Central American flunkeys.

4. To redouble the efforts in defense of world peace, supporting such international activities as the World Peace Congress, the Festival of Youth and Students for Solidarity, Peace and Friendship, etc.

5. To address to Mexican political and public organizations and to persons active in the democratic movement proposals aimed at developing the national movement for world peace, which can accomplish its tasks only if it is as extensive and independent of any political or public organization as possible and is properly organized.

6. To continue, in common with the Communist parties of the whole world, efforts aimed at strengthening the unity of the world Communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the propositions formulated in the documents of the Moscow conferences of 1957 and 1960, which is indispensable for defeating the forces of war and aggression.

II

Along with the aggravation of the international situation, recent weeks have witnessed events in our country which have to be analyzed and borne in mind in our future work. There is an obvious increase in the activity of the national political forces which reflects an aggravation of internal contradictions and the international situation.

Since last March a series of repressive and anti-democratic measures have been carried out in our country. Several democratic leaders and members of our Party were arrested and held in prison for eleven days. The April 6 demonstration of solidarity with the Vietnamese people was brutally attacked. On April 12 these repressive measures culminated in a raid on the central offices of our Party and a number of democratic organizations,

and in the arrest of many leaders and rank-and-file members of these organizations. Moreover, the more reactionary and pro-American elements both in and outside the government tried to hatch a large-scale anti-democratic and anti-Communist conspiracy.

But the stand taken by the major democratic forces, and above all the Popular Socialist Party, National Liberation Movement, the Popular Socialist Youth, the magazines *Siempre* and *Politica*, the newspaper *El Dia* and others, made it possible to beat off the first sorties of the reactionaries behind this broad conspiracy. The actions of home reactionaries coincided with the U.S. imperialists' preparations for intervention in the Dominican Republic. Their organizers tried not only to suppress the more consistently democratic forces, but also to force the Mexican government into fully gearing its policy to the policy of the United States. These attempts revealed the intention of the big bourgeoisie to prevent the masses from taking an active and decisive part in national political life, to keep them under control, prevent them from establishing independent organizations of their own, and to shape major decisions on government policy behind their backs.

These actions vividly reflect the class interests of the bourgeoisie, which seeks to prevent growth of the militancy and political consciousness of the masses and development and consolidation of their revolutionary vanguard, the Mexican Communist Party.

These events were followed by others, which contradicted them: with regard to the aggression against the Dominican Republic, the government adopted a position more in keeping with the interests of our people, and in recent weeks it has allowed public demonstrations of solidarity with the Dominican people, which suggests greater respect for constitutional freedoms.

But this does not mean a change in the main line of the government's policy. The door is still open to direct U.S. investments and loans, Mexico's foreign trade is still controlled by U.S. imperialism, and the government takes no earnest steps to lend it a multilateral character by establishing close trade relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. It is true that the restrictions imposed on export by the sulphur companies, and the President's statement on Latin American economic integration were reasonable steps, but they are by no means adequate for bringing about the substantial change that the interests of the Mexican people require. The government proceeds with economic measures that stimulate intensified exploitation of the working class and other working people and therefore favorable to the big bourgeoisie; resists a radical agrarian reform; interferes in trade union affairs and takes other steps characteristic of the methods of the big bourgeoisie. The "social sedition" article (Art. 145) of the Criminal Code is still in force; political prisoners put behind bars more than six years ago are still

there. Thus the facts show that the essence of government policy has not changed.

But the attitude to the Dominican events is a fact claiming attention and fully corroborating the MCP thesis that the big bourgeoisie in power in our country is conciliatory but has not sold out to U.S. imperialism. On the other hand, the initial vacillation and the attempt to justify the U.S. intervention, alleging that it has a humane purpose, passivity and reservations, specifically the refusal to withdraw from the OAS and to recognize the constitutional government of the Dominican Republic, show that the government is neither anti-imperialist nor democratic.

We should be objective to avoid extremes in assessing official policy. It is on an objective approach, on facts and not wishful thinking, that our Party's correct policy is based.

Undoubtedly the main lines of government policy are shaped in conditions of internal struggles. It would be wrong to think that the government is a solid bloc whose members all hold the same views on political tactics. To be able to pursue the right policy on alliances, it is highly important to see the internal contradictions that exist in the government and the ruling party.

The economic situation in the country, the increasing complexity of social problems, the discontent and the growing struggle of the masses, and the increasing aggressiveness of U.S. imperialism cause concern in some government circles. The advocates of economic and political reform and of a certain democratization of government are gaining influence. In foreign policy, this group champions non-interference and self-determination, and denounces the interventionist practices of the United States. These trends are represented by some trade union leaders and men prominent in the Constitutional Revolutionary Party. They have a certain effect on the government, but it is not decisive as was shown by the recent national congress of the Constitutional Revolutionary Party, at which the supporters of reform and greater democracy were defeated.

The trend envisaging reform will have to develop against strong resistance by the more reactionary quarters prone to aggression and to violence against the masses.

The imperialist "big stick" policy threatens, not only the interests of the workers, peasants and other working people and the petty bourgeoisie, but also those of other sections of the bourgeosie. This provides greater opportunities for our Party's policy of alliance. This policy stems from our national reality. Our country is dependent on U.S. imperialism, and can be completely freed only through the united actions of all the democratic and anti-imperialist forces. Thus, an anti-imperialist alliance is needed to uphold the independence and sovereignty of the nation. It can be established because imperialism injures the interests of both the

exploited and considerable groups of the exploiters. The struggle against the common enemy makes it possible to form the broadest alliance of democratic forces which in the conditions of our country can comprise both the opposition forces and those supporting and even taking part in the government.

Our Party's policy of alliance has not changed and cannot change in the present situation at home and abroad. The new element is that it has become easier to pursue it, for the democratic forces are more willing to cooperate with our Party on some questions.

It must be noted that the relations between our Party and the Popular Socialist Party, as well as the leadership of the National Liberation Movement, have considerably improved. But we should by no means rest content with this. On the contrary, we should strive for close links with other political forces and leaders likely to cooperate with us on some questions of common interest. Furthermore, we should improve our relations with the Popular Socialist Party and agree on joint actions with it within the framework of the National Liberation Movement. We should improve our working methods and display initiative in the search for allies and flexibility, so as not to lose time over settling secondary questions that hamper unity of action.

In this connection, the plenum notes that the main obstacle to this correct policy is sectarianism which is the chief danger to overcome, as was established by previous meetings.

Sectarianism limits the possibilities of united action with other democratic forces. It insists on our allies submitting to our views, which means disregard for their interests. It leads to an underestimation of new political developments in the country, to refusal to use all the opportunities that present themselves at definite moments, to a tendency to switch completely to underground work and to ignore the existing legal opportunities, which should be upheld and extended. Inside the Party, it leads to violations of members' rights, to the suppression of inner-Party democracy, and discourages Party members, who fear that labels will be stuck on them, from stating their views in their organizations.

Ideological struggle should be waged against every manifestation of sectarianism. Sectarianism should be combated in the political field, i.e., on the issue of relations with democratic-minded political forces, of links with the masses and of active work among them — where these links and this work are opposed — as well as on questions of inner-Party life.

While laying emphasis on the struggle against sectarianism, we should remain vigilant towards manifestations of Right-wing opportunism and combat them actively.

A unilateral appraisal of government policy, taking into account only positive change in connection with the U.S. aggression in the

Dominican Republic, and failing to objectively analyze the reason for this policy, and subjective attribution of such changes to the entire policy of the government can result in a dangerous consolidation of Rightist trends which exist outside our Party but may have an adverse effect on it. Also, misappraisal of the character of the actual or potential allies of our Party, or mistakes that may be made in our policy of alliance if we try to make everything conditional on the establishment of a united front, may increase the Right deviation. We must, therefore, analyze problems objectively and proceed from this analysis in shaping our tactics.

The struggle against sectarianism is part of the struggle to reorganize the working-class and popular movement.

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The Plenum approves the CC Presidium's measures to improve the work of the leadership and ensure its continuation in any conditions. To carry out these measures, the whole Party must give priority to improving the content of *La Voz de Mexico* and ensuring its proper distribution and unfailing payment of the price of its every copy.

In the present conditions, it is especially important to combat all anti-democratic and repressive methods of government. It is necessary to carry on the fight against Article 145 of the Criminal Code and to extend the movement for the release of arrested political and trade union leaders. Vigorous support should, therefore, be given to the forthcoming assembly for the release of political prisoners and an end to prosecution on charges of sedition.

The Party should step up its work among the masses, promoting the consolidation of existing organizations, such as the Independent Peasant Center, the People's Electoral Front, and others.

It is necessary to carry on prudent and efficient Party work in the trade unions, change the attitude to trade union problems and use every opportunity to explain the Party line to the workers. In this connection, we should pay attention to the differences between trade union leaders over problems of trade union unity and of the struggle for pressing demands, and support every step promoting this struggle.

Eliminating sectarianism in trade union work is a component of our struggle to reorganize the mass working-class and popular movement, which is the chief task set by the Fourteenth Congress.

The struggle for trade union independence and democracy, for the economic demands of the working class, should be waged with due regard to the actual conditions in which every trade union operates. The work to set up trade union coordination councils does not imply that the trade unions will withdraw from their centers or that the Communists will sever their ties with the masses. On

the contrary, these councils should be instrumental in strengthening the unity of the working people in the struggle for their urgent demands.

An important place among the efforts to consolidate the Party's links with the masses should be assigned to work among the youth and women.

All Party organizations are duty bound fully to support the Communist Youth organization, which is in a fair way to grow considerably in numbers and plays an important part in the democratic youth movement.

Work among the women should be conducted not only by women Communists. The entire Party should give attention to it, and the leading Party bodies should ensure that it actually receives proper attention.

U.S. imperialism and its underlings are doing and will go on doing everything not only to suppress the patriotic and revolutionary struggle of our peoples, but also to contain it, to bread confusion, frustration, pessimism, fear and vacillation in the camp of the fighters against imperialism and among the people generally.

We cannot combat the threat of an increased offensive by imperialism and reaction by retreating and slackening the fight for democratic freedoms, social progress, national liberation and peace.

On the contrary, the situation demands expansion and intensification of the fight for national liberation and sovereignty, against U.S. imperialism and its maneuvers, for constitutional freedoms and genuine democracy, against hunger and poverty. The world situation today favors this fight.

It is more necessary than ever to launch an all-out struggle against imperialism, for sovereignty and national liberation. The time has come to achieve unity of all patriotic forces in order to repel the U.S. imperialists' acts of aggression.

The need to link the struggle for democratic rights as closely as possible with the struggle for national liberation and peace is more urgent than ever.

To offer successful resistance to the aggression and threats of U.S. imperialism, the Mexican people should be enabled freely to exercise their rights.

Upholding national sovereignty and democratic freedoms is the main task in repelling the encroachments of U.S. imperialism on the independence of the peoples and their right to self-determination, in eliminating the growing danger of war and foiling the reactionaries' plans to intensify police repressions and McCarthyite persecutions. To accomplish this task all the anti-imperialist and democratic forces of Mexico, the Communists in the first place, must exert the greatest effort.

The members of our Party, displaying initiative and acting with

militancy befitting the staunchest fighters for unity which they are, will raise their political activity to the level of the serious demands of the moment.

Workers of all lands, unite!

Central Committee,
Mexican Communist Party.

Mexico City, June 5, 1965.

THIRD ANNIVERSARY OF THE GENEVA AGREEMENTS ON LAOS

MEMORANDUM OF THE CC, NEO LAO HAK SAT*

The Memorandum stresses that when the French colonialists' war of aggression in Indochina was still in its closing stage the U.S. imperialists embarked on a policy of extensive interference and aggression in Laos with a view to turning the country into a new U.S. colony, a base for waging a war of aggression in Indochina and the rest of Southeast Asia.

When, in 1954, the Geneva agreements restoring peace in Indochina had been signed, the U.S. imperialists took advantage of the French colonialists' military defeat to invade Laos. Using so-called aid and a large staff of advisers, they gradually established a new colonial regime in Laos.

Washington used its aid to form a puppet government and a mercenary army and to make them the mainstay of its neo-colonialism in Laos. Between 1954 and 1962 the United States, which was fighting against the Laotian people's patriotic movement, reshuffled the Laotian government several times to establish control over it. At the same time it concentrated on forming a mercenary army, whose strength increased from 30,000 in 1954 to 60,000 in recent years.

The U.S. imperialists set up a ramified network of so-called aid agencies in Laos, staffed with administrative, economic and military personnel. These agencies virtually controlled the puppet government. "Aid" and control, disguised with a façade of independence and democracy, tended to turn the country into an American colony.

U.S. neo-colonialism is inseparable from the war in Laos. The American imperialists used the puppet government and mercenary army as their main instrument to carry out their aggressive designs. It was with their help that the United States started a war of aggression in the country. The Pentagon policy-makers call it a "special" war.

That "special" war did not cease even after the peaceable settlement of the Laotian question in 1962, when the U.S. imperialists were compelled to sign an agreement recognizing the independence, sovereignty, neutrality and territorial integrity of Laos. The United States continues to step up and expand the war. During the last three years it has blocked a peaceful solution of the Laotian prob-

*Condensed.

lem again and again contrary to its own commitments. It has used the mercenary army to attack the liberated areas controlled by the patriotic forces. Through various maneuvers it disrupted the trilateral government of national unity, and later overthrew it by means of a military coup.

In violation of the Geneva agreements, the American imperialists have brought to Laos large numbers of military personnel and troops and vast quantities of arms and war supplies from the United States and satellite countries to increase the efficiency of the armed forces of the pro-American group. These 60,000-strong mercenary troops, equipped and paid by the U.S. imperialists, are trained and controlled with American help.

According to incomplete data, the United States has granted the pro-American group over $240m. by way of military assistance (apart from special assistance), which is 70 per cent of the total amount of the U.S. aid granted to Laos during the last three years. Of the 5,000 U.S. personnel in Laos, 2,000 are military experts who have been smuggled into the country and are still there without any lawful rights. The American advisers have infiltrated every sphere and virtually direct the entire activity of the army of the pro-American group.

To reinforce that army, the United States has secretly moved into Laos hundreds of military experts, special military contingents and units from many satellite countries, in particular the Philippines, Thailand, South Vietnam and Japan, several infantry battalions and batteries, and South Vietnamese sabotage and signal groups. It has supplied the mercenary Laotian army with tens of thousands of tons of firearms and ammunition, as well as with guns, means of transport, and several dozen fighters and transport planes.

The day after the Geneva agreements were concluded (1962), the U.S. imperialists and their Laotian flunkeys violated the agreement on a complete cease-fire signed by representatives of the three groups in the government of national unity. The mercenary army began to attack the liberated areas controlled by the patriots. Besides, the United States continuously sent sabotage groups and units into the liberated areas. From minor sorties it gradually went over to major military operations against those areas. Between the middle of 1963 and the beginning of 1965 there were five major offensives against the liberated areas of upper and lower Laos controlled by the armed forces of the Neo Lao Hak Sat party and the patriotic neutralist group. These operations involved over 10 battalions of regular troops more than 10,000 strong, supported by artillery, armored cars and aircraft. They were carried out under the joint command of U.S., Thai and South Vietnamese "advisers."

The formation of a trilateral government of national unity, which

was to have pursued a peaceful neutral policy under the agreements concluded in Zurich in 1961 and in the Valley of Jars in 1962 raised a serious obstacle to the U.S. imperialists' policy of using puppets in Laos. Washington therefore resorted to every device, including the basest, to disorganize the activity of the government and gain control over it, so as to prevent it from realizing its program and then to overthrow it. Simultaneously the U.S. imperialists engineered the assassination of Foreign Minister Pholsena, and carried out a number of other acts of terrorism. As a result, the trilateral government was completely paralyzed. Finally, in April 1964, they incited the Right-wing militarist group led by Couprasita to effect a military coup, which resulted in the overthrow of the government of national unity.

The Vientiane coup was condemned by Laotian and world opinion. Faced with powerful protests from the peoples and condemnation on the part of the International Commission for Laos, the U.S. imperialists and their Laotian flunkeys put about the assertion that the coup had brought "no essential changes." They virtually divested Prime Minister Souvanna Phouma of all real power. Under the pretext of reorganization, they removed the Nao Lao Hak Sat ministers and vice-ministers and formed a new, puppet government which they named the "government of national unity of Laos."

This new government in effect represents the interests of the venal Right-wing group. The group, which is the most influential and is fully supported by the Americans, imposes its will on all. "Prime Minister" Souvanna Phouma is no more than a pawn in U.S. hands.

In keeping with U.S. plans, the leaders of the Vientiane government and Prince Souvanna Phouma are using the Constitution and the authority of the royal court to set the scene for "partial elections" that are to result in convening "parliament" and forming a "government" subservient to Washington. They are doing so to dissociate themselves completely from the agreements signed in Zurich (1961) and in the Valley of Jars (1962) and to scrap the Geneva agreements of 1962.

The puppet authorities of Vientiane make extensive use of U.S. money and experts to implement their "rural development program." In the areas controlled by them, they rope the inhabitants of several villages into one "solidarity village" or "rebirth area." They carry on demagogic propaganda and freely resort to bribery. They reinforce their punitive agencies and form local armed forces and terrorist groups to control and suppress the population. In this way they hope to break the people's resistance.

To strengthen their rear with a view to continuing their "special" war, the U.S. imperialists and their puppets send punitive expedi-

tions to the areas under their control. The last three years have seen several hundred "mopping up and pacifying" operations in those areas.

The Neo Lao Hak Sat Memorandum points out that in May 1962 the U.S. imperialists, who suffer one reverse after another in Laos and find themselves in an impasse in South Vietnam, took yet another reckless step extending their "special" war in Laos. Ever since then, in defiance of the Geneva agreements of 1962 and in violation of the sovereignty of Laos and elementary international law, U.S. jet planes from the aircraft carrier of the U.S. Seventh Fleet and bases in Thailand have been raiding the liberated areas of Laos controlled by the patriots. Since the end of May 1965 they have carried out over a thousand raids, bombing and machine-gunning hundreds of villages and settlements, killing many civilians, mostly women and children, destroying large areas under crops, and altogether causing tremendous damage to the population. Along with South Vietnam, Laos is an area where modern means of warfare are used, such as F105 jet fighters and B58 jet bombers using phosphorous bombs, napalm and even poison gas.

The U.S. aggression in Laos is a fact obvious to the whole world. The American imperialists perpetrate atrocious crimes in Laos. But the British government, prompted by its colonialist interests, defers to them and follows in their steps. Having forgotten about its commitments as one of the two co-chairmen of the Geneva Conference, it has repeatedly tried to cover up U.S. acts of aggression in Laos. The Indian and Canadian representatives on the International Supervision and Control Commission for Laos continually violate the provisions of the Geneva agreements concerning the tasks and duties of the Commission members.

With regard to the collusion of the Laotian, South Vietnam and Thai puppets of the United States, who help to implement the U.S. policy of interference and aggression in Laos, the Memorandum notes that the American imperialists use the territory of Thailand and South Vietnam for meetings of the Vientiane, Bangkok and Saigon authorities to lay plans for military operations in Laos. Thai and South Vietnamese territory is used for training officers of the puppet troops, as well as South Vietnamese and Thai spies and saboteurs who are later flown to Laos.

Washington has turned Thailand into a rear base for aggression against Laos, a source of constant threat to the patriotic forces and the people of Laos. At a meeting in Bangkok in March 1964, General Phoumi Nosavan and General Nguyen Khanh agreed that South Vietnamese troops would carry their military operations into the border regions of Laos. They virtually concluded a secret military alliance. Despite repeated protests from Laos, SEATO, the aggressive military bloc headed by the United States, continues to

keep the country under its "umbrella." Lately the American imperialists have been actively expanding and improving their air bases and the network of strategic roads in northeastern Thailand and in lower Laos. This aggravates the threat of U.S. armed intervention in that area of Indochina. It shows that the American imperialists want to turn Laos and Thailand into a bridgehead for a war of aggression in Southeast Asia.

Today the American imperialists are intensifying their war in South Vietnam, while at the same time extending their armed aggression against Laos. As early as June 1964 U.S. political and military leaders adopted at a conference in Manila a plan providing for the capture of lower Laos and the creation of a Thai-South Vietnamese bridgehead to suppress the liberation movement of the South Vietnamese people, attack the DRV and infringe the neutrality and territorial integrity of the Kingdom of Cambodia. Washington began to carry out its plan at the end of last year by launching ground and air attacks against the liberated areas of lower Laos.

If the Laotian problem is to be radically solved, it is imperative that the U.S. imperialists should immediately stop all interference and aggression in Laos, allow the Laotian people to settle their own internal affairs, and immediately stop violating and frustrating the Geneva agreements of 1962 on Laos and the Zurich and Valley of Jars agreements. They should respect and strictly abide by these agreements.

Specifically, it is necessary:

1. Immediately to withdraw the armed forces of the United States and its satellites and their military personnel from Laos, where they have no authority to stay; to disband all the secret military organizations, remove armaments and other war supplies, and dismantle the U.S. military bases on Laotian soil.

2. To put an end to the use of the U.S. Air Force and pro-American puppet troops for attacking the liberated areas controlled by Neo Lao Hak Sat and the neutralists, and immediately to discontinue U.S. bombings of Laotian territory.

3. To stop using Thai and South Vietnamese territory as a bridgehead for intervention in Laos, to remove the "umbrella" of the aggressive SEATO bloc in Laos, which is condemned by the Geneva agreements and opposed by the trilateral government of national unity and the whole Laotian people.

4. To restore—in keeping with earlier trilateral agreements—the organizational structure of the Laotion government of national unity and the principles of its activity unanimously approved in Zurich and the Valley of Jars.

With a view to settling outstanding issues in the relations between the three groups and to stabilizing the situation in the

country, the Right-wing group and Prince Souvanna Phouma should renounce their present policy of following in the footsteps of the United States, and should, together with Neo Lao Hak Sat, hold trilateral negotiations in a spirit of mutual understanding and concessions.

The Neo Lao Hak Sat party, which is carrying out an historical mission, has for many years been fighting for a peaceful, neutral, independent, united and prosperous Laos. In common with all the patriotic neutralist forces and the Laotian people, it is fighting and effectively defending the liberated areas, which cover two-thirds of the national territory and comprise half the population of the country. It foils the numerous political and military plans of the U.S. imperialists and their flunkeys. During the years under survey, almost 17,000 enemy troops have been put out of action, 5,000 items of various arms captured, and over 120 U.S. pirate planes shot down. This struggle of the patriotic forces of Laos represents the practical steps by means of which the U.S. imperialist aggression can be stopped and the Geneva agreements of 1962 and the trilateral agreements effectively enforced.

The patriotic forces and the whole people of Laos are resolved to fight till they win, till they completely defeat the U.S. policy of interference and aggression in Laos, and till a peaceful, neutral, independent, democratic, united and prosperous Laos comes into being.

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ECONOMIC PLANNING AND MANAGEMENT, 1966-70

RESOLUTION OF THE CC PUWP*

The Fourth Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party decided on the main directions of further changes in economic planning and management to accord with the requirements of the new stage in the development of the productive forces and socialist relations of production in Poland. Its decisions formed the basis for drawing up a program for improved planning and management, which will have to be carried out in the next few years. The program also set the general guide lines for further research and experiments in this field. It is aimed at making better use of the advantages of the socialist social system, above all by:

effecting a closer coordination of scientific and technological tasks with general economic plans and the plans of associations and enterprises, and by taking into full account the trends of scientific and technological progress in drafting five-year plans and formulating long-range concepts;

improving the scientific methods of economic analysis and planning, making wider use of mathematical methods, particularly when drawing up balances, determining the system of inter-branch relations, and analyzing economic efficiency;

ensuring continuity in planning, and exercising greater flexibility in adjusting plans to changing conditions;

enhancing the role of reserves as a factor for more realistic annual and long-term plans;

improving the investment policy, foreign trade, material and technical supply, and the utilization of fixed capital;

enhancing the role of the enterprises and associations in the elaboration of development concepts and alternative plans, as well as of economic plan principles and indices;

using economic levers and inducements more correctly and extensively to guarantee the fulfilment of plans;

providing proper conditions for the managements and staffs of enterprises to exercise greater autonomy and display more initiative, which implies reducing the number of centrally given detailed plan indices and using economic levers more freely;

*Abridged from **Trybuna Ludu**, Aug. 1, 1965.

promoting inter-branch coordination based on the key associations, and of territorial coordination by the People's Councils;

introducing appropriate criteria of assessment of the activities of associations and enterprises, above all their output, with due regard to labor expenditure and quantity in tons, metres and other material units. These criteria should be amended by the additional indices of quality and other characteristics of the output;

steadily transforming the associations into autonomous industrial organizations operating on a cost-accounting basis;

enhancing the role of workers' self-management conferences at the enterprises, and of other forms of public (trade unions, scientific and technological societies, etc.) participation in planning and management.

THE ECONOMIC PLAN SYSTEM AND CONTINUITY IN PLANNING

Planning should be made continuous by dovetailing perspective, long-term and annual plans, introducing two-year plans and constantly bringing plans into line with changed conditions.

It will take at least several years to effect appreciable changes in the pattern of production and the distribution of the national income. Hence the special importance of five-year plans. This applies, first and foremost, to key investments, the introduction of new machinery, the attainment of a higher standard of specialization and concentration of production, and utilization of the potentialities of the international division of labor.

Economic plans should properly coordinate assignments relating to the closing periods of annual and long-term plans with preliminary outlines for the next period. Annual plans should specify and, if necessary, amend provisions of the five-year plan.

Work on a long-range plan for fifteen to twenty years should be resumed in both the central bodies and the various branches, departments and areas. Long-range plans should provide development guidelines and the required structural changes which it will take several years to bring about. Another task is to draw up forecasts of progress in science and technology, the shaping pattern of consumption, the composition and qualifications of personnel, and so on.

The main provisions of long-range plans should serve as the starting point for the right formulation of the concepts of subsequent five-year plans.

The programs for the organizational and technological reconstruction of economic branches and areas should constitute one of

the foundations of long-range and five-year planning. These programs, envisaging better organization of production, technological progress and modernization of capacities, should chart long-range trends, specifying, however, the five-year plan targets. New investments cannot be contemplated until available capacities have been used up. Within the bounds of branch programs, major enterprises may draft long-term development plans of their own.

Much more than in the past, economic analysis and calculation should precede planning, so that optimum solutions can be chosen. Every economic branch should analyze cost and profit, and the effectiveness of investments in capital construction and of the use of funds allocated for technological progress. As well as assessing the volume of output in terms of quantity, greater attention should be paid to assessing it in terms of value.

Building up reserves at various levels is indispensable for the fulfilment of long-term plans. They should be created in the decisive sectors and in those most susceptible to unfavorable factors. This goes also for material, commodity and money balances, which include numerous tentative estimates. Above all else, the plan for 1966 to 1970 and the annual plans should envisage the following reserves:

an investment reserve under the overall economic plan and under departmental and wojewodztwo (regional) plans;

a wage fund reserve;

a reserve in the balance of incomes and expenditures of the population, to be drawn on in the event of market price increases, readjustments of wages and salaries, retail price reductions, or above-plan growth of the purchasing capacity of the population;

reserves in the balances of raw and other materials intended to ensure continuous production and to make possible increased production assignments with a view to meeting home and export requirements;

planned reserves in agriculture, based on the average crop yields of past years;

centralized foreign exchange reserves;

foreign trade reserves earmarked for current use to offset fluctuations in the foreign market.

In addition to these reserves, the material reserves of the state will also have to be increased.

Planned reserves of capacities should be steadily built up in certain branches of industry and construction, and reserves of transportation, loading and storage facilities in the transport system.

Economic planning should take into account tasks arising from the coordination of CMEA plans, expanding economic relations between socialist countries and Poland's developing international contacts.

IMPROVING THE ECONOMIC LEVERS OF PLANNING AND MANAGEMENT

PROFITABILITY, FINANCIAL STANDARDS AND FUNDS

In the years 1966 to 1970 the guiding index of profitability should become the main synthetic criterion of the economic results achieved by enterprises and associations, with increasing profits as one of the principal economic tasks. This index is the percentage of profit to the cost price of the commodities produced and sold or of the services provided. In the case of certain branches of production, it is recommended to use also the rate of profit index, that is, the ratio of profit and the cost of fixed and circulating capital. It will help in keeping stocks to a required minimum and in gearing enterprises to the most effective utilization of fixed capital and property surpluses.

The principles of building up and spending funds of their own and using bank credits by the enterprises and associations, and the financial standards determined by these principles should be valid over a relatively long period, so that the necessary conditions can develop for the continuous planning and implementation of a rational long-range policy, particularly as regards the modernization of capacities to meet new requirements. The main role in the system of financial rates should be played by the percentage of the profits of enterprises transferable to the budget of the association concerned and of the profits of the association transferable to the state budget, interest rates on fixed capital, depreciation rates, rates of deductions for the fixed assets fund, the technological and economic progress fund and the economic initiative fund, and rates of deductions for the reserve fund of the association.

The utilization of the circulating and fixed capital of the enterprise should be coordinated. The development fund, consisting of that part of the profit which remains at the enterprise should be used for financing both circulating capital and investments. Allocations out of this fund for investment cannot be made until requirements in circulating capital have been met. The amount of requirements in circulating capital will be ascertained on the basis of the actual level of reserves and not on the basis of theoretical calculations, as has been the case so far. Redundant and unwarranted reserves will merely burden the financial system of the enterprise. If short of funds for financing these reserves, the enterprise can obtain a bank credit, but at higher interest. Seasonal and other special reserves considered useful will, as a general rule, be financed out of special bank credits at low interest. To stimulate thrifty spending of the development fund, banks must pay the interests a definite interest on this fund.

Differentiated interest on fixed capital should be gradually introduced as from 1966 to afford the enterprises and associations an incentive to judicious use of their fixed capital and to a thrifty planning of investments. This interest, charged on property value will affect the amount of profit, and so induce the enterprise or association concerned to intensify the operation of plant, utilize redundant fixed capital and exercise prudence in programming investments.

With a view to normalizing the use of fixed capital, it is advisable, among other things, to set up at the enterprises a capital repairs fund consisting of part of the depreciation allocations. In certain branches this fund should also be used to cover maintenance expenses as well. The expenditure entailed is to be included in the cost price of the output of the enterprise. This will be aimed at counteracting the fairly frequent tendency to raise the amount of profit by neglecting repairs. The enterprise itself should decide on allocating means from the repairs fund for the replacement of plant if further repairs or modernization of the plant in question are not likely to pay.

Profit indices and financial standards for the association should be established on the strength of careful financial and economic analysis. Within the framework of these indices and standards, the association will distribute assignments and establish differentiated standards for the various enterprises whenever necessary.

Economic levers should play a considerably greater part in investment and in construction and installation. To begin with, bank credits should be used by associations and enterprises much more widely to supplement their investment funds, and for centralized investments.

With regard to centralized investments, the bank will establish interest-free credits to the full amount of the assignment for capital construction in accordance with its cost specified in the estimate. Annual allocations of this credit will be assigned according to the standard cycle and fulfilment of the capital construction schedule. Credits will be granted out of the budget and the centralized depreciation fund. Should the planned cost of the given capital construction be exceeded, the bank will apply sanctions by charging additional interest on credits. The replacement of subsidies by centralized investment through bank credits should contribute to a more judicious planning and more thorough preparation of investments, more rigid discipline in capital construction, and easier control on the part of the bank.

The associations' expenditure on investments will be covered out of the investment fund consisting of part of the profits of the associations and of depreciation allocations. Should the investor's own funds prove insufficient, he may draw on interest-carrying

bank credits. In the event of overdraft of the estimated cost of capital construction, the bank will charge higher interest on additional credits. The increased interest will put an extra burden on the total account of the investor. The national economic plan should reflect the sum total for the current year of the expenditures of the associations and enterprises on capital construction financed out of their own funds, and supplemented with bank credits as the need arises.

To prevent investment increases exceeding material and production potentialities, an excess limit of 5 to 10 per cent will be set, provided the association or enterprise in question shows a substantial saving of its own funds. The credit granted will be charged interest and the time limit for paying off the credit will be fixed depending on the period of the recoupment of the expenditures stipulated in the economic estimation of the given investment, and also on the financial standing of the association. The bank must refuse to finance capital construction if the spending envisaged by the investor does not guarantee the execution of the project in keeping wth the standard cycle.

PRICES

With economic progress, technological improvements, and resulting changes in production costs and in social demand and requirements, it becomes increasingly important to use prices, an important economic lever, flexibly, in keeping with the law of value and with the fundamental economic objectives.

It is necessary to extend the application at industrial enterprises of factory prices, that is, selling prices minus the turnover tax or plus the amount of the subsidy. Differentiation and, if necessary, amendment of the factory price will guarantee its proper elasticity and the possibility of using it effectively to influence production. The amount of profit, determined by the established factory price, will also depend on the quality of output and its correspondence to modern standards.

Fixing lower factory prices for commodities going out of use and for inferior products, as well as higher factory prices for products in keeping with world standards and for items of higher quality and greater durability should make for better operation of the enterprise. Factory prices should be set according to the average organizational and technological possibilities of each particular branch, so as to create particularly favorable conditions for enterprises which are run more smoothly and on more modern lines.

An enterprise which is well run but at the moment less well equipped technologically can obtain a subsidy from the association

to improve its position. But in that case it should make retooling and reconstruction its main task.

Conversely, a deficit caused by inefficiency will entail telling financial consequences, which should induce the management and the staff promptly to remedy the situation.

When the differences in conditions at an enterprise are structural, such as those in the conditions of obtaining and using raw materials, or are differences in technical conditions that cannot be eliminated through reconstruction because it would not pay, differentiated factory prices may be fixed within the framework of the association, for each enterprise separately.

Our retail price policy will continue to be aimed primarily at stabilizing the cost of living and at making up for adverse economic developments following justified price changes. This implies centralized guidance of the price policy, and greater control over and prevention of attempts to circumvent and violate pricing regulations. The ratio of prices, particularly those of manufactured goods, should determine the dynamics and pattern of demand. This applies above all to the demand for durables and for articles made of synthetic fibres or plastics. As for consumer goods, in view of the importance of novelty and fashion, we should resort much more freely to the system of variable prices, using three price levels: the highest price for novelties, the basic price, applicable in the period of mass production, and the clearance sales price, set when more up-to-date goods of the category concerned are put on sale. The prices of commodities with regard to which supply and demand vary substantially from season to season should be regulated on a seasonal basis.

In fixing sales prices for means of production in use between enterprises, greater attention should be paid than in the past to the use value of the articles, particularly such important criteria of quality as a high technical standard, dependability and an attractive finish. To encourage the use of more economical materials in production, we should establish a proper correlation of the prices of interchangeable items. This concerns, first of all, the prices of plastics, which should be profitable for those who substitute plastics for non-ferrous metals and other materials in short supply. Import prices should be set in conformity with the prices of home-produced goods to prevent excessive increases in imports.

The pricing of means of production should have a beneficial effect on turnover conditions and techniques. To prevent undue haulage, we should preserve the practice of occasionally including transportation costs in the prices of quantity-produced items. The introduction of seasonal prices will prompt the buyer to receive and store goods in time.

Rapid technological progress, especially in engineering, makes for a steady decrease in outlays, which should lead to a periodical revision of sales prices.

MATERIAL INCENTIVES

The system of material incentives for the working people should be steadily improved, with due regard, among other things, to changes in the planning and management system, to the growth of the productive forces, and resultant changes in the structure of trades, in working methods and in the organization of labor.

To improve economic stimuli for the associations and enterprises, we must revise and simplify the principles of building up and distributing the factory fund. The amount of this fund should be made conditional on the extent to which the staff meets planned profit indices. Falling short of these indices will entail progressive reduction of allocations for the factory fund, while above-plan increases in profit will make for greater allocations, if at declining rates. An enterprise which finds additional reserves while drafting the profitability plan and undertakes to increase profitability above the index set and eventually does so, will be allocated more than if it had surpassed a lower assignment index.

The bulk of the factory fund will be distributed among the personnel according to rules to be established by workers' self-management conferences, as they have done in the past. The distribution of the fund among the various production units and administrative agencies should depend on their performance. Part of the factory fund is to be spent on housing, as well as on social needs should the workers' self-management bodies conference so decide.

In some industries it is advisable, as in the past, to make the amount of the factory fund conditional not only on financial results, but also on the fulfilment of other specific tasks by the enterprises. This applies to the extracting, power, sugar and other industries. As for the engineering industry, in view of the great demands put on it in the field of new techniques, increases in allocations for the factory fund should be made conditional on the attainment of the planned proportion between the value of the items (means of production) produced at the highest technical level and the overall value of the entire output.

It is also necessary to build up in the associations, or in the departments if necessary, reserves for the additional remuneration of particularly efficient staffs and for the offsetting of noticeable consequences of lower profitability, provided the enterprise is not to blame for the decline.

The new system of bonuses for mental workers, introduced last

year, provides opportunities for flexible stimulation and for focussing the staff's attention on the main economic tasks with due regard to the characteristics of the enterprises, production units, scientific and technological information centers, etc. The transfer to the managements of associations and enterprises of the power to specify the assignments whose fulfilment is rewarded with a bonus, and to distribute the bonus fund equips them with a most effective instrument for stimulating plan fulfilment. On the other hand, it increases their responsibility for the accurate specification of assignments and the conscientious provision of information on the extent of fulfilment. The higher bodies must constantly analyze the experience gained in applying the new principles of granting bonuses, and bring to light instances of misapplication of these principles.

We must improve the system of remuneration for manual workers, coordinating it more closely with the task of raising the quality of products, saving materials and tools, etc. It is particularly expedient to make wider use of differentiated piece-work rates depending on the grade of the product received.

The system of bonuses for work paid by the hour should also be linked more closely with the task of improving quality. Greater use should be made of the system of paying collective piece-work. In some industries this system yields good results by encouraging team members to organize labor more rationally and to achieve better economic results.

PLAN TARGETS AND PRODUCTION INDICES

Directives for the economic plan should, as in the past, be sent to associations and enterprises. The compulsory volume of the assignments distributed among the various units may vary depending on the goals set and on the estimation of economic stimuli.

In addition to directive indices, we should use so-called tentative indices, which the associations and enterprises need for the proper appraisal of the objective situation and the tasks arising from it.

DIRECTIVE INDICES

The number of directive or centrally given indices, especially for quantity and variety, and also for products distributed on a centralized basis, should be gradually reduced. The directive index of employment as a whole, that is, not singling out the employment of mental workers, will be retained for the time being. When new economic levers and the new system of material incentives have been introduced and tested, it will be possible gradually to discontinue regulating employment centrally.

To prevent undue growth of employment in the last months of the year with the aim of spending the wage fund not used in the previous months, we should introduce planning of the wage fund for five three-month periods, that is, for the current year and the first quarter of the next year.

In the case of the service industry, in which services are paid for by the population itself, we should discontinue limiting employment by directive and the wage fund provided the enterprises concerned operate at a profit. This also applies to enterprises catering for the peasants.

PRODUCTION INDICES

We should hasten the introduction into planning of new indices eliminating distortions due to the application of the index of gross output, which is calculated in comparable prices, or of marketable output in sales prices. But the replacement of these indices by new and more perfect ones requires hard work and pooling of experience, nor can the solution of this problem be uniform in all the industries.

At enterprises turning out uniform products or having a stable range of products, production indices should be expressed in natural or calculating units (tons of coal, ore, average-grade cement, etc.). The calculation of different types of a uniform product in terms of conventional units should be based on labor inputs, with due regard to quality, of course.

At enterprises turning out a wide range of articles, we should use as indices the so-called standard rate of labor intensity (labor expended to produce various items at the time of direct work on them, expressed in hours and minutes) or the so-called standard cost of processing, based on the standard average cost of producing each item in accordance with production standards and other elements of calculation, upon deduction of the cost of materials and of the tax levied on turnover and profit. These indices will reduce misappraisal of the dynamics of production due to greater or lesser cost of the materials and to greater or lesser accumulation contained in the price of the product. They will provide conditions for a more correct ascertainment of the actual expenditure of labor and the actual rise in labor productivity.

Extensive use of these indices, and the study of opportunities to improve them are a pressing task.

It is considered advisable, in estimating fulfilment of the assignment of an enterprise, to test the dependability of the items manufactured.

THE INVESTMENT SYSTEM

The central planning bodies should intensify their study and analysis of investment trends and patterns.

Every planning unit must concentrate on bringing out every real potentiality of increasing production without new investments. The main task in planning and effecting investments is to prevent undue dispersion of capital construction and the freezing of funds, shorten the cycle of realization of investments and thus make capital construction more effective.

The scale of new production capacities or enterprises of the service industry, and the time limits for their completion (material indices) should be the main indices of fulfilment of planned investments. Greater use should be made of tentative indices of expenditure per production capacity unit or per service enterprise, as well as of the cost standards per unit for the various types of construction project.

Last year's prohibition of taking decisions on investments without a careful estimation of expenditures and without a guarantee of fulfilment should be supplemented with a new condition—guaranteed delivery of machinery and other equipment. Due account of the funds tied up in investment projects is important in assessing investment proposals and the effectiveness of investment operations.

We must shorten the excessively long period of planning investments, simplify coordination and reduce the number of the departments involved and the time limits for approving the plan. We must make it a rule that the organization financing the project, the general contractor and the suppliers of machinery and other equipment must take part in planning investments.

In the years 1966 to 1970 we should in the case of centralized investments apply the principle of precise coordination in time with the necessary account taken of attending, replacing or interconnected investments. From 1966 onward, annual plans should provide for credits strictly conforming in amount to the standard cycle and schedule of construction. This will enable us to make it a general practice for the organizations financing a project to conclude long-term contracts with building and installation enterprises. These contracts will cover the entire capital construction target. The institution of general suppliers of machinery and other equipment, and long-term delivery contracts on capital construction should be used much more widely.

The period of mastering the rated capacity of the projects going into operation should be shortened. One of the tasks in this respect is to train the future production staff in time. This should be borne in mind in planning increases in employment and the wage fund.

In tightening discipline in planning and investment, and bank control over these activities, it is necessary to extend the powers of the associations and enterprises as regards independent deci-

sions on capital construction. Some categories of centralized investment should be relegated to the associations. As for investments by the enterprises themselves—mainly out of savings—they should be effected primarily in spheres offering early returns, that is, should be spent on modernization, technical progress and the replacement of machinery.

In granting investment credits, priority should go to such investments by associations and enterprises as are designed to develop and improve output earmarked for export.

AGRICULTURE

In agriculture, planning on a national as well as a local scale should be based on directives for the principal investments in agriculture and for the supply of means of production. The growth of agricultural output, particularly the staple crops, should be specified in annual plans on the basis of average yields during the past four years.

Purchases under contract, which should be steadily promoted, should become the main lever of planned stimulation of the level and pattern of agricultural production. We should introduce contracts for several years ahead to bring about a considerable increase in the purchase of grain and other crops and so to guarantee a judicious distribution of production and a durable stabilization of farming. Long-term contracting plans for the various products should be closely coordinated with the plans of the *Gromada* Councils and with the investment plans of cooperative associations and of organizations engaged in purchasing and processing raw materials, with a view to ensuring uninterrupted supply and processing.

SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL PROGRESS

To improve planning methods in the fields of science and technology, we must make ample use of the achievements of the foremost countries of the world in these fields and concentrate forces and means on problems of decisive importance to the national economy.

Research plans should be coordinated with research being carried on in the CMEA countries, plans for international exchanges and plans for the purchase of licences. The results of our own research, and the technical documentation received from abroad should supplement each other and constitute a program for the technological progress of the national economy.

The major investigations should be planned for five years. In the case of applied research and research aimed at the develop-

ment of new branches, two-year plans should be drawn up, specifying the tasks (problems or themes) of the leading and auxiliary institutes, as well as the necessary expenditures.

The plan for scientific and technological progress should be closely coordinated with the national economic plan and with the plans of associations and Ministries as regards both expenditures and assessment of the effectiveness of research and survey. Enterprises, associations and departments must take account of the results of research in drafting current economic plans.

Plans for the promotion of industrial technology should give pride of place to improvements in production that promise the greatest economic effect and provide, first and foremost, for the retooling of production and the introduction of new technologies. Programs introducing new lines of output instead of the old ones, modernizing articles already being produced, and increasing the proportion of means of production in overall output, that is, articles equal to world standards technologically and in terms of quality, should be components of technological-progress plans. Plans for scientific and technological development should envisage the means required for their realization.

In financing research, designing or tests of special importance, more effective use should be made of the technological and economic progress fund, the task being to shorten the research cycle and to apply the results achieved in practice. We must introduce long-term rates of allocations for this fund and for the economic initiative fund and expand the sphere of application of the latter fund by extending its operation to every branch of engineering irrespective of their distribution by departments.

To dovetail research more closely with urgent production requirements, we must consistently implement a system of contracts for research work. The completed projects should be accepted by commissions of the departments concerned.

FOREIGN TRADE

Better planning in foreign trade implies the application of a number of flexible methods for using cost accounting, the results of research into economic conditions, and an appropriate system of material inducement.

Intensified analysis of the effectiveness of exports, imports, trade as a whole, and the state of foreign trade payments should provide an appropriate basis for the planning of foreign trade, and encourage producers to supply more profitable export items of higher quality. Producers should be fully informed of the situation and prices on the world market, of changes in the quality of articles, types of packing, and so on. Analysis of the effectiveness

of imports should enable us to select the more useful raw and other materials and should, if necessary, provide information on their technical substitutes, as well as on the terms of purchase in the world market, such as could lead to a reduction of transportation costs.

The value of exports in foreign exchange should be a directive target for the departments and associations and the value of imports in foreign exchange, a directive limit.

MATERIAL AND TECHNICAL SUPPLY AND STORAGE

In the field of material and technical supply, the task is steadily to reduce centralized distribution of raw and other materials, machinery and technical equipment. At the same time we must further reduce the list of principal receivers of the products distributed. As the network of wholesale storehouses is expanded recipients should be provided with increasing opportunities to purchase directly at the storehouses, without lodging advance requests with higher economic bodies.

It is highly important to reduce the expenditure of raw and other materials per unit of output of the basic industrial articles. This expenditure should be indicated in the technical specifications of new or modernized articles going into quantity production.

COST PRICE

We need systematic work to improve methods of calculating production costs, which is of fundamental importance for cost accounting as a whole.

CHANGES IN INDUSTRIAL MANAGEMENT

ORGANIZATION OF ASSOCIATIONS

The sphere of action of the associations which has developed in recent years requires no major alterations. This does not, however, rule out the possibility of redistributing the various enterprises or institutions between associations, or of setting up new associations should new, fast-developing branches come into being.

The association grouping enterprises which operate on the principle of complete self-sufficiency and have the powers of a juridical person should remain the basic type of association.

The association may take a form close to that of an enterprise composed of several large subdivisions, that is, include plants operating on the principle of cost accounting. Such associations

can exist in branches grouping a small number of plants with a relatively narrow specialization.

One of the main functions of the industrial associations is to pursue a technological policy in terms of the entire branch, and hence to create proper organizational and economic conditions for technological progress and the speedy introduction of new machinery. The associations should encourage the establishment of scientific and technological facilities at the enterprises and help them in organizing, promoting and making effective use of their technical potential. Special importance attaches to the establishment of a powerful scientific and technological base at large enterprises staffed with experienced personnel who can ensure appropriate standards of designing, technological solutions and research.

The head of the association, appointed by and subordinated to the Minister, manages the association on the one-man principle. The decisions of leading bodies concerning the association or the enterprises and organizations in it should be addressed to the head of the association. The latter appoints the managers of the enterprises grouped by his association. The role of the association collegium should be enhanced and its powers extended. The collegium should correlate projects of fundamental importance for the association. Its decisions are binding on the management of the association, the enterprises and other elements of the association.

THE ROLE OF THE ASSOCIATIONS IN PLANNING

The role of the associations in economic planning should be enhanced. The plan outlines drawn up by the association in close collaboration with the enterprises should express the policy of the association as a whole in the development of production, technological progress, employment, the placing of personnel, investment and other fields.

In drafting a plan the association should adhere to the general instructions and assignments of the central bodies. It can and must put forward alternative proposals, drawing on the variant plans of enterprises and on its own drafts. As it fulfils the long-term plan it can return to its alternative proposals if the situation makes this possible, as well as to work out new ones.

The association should concentrate on a rational distribution of production programs among the enterprises and on their proper long-term specialization and coordination.

A major task of the association is to ensure that investments are made judiciously, using available capacities to the utmost and reducing new construction to a minimum.

PRINCIPLES OF THE ECONOMIC ACTIVITY OF THE ASSOCIATIONS

The principle of cost accounting on which the industrial associations should base their activity is to be implemented by:

(a) drawing up an overall balance and taking into account the results of the entire economic activity of the association;

(b) creating special funds in accordance with the overall result of the financial activity of the association;

(c) providing material incentives for the leading personnel of the association conditional on the overall results of its financial activity;

(d) promoting the economic services.

With a view to enhancing the role of cost accounting, the associations should be enabled to dispose of the special funds created as a result of their financial activity, not over one year as is the case today, but over a longer period. The results of the financial activity of the association (minus the proportion of profit left at the disposal of the enterprises) and the new financial principles should be used for setting up, first of all, a reserve fund and an investment fund.

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE MANAGEMENTS OF THE ASSOCIATION AND THE ENTERPRISE

The associations, which have ample powers and means guaranteeing their autonomy, should strive for the best combination of the interests of the enterprises with those of society as a whole. They should strive to remove obstacles to the initiative of enterprises toward greater economic efficiency and the utilization of production reserves and technological achievements.

The associations are enabled, among other things, to influence the fixing of factory prices, the application of differentiated prices, the allocation of subsidies, the setting of tasks whose fulfilment entitles them to a bonus, the regulation of the development fund of the enterprises, and the utilization of the technological and economic fund and the economic initiative fund.

With the exception of those cases in which sales and production programming are centralized, the enterprises retain the right to determine the range of products to be supplied (within the sphere of the specialization set for them) and the terms of supplying them by arrangement with the recipients. Assignments regarding the range of products should be given by directive only in those cases in which the system of economic levers does not ensure the satisfaction of requirements. Assignments by directive oblige the enterprise, as well as the association, to sign contracts within the bounds

of the assignments. Specialization, the establishment of compulsory technical standards for the products, and their quality indices cannot be decided on by the enterprise.

In establishing the extent, procedure and methods of planning at the enterprises, the association must see to it that plan assignments are fulfilled, first of all, by the association as a whole, and provide ample opportunities for the enterprises to take the initiative of drawing up and carrying out plans. The drafting of alternative plans by enterprises, practised lately, shows the vast importance of the initiative of enterprises in the use of economic reserves and the raising of the level of planning. It is, therefore, necessary to make regular use of the alternative plans of enterprises both at the closing stage of the drafting of the five-year plan and during the realization of this plan, that is, in annual plans.

We should continue to set up large enterprises of the combine type or production enterprises of branch significance whenever this is justified economically and organizationally. We should also set up local subsidiaries of enterprises.

We must carry forward tested organizational forms of cooperation between enterprises within both the association and the branch.

Many associations already have relatively well-developed scientific, technological and servicing facilities. A substantial proportion of their leading personnel has vast experience and appropriate qualifications. But in view of the new and difficult technical, economic and organizational problems, the associations must be reinforced with competent personnel. We should steadily improve the knowledge and skills of the technical and economic staffs of the associations, and use the existing refresher courses to teach new organizing and management methods.

THE MINISTRIES AND OTHER CENTRAL BODIES

Enhancing the role of the assocation and basing the work of the associations and enterprises on the principle of self-sufficiency call for appropriate modifications of the methods and scale of activity of the Ministries.

Irrespective of distinctions in organizational structure, the following principles should be adhered to in carrying out this work:

(a) The Ministries should restrict their current managing and certain other functions by transferring them to the associations. This process should take place gradually, in step with the consolidation of the associations and the formation of more effective economic levers. Above all else, it is essential eo discard the practice of the Ministries interfering directly in affairs under the juris-

diction of the enterprises, and to limit the number of accounts and information data requested from the associations.

(b) The Ministries must perform more fully their functions arising from the role and new principles of operation of the associations and enterprises:

direct planning in the associations, draft plans for the entire Ministry, and set appropriate plan targets for the associations; in so doing, they should pay particular attention to the long-term planning and connected economic research and analysis concerning the proportions of development, interbranch links, and specialization and coordination between branches; analyze reconstruction and investment programs, the system of training personnel, etc.;

program and analyze the effectiveness of investments, and control their realization, and also watch over the effectiveness of the entire set of investment operations in terms of the Ministry;

provide as favorable organizational and economic conditions as possible for technological progress, and pursue the right policy in the fields of science and technology;

find suitable economic levers of stimulating the associations, particularly as regards price-fixing, wages and salaries, the principles of awarding bonuses, effective foreign trade, import limits, etc.;

take the initiative of promoting inter-branch and territorial cooperation, particularly whenever help from and interference by the Ministry are required to shape proper inter-departmental relations, as well as to realize general directives on regional development and territorial coordination;

make comprehensive analyses and assessments of the economic activity of the enterprises.

THE PROCEDURE OF MODIFYING PLANNING AND MANAGEMENT AND THE DIRECTIONS OF FURTHER CHANGES IN THIS FIELD

The reform of planning and management implies changes whose main lines have already been determined by practice. These changes must be effected from 1966 to 1970. But not all the changes are equally ready for realization. This is why some of them should be effected in the next few months and the others, as soon as the conditions for them have been prepared.

Most of the associations will be supplied with the new statutes by the middle of 1966.

The new principles of the financial system operating at the enterprises and associations will come into force next year and so will the new principles of building up and using the factory fund. The new system of investment credits is to be introduced in the same

period. New production indices should be introduced in such a way as to make it possible to solve the problem as a whole on new principles before the end of 1968, drawing on experiments at factory and industry level.

To make an economic experiment a normal development preceding the realization of organizational and economic projects on a vast scale, we must issue precise instructions on the procedure of preparing, approving and carrying it out. Special attention should be paid to experiments covering the whole range of principles of operating the associations and enterprises. They should be conducted in units best prepared organizationally and having duly elaborated standards.

Planning and cost accounting should be perfected by freely introducing new scientific methods and computing techniques, improving the technique of drawing up balances and optimum programming, so as to make possible the best economic solutions. We should extend the experience gained in the use of mathematical methods for the study of changes in the effective demand, the programming of transportation and that of production at certain enterprises. At the same time we should hasten work on the balancing of inter-branch relations in terms of cost and materials.

THE TASKS OF THE PARTY BODIES AND ORGANIZATIONS

The main purpose of modifying the planning and management system is to provide the most favorable conditions for the realization of the decisions of the Fourth Party Congress on economic development. The prime objective is to ensure a steady rise in the technological standard and quality of industrial products.

The changes in planning and management now being carried out reflect the practical experience which has been accumulated by Party organizations and bodies, economic executives and working people's collectives. They are a result of the effort exerted since the Fourth Congress with the aim of modernizing production and making our economy more effective.

It is the duty of the Party bodies and organizations:

to explain the nature and purpose of the changes being introduced into planning and management;

to supervise the steady implementation of these changes in keeping with the intentions of the Party and the interests of the national economy, with due regard to the conditions prevailing in the various industries, and occasionally at the enterprises;

to do everything for the fullest possible use of the advantages of the new system of planning and management in order to enlist still greater participation of the staffs in the management of enterprises, increase the effectiveness of the economy and make the best use of economic development potentialities.

The new stage in economic development, and the changes being introduced into planning and management confront the enterprises with new and challenging problems. This increases the responsibility of the Party organizations at the enterprises. Every initiative taken by an enterprise, in particular initiatives in capital construction, should be carefully calculated as to effectiveness. Decisions on investment, tecnnology and export should be based on economic analysis. The economic levers and stimuli being used on a growing scale will serve their purpose provided they are applied properly. The managements of the enterprises and all others who play an active role in production should learn to approach problems from the point of view of the entire economy.

The increased autonomy of the enterprises affords them a vast field for collective initiatives. The drafting of alternative plans is an excellent school in economic thinking for the staffs, helping them to enlist in economic thinking for the staffs, helping them to enlist the assistance of more working people in the drafting of technical and economic decisions of great importance for the enterprises. This practice should be preserved and extended.

In the new situation, workers' self-management will play a more prominent role in the operation of the enterprises. The Party organizations should see to it that workers' self-management conferences carefully investigate the economic effectiveness of fundamental decisions on production, investment and technology, the expediency of distributing funds, the effectiveness of the economic stimuli in use and their impact on the operation of the enterprises according to the interests of society.

The primary Party organizations at those enterprises which conduct economic experiments have special tasks to fulfil. The testing in practice of the expediency of widespread changes in planning and management may play a major role in improving the system. This will happen if experiments are conducted with full awareness of their purpose and if their results and effectiveness are analyzed thoroughly. The Party organizations of these enterprises must explain to the staffs the purpose of the tests and ensure that the results are systematically and comprehensively analyzed.

The introduction of new forms of planning and management should go hand in hand with a specific effort by the Party organizations aimed at substantially raising the technical standards and the quality of products and at modernizing production methods.

The heightened activity of every Party body or organization in effecting changes in planning and management is a necessary condition for the further increased activity of working people's collectives and for greater initiative on the part of the mass organizations and trade unions to make the entire national economy more efficient.

STATEMENT OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU, FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY*

The crisis of the Common Market has grown more acute since the break-down of the Brussels talks. This crisis was to be expected. The Common Market which is dominated by the monopolies of Western Europe is, in effect, their theatre of operations for the conquest of new markets which would augment their profits and strengthen their economic and political domination.

The Common Market has aggravated the contradictions between the six member countries. Competition has intensified to the advantage of the most powerful and best equipped monopolies, and mainly the monopolies of the Federal Republic of Germany which is now pressing more insistently than before for its political demands, particularly in the atomic sphere.

Social contradictions too have grown sharper, confirming the fact that the working class, the peasantry and the non-monopoly social strata can expect nothing good from the Europe of trusts.

Extensive propaganda is being conducted in favor of political integration. This would spell the end of national independence in favor of supra-national agencies which do not come under the control of the peoples. This would place our country in the power of the big European monopolies, the German revenge-seeking and militarist elements and the U.S. imperialists.

The Political Bureau of the French Communist Party maintains that the real solution safeguarding the interests of our country and at the same time its independence, lies in the unhampered development of trade and economic cooperation between France and other countries irrespective of their regimes, and in particular between the capitalist and socialist countries. Here it should be noted that although trade between France and her Common Market partners has increased in recent years, it still accounts for only about a third of the total volume of her foreign trade. This only goes to prove that there is no reason why our country should confine herself to the narrow framework of the Common Market.

Democratization of the state and nationalization of the existing monopolies are the principal ways of effecting this cooperation with all countries in accordance with their mutual interests.

This orientation, however, will never be sanctioned by the present Common Market institutions for they are essentially monopolistic, technocratic and anti-democratic in character. It can come

*L'Humanité, July 30, 1965.

about only given the presence in these organs of representatives elected by the national parliaments on the basis of proportional representation and of trade union representatives from the countries concerned, and recognition of their right to initiative and control.

At the same time the coordinated actions of the working class and the people generally against the policies of the Common Market monopolies and in defence of common demands should be intensified. These demands are: wage increases and increased paid vacations, a shorter working week, job security, equal pay for men and women, respect for the right to strike, extension of trade union liberties and democratic rights.

Thus, cooperation with all countries will help to improve the well-being of peoples and to create favorable conditions for promoting peace in Europe and throughout the world.

That is why in order to successfully carry out the struggle in each country and within the Common Market the French Communist Party urges greater concerted action by all Communist and Socialist parties, and by all trade union and democratic organizations.

Political Bureau, French Communist Party

Paris, July 29, 1965

NOT TO ADVANCE IS TO LAG BEHIND*

A. Barjonet

The Common Market and the break-down of the Brussels talks are subjects of interest to all concerned with economics.

The rupture that took place in Brussels is leaving its definite imprint on the French economy. It is still too early of course to say whether this rupture is final, or whether it is simply a question of an "interruption." But in either case one thing is definite: far from solving the basic economic problems of the member countries, the Common Market is exacerbating the internal contradictions of capitalism to the extreme.

What do the men who see the Common Market as a means of "building Europe" have to say for themselves when in reality it was a question of a fiercer struggle by the monopolies for control over bigger markets? What have those people to say for themselves who spoke glibly about the "irreversible" character of institutions which are a community in name only, and are more an enclosure where the contradictory interests of the monopolies and imperialist states clash with increasing force?

Without running ahead of developments it can be said that this is only the beginning of increasingly strained relations between the "community" partners which will grow still more strained as U.S. interference increases. This was the outlook for the French economy at the end of the first unfavorable half year which confirmed the seriousness of the present stagnation.

For 18 months now (from January 1964 to June 1965) industrial production has been marking time. This prolonged stagnation in the national economy is all the more serious considering that during this period the economy of other capitalist countries, and that of the FRG in particular, continued to advance. The production index for January 1965 (taking 1958 as 100) was 141, whereas in the FRG it was 155. Thus, beginning with 1958, that is, when the Common Market actually began to function and when one-man rule was established in France, French production showed a relative lag of nine per cent.

Since German production greatly exceeds French in absolute volume, this percentage difference can (if it continues) result in a very serious disproportion in the economic might of the two countries. Thus, in 1964 the FRG produced 89 per cent more steel

*Abridged from **France nouvelle**, July 21-27, 1965.

than France, 78 per cent more electricity, 80 per cent more automobiles, etc. That same year industrial output in the FRG (excluding construction) increased by 8.7 per cent whereas France registered no increase.

The Social and Economic Council said as much in its semi-annual report. "Decline in economic activity can without second thought be entered on the debit side of the stabilization plan. The brake put on excessive demand arrested economic growth. For 18 months now France is experiencing stagnation and it is to be feared that this will continue for some time yet. This situation is dangerous at the present time when the Common Market is establishing itself, for, with the exception of Italy, our other partners, and the FRG in particular, continue to benefit from the expansion. It is most important to prevent irreparable damage being done to our country's future seeing that the measures taken have put a curb on industrial investments in France, and our country consequently risks finding itself not sufficiently equipped industrially to compete with its partners in the Common Market."

This stagnation in French production reveals, of course, numerous irregularities. Up to the beginning of this year it could still be said that the stagnation was due to a decrease in the production of consumer goods, while certain heavy industries (ferrous metals, oil, chemicals) continued to expand. However, it has become clear in recent weeks that there has been a considerable drop in activity also in heavy industry. On the social plane the obvious consequence of the stagnation has been a shortening of the working week and some unemployment. The average length of the working week decreased from 46.6 hours to 45.4 hours between April 1, 1964 to April 1, 1965. In the textile industry it decreased from 44.3 hours to 41.5 hours. There was a considerable shortening of the working week also in the needle trades, the leather, automobile and machine-tool construction industries.

In certain cases (in the automobile industry in particular), the "funds for regulating resources" made it possible to compensate to some extent for the resultant cut in wages.

In general, however, the shortening of the working week led to a serious cut in incomes that were already small and to a marked drop in the purchasing power. Moreover, the growth of nominal wages per hour is much slower than in previous years. This is noted in the report of the Social Economic Council which states:

"In 1964 the percentage of growth of per hour wages was much lower than in previous years. Thus, from January 1964 to January 1965 it was 6.7 per cent as against 7.9 per cent in 1963. This slowdown in the rate of growth was particularly evident in the last two quarters of 1964 and continued in the first quarter of 1965, when the index increased only by 1.3 per cent as against 1.9 per

cent in 1964 and 2.5 per cent in 1963. It was the smallest increase among the Common Market countries. The workers' monthly net incomes show this tendency still more clearly. These incomes, calculated by the Ministry of Labor, are established on the basis of hourly rates, the length of working time, overtime earnings, family benefits, social insurance deductions and the amount of income tax. The general wages index for a bachelor residing in Paris rose by 5.9 per cent in 1964 as against approximately 9 per cent from 1960 to 1962. A similar change (4 per cent) is evident in the index according to zones. The index for fathers of families with two to five children likewise registered a smaller increase in 1964 compared with the previous four years."

'In these circumstances the question arises: how to "revive" the economy? For the Government and employers (both of whom bear full responsibility for the present situation) the solution is a very simple one: to increase investments and grant new privileges to the monopolies, to increase exports at the expense of diminished internal consumption.

It is of course, necessary to increase investments. But it is clear that the state should have played a decisive role in this sphere considering the importance of the sector which it controls directly or indirectly. The fact that it is not doing so is because preference is given to the striking force. (As noted in the report on the main trends of Plan V "the program of national defense follows its own laws and is drawn up independently of the perspectives of economic growth . . .") As for private investments it is necessary to stop the practice of granting the monopolies the big privileges demanded by them. In the past two decades private investments were, in effect, one of the principal factors responsible for the inflationary rise in prices. Far from preventing the ruinous trend in the French economy these investments simply augmented the profits of the monopolies. Finally, it should be said that an increase in investments is logical only if there is a more or less corresponding increase in consumption, otherwise a crisis is inevitable. The Government, however, is continuing to cut down on effective consumption on the pretext of increasing exports.

A real expansion of the economy is possible. There is no doubt that irrespective of the structural reforms needed to change the country's entire political orientation, a substantial increase in wages and salaries and in family and social benefits would enable the producers of consumer goods rapidly to increase output. This, in turn, would gradually stimulate the industries producing the means of production. Expansion, we repeat, is possible, and what's more not at the price of inflation. At present there is no "inflation of demand." Just the reverse. As for the "inflation of costs," this favorite category of some economists, it has nothing in common

with wages (the example of West Germany and the United States is striking evidence of this). If anything, it is connected with the cost of the unproductive expenditures of the nation.

For the French economy the autumn revival following the vacation period will be of decisive importance. Preservation of the restrictive measures known as the "Stabilization Plan" is fraught with the danger of turning the present stagnation into the main obstacle obstructing France's economic progress. At a time when international competition is sharpening this "obstacle" can have far more serious consequences than it is generally thought.

RESOLUTION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, PERUVIAN COMMUNIST PARTY*

On the basis of the reoprt on the political situation in the country and the ensuing debate, the Twentieth Plenum unanimously approves the following conclusions and decisions:

First, political developments in Peru since the Fourth National Conference of the Party (August 1964) fully bear out what both the Conference and the previous plenum of the Central Committee said in their analysis and conclusions.

CAPITULATION OF THE PAP-CDP BLOC

Second, the ruling PAP (Popular Action Party)—CDP (Christian Democratic Party) bloc, in which the conciliatory bourgeoisie holds a dominant position and which is influenced by certain frankly pro-imperialist and pro-oligarchic forces, is surrendering position after position to the worst enemies of the Peruvian people. Thereby it is causing very serious damage to the interests of the country and abandoning the few national democratic demands it put forward during the election campaign.

Third, that is why the cardinal problems facing the country, far from being solved or palliated, are daily becoming more acute, demanding radical solutions.

FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS REQUIRE RADICAL SOLUTIONS

The government has made a disgraceful deal with the ultra-reactionary parliamentary majority of the APRA (American Popular Revolutionary Alliance) and NOU (National Odriist Union) parties, the sinister Beltran-Ravines bloc and the top layer of the Army, which takes orders from the Pentagon and U.S. monopoly capital. It ignores the people's demands for the restitution of our oil and the nationalization of the oil wells, installations and transport facilities unlawfully appropriated by the International Petroleum Co., a Standard Oil subsidiary, to the detriment of Peruvian interests.

The needs of Peru's historical development, and the unbearable hunger, poverty and backwardness of the overwhelming majority of the population call for the immediate introduction of a genuine

*Adopted by the Twentieth Plenum of the CC, Peruvian Communist Party. Published in **Unidad**, April 14, 1965.

peasant and not latifundist reform. But the makers of the deal are trying instead to introduce a spurious "law" benefiting only the latifundists, who are willing to become bourgeois and to help expand the market, and are agreeable to the U.S. imperialists monopolizing it and extending their influence to our countryside in line with Alliance for Progress standards.

The rightful demand for a lower cost of living, for an end to the steep rise in food and clothing prices, transport fares, rent and tuition fees and for an equitable increase in wages and salaries comes up against the same economic policy as was pursued by previous oligarchic governments, against the absence of any independent industrialization plan and the government's obstinate refusal to establish diplomatic and trade relations with the socialist countries.

The shootings of peasants, repressive measures against workers and students, and police round-ups of Left-wing elements are carried out under the same cruel pretexts, in the same McCarthyist spirit and by the same gangster-like neo-fascist methods as were typical of previous dictatorships. They are shattering the hopes of the majority of the electorate, above all those who supported Belaunde, striking at the democratizing process that would give the people effective means of abolishing imperialist tyranny and the nefarious domination of the oligarchy.

TRENDS OF POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

Fourth, as we had foreseen, there are four processes going on which determine the main trends of political development in the country today, namely:

1. A sinister "coexistence" is taking shape between the upper ranks of the ruling parties and the leaders of the reactionary opposition parties, a development which the people reject so justly. We already feel the first evil consequences of this "coexistence," which seriously endangers the future of our country.

2. At the same time the masses are plainly becoming radicalized. Under the impact of world events and our explanatory work, they are coming to realize the urgent need for structural changes in Peru's economic, social and political life. Besides, they are gaining the conviction that the bourgeoisie in power cannot effect these changes. Inside the ruling parties themselves, this process is polarizing the forces, leading to the emergence of two opposite trends—Right- and Left-wing. It has already caused the first rift in the PAP.

3. This situation is also reflected in the sharpening struggle between the main mass force of the government, President Belaunde's party, and the CDP, which is striving to win prestige and to capitalize on popular discontent. The CDP resorts to hypocrisy in

an effort to get away from responsibility for the errors of the present regime. It uses demagogy, trying to repeat in our country the adroit maneuvers which in Chile enabled Frei and his candidates to secure election to Parliament in the last two elections.

4. As the prestige and strength of the government decline and renovating, revolutionary trends grow in the masses, a political crisis is maturing in the country, impelling the extreme reactionaries to threaten a new military coup. On the other hand, the pre-conditions are shaping for a revolutionary situation.

Fifth, the classical coup d'état is not the only way in which the military can assume power. This offers the following alternatives:

1. Pressing forward the policy of "coexistence" until a government is formed which would include no direct spokesmen of the APRA-NOU coalition but in which the key posts, primarily the office of Minister of the Interior, would go to men like Languasco, who faithfully serve the fascist designs of the sinister oligarchic and pro-imperialist clan.

2. Forming a cabinet in which President Belaunde, following the pernicious practice of substituting military men for undesirable ministers, would virtually transfer the power to the military and so become a common puppet.

3. Carrying out a classical coup d'état that would result in fully replacing the present government on the plea that it could not contain or tone down popular discontent with the military camarilla, as was done in Brazil, Ecuador, Honduras, El Salvador, Bolivia, Paraguay and other countries.

FOUR ADVERSE FACTORS

Sixth, in envisioning this political evolution, we should not forget that the rise and activity of the present government have been, and still are, affected — despite the preponderance of the conciliatory bourgeoisie — by the four adverse factors listed at the beginning:

1. Among the cabinet ministers are military men who, at the instance of the junta which preceded Belaunde, are appointed, not by the Prime Minister and the President, as they should be under the Constitution, but by the high command of the armed forces, which takes its cue from the Pentagon.

2. The loans granted by U.S. financial organizations within the framework of the Alliance for Progress make development plans and social policies dependent on imperialist interests.

3. The anti-popular repressive machinery used by previous oligarchic governments — police, investigation agencies, storm troops, combat groups, special units, etc. — is still in use.

4. Key administrative and financial posts are still held by extreme reactionaries.

THE MAIN FORMS OF THE IMPERIALIST OFFENSIVE

Seventh, the people, who are fighting in defense of national interests and for a better life, are beating off the offensive which the neo-colonialists and the oligarchs are carrying on in two tactical forms, using them according to circumstances.

One tactic is that of open reaction aimed at a military coup. It is embodied chiefly in the policy of the parliamentary majority of the APRA-NOU bloc and the Beltran-Ravines groups.

The other tactic expresses itself in reformist demagogy and maneuvering. It is used mainly by the CDP, which sees its role, first and foremost, in ideologically disarming the masses, so as to perpetuate imperialist domination.

This double offensive does not, however, mean that the two tactics are equally dangerous and should be combated in the same way.

Our goals — liberation from imperialist tyranny and the abolition of feudalism — oblige us to regard the NOU and APRA parties, the most reactionary political agents of the U.S. monopolies and the traitorous oligarchy, as our chief enemies. As we fight these enemies we must accept joint action even with the rank and file of the ruling parties, provided they uphold democratic and national interests. But because the ruling parties, above all the CDP, are the forces which the chief enemies are training as their successors, we must simultaneously wage an active ideological struggle by revealing the true aims of these forces and the historical role which they intend to play, following the example of their political kin in Europe and Latin America.

THE FIGHT FOR PEOPLE'S POWER

Eighth, the fight against the offensive of the imperialists and oligarchs in any form implies, first and foremost, mustering forces for the people to win power. The task is not only to thwart the attempts of the old oligarchy at fully restoring its dominant position in the state and government, but also to prepare for sweeping from power the conciliatory bourgeoisie, which is committed to a policy of surrender and has virtually failed.

The fight for power does not mean plotting coups and other ventures but consciously leading the masses to social and national emancipation. It means uniting all the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, progressive and truly democratic forces in a broad patriotic national-liberation front whose first actions should be aimed at promoting such pressing demands as nationalization of our oil, a genuine agrarian reform, independent and diversified industrialization, the establishment of diplomatic and trade relations with the socialist

countries, lower food prices, rent and transport fares, and unfailing respect for democratic liberties.

NEW FORMS OF STRUGGLE, UNITY AND ORGANIZATION

Ninth, in view of the danger of the military establishing their rule, and of the prospect of a deep-going political crisis, our Party and all truly revolutionary and democratic forces should resolutely expose and combat this danger. They should form an organiaztion that would enable the popular forces to pass from one form of struggle to another and to go on fighting for their interests by the most effective means even in the most unfavorable conditions. The task is to rally all these forces by strengthening their internal organization, swelling their ranks and promoting their influence. In a short space of time we must build up a strong, solidly united Communist Party, with nuclei in every industrial center, in the countryside and in the remotest corners of the country.

The ideological offensive of the Christian Democrats and the pseudo-scientific solutions they propose make it necessary for us to intensify the Marxist-Leninist analysis of our problems in order to find the most correct and most convincing solutions, such as would enhance our prestige among the masses.

PRESSING TASKS

Tenth, the Twentieth Plenum of the CC, PCP recommends that between now and the Fifth National Conference of the Party, we Peruvian Communists should do all in our power to carry out the assignment of the Fourth National Congress of the Party — to win the support of the working class and the people as a whole for the political and ideological positions of the Party. With this aim in view, we should:

improve our work in the trade union movement and step up our effort to unite the working class;

greatly improve the work of winning over the peasants — by leading their struggles and in particular, their fight for an agrarian reform;

raise the theoretical and ideological standards of the Party membership, above all the Party cadre, in order to ensure proper analysis of the Party's problems and their solution;

adopt new forms and methods of work according to the changing situation;

reorganize the leading Party bodies accordingly.

CESAR LEVANO INTERVIEWED BY L'UNITA*

Q. There were reports from Peru a few days ago about clashes

*Member of the Political Bureau of the Peruvian Communist Party. The Interview appeared in l'Unitá on July 22, 1965.

between guerillas and troops. Would you like to comment on them?

A. It's a month since I left my country and I don't know how events have been developing there lately. But I attribute them to the deep discontent and despair which are widespread in many parts of the country.

Latin America is no longer a continent of military coups alone. It is becoming a continent where the people take armed action. Evidence of this is the guerrilla war going on in Venezuela and Colombia, and the constitutionalist movement in the Dominican Republic. The implications of this process cannot be forecast accurately but they will be of world significance.

Latin America has a population of 200 million and occupies an area of 20,000,000 sq. km. I would like to stress that the people have never been the first to use force. It was only events like the bloodshed perpetrated by Batista, the massacres ordered by Betancourt, the expulsion of the peasants from whole regions of Colombia, that compelled the people to resort to violence. Latin America's revolutionaries might well quote Garibaldi, who said: "We dislike violence. It was the suffering and sorrow of the people that made us take up arms."

Q. Do you think the road to peaceful revolutions in Latin America is barred?

A. By no means. It would be a grave error to believe that the situation is the same throughout Latin America.

There are countries like Chile where elementary democratic liberties are respected thanks to the people's heroic struggles over a long period.

In other countries, such as Peru, the parliamentary institutions are hardly recognized in practice and the executive authority often resorts or contributes to bloodshed among the peasants and victimization of trade union leaders. It abolishes constitutional guarantees and arrests peasant and Left-wing leaders.

Lastly, there are countries ruled by undisguised, ferocious dictatorships, such as that of Duvalier in Haiti or the Stroessner regime in Paraguay. It should be obvious that the class struggle in this group of countries will most probably take a violent form. Incidentally, Latin America's revolutionary leaders are coming to know, at the price of their own blood, that the peaceful form of struggle cannot be completely dissociated from the non-peaceful one.

The problem is to see when one or the other form gains ascendancy. But the movement of the masses and the level of their class consciousness and organization will always remain the decisive factor.

Q. How would you describe the present Peruvian government?

A. It's a government which after two years in office has yet to

fulfil its promise of deep-going economic, political and social reforms. In Peru, executive power is wielded by the Popular Action Party (PAP) and the Christian Democratic Party (CDP). During the election campaign both parties promised a radical agrarian reform, a tax policy that would not burden the poorest only, as has been the case so far, freedom of trade union activity, and so on. They haven't kept any of these promises.

I think the reason for it is that the government is afraid to break with the imperialists and oligarchs, to weaken the parliamentary majority, which includes the APRA party subsidized by the State Department and the National Odriist Union, an organization led by latifundists and financiers. Neither the PAP nor the CDP has discarded its past.

U.S. imperialism is the chief factor in reactionary pressure. But the government parties did not advance a single anti-imperialist demand in their electoral program, nor do they advance any today. Lately, both President Belaunde (PAP) and the CDP leaders have pledged themselves to nationalize our oil—under heavy pressure from the rank and file of the two parties and as a result of the rallying of the nation demanded by the Left forces. Unfortunately, this pledge will apparently share the fate of the electoral program.

We may be wrong, but we think both the PAP and the CDP pin all their hopes on the Alliance for Progress. Today we see that the Peruvian government had only to take a somewhat independent stand on the Americans' brutal intervention in the Dominican Republic for the United States to threaten that it would suspend the credits stipulated under the Alliance for Progress.

Both the PAP and the CDP are led by members of the middle bourgeoisie, which has stooped to conciliation with imperialism. From the point of view of the class interests they express, the two parties should have been fighting for a more or less radical agrarian reform that would considerably expand the home market. But dreading the peasants as they do, they proposed what is in effect a conservative agrarian reform, and their draft was promptly combined with the ultra-reactionary draft presented by the Right opposition.

The resulting law leaves the greater part of the land in the hands of the latifundists. This applies particularly to the coastal latifundia specalizing in sugar cane growing and owned or controlled by U.S. companies. In recent months the authorities, being afraid of Washington and hoping to stamp out the fight for land, have given the land to the peasants in those areas where they had seized it themselves as a result of grim struggles and at the cost of further sacrifices. But even specialists say that the Peruvian "agrarian reform" is nothing but a large-scale sale of land at high prices and in small lots.

Q. But the Italian press often speaks of the "progressive" nature of the Peruvian government.

A. Of course, it would be wrong to say that the Belaunde government is identical with the military or civilian dictatorship which had for a long time ruled our country. True, President Belaunde carries on a lively flirtation with the military and therefore risks turning the government into their tool.

The present government is a bourgeois government bent on conciliation. Its greatest drawback is that it cannot break with the reactionary forces at the moment of the deep crisis which our independent, semi-feudal economy is passing through. You cannot solve by ambiguous methods the big problems facing the country which Josué de Castro described, along with India, as a country of "chronic hunger." Due to these methods, Standard Oil every year makes a profit in Peru that would be enough to carry out the most ambitious national development program in our history. This has nothing to do with President Belaunde's good intentions; moreover, the road to hell is paved with good intentions, as you say in Italy.

I've read in *Il Giorno* certain statements by President Frei of Chile, who is said to have good intentions. But he is naive enough to believe that "unless the United States and Europe cooperate with us to prove that democracy is the only road for the fast-developing nations, Latin America will have to choose between dictatorship and revolution." As if we didn't know what that "cooperation" is like in Vietnam or the Dominican Republic! As if we could forget that our peoples owe the most cruel tyrannies in Latin America to that "cooperation"! And speaking of economic problems, has President Frei forgotten that the foreign debts which the Latin American countries pay every year and which between 1941 and 1951 did not exceed $250 m. a year, have by now soared to $2,000 m.? The disastrous subordination of our economy to imperialism is a vastly important problem which bourgeois reformist governments refuse to solve, and apparently cannot solve.

Q. Are the Peruvan guerrillas in question Communists?

A. Telegraphic reports say they are members of the Revolutionary Left Movement, a small Marxist-type party that has broken away from the APRA. In any case, they are young people who were compelled to take up arms by the tragic plight of our people and the incompetence of our rulers. I know that an extermination campaign has been launched against them and that the authorities are taking drastic repressions against all progressives. I therefore voice protest. We are passing through a difficult moment and a serious trial. But I'm sure our people will be able to use the experience they have gained in order to unite and organize better, and eventually to achieve victory.

L. CARLOS PRESTES, GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE BRAZILIAN CP, INTERVIEWED BY L'HUMANITE*

Q. What is your opinion of the situation in Latin America since the U.S. aggression against the Dominican Republic?

A. The situation in Brazil and the rest of Latin America is characterized by the offensive on the part of the U.S. imperialists, whose aggressiveness and cynicism are going to unprecedented extremes. The U.S. brutal aggression against the Dominican people threatens the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of all the Latin American peoples.

Until recently Washington's interference in the affairs of our countries took the form of economic and political pressure and in the event of more aggressive intent, the form of military coups. For these purposes Washington used the gorillas—the reactionary generals who had sold themselves to the imperialists—and the armed forces of our countries, or at least that section of them which the generals contrived to set in motion. In other words, the U.S. government tried to cover up its intervention in our countries by means of the OAS, a reactionary organization controlled by the U.S. Department of State yet calling itself the defender of "representative democracy" and self-determination of the peoples.

The constitutive Charter of the OAS expressly prohibits (Art. 15 and 17) interference by one state in the internal affairs of another. Through his new "doctrine," and above all by landing troops in the Dominican Republic under the pretext of protecting the lives and property of American citizens, President Johnson has virtually liquidated the OAS, tearing up its Charter like a scrap of paper.

Thus the U.S. imperialists are reverting to their old policy of the "big stick" at the highest level and in what is clearly the most dangerous form as far as the life and security of our peoples are concerned.

All this cannot, however, stop the anti-imperialist movement which is growing and expanding throughout Latin America. The crimes committed by the U.S. marines and paratroopers, who kill our brothers in the Dominican Republic, rouse more and more sections of the population in every country of the continent to fight against the imperialist oppressor.

The imperialist aggression in the Dominican Republic is not a

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L'Humanité, August 3, 1965

proof of strength, but, on the contrary, of Washington's despair over the growing might of the anti-imperialist movement in Latin America. Every Latin American patriot is aware of the example of Cuba. It is a great goal which everyone is striving to attain.

Q. We feel that since the Brazilian gorillas' coup democratic opinion has been rallying opposition forces, even among those who vacillated although they did not come out directly against the conspirators. What is your impression?

A. The Brazilian people now have a clearer idea of the reactionary and pro-imperialist character of the military dictatorship. This regime seized power through a coup on April 1, 1964, and consists of the most reactionary, anti-national elements — agents of U.S. imperialism, latifundists (big landed proprietors) and big capitalists linked with the American monopolies.

Never before has a Brazilian government been so completely subservient to the U.S. imperialists. The law limiting export of the profits of foreign companies has virtually been repealed. The Brazilian people have to shoulder the burden of the government's purchase of the assets of the Bond & Share electric corporation, paid for in gold. The amount of the grain to be purchased under an agreement with the United States has been doubled and import of American agricultural surpluses facilitated. The regime shapes its mining policy according to the demands of that huge monopoly, the Hanna Mining Co. An agreement guaranteeing private investment affords immense privileges to U.S. interests. A U.S. military mission is conducting aerial photography of Brazil.

To line up entirely with Washington, the regime has severed relations with Cuba. In the OAS it expresses the aspirations of the State Department and abets the aggressor in the Dominican Republic.

Police violence, military control over the trade unions, suppression of the right to strike, higher prices, rent and indirect taxes, and growing unemployment (hundreds of plants have closed down) are all features of the present regime.

It is from this regime that Washington secured the appointment of a Brazilian general to the sinister but laughable post of puppet commander of the troops of aggression in the Dominican Republic. Of the major Latin American states, Castelo Branco's Brazil was the only one to send a military contingent to Santo Domingo so as to enable Washington to disguise its aggression against the Dominican people with the OAS flag.

The vast majority of the Brazilian people condemn this policy, which turns Brazil's military into mercenaries and murderers in the service of imperialism. This policy injures the Brazilian people's national dignity and upsets their peace tradition.

Q. Does condemnation of the dictatorial regime express itself in

any form? To what extent?

A. Resistance and opposition to the regime's pro-imperialist and reactionary policies are growing.

On May 1, 1964, hardly a month after the coup, the workers of Sao Paulo boycotted a meeting which was to have been addressed by the President Marshal. In Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo, the working people demonstrated against the control of their unions and insisted on free trade union elections. Ever since then they have expressed their solidarity with their outlawed, imprisoned, tortured, exiled leaders. They collect money at regular intervals. Union meetings against the high cost of living and unemployment have never been attended so heavily as now. In Sao Paulo over 1,500 metal workers insisted that the former secretary of their union preside over a meeting and be elected to the committee that was to formulate their demands.

There were strikes in Sao Paulo (metal workers), Santos (dockers), Rio (dockers), Pernambuco (sugar refinery workers).

The students give no respite to the dictatorship. Their national union meets although it has been banned. It is preparing for its congress and organizing a nationwide poll on the new law on the school and university. The students held street demonstrations against the American aggression in the Dominican Republic.

The intellectuals, who were joined by the Catholic thinker Tristao de Athaide and Brasilia's architect Oscar Niemeyer, issued an emphatic "manifesto" against the dictatorship. The national bourgeoisie is restless. Its economic organizations condemn the policy imposed by the International Monetary Fund to the men of the coup, and bring a strong echo from *Ultima Hora* and *Correio de Manha,* two major Rio papers.

As regards the Catholic Church, certain documents of the National Confederation of Bishops suggest that it is almost officially in opposition to the regime.

The regime's policy is one of poverty, hunger and terrorism. It burns books and resorts to police tortures. Large groups of people who were misled by the makers of the April coup and gave it their support or sympathy feel that they have been hoodwinked and tend to join up with those who are opposing the regime. The situation which helped the reactionaries and made the conspirators' victory possible is changing in favor of the democratic and patriotic forces. The social base of the dictatorship is shrinking.

The antagonisms between the men of the coup are growing, increasing the instability of the government and the threat of new military coups or government crises, which the democratic forces might eventually use to defeat the reaction.

Q. What is the chief object of the Brazilian Communists' struggle today?

A. The Communists, who from the outset took a clear stand against the dictatorship, have been contributing actively to the effort to regroup the democratic forces for the fight against the regime. The immediate tactical objective of the democratic forces is to isolate and defeat the dictatorship, and to bring about a broadly representative anti-dictatorial government. This government would have to grant democratic liberties to the people, re-establish the constitutional regime and guarantee resumption of the process of democratization broken off by the April coup.

These united actions have forced the regime to make concessions, and even to release numerous political prisoners. The regime had to permit elections without further delay, although it is trying to introduce reactionary legislation with a view to preventing an electoral victory, not only of the Communists, but of all other patriots and democrats whom the reactionaries and imperialists mistrust. Nevertheless, this year's election campaign in eleven states of Brazil may help in mustering forces against the dictatorship, exposing it and moving into position to defeat it.

Like any other government subservient to the U.S. imperialists, Brazil's military reactionary dictatorship is a government without a future. It cannot resolve the structural crisis, which is going from bad to worse because of its anti-national policies, which are bound to result in its defeat.

Q. We know that the Brazilian Communist Party was dealt a hard blow immediately after the coup. How have the Communists stood that test?

A. Despite the heavy blows they were dealt, the fact that they have to work underground, and sustained persecution, the Brazilian Communists are organized all over the country and are striving to maintain and promote their links with the masses.

They are also trying to overcome as speedily as possible the obstacles raised by the regime to their agitation and propaganda.

At a recent meeting the Central Committee of the Party passed a political resolution which has been met with enthusiasm by the whole Party and will facilitate the Communists' organizing work and unitary action.

The same meeting drew important conclusions from the omissions and the mistakes made in implementing the Party's political line approved by the latest congress, a line which has been proved correct in practice.

The Central Committee also approved of the statement of the Consultative Meeting of 19 Communist and Workers' parties held in Moscow last March. It signified its full support for whatever was done to promote world Communist unity, and pledged its cooperation.

OUR POLICY IN RELATION TO THE RIVAL PARTY

RESOLUTION ADOPTED AT CEC MEETING,
NEW DELHI JULY 6-10

PARTY CONGRESS RESOLUTION: FOUR-POINT POLICY

The Seventh Congress of our Party held at Bombay in December 1964 laid down the clear outlines of the policy and tactics to be pursued by us in relation to the rival party. They are as follows:

"The split in the CPI is a settled fact. Now the question arises as to what attitude we take towards the split-away section. In spite of all the disruptive, uncommunistic, nauseating methods and language some of the rival party leaders use, which is being aped by a good number of their cadres, we should adopt an attitude of patience, reason and fraternity.

"The rival party leaders have elevated slander against our Party leaders and character assassination almost to the level of tactics. In some states they have declared the CPI as a reactionary party and have given a call for its total annihilation. They have declared that their main task is to fight out the CPI. Unless we clearly understand the politics and philosophy behind their tactics we will fall into the trap. They want to create and maintain a permanent tension between their ranks and our membership. If there is no such tension and if their members are allowed to think coolly and in a dispassionate manner, the rival party leaders fear that they cannot retain even those who have temporarily gone with them. We must be patient in explaining to their ranks and try for united actions on all people's issues and other political campaigns. Such a fraternal attitude will help their ranks and the people following that party to understand whose policies are correct and are helping the movement.

"Only world events and experience of the movement will show what is right and what is wrong. Arguments and a correct approach will help the Party members, cadres and even some leaders to understand the lessons of the movement and change their mind."

At the same time, side by side and integrated with the above, the Party Congress resolution stressed the need for firm and principled ideological and political struggle in the following words:

"This does not mean that we will not fight their wrong and harm-

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*New Age, New Delhi, August 1, 1965

ful ideological and political understanding or their disruption of mass movements. We will fight their disruptive activities in every sphere, consistently and concretely, of course, in a patient and fraternal way. This attitude alone will help us to make them see how their ideological, political and organizational positions are wrong and harmful."

The Party Congress resolution outlined an integrated four-point policy, the elements of which are the following:

1. Attitude of patience, reason and fraternity and maximum efforts for joint action on common issues;

2. Firm principled ideological-political struggle;

3. Firm rebuff to their splitting activities on the TU front and fight for preserving unity of mass organization;

4. Work positively to build up and extend mass movements and unity of the democratic forces in practice.

LESSONS OF KERALA, CALCUTTA AND AHMEDABAD

Six months have passed since the Bombay Party Congress. During this period important developments have taken place. It is necessary to review these developments and draw the necessary lessons from them in order to further enrich and carry forward the basic directives laid down by the Bombay Congress.

The first big political test in real life of the correctness or otherwise of our Party's political policy on the one hand and that of the rival party on the other came barely three months after the Bombay Congress with the Kerala elections and the corporation elections in Calcutta and Ahmedabad.

Our Party pursued the basic electoral line laid down by the Bombay Congress that we could fight the Congress government effectively and replace it by a progressive government only if the CPI and the rival Communist Party stand firmly together and forge unity of all the left democratic parties on the basis of a principled program that will expose and fight not only the anti-people policies of the Congress but also at the same time, the right reactionary and communal forces as well.

This policy could be implemented in the case of both the Ahmedabad and Calcutta corporation elections (though in the latter case there were some obstacles in some places coming from disruptive elements belonging to the rival party). In both these cases, the actual results clearly show the correctness and effectiveness of our policy.

In the case of the Ahmedabad Corporation (which has remained the fortress of Congress rule till now) the left and democratic forces could successfully rout the Congress as well as the Jana Sangh,

Swatantra, etc., and bring into power a left progressive rule in its place.

In the case of the Calcutta Corporation, the left and the democratic forces could make considerable advance and almost come to the point of toppling the Congress majority.

A sharp contrast with the experience of Ahmedabad and Calcutta was the experience of Kerala. In the case of Kerala, Comrade EMS rejected the policy suggested by us and put into practice the electoral policy of the rival party of uniting with anybody and everybody to beat the Congress and of treating our Party as an enemy. The election results in Kerala have shown the error of this policy as a means of fighting the Congress effectively.

The National Council meeting of April 1965 underlines the above lessons for the left and democratic movement of our country.

"The fight against Congress monopoly of power, the fight against the anti-people policies of the Congress, cannot be effectively conducted unless we simultaneously meet and defeat the challenge of reactionary and communal forces. The Kerala experience has once again underlined this elementary lesson for all the left democratic forces."

At the same time, the National Council made self-criticism of our own mistakes in the case of the Kerala elections — the mistake of losing our bearings in the situation that followed after Comrade EMS had broken the Left United Front, of departing from the perspective laid down in the Bombay Congress resolution, of falling a prey to the provocations of the rival party and switch over to a mood of counter-retaliation.

Our Party did its share of self-criticism drawing from the lessons of Kerala, Ahmedabad and Calcutta. But while these experiences have no doubt had an impact on the rank and file of the rival party and contributed to rethinking on their part, their top leadership in Kerala stuck firmly to its old erroneous policies.

The Kerala State Committee of the rival party under the leadership of Comrade EMS (who is also at present General Secretary of that party) in its resolution on "Kerala elections and post-election situation," while stating that joint agitation and work is possible on such issues as release of detenus, scrapping of the DIR etc., states categorically:

"But it must be made clear that it would be impossible to forge unity with the Right Communists in the political field, including that of elections, as long as they do not discard the attitude of displaying more antagonism to the enemies of the Congress than to the Congress, and continue to stand by their sectarian position, i.e., opposition to minutely study (and make use of) the contradictions in the enemy camp in order to strengthen the position of the working-class."

In the context of the phrase "making use of contradictions in the enemy camp," against the background of the policy pursued by EMS in Kerala elections the reference to "enemies of Congress" obviously can only mean the right reactionary and communal parties like the Muslim League, Jana Sangh and Swatantra Parties.

In fact, the top rival party leadership in Andhra is approaching the Swatantra Party for an electoral alliance against Congress; in some places, it is even allying itself with the most reactionary groups inside the Congress, for example, the group of the notorious landlord, the Raja of Challapalli.

Under the false charge against the CPI that it is displaying more antagonism to the enemies of the Congress than to the Congress, the leaders of the rival party are hiding their own line of "uniting with the devil to beat the Congress," i.e., uniting with reactionary parties like the Muslim League, Jan Sangh, Swatantra, etc.

In fact, a theoretical justification for this policy has been worked out by EMS in his pamphlet "Revisionism and Dogmatism in the CPI" in the following words:

"Every single political party and group in the country is guided by the ideology of the national bourgeoisie . . ." and "the dual character of the bourgeoisie — its class interests, as well as their reflection in the ideological field — therefore, become the common trait of all political parties including the most reactionary among them." (p. 104 of EMS book.)

This means that there is nothing to choose between the Congress and the other reactionary parties. All are bourgeois parties, and since the Congress, in addition is the ruling party, we can unite with extreme reactionary and communal parties in the name of "utilizing the contradictions in the enemy camp."

The political line which the leadership of the rival party is today putting forward vis-a-vis Congress is one which was rejected as long back as 1956 at the Palghat Congress when the Party was united. Its rejection was emphasized once again unanimously at the Vijayawada Congress in 1961. Why are the leaders of the rival party resurrecting this line now?

From this basically wrong understanding of the Indian situation the leadership of the rival party falsely attacks the CPI "that it wants a general united front with the Congress," "that it seeks a coalition government, with one section of the Congress," that it "sacrifices the working class to the leadership of the bourgeoisie" etc., when the real political position of our Party is that it is fighting for the unity of all progressive forces, including those inside the Congress, against the imperialists and the reactionary forces both inside and outside the Congress, in order to replace the present bourgeois state by a national democratic state that will prepare the ground for a rapid transition to socialism.

The Program adopted by the Bombay Party Congress clearly puts the issue of working-class leadership in relation to national democracy.

The correctness of our Party's policy in fact stands out even sharper today than ever before in the context of the dangerous political situation brought about by American aggression in Vietnam, intensification of imperialist neo-colonial pressure on India and intensification of the offensive of right reaction both inside and outside the Congress.

In such a situation, the policy of the rival party leadership can only bring grist to the mill of imperialism and the worst reaction inside the country, however much they may talk in words about proletarian leadership and people's democracy.

Unless a steadfast and patient political-ideological and practical struggle is carried on by us continuously against the policy in such a manner as to carry conviction step by step to the rank and file of the rival party, the cause of democratic unity cannot be carried forward.

NEW SITUATION: REACTION'S OFFENSIVE

The period following the Bombay Congress has been marked by the following features:

—American aggression in Vietnam and imperialist policy of war escalation;

—Increased Anglo-American neo-colonialist pressure against India;

—Increased consolidation and offensive of the right reactionary forces inside the country;

—Growing vacillations and weaknesses of government policies;

—Increased drive by the Congress government against democratic rights and parliamentary democracy and use of the DIR and emergency powers in a lawless manner against the democratic movement.

This whole situation was analyzed in detail at the National Council meeting of April 1965. We came to the conclusion that among the factors responsible for this deterioration in the political situation one of the most important is the disunity and disarray among the left democratic forces in the country, including the split in the CPI — a factor to which the Bombay Congress resolution had already drawn attention.

Taking this into consideration, the political resolution passed by the National Council posed the urgent task of "uniting the democratic forces to fight both the anti-people policies of the Congress rulers and the right reactionary forces' efforts to subvert the basic policies and bring about a shift to the right."

The resolution rightly warned that "in carrying out this urgent task, the democratic movement needs to be on guard against any unprincipled compromise or alliance with reactionary parties in the name of fighting Congress rule. Such a course only offers opportunities for reaction to strengthen its position."

The National Council resolution gave a significant call for joint action and united mobilization:

—For solidarity and support to Vietnam and against American aggression and machinations;

—Against DIR, for democratic rights and liberties, for the release of all detenus;

—In defense of the economic policies and rights of the working people.

Vis-a-vis our Party and the rival party, the Bombay Congress had stressed the importance of such joint actions as necessary steps to bring together gradually and steadily, step by step, the rank and file of both parties and thus advance towards the ultimate objective of healing the split in the Communist movement. In the new deteriorating political situation following the Congress, such actions become especially important to fight the anti-people policies of the Congress governments and the growing offensive of imperialism and reaction.

That is why our Party took the initiative to approach the rival party leadership and set in motion joint actions. We did this both on an all-India plane and in the states.

An analysis of our experience during the last three months in regard to the limited joint actions we were able to achieve in some states shows that despite our best efforts the hard core of the leadership of the rival party either does not want such joint actions at all or, while formally agreeing to it, utilizes even such actions to vilify and slander our Party, spread confusion and push through their dogmatic and sectarian slogans.

In Kerala, in several places, the leadership of the rival party, while formally agreeing to a joint release campaign, in practice sabotaged proper mobilization or worked to keep their ranks out of it.

Similarly EMS himself refused to join a united mobilization to condemn American aggression in Vietnam and Pakistan aggression against India, a mobilization which included some Congressmen also. The main reason EMS gave was the absence of the demand for release among the slogans of the mobilization. EMS very well knew that this particular slogan would not fit into the scope of that particular demonstration and that a joint demonstration to condemn American aggression against Vietnam with the participation of Congressmen was a very big step forward for the democratic movement in that particular situation.

In the case of the Calcutta Youth Festival, while formally agreeing to stand united with us, the rival party leaders utilized the occasion for the narrow sectarian maneuvers of their party and to turn the platform of the Youth Festival into their party platform.

Throughout this period, even while such joint release campaigns were being attempted by our Party, the rival party organs (Telugu, Bengali, Malayalam, etc.) continued their slander and vilification campaign against us, singling out "revisionism" as the main enemy to be fought and forgetting imperialism, the Congress government and the right reaction in the process.

A line of failing to concentrate on the main enemy in the course of joint actions (even while continuing the political-ideological debate in a fraternal manner) and of turning your guns instead against your ally in the joint actions will not only disrupt that joint action, but will have the effect of strengthening the common enemy.

EXPERIENCE ON MASS FRONTS

On the TU front, our Party and the AITUC unions have taken the initiative during the last three months to prepare for big united struggles on the issues of wages, bonuses, DA, TU rights, etc. The Sangram Samiti movement has been extended and strengthened in West Bengal, Bihar, Andhra, Rajasthan, Karnatak. Initial victories have already been secured in certain states like Rajasthan and Karnatak.

On the issue of bonuses and against the shameful concessions given by the Congress government to the employers, a big round of united struggles is in the offing. The Rashtriya Sangram Samiti is meeting shortly to discuss all-India action.

The great one-day strike of two lakh textile works of Bombay against the Bonus Ordinance under our initiative has given an inspiring lead to the entire working class of the country to come out in action against the pro-monopoly policies of the Congress government.

The heroic united struggle of the textile workers of Amritsar in the border state of Punjab for reasonable minimum wages, led jointly by AITUC, INTUC, HMS and other unions in the teeth of the DIR and mass arrests and repression, went on for 53 days in a situation of Pakistani aggression and anti-communist propaganda that national security was being endangered.

These struggles are big successes for our mass line and demonstrate who is in practice leading and organizing the fight against the anti-people policies of the Congress government. The Punjab textile workers' struggle has in fact added a glorious chapter to the history of the Indian working-class movement itself.

Yet, at precisely such a time when more and more TU unity is

the prime need of the hour (if the vested interests are to be fought in deeds and not merely in words) we find the leaders of the rival party continuing with their policy of splitting the AITUC unions themselves and disrupting the joint struggles.

Similarly on the Kisan front also, the Kisan Sabhas have been split and rival organizations set up in the recent period in Punjab and Andhra.

POSITIVE PERSPECTIVE

It would however be wrong, on the basis of the negative experiences recounted above, to come to the conclusion that prospects and the necessity of joint fronts and united actions between our Party and the rival party are receding and diminishing. However hard and protracted the struggle against disruption may be, it must be remembered that:

a) The increased offensive of imperialism and the reactionary forces, the worsening economic crisis (food, prices, etc.), the continued attack on democratic rights, civil liberties etc., are all creating an objective situation in which the democratic forces have necessarily to come together for action if they are to avoid a serious set-back.

b) The broad masses of the people who are being adversely affected every day in respect of their economic conditions, living standards and democratic rights, feel frustrated and demoralized at the spectacle of disunity and disarray presented by the democratic and left forces in the country and the split in the Communist movement. Popular sentiment among the anti-Congress masses and the progressive forces is one of dismay at this disunity and of support to every effort made to heal this disunity.

c) In order to fight back the offensive of reaction and to strengthen the capacity of the democratic forces for effective and united mass movements, the unity in action of the pro-communist masses (that is, the masses who traditionally supported the CPI before the split and who are now divided or confused) must steadily be forged, but on common political and economic issues as well as in the mass organizations.

The four-point policy laid down by the Bombay Party Congress is precisely based on the self-confidence that unfolding developments in the political situation, national and international, will generate objective forces that weaken the grip of disruptive, sectarian and splitting activities in the mass movements and strengthen the forces of united action — provided of course that our Party discharges its own tasks consciously and correctly.

QUESTIONS OF IDEOLOGY, STRATEGY AND TACTICS

In some of his public statements Comrade EMS has stated that

the basic differences between our Party and his party do not relate to ideological issues, but concern entirely the attitude to be taken towards the Congress.

In an important article in the rival party's English weekly, *People's Democracy*, first issue dated June 27, 1965, the above point is emphasized once again in the following words:

"We do not also hold that differences on the ideological questions that are being discussed in the international Communist movement led to the disruption or constitute the stumbling block in the way of unity. Even today there is no unanimity of views on these issues among us who constitute the Communist Party of India. Nor do we think that despite formal resolutions, there is any such unanimity among the revisionists either.

"Still we of the CPI have been able to unitedly work out the strategy of the Indian Revolution and the day-to-day tactics of the Party."

It is amazing to find that a party that calls itself revolutionary and based on Marxism-Leninism should come forward and boldly declare that it is possible to work out the strategy and tactics of the Indian revolution, separately from, and irrespective of, the position one takes with regard to the ideological issues involved in the controversy within the world Communist movement.

It is well known that these ideological issues relate to the basic assessment of the world situation that has emerged after the Second World War and the changes which have occurred in this situation as a result of the War. Can any serious revolutionary hold that the strategy and tactics of the revolution of any country can be worked out without taking into consideration this new world situation?

In fact there is no Communist Party in the world which takes up such a position. Nor has the Indian Communist movement since its inception in 1925 ever taken up such a position.

Our Party has taken up a clear-cut position on these ideological issues, a position which corresponds to that accepted by the majority of the world Communist movement. The strategy and tactics we have worked out in the Program and the Political Resolution adopted at the Bombay Party Congress are intimately linked with the ideological positions we have accepted.

Similarly a close examination of the strategy and tactics worked out by the rival Party as well as their political policies on issues will reveal that their programmatic and tactical slogans are also linked with certain positions regarding the ideological issues before the world Communist movement.

Let us take a few examples as illustrations:

Our Program puts forward the concept of national democracy as the path for attaining socialism in India while the rival party's program puts forward the conception of people's democracy.

The leaders of the rival party distort our position and make out that we are repudiating working class leadership and accepting the leadership of the bourgeoisie. The difference between the programmatic concepts of national democracy and people's democracy does not lie in acceptance or rejection of working class leadership. In fact it lies in the conception of how to achieve working class leadership that opens out in the new world situation following the second world war.

Can it be denied that underlying the two programmatic concepts of people's democracy and national democracy lie two different concepts on the ideological issues that have arisen in the world Communist movement, concepts relating to the decisive role of the world socialist system and the forms of transition to socialism?

Take again the question of socialist aid to India. Can it be denied that two basically different evaluations of the role of socialist aid will follow from the two different ideological positions on issues before the world Communist movement?

Or take the question of the slogans of our Party and of the rival party regarding India and Pakistan. Can it be denied that different slogans will emerge from different ideological positions, one that takes its stand on the peace zone and need for strengthening the peace zone and the other that takes its stand on the theory of intermediate zones?

In trying to make out that positions on the ideological issues in the international Communist movement have nothing to do with the task of working out the strategy and tactics of the Indian revolution of evolving slogans on political issues, the leadership of the rival party is only trying to delude the ranks and cover up issues...

The truth therefore is that the differences between our Party and the rival party relate both to basic ideological issues of the world Communist movement and following from that and linked with that, questions of strategy and tactics of the Indian revolution. The cause of unity will not be furthered by hiding the above fact from the rank and file of both the parties or by distorting each other's basic positions.

POLITICAL DIFFERENTIATION IN RIVAL PARTY RANKS

While some of our negative experiences have been detailed above, there have been important positive developments too on the other side to note during the recent period.

The experience of the international events of the last six months following American aggression on Vietnam, the experiences following Pakistani aggression on India and Chinese support to Pakistan together with the impact of the developments inside India, have however helped to raise serious doubts and questions in the minds

of sections of the rival party regarding the policies of their leadership during this period.

As a result, a political differentiation has begun to take place inside that party between those who stick to the dogmatic positions of the leadership and those who disagree with these positions and are beginning to move away from them. Such political differentiation has been reported from several states.

Similarly a differentiation between pro-unity and anti-unity trends has also started crystallizing. Inside the rival party, there have been instances of those who sympathize with our efforts for united action and try to assert themselves against the rabid anti-unity elements who want to scuttle all united action.

It is learned that at the recent conference of the centrists in Calcutta a healthy pro-unity trend expressed itself. While the resolutions passed by the conference over-simplified the issue of unity, bypassed the basic political-ideological differences involved and contrary to facts reduced the whole matter to the question of S. A. Dange's chairmanship, yet the pro-unity sentiment underlying the conference discussions is one we should welcome.

It is significant that *Desh Hitaishi*, the Bengali weekly of the rival party leadership, has come out savagely attacking the resolutions of the centrists' conference, calling them "petty bourgeois" and repeating that the main enemy to be fought by "proletarian revolutionaries" is the "revisionism of the Dangeites" which "represents Indian capitalism."

CONCLUSIONS

Experience since the Bombay Congress thus fully confirms the validity of the four-point policy laid down by the Congress vis-a-vis the rival party.

But in the light of the new developments and our experience since the Party Congress (outlined above), our policy may concretely be further elaborated in the following manner:

1. We must press unceasingly and continue to take new initiatives for joint action on common issues, exposing and isolating the anti-unity trends and encouraging the pro-unity trends. In every case, however, care must be taken to see that the question is fully reported and discussed in our Party units and our Party ranks convinced about it since joint action cannot be furthered unless our Party ranks themselves move in a convinced and disciplined manner.

Our experience so far in regard to joint actions teaches us that the most important tactical line to follow for forging such joint action on common issues is the following: while we approach the rival party directly for joint action on issues, we should simultaneously also take the initiative to build such wider and broad-

based unity for action on these issues that the anti-unity trend inside the rival party gets isolated and the pro-unity trend gets strengthened.

Such a simultaneous dual approach — directly towards the rival party, as well as for a wider and more broad-based front — will help draw all the forces together into a common stream of the movement. This lesson has come to us from the experience of the several trade union actions as well as political movements like the Ahmedabad Corporation elections.

The Sangram Samiti experiences of Bombay, Ahmedabad, Kerala, etc., clearly show that to the extent our TU's were able to take the initiative and forge a common front for action with the Hind Mazdoor Panchayat, Mahagujerat organization, UTUC, etc., to that extent the rival party, too, was forced to come into the common front of action.

Our experience of the Amritsar textile struggle showed that our forging unity with the INTUC and HMS was mainly responsible for successfully isolating the anti-unity trend in the rival party and bringing their TU cadre too into the common struggle.

In the same way, one of the reasons why we were able to form joint fronts successfully with the rival party in the Ahmedabad and Calcutta corporation elections and isolate the anti-unity trend was that we had simultaneously taken the initiative to approach the other left parties for a joint electoral front and form a wider political front.

The above lesson must be properly learned and applied by us in the coming period both on the mass fronts and on the political front. Only if we learn to approach the problem of joint action from both ends simultaneously, that is, a direct approach as well as for wider unity, can we succeed in isolating and defeating, step by step, the hardened anti-unity trend inside the rival party leadership.

The problem of forging joint action with the rival party must therefore be seen as inseparably linked with the problem of forging wider democratic unity and not as one isolated from, or contrasted to it.

2. Even while conducting such joint actions our Party must continue the political-ideological debate from the separate platform and press but in a fraternal manner and avoiding unfriendly and degrading attacks.

We must realize that however much we from our side may desire unity, the road to unity will be hard and protracted. Here is a question of two separate parties based on two distinct understandings of the Indian situation and two programs, following from two distinct ideological positions — and both contending for the masses in the name of Marxism-Leninism and in the name of the Communist Party.

Unity can come only on the basis of principles, only on the basis of having arrived at common political-ideological positions. Unity cannot come on the basis of concessions on principles or by relaxing the political-ideological debate.

The purpose of this debate must be to help those who are breaking away from the positions of extreme dogmatism to come closer to us and to isolate the diehards. Direct personal contacts and discussions as well as group discussions must also be organized wherever possible.

At a time when experience is bringing a political differentiation among them, the political-ideological struggle conducted by us in a proper manner will help to speed up this differentiation.

The rival party leadership is intensifying its political-ideological activity. We claim the same right for our Party — but we shall not do it in the manner in which they do it. They use the methods of slander, abuse, attack — methods applicable to an enemy. We use the fraternal methods applicable to an ally in a common struggle against a common enemy.

3. We must open negotiations with the centrists and explore the maximum possibilities for united action with them. We must discuss political-ideological differences with them and find out what are the areas of agreement and disagreement. Such direct discussion can yield fruitful concrete results.

4. We must work out and implement a mass line on all fronts which will demonstrate to the masses that we are the best and most effective fighters in deeds (and not merely in words) against imperialism, right reaction and the anti-people policies of the Congress government.

By demonstrating in practice that our line alone can mobilize the widest masses for action on people's issues and political issues we can speed up the process of winning over others to our Party.

Energetic and planned steps must be taken by our Party to educate and unify our own ranks, from top to bottom, on the broad strategy and concrete tactics of this mass line which flows from our Party Program and policy resolutions, so that the great mass of our Party members and sympathizers may swing into confident action.

5. We must fight to preserve the unity of the TU's and other mass organizations and firmly rebuff all attempts to split this unity.

Where AITUC unions have already been split and rival unions created under the same name, borad and registration number (as in Kerala, Karnatak, Tamilnad, etc.) we must concentrate on exposing the splitters, strengthening and consolidating our union as the genuine AITUC union and winning over the members of the rival union into the AITUC union.

On the TU front the following general directives given by the

Central Secretariat in 1964 and approved of by the Party Congress must be followed:

i) We must lead trade union struggles boldly but in our own way without falling victim to adventurist provocations.

ii) When and where to strike or not to strike and how to settle disputes is now well-known to our Party members who have seen the AITUC line in action in these years. That line has proved successful and yielded good results and gains to the working class. In this we should not be sidetracked by the sectarian criticism or abuse.

iii) In the conduct of struggles, we should not refuse to cooperate with any section of TU leadership. We should not disrupt TU unity because of political differences even with the splitters. At the same time, we must pursue our line and convince the workers about its correctness.

iv) We must not however be blackmailed into following a wrong line of action or organizational set-up under the threat of a split in TU unity.

We should take all the issues to the membership and the masses and not keep issues within the narrow circle of executives only.

v) The Party fractions at the state levels should immediately tions in all TU organizations. While decisions on TU work must first be discussed and decided in the TU fractions, our decisions must not be imposed on the TU executive where non-party masses are members.

vi) The Party fractions at the state levels should immediately review the TU situation vis-a-vis the activities of the splitters and direct lower units to take concrete measures against disruption.

vii) Every factory or establishment must have Party fractions or groups to guide TU work of the Party among the workers.

viii) A vigorous drive to enrol new members from among workers should be undertaken through the TU fractions.

ix) Attention should be paid to the politicalization of the managing committee or executive members of unions; political activity of the leading TU cadres must be attended to with particular care.

x) Special attention should be given to work among those industries or trade unions which are not affiliated to the AITUC.

6. In the light of all the above, it is necessary to carry on a persistent campaign inside our Party to educate our ranks in the real spirit of the Bombay Congress decisions.

AGAINST INCREASED U.S. AGGRESSION IN VIETNAM

LETTER FROM THE NLFSV TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE*

Dear Friends,

The ruling circles of the USA, acting against the will of your people and the undertakings which Walter Bedell Smith solemnly gave on behalf of the U.S. government at the last sitting of the Geneva Conference on July 21, 1954, have begun in South Vietnam the most cruel war of aggression of today.

It is eleven years since the U.S. imperialists put the yoke of American neo-colonialism on the South Vietnamese people, who had thrown off the yoke of colonial rule. The defeated French expeditionary corps was succeeded by a U.S. expeditionary corps, leading to the restoration of the old colonial rule in South Vietnam.

The U.S. government has built numerous military bases on our soil. It has mustered a puppet army 600,000 strong and, in defiance of all the articles of the Geneva agreements of 1954, is openly waging a colonial war, which has already resulted in the killing of hundreds of thousands of our countrymen in the two parts of the country.

Nevertheless, the murderers in the White House and the Pentagon insist that they are "helping" the South Vietnamese authorities to "combat aggression and uphold freedom." How can anyone claim that the Vietnamese, who have risen to defend the independence and sovereignty of their country, are aggressors while the U.S. troops sent to South Vietnam, tens of thousands of miles away from the USA, to seize our territory, are "defending" the sovereignty and independence of the American people?

It is perfectly clear that the U.S. government ignores the will of the American people and the national sentiments of the Vietnamese people. Ever since last April, the Johnson government had demanded unconditional negotiations, and meanwhile the strength of the U.S. troops in South Vietnam has increased from 25,000 to 75,000. The U.S. government is planning a general mobilization of American youth to raise the strength of the U.S. expeditionary corps in South Vietnam to 150,000 or even 200,000. It has sent to South Vietnam more modern arms and other war supplies, includ-

*Signed by the Chairman of the Presidium, Central Committee of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. Published in **Nian Dan**, July 28, 1965.

ing missiles and strategic B52 bombers, and has used poison gas as a weapon.

It follows that President Johnson's talk about "peace" is mere camouflage for the stepping up of the war of aggression. It is a treacherous attempt to make the Vietnamese people lay down their arms and surrender, renouncing the defense of their national independence and sovereignty. Furthermore, the Johnson government, which is faced with serious difficulties that may lead to the complete defeat of the United States in its war of aggression in Vietnam, speculates on the American people's patriotism by demagogically declaring that the stay of U.S. troops in South Vietnam is a matter of "honor" for the American people.

Surely the honor of the American nation has nothing to do with the forcible seizure of the territory of another country or with the defense of the selfish interests of the worst warmongers in the USA. What *is* a matter of honor for the American people is to gain freedom for themselves and to respect the freedom of other nations. By waging a war of aggression in South Vietnam, the Johnson government has tarnished the honor of the American people, who have glorious chapters to their credit in the history of the great struggle for independence against the British colonialists' rule from 1775 to 1783. The U.S. imperialists' war of aggression has tarnished the honor of the country of Abraham Lincoln, John Brown and other Americans who fell fighting for the ideal of liberty.

Dear friends,

A popular movement has been growing in your country for three years. It has now become particularly vigorous and it rejoices our people and, undoubtedly, everyone else on the globe who cherishes freedom, justice and genuine peace. This movement reflects the true sentiment of the most diverse sections of your people, who uphold their vital interests, opposing the adventurous policy of aggression pursued by the U.S. government in Vietnam.

We will never forget the honest voice of the sixty-four American intellectuals who gave public warning to the Kennedy government as early as March 1962. That voice has been growing stronger from day to day, and has won the hearty approval of Vietnamese intellectuals in both South and North Vietnam.

We will always remember the resolute voices raised in protest by American religious organizations, the International Women's League for Peace and Freedom, youth organizations fighting against war and fascism, the Committee of the Students' May 2 Movement, etc.

We are heatened by the increasingly frequent and stormy meetings and demonstrations by various groups of Americans, such as the demonstrations on April 17 and May 21, in which tens of thous-

ands of people joined to protest against the American rulers' war of aggression in South Vietnam and the sabotage raids on North Vietnam by U.S. aircraft. We will always remember the selfless act of Helga Alice Hertz, who gave her life in protest against the violation of civil liberties and the suppression of other peoples.

These numerous actions show that the masters of the White House and the Pentagon, who are waging a war of aggression in our country, do not represent the American people. They are no more than a handful of traitors who have trampled the Declaration of Independence underfoot.

On behalf of the fourteen million inhabitants of South Vietnam, the Presidium of the CC, NLFSV expresses its gratitude to the American people, and solemnly pledges itself to go along with true American friends in this common struggle for peace, national independence and social progress.

In thanking the American people, we hope you will join us in the fight for the strict observance by the U.S. government of the undertakings it gave at the Geneva Conference in 1954, for the immediate discontinuance of the war of aggression in South Vietnam and of the raids on North Vietnam, and for the withdrawal of all American troops and war supplies from South Vietnam, so that the South Vietnamese people themselves can settle their affairs.

In thanking the American people, we hope you will take firm steps to prevent murderers from sending your sons and brothers to their deaths in the assassins' dirty interests, and will insist on bringing young Americans back to their country. We call on you to step up the struggle in every form, to explain to your countrymen the patriotic, just character of the liberation war which the people of South Vietnam are waging for national independence, peace and neutrality.

We trust the American people, being deeply aware of their responsibility for peace and friendship among the peoples, will realize the adventurous character of the war which the Johnson administration is waging and which may have disastrous consequences for them. We trust they will step up their fight for the immediate discontinuance of this brutal war of aggression.

We hail all American friends, particularly American fathers, mothers and young people, who are fighting successfully for the happy future of their people.

*STATEMENT BY THE DRV GOVERNMENT**

On July 28, 1965, President Johnson announced that the U.S. government had decided immediately to send another 50,000 U.S. troops, or more if necessary, to South Vietnam. At the same time

*Nhan Dan, August 3, 1965.

his government asked Congress to take other steps extending the aggression in Vietnam.

It was another exceedingly dangerous step by the U.S. imperialists to step up the war of aggression in South Vietnam and the air war against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. It aggravates the situation in Indochina and the rest of Southeast Asia.

Lately the U.S. imperialists have resorted to escalation, hoping to stave off defeat, get out of a difficult situation and prevent disintegration of South Vietnam's puppet government and army. In the four months since Johnson's Baltimore speech the U.S. government has raised the strength of its troops in South Vietnam from 30,000 to 130,000. As for the DRV, it is carrying out air raids on a growing scale over increasingly large areas, including vast, densely-populated ones.

But the liberation forces and the people of South Vietnam are dealing the aggressors one heavy blow after another even where the aggressors think they are safe. In North Vietnam, the "escalating" Americans are being countered with growing force. More than 400 U.S. aircraft have been downed to date. World opinion, including American opinion, is protesting more and more vigorously against the U.S. aggression. The peoples of all countries are stepping up their support of the Vietnamese people.

To mislead the American people and world opinion and justify the dispatch of U.S. troops to Vietnam for intensified aggression, President Johnson uses high-sounding words like "peace," "freedom" and "justice." He speaks of "unconditional negotiations" again and again, saying that he is willing to go over from the battlefield to the conference table. But his hypocritical talk cannot conceal or misrepresent the facts.

In reality, the U.S. government has torpedoed the Geneva agreements of 1954 on Vietnam. It flouts international law, continually interferes in the internal affairs of the Vietnamese people, sends U.S. troops against the South Vietnamese people, bombs and shells DRV territory, and has gone as far as to state flatly that it will not leave Vietnam.

Everyone knows that the U.S. government is waging a war of aggression in Vietnam. It talks of "peace" and "negotiations" to conceal its plan for increased aggression in Vietnam. It intends to perpetuate the division of Vietnam, to seize South Vietnam and turn it into a new type of American colony and a military base for attack on the DRV, to endanger peace in Asia and the world.

The Vietnamese people love peace, but peace is inseparable from national independence. They realize that genuine peace can be achieved if national independence has been guaranteed, and that to fight for national independence means fighting for peace.

The Vietnamese people will not stand for the U.S. aggressor in-

fringing peace and flouting the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of their country.

The government of the DRV emphatically protests against the dispatch of large troop reinforcements to South Vietnam by the U.S. government with the aim of intensifying its aggression and escalating the war in Vietnam, which is a most serious encroachment on the national rights of the Vietnamese people and creates a highly dangerous situation in Indochina and the rest of Southeast Asia. The DRV government again exposes the U.S. authorities' deceitful talk of "negotiations without any strings attached," which is, in effect, meant to disguise the U.S. imperialists' insidious plan to force the Vietnamese people into surrendering to the U.S. policy of aggression.

The government of the DRV solemnly declares that there is one Vietnam and one Vietnamese people and since the U.S. imperialists are engaged in aggression against Vietnam, it is the duty of every Vietnamese to fight against the U.S. imperialists, for national salvation. This is a sacred and inalienable right of the Vietnamese people. All the Vietnamese people are fighting staunchly and as one man in the forefront of the struggle of the peoples of the world against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism, for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress. Should the U.S. imperialists send as many as 100,000 or 200,000, or even more American troops to Vietnam, and should the fight go on for ten, twenty or more years, the Vietnamese people are resolved to fight to final victory. They are ready to fight and to make sacrifices for their freedom and independence, for the freedom and independence of all the peoples, for world peace.

As President Johnson speaks of an "honorable peace," we must recall that during the past eleven years the government of the DRV has repeatedly put forward reasonable proposals for a peaceful settlement in Vietnam on the basis of the Geneva agreements of 1954. On April 8, last, it clarified its position further by advancing a proposal of four points as a basis for the most reasonable political settlement of the Vietnamese problem. Its position and the statement made by the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam (NLFSV) on March 22, 1965, brought warm approval and support from many governments and peoples of the world.

There is only one way to an "honorable peace" for the U.S. government. It lies through strict adherence to the Geneva agreements of 1954 and through acceptance of the four-point proposal of the DRV government. The U.S. government must immediately stop its air war against the DRV and all encroachments on the sovereignty and security of the DRV. It must immediately end its war of aggression in South Vietnam and withdraw all American troops and arms from there, so that the South Vietnamese people can them-

selves decide their affairs according to the program of the NLFSV, the only true representative of the South Vietnamese people. There is no other way, nor is U.N. interference in Vietnamese affairs permissible.

The government of the DRV calls on all the socialist countries to fight with still greater determination and vigor against the U.S. war of aggression in Vietnam, and to increase their all-round support for an assistance to the Vietnamese people's just struggle, in keeping with their sacred obligation toward a fraternal socialist country and in the name of true proletarian international solidarity.

The government of the DRV calls on all governments in Asia and Africa in the name of peace, national independence and solidarity to denounce the U.S. imperialists' war of aggression in Vietnam and to expose their deceitful talk about "peace." It appeals to them in the name of peace and justice to give active support to the Vietnamese people's fight against U.S. aggression, for national salvation, and resolutely to combat the U.S. imperialists' policy of aggression and war.

The government of the DRV calls on all the peoples, mass organizations and progressive men and women of the world to support the Vietnamese people's patriotic struggle with still greater energy and resolve, and to use every form and method that is likely to prove effective in staying the U.S. imperialists' blood-stained hand in Vietnam and in making them respect the national rights of the Vietnamese people recognized by the Geneva agreements of 1954.

The government of the DRV calls on the American people to fight with determination for the true honor of the United States and to insist on the U.S. government immediately halting its war of aggression in Vietnam. It calls on them to do all in their power to prevent the dispatch to Vietnam of young Americans as cannon fodder in the selfish interests of U.S. magnates and militarists.

The more the U.S. imperialists intensify and expand the war, the worse and more humiliating their defeat will be. Solid in their unity and firm in their resolve to fight to the finish, the Vietnamese people are certain that, with the warm sympathy and firm support of the socialist countries and friends from the five continents, they will achieve a glorious victory.

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FIDEL CASTRO

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RAISING THE STANDARD OF LIVING*

In building socialist society, the Bulgarian Communist Party has always been prompted by the desire to raise the people's standard of living, to provide real opportunities of meeting the growing requirements of the people more and more fully. Our achievements speak of the advantages of the socialist system, which quickens the growth of the productive forces and guarantees an equitable distribution of benefits and a high standard of living.

The Party has been steadfastly carrying out the policy formulated by the April Plenum of the Central Committee (1956.—Ed.) and the Eighth Party Congress. This policy is aimed at developing the productive forces, industrializing the country and advancing the economy as a whole at a high rate. It is being implemented in the atmosphere of expanding international socialist cooperation with the fraternal aid of the Soviet Union, on the basis of scientific and technological progress. Only through this policy and on this material base can the people's standard of living be improved.

Ever since the April Plenum heavy industry has been developing rapidly in our country. We have been tapping sizeable raw-material resources and laying the groundwork for modern engineering.

The Party and Government allocate large funds for the development of the iron and steel, non-ferrous metals, power and chemical industries. We are building the Kremikovtsi iron and steel mill, the Maritsa Iztok thermal power station and other large plants. This year we will produce 10,000 million kwh. of electric power, almost 600,000 tons of steel, and large quantities of non-ferrous metals, machinery and other equipment.

Agriculture keeps pace with industrial development. It applies machinery and scientific achievements on an increasing scale, becoming a more and more intensive type of farming.

The national economy is making rapid progress. In 1964 industrial output was three times greater than in 1956 and 19 times greater than in 1939. Agricultural output as a whole was double the pre-war amount, and showed an increase of 62.3 percent over 1956. Its rate of growth during the past eight or nine years has been high and compares favorably with the world's highest.

GROWTH OF THE NATIONAL INCOME AND PERSONAL INCOMES

The national income is the main source on which we draw to

*Abridged from supplement No. 193 to **Rabotnichesko Delo**, July 12, 1965.

meet the growing material and cultural requirements of the population.

Thanks to progress in industry, agriculture and other spheres of material production, and to the planned use of material and manpower resources, which is the object of the Party's economic policy, the national income has been growing at a high rate.

NATIONAL INCOME

(Million leva, current prices)

1952	1956	1960	1964	1965
2,581	2,745	4,489	6,201	5,500

Compared with 1948, the national income increased by 260 percent in 1964, or by 210 percent per capita. The average annual rate of its growth during that period was 8.3 percent. It was particularly high — 11.6 percent — during the Third Five-Year Plan period due to the people's initiative and effort. Under the Fourth Five-Year Plan (1961-65), it has been lower, averaging 6.7 percent a year. In absolute terms, each percent in these years has amounted to 50.9 m. leva, whereas in the previous five years it amounted to 35.9 m. leva.

The nation's standard of living depends both on the national income's volume and the way it is distributed. Under socialism the national income is wholly used in the interest of the people. That part of it used for consumption is distributed according to the quantity and quality of the labor contributed. Allocations to the accumulation fund provide conditions for meeting the people's requirements more fully in the near future.

After the April Plenum we established a proper ratio between the accumulation and consumption funds, namely, 25:75. Before the Plenum, the drop in the accumulation fund led to a serious lag in a number of economic spheres and caused unemployment. To remedy the situation, the Party launched a far-reaching constructive program. It hastened industrialization and took steps to expand production.

It was right to assign adequate means for the more rapid growth of the productive forces, the expansion and retooling of production facilities, and the utilization of scientific and technological achievements were indispensable if we wanted to catch up with the industrially developed countries. This measure was necessitated by the objective laws of our economic advance.

The Party's economic policy made it possible to provide numerous new jobs outside agriculture, rapidly to augment fixed capital in the economy, and pave the way for a substantial uptrend in labor productivity. Investment in fixed assets has doubled in recent years. Investments in agriculture have gone up noticeably, leading to an

almost double increase in fixed capital in the Fourth Five-Year Plan period (per worker).

There is a tangible improvement in the use of manpower resources, which is important for raising the standard of living. In 1964 there were 2,081,000 factory and office workers engaged in the national economy — an increase of almost 820,000 over 1961. Industry as a whole employed over 887,000, the building industry 209,000, transport and communications 177,000 and trade 192,000. Women account for approximately 39 percent of the labor force. Mechanization and increased productivity of agricultural labor have enable part of the agricultural labor force shift to other branches.

Thus the situation is favorable for increasing the national income by providing more jobs and increasing the proportion of those employed in non-agricultural spheres, which are better equipped with the basic means of production, as well as by ensuring greater employment for those engaged in agriculture and by steadily raising labor productivity in both industry and agriculture.

The result is that since the April Plenum the Party and the Government have been able to allocate large sums for economic development and improvements in the standard of living. Consumption funds have been growing fast, with rates of growth averaging about 7.5 percent a year between 1957 and 1964.

The net annual income per capita was 318 leva in 1956, 459 leva in 1960 and 574 leva in 1963. Its overall growth is close on 80 percent. This substantial increase is evidence of a sound economy and is a material expression of the Party's effort to improve the standard of living.

Personal incomes have been growing in both town and country. Since the April Plenum the incomes of the rural population have been growing faster, whereas previously they had lagged due to unwarrantedly low purchase prices for farm lagged due to unwarrantedly low purchase prices for farm produce and inadequate investments.

NOMINAL AND REAL INCOMES

(a) Factory Workers, Office Employees, and Peasants (1956=100)

	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963
Factory workers, employees and cooperative handicraftsmen							
Nominal incomes	106.3	108.9	117.3	132.9	141.1	147.2	152.6

Real incomes	106.3	105.1	114.3	127	132.4	133	134.1
Peasants							
Nominal incomes	118.2	141.8	157.5	158.2	164.7	196.7	223.6
Real incomes	119.4	141.9	160.5	159.6	160.7	180.7	202.5

(b) Workers and Peasants
(1952 = 100)

	1956	1960	1963
Peasants	150.8	191.6	202.4
Workers	106.8	171.2	216.1

The annual growth of real incomes during this period averaged 7.5 percent for the entire population.

Wages and salaries are the main source of income. In 1964 they averaged 1,076 leva as against 939 leva in 1960 and 778 leva in 1956. In recent years they have been thoroughly revised and the policy of fixing them has been directly linked with the requirements of economic development. New pay rates have been established for different categories. The pay of certain categories of low-paid factory and office workers, as well as of teachers, doctors, engineers and technologists has been substantially increased. Important structural changes have occurred, and the proportion of low-paid workers has decreased. Further rises in average pay are envisaged this year, when it is expected to reach 1,099 annually.

There were no increases in low pay before the April Plenum. Retail price cuts benefited the high-income categories and, to a lesser degree, the low-income families, whose proportion was considerable. The policy pursued by the Party since the April Plenum with a view to raising low wages and salaries and eventually reducing prices has made possible a more equitable distribution of incomes and raised the standard of living.

Growing wages and salaries are not the only factor in improving the living standard. The welfare of the family depends on the number of breadwinners, various additional incomes and, needless to say, the number of its members. The average Bulgarian factory or office worker's family averages 3.5 members. Most families have two breadwinners. In recent years the ratio of workers and non-workers has changed in favor of the former. Today the family has an average of one non-worker to each worker, which means that its income is higher now.

The Central Statistical Board has been recording the incomes of a certain number of factory and office workers' families. The data it has collected essentially reflect the situation throughout the country.

TOTAL INCOME PER FAMILY AND PER PERSON (IN LEVA)

	1956	1960	1963	1964
Factory Workers				
Family Income	1,432	1,852	2,022	2,057
Income per person	409	545	552	567
Office workers*				
Family income	1,699	2,208	2,150	2,205
Income per person	466	594	637	658

It has been said that during the past eight or nine years the incomes of the peasant population have been growing at a particularly high rate.

Between 1953 and 1956 the peasants' real incomes were low and hardly changed (the average annual growth was 1.6 percent). The prices of many agricultural products were far below production costs and did not stimulate production. This affected the entire economy and the incomes of the greater part of the population.

In the years 1957 to 1963 important measures were taken to advance agriculture including higher purchase prices for certain products and the restoration of material incentives. As a result of these measures, and also due to the rapid growth of output, the peasants' incomes during this period more than doubled, going up by an average of 10.8 percent a year.

In 1963 the net annual income per person in agriculture was 572 leva against 256 in 1958. The incomes of factory and office workers, on the one hand, and those of the cooperative peasants, on the other, are drawing closer together, with incomes in both rising.

These are all results of the measures taken by the Party and the Government to strengthen the material and technical base of agriculture and improve the organization of agricultural labor.

Data on the incomes of the peasant families surveyed show that they derive their incomes chiefly from collective farming. However part of them they derive from their personal plots. This shows that the policy of the Party, aimed at promoting collective farming and at the same time helping peasants to cultivate their personal plots, makes for increased output and affords higher incomes to the cooperative peasants.

This year the Party and the Government are adopting certain measures to increase the working people's incomes. They are linked primarily with fulfilment of the national economic plan. Besides, over 50 m. leva was appropriated in the first five months of this year to strengthen the economy, increase the incomes of the rural population in the mountainous and foothill areas, encourage the

*Government employees; engineers; technologists; doctors; teachers; et.

growing of early tomatoes, cotton and rice, and stabilize the labor force in the building industry.

INCREASING CONSUMPTION

The growing incomes and purchasing power of the population have been accompanied by the growth of commodity stocks and the service industry, resulting in increasing popular consumption.

In 1964 retail trade amounted to 3,350 m. leva, having increased by more than 250 percent over 1950 and doubled in comparison with 1956. Retail trade per capita went up from 200 leva in 1956 to 411 leva in 1964. During the last eight years it has been growing at an average of 10.4 percent a year — a rate attained by few countries.

PER CAPITA CONSUMPTION

	1952	1963	Percent of increase
Rice (kg)	1.7	3.9	229
Meat and meat products (kg)	21.3	34.0	162
Vegetable oils and animal fats (kg)	9.3	15.4	166
Milk and dairy products (kg)	80.2	90.5	113
Eggs	68	98	144
Sugar and confectionery (kg)	6.5	19.8	305
Fresh and canned fruit (kg)	91.8	132.3	144
Cotton fabrics (meters)	11.7	26.4	266
Woollen fabrics (meters)	1.3	2.2	169

Increased incomes have brought important progressive changes into the pattern of consumption. The population is spending more and more on durables — clothing and household goods — as well as for cultural and social purposes. In the family budgets under survey, the proportion of expenditures on food dropped from 50 percent in 1956 to 43 percent in 1964.

These favorable changes have taken place in every social group, and are particularly marked in the case of the rural population, which is due to the rapid growth of its incomes. Despite the relative drop in spending on food, overall spending is on the rise and the variety of the foodstuffs consumed has improved. There is a noticeable increase in consumption of high-calory foodstuffs. Today our people eat much better than ever before.

The personal incomes of the population enable it gradually to bring into the home TV sets, refrigerators, vacuum cleaners, washing machines, musical instruments, modern furniture. The number

of private cars is growing fast. Some 50,000 refrigerators will be sold this year. Every fifth family has a washing machine. During the last five years alone the population has bought 2,300,000 watches and clocks. The number of private cars exceeds 40,000 and of cycles, 170,000. Characteristically, these commodities are rapidly becoming common items in the countryside. One-third of the radio sets, washing machines, watches and clocks, and almost half of the electric ranges and motor cycles have been sold in the countryside.

The state has an adequate supply of foodstuffs and manufactured goods, and is striving to meet demands for building materials and certain fabrics and household appliances. With regard to most commodities, it is fair to say that the market is relatively well supplied with them.

An important means of expanding sales and meeting the higher requirements of today is to raise the quality and extend the variety of goods. This applies, first of all, to manufactured goods but is also true of foodstuffs. Our goods should be more varied and have a higher consumer value — they should be more attractive, dependable and convenient to satisfy the most exacting customer.

In recent years we have raised the purchase prices of vegetables, fruit, and above all animal products. This was an economically sound measure, aimed at providing greater incentives to increase output of animal products, vegetables and fruit. But it was somewhat overdone, particularly in respect of fruit and vegetables. The Party and the Government are following a policy of stabilizing prices, striving to eliminate unwarranted increases and to ensure that the consumer's interests are not prejudiced. As a result, the average level of state retail prices for foodstuffs and manufactured goods has tended to remain unchanged during the last two years. To reduce the prices of certain commodities, mostly knitted goods, but also vegetables and fruit, the state this year has collected over 16 m. leva.

RETAIL PRICE INDEX
(1952=100)

	1956	1960	1963	1964
All commodities	71.6	70.7	75.3	75.5
Foodstuffs	75.6	77.8	86.5	86.8
Manufactured goods	67.6	64.4	66	66.2

This table shows that the average price level of manufactured goods is unchanged as compared with 1956. The rise in the general price level of foodstuffs — by an average of roughly 10 percent — is due mainly to increased purchase prices of animal products, fruit and vegetables. But this is compensated for by growing wages and

salaries, which during this period have gone up by 38 percent, and by greater incomes in the case of the cooperative peasants, whose incomes have more than doubled.

The steady development of the service industry has a beneficial effect on the standard of living. Over 11,000 sewing and other shops and departments have been opened, and more than 100 new major personal service establishments have gone into operation.

Private consumption of electricity has been growing fast and has reached 986 million kwh. a year. Electricity is comparatively cheap. As a consumer of electricity, Bulgaria has far outpaced its neighbors and compares with a number of highly developed countries. By the end of 1964 only a small proportion of homes still lacked electricity, namely, 1.8 percent of the workers' flats, 0.4 percent of the office employee's flats and 4.8 percent of the peasant homes.

Housing construction is another indicator of the standard of living. In recent years it has been going on at the rate of 23,000 flats annually — at state or private expense. Housing is being rapidly renovated and the appearance of our villages is changing radically. Altogether 645,000 modern homes have been built in the countryside under people's rule. At the moment housing shortage is more marked in the big cities and industrial centers owing to their rapid growth. This calls for more extensive and rapid construction by industrial methods.

In 1939 the industrial workers in our country spent an average of 13.4 percent of his wages on rent. By now this percentage has dropped to 2.1.

PUBLIC CONSUMPTION FUNDS

Public consumption funds are gaining in importance as a welfare factor. They are used to meet, not just the requirements of individuals, but those of the whole people. They have become part of our socialist reality.

Public consumption funds increased almost fourfold between 1952 and 1964. This year they amount to 1,272 m. leva, or one-sixth of the national income. This is a considerable amount and it benefits every individual and every family, considerably increasing their incomes.

We may cite as an example pensioning, a major achievement exemplifying the solution of a social problem on democratic people.

Pension age in Bulgaria is much lower than in the United States, Canada, West Germany, Switzerland, Finland, Norway and some other capitalist countries. In the case of the low-paid categories, the amount of the pension comes close to the pay they received before going on pension. Pension legislation was substantially amended in 1956 to put up small pensions and abolish taxes on

them. The 1957 law on pensions raised them further, reduced the length of service and provided more favorable conditions for receiving a pension.

Appropriations for the social insurance fund of the factory and office workers are not deduced from their pay but are contributed by the state alone.

The annual pension of the factory or office worker today averages 476 leva as against 212 leva in 1952, and the total number of pensioners (exclusive of peasants) is 479,000.

Since early 1957 the right to receive a pension has been granted to all the cooperative peasants over 55 years of age in the case of women and 60 in the case of men with whom farming has been the main occupation for 25 years. Cooperative peasants receive their full pension even when they continue to work in agriculture. Their pensioning fund is gradually increasing, improving conditions for the payment of pensions and making it possible to increase their amount. Those cooperative members who have fully paid their dues and have worked in a cooperative for 20 years are entitled to a monthly pension of up to 40 leva.

The problem of pensions for the members of producers' cooperatives and for handicraftsmen working by themselves has also been settled. As a result, pensioning extends to the entire population.

Medical aid is free for all. This is one of the greatest achievements since September 9. Our people have received free medical care for fifteen years now. The number of doctors and trained medical personnel is growing and so is that of medical institutions.

The state spends about 150 m. leva a year on public health. It does much to control diseases, reduce the death rate and increase life expectancy. For the proportion of doctors, lower death rate and certain other indicators, Bulgaria is ahead of Britain, France, Belgium, West Germany and Austria. Life expectancy averages 68 years for men and 71 for women, and is up to the standard of the most developed countries. These data are evidence of our people's rising standard of living.

The people's standard of living depends in large measure on progress in education and culture. This year we are introducing compulsory eight-year education for children under 17 years of age. Bulgaria holds one of the foremost places in the world for the number of its students, which is 82,000 out of a population of 8 million. One in every five Bulgarians is studying.

The proportion of skilled personnel is growing in every sphere of our social, economic and cultural life. The state appropriates huge funds for the maintenance of schools. Education is gratuitous. About 23,000 students receive state stipends, many receive scholarships from factories or agricultural cooperatives. About 126,000 factory workers, office employees and cooperative peasants receive

an education in their off hours. Skilled personnel and educated people generally are our greatest national asset.

The theatre, cinema and radio have become widespread. Substantial sums are allocated every year for cultural needs. We have a vast network of libraries, houses of culture, clubs and other material facilities for promoting the cultural standards of the population and amateur arts.

Speaking of public consumption funds, it is opportune to point out that the population is afforded facilities for rest and recreation and for maternity protection. This year 650,000 factory workers, peasants, office employees, students and school children will spend from two to three weeks in holiday homes and other health resorts. Factory and office workers pay less than half of the cost of their holiday accommodations in these centers, the rest being covered by the state or by voluntary organizations. Last year upwards of 280,000 children were cared for in nurseries and kindergartens. Low-income families pay only a small proportion of the maintenance of their children in children's institutions.

A sizeable proportion of the population—about 900,000—was served cheap and nourishing meals in factory and office canteens, and others used public kitchens for adults or children. These meals are, in effect, increases in the real pay of factory and office workers concerned. The state is striving to improve public catering and reduce the prices of meals by enlarging and modernizing the catering system and service. Considerable sums are allocated by the state and by economic agencies to cover overhead expenses in the public catering system.

The people's standard of living has benefited considerably from measures to improve electricity and water supply, modernize the communities, and expand and improve the network of roads. Today the towns and numerous villages are well supplied with water. Many towns and some villages have sewerage. The roads have been improved and transport facilities have greatly increased.

All these measures and fast-improving housing have been changing Bulgaria's towns and villages.

The policy of the Party and the Government is to develop all the regions of the country. In line with this policy, a number of processing factories have been set up in town and country. The mountainous and foothill areas have received special aid to promote agriculture. Many communities are growing into new industrial centers and others, into centers of intensive agriculture or into health and tourist resorts.

It is fair to say that there are no more backward regions in Bulgaria. Some of our villages are equal to the towns in cultural and general living conditions. Steps are being taken to ensure that motor transport interlinks all the villages before long and that

there is a steady and cheap traffic between town and country. This will make it possible to utilize housing in the countryside still more effectively, for some of the workers taking industrial jobs will go on living in villages. This will reduce overpopulation of our towns.

★ ★ ★

The improvements in the standard of living achieved in past years are considerable, especially if the economic backwardness inherited from the past is taken into account. Nevertheless, they are far from exhausting the Party's ambitious program in this sphere. The people's standard of living and a flourishing socialist economy are the main concern of the Party and the Government, which found clear expression in the directives of the Eighth Party Congress. Further progress will depend on economic achievement and an increasing national income.

Speaking at the Ninth Session of the People's Assembly, Comrade Todor Zhivkov pointed out that our national income is tentatively estimated to reach 1,000 to 1,100 leva per person by 1970, the closing year of the Fifth Five Year Plan, that is, to increase by more than 40 percent over 1965. This will make it possible to raise wages and salaries in town and country and public consumption funds. The policy of rapidly increasing the pay of low- and average-paid categories will be continued. Certain prices will be reduced.

Improving the quality of goods is a prime condition for meeting the requirements of the people better than before. This necessitates the provision of appropriate raw materials, better technologies, and the retooling of a number of enterprises. Another important condition is to improve the skills of personnel and to make the fight for higher quality a nationwide movement. To raise quality, we must provide adequate material incentives and effective technical control.

The Party and the Government will continue to concern themselves with problems of housing, the planning of towns and villages, trade, the service industry, and transport. This will require still greater effort by government bodies and economic agencies, by the mass organizations and all working people.

The year 1965 is the closing year of the Fourth Five Year Plan. According to preliminary data, plan targets for the first six months in industry and other fields have been reached. The planned rate of growth of industrial output—9.8 percent—has been substantially surpassed. This provides a sound basis for fulfilling and exceeding the plan of the year and a favorable starting point for the growth of the productive forces in the next five years.

It is important for the country and the working people, for the people's standard of living, that all the enterprises, economic executives, Party, trade union and YCL organizations and working collectives should fulfil their assignments in the production sphere still more efficiently. It is a task of national importance to complete in time 48 large projects, some of which should already this year produce considerable quantities of power, metals, building materials, fodder, etc.

Increasing crop yields, prompt harvesting, more and better irrigation, the sowing of second crops, and other measures in agriculture are particularly important for the fulfilment of the economic plan, the growth of personal incomes and the provision of more foodstuffs and raw materials.

Our Party is striving to improve economic leadership on a sound scientific basis with due regard to the requirements of the working people and to the objective laws of development of society. It is leading the country toward rapid economic progress and a high standard of living. Our people, united around the Party and its Central Committee, will achieve still greater successes as they fulfil this program.

MINIMUM PROGRAM OF NATIONAL RENOVATION, DEMOCRACY AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

On April 26 last, in view of King Hasan's decision to confer with various national parties and organizations, Comrade Ali Yata sent the King the Minimum Program which Morocco's patriots are putting forward to lift the country out of its deep crisis. The royal regime's declaration that all Moroccans should cooperate in solving national problems has produced no change—discrimination against the progressive patriotic forces continues. The program of national rebirth advanced by the patriots is noteworthy as a concise analysis of the situation proposing a rapid and realistic way out. Following is its text.

INTRODUCTION

Few crises in our history have been as severe as the present. This crisis strikes the eye and every patriot is painfully aware of it.

It has been growing over the years and we have repeatedly warned public opinion and national leaders about it, proposing measures to end the country's downward trend, remedy the situation and advance to prosperity.

We think the main reason for the present crisis is the general orientation which was imposed on the country immediately after independence.

We must say that while our country has succeeded in casting off foreign rule, establishing a national government and gaining the attributes of sovereignty and the means of exercising it, it has failed to take the road that would have led to its complete deliverance from foreign domination and to economic independence and would have enabled it to overcome its backwardness, poverty and illiteracy and to give the people the better life they long for.

The political orientation since 1956 was not prompted by respect for democracy. In the economic field, it is based on capitalist liberalism, which, as we know serves the interests and protects the interests of the foreign and domestic exploiters to the detriment of the people.

It is obvious that to end the crisis and forge ahead, the nation must reject the orientation that has prevailed so far and adopt a new one based on democracy and independent economic development and aimed at meeting the needs of the people.

True to our invariable line of action, we want to show clearly and specifically how our country can take the road to salvation forthwith.

We therefore propose a draft program of immediate action for national rebirth and for democratic and social progress. It comprises the following four parts:

(1) Democratic institutions and people's control
(2) Economic program
(3) Agrarian reform
(4) Social rights

1. DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS AND PEOPLE'S CONTROL

The existing institutions are not democratic

The Constitution imposed on the Moroccan people by the December 1962 referendum does not reflect the democratic aspirations of the people.

The elections which succeeded one another throughout 1963 were marred by grave irregularities which distorted their general meaning.

The activity of the constitutional institutions since November 1963 has, in effect, shown that the attitude of the progressive movement toward the Constitution granted is justified. Everyone has seen that these institutions do not allow for the people's will to be expressed at state level and that they disguise a form of government which is still almost absolute with the veil of a truncated parliamentarism.

Since the end of 1962 civil liberties have been infringed on numerous occasions, both in practice and in official documents. Numerous restrictive or repressive amendments have been made to the legislation. And even those provisions concerning individual and public liberties have been constantly violated in practice.

Moroccan democracy is still nominal. The people have no real rights, either economic or political.

At this stage of the nation's historical development, the affirmation of extensive rights and liberties in a democratic Constitution, and respect for them would serve progress and mark an important victory for the people.

The people should resist all possible encroachments on their hard-won rights. They should use the constitutional guarantees to extend their rights and ensure that they do not remain a dead letter but be embodied in reality.

We need a National Assembly with effective legislative power

A constitution is genuinely democratic if it permits the people's

will to be expressed through the organs of state power and guarantees the fundamental rights of the citizens.

The Assembly, to be directly elected by the people at a general election, should wield real legislative authority without any restrictions whatsoever. In the present Constitution, however, numerous restrictions considerably diminish the role of the Chamber of Representatives, theoretically vested with legislative power. The people's representatives should have effective means of controlling the executive authority instead of being overwhelmed by it.

Ensure respect for political and civil rights

To ensure that these rights are respected, it is essential that the Constitution provide for a set of sanctions protecting the citizens against arbitrary practices, which have become a sad reality in our country.

Control over the repressive agencies of the state should be entrusted to the legislative authority, which would exercise it through an elected supreme magistrate independent of the executive authority.

Recognition of the liberties formulated implies recognition of such corollaries as freedom of assembly supplemented with freedom of public processions and demonstrations.

The nation's radio and television should not remain an unresisting instrument of the authority but should be at the disposal of national parties and organizations, without discrimination.

Recognize and guarantee the exercise of economic and social rights

The workers, toiling peasants, handicraftsmen and small traders, and the working population generally, should be granted and guaranteed the broadest economic and social rights. Without these rights, whose exercise lends life dignity, political rights would be illusory as far as the people are concerned.

The right to work should be made real through a bold policy of economic emancipation, industrialization, and harmonious economic development according to plan, which can be achieved by nationalizing the foreign enterprises and enterprises important for the nation's economic life.

A guaranteed living wage, application of the principle of equal pay for equal labor, workers' participation in the management and control of the enterprises, recognition — through a far-reaching agrarian reform — of the peasant's right to own the land he tills, protection of the handicraftsmen from foreign competition and of the small traders against large trading companies, a more equitable fiscal policy easing the tax burden of the masses and imposing

heavier taxes on the rich, constitutional sanctions against infringements of trade union rights, in particular the right to strike, and recognition of the office workers' right to strike are all measures of vital importance to the working people of our country, who constitute the overwhelming majority of the nation.

Effective exercise of the right to education, struggle against illiteracy, protection and advancement of the nation's culture and language are imperative for our country. The state is also in duty bound to guarantee protection of the health of the citizens, their material security in case of inability and in old age, and their right to weekly rest and a yearly holiday.

Promote the local bodies

Democracy should be exercised also at communal and municipal level if it is to rouse and encourage our people's initiative and sense of responsibility and to enlist their active participation in social development. But the principles of administrative autonomy in the communes and of the population's co-management of communal affairs were virtually stripped of their main content by the decree of June 23, 1960. Morocco's present communal system precludes genuine decentralization whereas the communes, particularly the rural ones, could play an important role in the economic and social development of the country if vested with appropriate powers.

To enable the local bodies to play their role, we need vast autonomy of the local councils in respect of the central authority, extension of their economic, social and financial powers, and democratization of the village councils through a radical agrarian reform.

Establish a democratic electoral system with free elections

In view of the youth of the Moroccan population, the age for the right to vote should be set at 18 and the age limit for the right to be elected reduced to 21. This is necessary to enable an important segment of the nation to engage actively in politics.

The elected institutions should reflect every patriotic trend of public opinion. Voting by lists, with proportional representation, is the fairest and most democratic mode of voting.

There should be maximum guarantees of electoral consultations to make them sincere and free, and the voters should be safeguarded against pressure and fraud.

The executive authority should be debarred from organizing electoral consultations. This should be ensured by a magistracy genuinely independent of the government.

The magistrates who assume this function should make sure that freedom of nomination is respected, that candidates enjoy

maximum guarantees during the election campaign, that the secrecy of the vote is truly respected, that the guarding of the ballot boxes is organized properly and impartially, with the direct participation of those representing the election lists, that the boxes are opened publicly, under the electors' control, and that the electors are put to no pressure, overt or covert, on the part of the authorities.

This could provide the conditions for sincere consultations really giving the people a say.

The failure of the existing institutions, which is acknowledged by the authorities, shows how very correct were those who during the referendum on the Constitution upheld the principle of a sovereign Constituent Assembly.

II. ECONOMIC PROGRAM

Summary of the situation

The situation can be described as follows:

Stagnation in industrial employment since 1953, whereas the able-bodied population has been growing by some 150,000 a year.

Average grain output during the past decade has dropped from 360 to 250 kg. per capita, that is, to such an extent that Morocco must continuously import grain despite the low level of the population's present diet.

On the other hand, the net amount of the capital exported between 1951 and 1963 was 2,700 m. dirhems and at present exceeds 500 m. dirhems, or 50,000 m. francs, per year.

The luxury in which the domestic accomplices in this plunder live has assumed enormous proportions and the increase in whisky consumption equals only the sumptuousness of the villas and cars.

Altogether it is safe to say that, according to official data, nine million small peasants, sharecroppers and other rural inhabitants share under 20 percent of the national income.

Three million town inhabitants — workers, small traders and handicraftsmen plus the unemployed — live on 25 percent of the national income.

The foreign capitalists, the colonists and feudal lords, the officialdom and the courtiers get half the national income, or over 500,000 m. francs!

Such is the inequality which we should end at all costs.

The means to be used

The principle of solving this problem is simple—an end must be put to plunder, and the values thus recovered must be used for the development of the country. This requires:

1. Nationalizing foreign interests in the main areas:

The banks: only the banking apparatus belonging to the state should have the privilege of capital transactions.

Nationalizing foreign trade, in which ten major import products and the exported minerals and agricultural products are decisive importance items. Extending the powers of the existing agencies—the National Tea and Sugar Board, Phosphate Mining Board, Interbranch Grain Board, and Export Control Board—would make it possible to safeguard these items against plunder by foreigners and so release tens of thousands of millions.

Nationalizing the mines: taking the concessions simply away from the mining companies, which are no more than set-ups for robbing the deposits, and their management by the Extractive Industry Investment Board, which would make it possible to place these resources at the service of the nation.

Nationalizing the large-scale monopoly industries—cement, metal containers, vegetable oil, cellulose—whose policy holds up economic development. In nationalizing these industries, compensation would be paid only for the capital originally brought from abroad and making up a few percent of the present assets, which have grown through profits made in our country.

2. Establishing — in addition to people's control over the state machinery—elected regional councils enjoying extensive autonomy and capable of promoting the economic growth of the regions under a national plan.

At the public and private enterprises, workers' councils would have vast opportunities of exercising control over management and could, therefore, resist any activity running counter to the national interests. Under the auspices of the parliament elected, a general evaluation would be made of the fortunes made since independence. Fortunes made by unfair means would be simply confiscated.

Objectives

Upon the adoption of these measures a real policy of austerity could be pursued, which means pushing back the parasitic sectors of the so-called modern economy of the country and bringing individual incomes into line with the actual possibilities of the country. This would make it possible to redistribute the 55 percent of the national income which today is taken away from the nation and to use it for a budget expenditure reduced to 1,500 m. dirhems, half of which should be diverted to public education and the health service.

The sum of 1,800 m. dirhems, or 20 percent of the national income, should be spent on investment, so that the nation could

attain or even exceed the 7 to 8 percent minimum rate of growth—the only way to end the country's underdeveloped condition by doubling the national income in ten years.

The rest, or 1,200 m. dirhems, would enable us through an agrarian reform to increase the incomes of the nine million poorest inhabitants of the countryside, a measure indispensable for the growth of the productive forces of agriculture.

Thus the rallying of the nation's manpower and economic resources would make it possible in the course of a decade to finally solve the problem of employment and ensure the nation's progress.

III. AGRARIAN REFORM

Now as in the future, the government should concern itself with the nation as a whole and of its peasant majority, and not with a handful of privileged colonists, big landowners and profiteers.

Everyone agrees that an agrarian reform is not only necessary but inevitable in Morocco. But it is not any kind of agrarian reform that can solve the problem of our agriculture.

To be effective, an agrarian reform should reorganize the economic, social and political structure of the countryside along revolutionary lines. Otherwise our agriculture could make no real progress. Since the concentration of land and capital is an obstacle to this progress, it must be abolished.

The land for the landless

Realizing the needs of development of our society and the impossibility of this development without a prosperous peasant class, we propose the following platform for an agrarian reform:

1. Confiscate without indemnity all the lands owned by foreigners and feudal lords; limit landownership and transfer the land thus released to the poor peasants, who have no land or only a patch too small to afford the family a living.
2. Confiscate the means and implements of production owned by the colonists, feudal lords and big landowners (buildings, livestock, fater rights, etc.) and put them at the disposal of committees for use in the interests of the working peasants.
3. Put an end once and for all to exploitation of our agriculture by foreign banks and trusts.
4. Make it possible for the peasants to take part in carrying out the measures arising from the agrarian reform, specifically confiscation and redistribution of the land under the control of commitees elected by the peasants themselves, through democratic elections in the villages and settlements.

Increase production

5. Increase agricultural production and raise the working peasants' standards of living by providing them with whatever they need to make full use of the land: seed, fertilizer, machinery, insecticides, and so on.

6. Use the rivers—with due regard to the potentialities of every region and the nation as a whole—by expanding the irrigated areas.

7. Deliver the peasants from the clutches of usurers and middlemen; set up a large network of public credit establishments granting loans at low interest to the poor and middle peasants.

8. Organize the sale at equitable prices of peasants farm produce by nationalizing trade in the basic agricultural products.

Democracy in the countryside

9. Provide democratic liberties in the countryside (freedom of speech, assembly, demonstration, etc.) to enable the peasants freely to express their opinion on all matters relating to them and to uphold their economic and social rights against abuses and misapplication of the agrarian reform.

10. Help the peasants freely to set up cooperatives of any type. These cooperatives should be formed on a democratic basis and controlled by elected committees, with the peasants retaining the right to withdraw from the cooperative when they wish.

We are well aware of the difficulties which the implementation of this program may encounter. But these difficulties can be surmounted if the ten proposals we have just set forth are used by the progressive forces as a platform for action in the agricultural sphere.

Our economy cannot develop harmoniously without agriculture making far-reaching progress. And without a flourishing agriculture we cannot solve the social problems facing the country today.

IV. SOCIAL RIGHTS

Education

Young people exceed half the population of the country, and children, who suffer from poverty, hunger, disease and ignorance, are the first victims of underdevelopment.

The school situation is dramatic. There is no sign of the demagogical promises made since the referendum being kept. On the contrary, there have been such disgraceful steps as the abolition of school canteens and the closing of regional teachers' colleges. Nothing is being done to raise the proficiency of teachers. As for

the organization of higher or technical education, it in no way meets the needs and exigencies of the nation's cultural development. The failure of education at all levels seriously handicaps Morocco's economic growth, whose main asset is its people. This is why we demand:

—giving priority to public education by budgeting at least 35 percent of the total expenditure for this important field;

—sending every seven-year child to school;

—preparing immediately to make secondary education universal;

—raising the level of secondary education by speedily training Moroccan teachers in numbers sufficient for teaching every discipline;

—teaching all the childen between 7 and 14 years of age to read and write by setting up for this purpose an emergency sector staffed with young tutors who have received an elementary education, under the supervision of experienced teachers; a plan could be drawn up giving priority to children in the upper age group;

—re-establishing and expanding the network of canteens, as well as stipends, which is the only way to make education compulsory;

—effecting judicious Arabicization according to a short-term plan, for which additional appropriations should be made;

—promoting Moroccanizing and steadily Arabicizing higher education;

—improving the qualifications of teachers.

Adequate housing

Some 100,000 new flats a year will be barely enough to meet growing requirements. To provide our citizens with adequate housing, we must:

—abolish the slums and nomadic camps;

—facilitate collective housing construction, budgeting allocations for the infrastructure;

—allow families to acquire housing through lease and sale.

Emancipate Morocco's women

The aspirations of Morocco's women may be put in one word, emancipation, which means:

—the opportunity to get a job and to work freely, equal pay, and social benefits;

—the abrogation of laws making men and women unequal.

Special attention to youth

Young people constitute the majority of our population. The future of the country largely depends on how their fortunes shape. This is why youth should receive special attention, and be enabled to have the best in physical and moral training.

In addition to education, with which we have dealt, young people should have every opportunity for physical and mental growth, namely:

—sports grounds, swimming pools and athletic apparatus;

—premises for classes, lectures, stage productions, etc.;

—material aid to youth organizations, to be granted without administrative interference in their guidance and activity;

—home and foreign travel.

Public health service

The state is spending more and more on public health with diminishing effect. The health service is far below the people's requirements in both towns and country, and is also far below the actual possibilities. The privileged and the dignitaries of the regime use hospitals, dispensaries, and the services of medical personnel to the detriment of the poor. We therefore demand:

—budgeting at least 12 percent of the expenditure on public health;

—pursuing a policy aimed at preventing disease and promoting the health service in the countryside and in the poorer sections of the towns;

—giving priority to the needy and the working people.

Administrative reform

The administration is affected with various maladies, with the result that it does not really serve the people and the latter are dissatisfied with its performance, seeing how careless the officials are and how they abuse their authority even though they swallow a substantial proportion of the national income.

The Moroccan administration was organized at the time of the protectorate, chiefly as its instrument. It has undergone no appreciable change since the nation won independence. This is why it still uses old standards and is unfit for the conditions of independent Morocco. It cannot meet the needs of the people, particularly their rural majority. On the other hand, it includes a certain proportion of foreigners who lack proper technical skill and without whom the country could do very well.

Owing to its faulty origin and to the general orientation im-

posed on our country after the abolition of the protectorate, the administrative apparatus is eroded by indiscipline, irresponsibility and corruption.

These evils should be eliminated through a radical reform leading to:

(1) adapation of the administrative machinery to the realities and special conditions of the country, so that it can serve both the urban and the rural population;

(2) Moroccanization at all levels;

—abolition of bureaucracy and simplification of the services;

—sustained struggle against corruption;

—equitable remuneration of personnel, and an immediate increase in low salaries;

—respect for trade union rights.

Through these measures, the administrative apparatus will be made a body at one with the people, and not alien to them.

CONCLUSION

This, then, is the Minimum Program of urgent measures which we have drawn up and whose realization would help the country's rebirth and progress.

We are certain that all the vital forces of the nation will subscribe to it. But this alone would not be enough. There is also a need for unity of these forces, of their parties and organizations, which cannot do anything if isolated but can do everything if they rally together.

That is why, in conclusion, we call for national unity of all the patriotic and progressive forces.

Casablanca, April 26, 1965.

SPEECH* BY FIDEL CASTRO

The Revolution, which began twelve years ago, is today stronger and more united than ever.

When, on January 1, 1959, the tyranny was overthrown, our people, who were full of enthusiasm, were associated in various parties and revolutionary organizations. Unity was forged as the revolutionary process went on. The strength we now command is a result of the persevering and conscious effort of revolutionaries, a fruit of the people's unity, of the unity of the revolutionary forces.

The enemies of the Revolution complain that there is only one party in our country. But what do we need more parties for? We have a party of the working people. Surely they do not need more than one party? Surely they have no antagonistic and irreconcilable interests? Surely there are no working people in our country whose aspirations differ from those of the other working people? Surely the interests of the Cuban working class are neither antagonistic nor irreconcilable? Surely the interests of the mental workers do not run counter to those of the manual workers?

Those who cannot understand this and who, for all their good intentions, rack their brains, thinking it terrible that the working people should have only one organization, because they have been educated in an atmosphere of interminable and fruitless strife between organizations representing antagonistic interests in a class society, should realize tonight, in view of our experience, that in the peculiar conditions of our country—and we do not claim that our experience should be applied everywhere—the working people have an organization, a party, of their own, which leads them politically, and mass organizations in which young people, factory workers, peasants, women and students are active. They should realize that our people have a thousand different ways of expressing their opinions, of expressing their will, and that when a party like ours is composed of people who set an example on every labor front, these people are the best, the genuine representatives of the working class and this party is entitled to rule as the lawful representative of the working class.

Surely the workers of the capitalist countries, of the Latin American countries plundered and exploited by the imperialists, cannot describe as democratic a system under which the overwhelming majority of those who call themselves senators and

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*Abridged. Delivered in Santa Clara on Juyl 26, 1965, the 12th anniversary since the the beginning of the national-liberation movement in Cuba.

representatives of the people are members of the exploiting classes, of the wealthy classes? Surely people whose shirts have never been soaked in sweat and who have been living as parasites all their lives cannot be called representatives of the people, of a democratic system?

Ours is revolutionary democracy, democracy for the workers. We do not say that there is democracy for all. There is democracy for the working people and there are real political rights for them. The difference between this socialist democracy and bourgeois democracy is that bourgeois democracy grants political rights to the exploiters and not the exploited, while under socialist democracy there are no rights for the exploiters but only for the exploited. There is no political party of exploiters but only of the exploited. And since the exploited made up the overwhelming majority of the nation, we have much more reason than the capitalists to speak of democracy, because in our country we have democracy, that is, a government representing 90 percent of the people, while *they* call "democracy" a government representing 10 percent of the people.

This is why the two system are worlds apart. And this is why it would have been well if our enemies, who are so blind and dull-witted, could have attended this meeting, at least for a moment. Had those who ordered the murder of teachers been present here, they would have seen that a little way from where they murdered Conrado Benitez six thousand young people are studying to become teachers. They would have seen the results of the terror which they tried to spread among the people. They would have seen that their crimes, their money and their arms did not help much. They might have discarded their illusions for good. They might have realized that the Revolution will not retreat, that it is an indestructible part of the history of our country, that our people are strong enough not only to overcome all the economic obstacles raised in their path by the enemy, but to beat off every attack the enemy could venture. They might have realized that our people are strong enough to fight for one year, or ten or a hundred years against any enemy—or rather against the only enemy—should he try to invade and overrun our country.

In this sense, all the peoples of the world owe a debt of deep gratitude to the people of South Vietnam, for they have taught the world an extraordinary lesson. Faced with hundreds of thousands of puppet troops, and with hundreds of U.S. bombers and tens of thousands of American invaders, they are waging a victorious fight, defeating the imperialists, showing that there is no military power strong enough to crush a revolutionary people, no matter how small, and that all the modern weapons, all the bombers and econo-

mic resources are not enough to vanquish a small people determined to fight.

Our people too have taught the imperialists some lessons. They have always had a militant spirit. But when we look at the example of South Vietnam we cannot help admiring it, cannot help being stirred. From here in Las Villas, an impregnable stronghold, we send a message of solidarity and encouragement to the Vietnamese fighters. We send it to a heroic people whose young men face the firing squads of the imperialists without flinching, without asking mercy but hailing their homeland, shouting: "Death to imperialism! Long live the revolution! Long live liberation! Long live communism!" Those fearless people, who are subjected to massive bombings, are fighting and dying not only for themselves but for us as well, for all the peoples threatened by imperialists in some way or other. They are fighting and dying to stop imperialist aggressiveness of the imperialists.

The imperialists, who are desperate, talk of sending more and more troops. But how can they prevent the liberation of the peoples? How can they put down the revolution all over the world? They are too short of planes and troops to suppress the revolution simultaneously in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The imperialists have powerful weapons, vast military and economic resources, but they cannot wipe out mankind. To crush the revolution, they would have to crush the peoples of two-thirds of the world, all the peoples of Asia, all the peoples defending or fighting for their freedom in Asia. They would have to destroy the peoples of Latin America.

The imperialists resort to extreme repressions in Vietnam and are intervening in the Dominican Republic to intimidate the peoples. But the peoples are aware of the weakness of the imperialists. They realize that it is fear and weakness that prompt the imperialists to intervene in the Dominican Republic and to threaten every country where a revolution may break out.

But surely the imperialists cannot intervene in every country of Latin America? Today they are intervening in the Dominican Republic; afterwards they would have to intervene in Peru, then in Venezuela, then in Colombia or Brazil. And one day they would find themselves compelled to intervene all over the continent, and would perish in its mountains and forests and rivers and cities.

To us this position of the imperialists is a danger, for some of them insist that Cuba must be destroyed and that by destroying Cuba one will destroy the revolution in Latin America. Our answer is that, first, Cuba cannot be destroyed, and secondly, Cuba's example can never be destroyed.

To invade our country, the imperialists would have to face great risks. To begin with, there would be the risk of unforeseeable

international consequences, of a fight that would never end, for all the divisions they had, including their reserve divisions, would not be enough to break the Cuban people, to crush the resistance of millions of Cubans. Besides, we know full well that the suppression of Cuba would not lead to the suppression of the Latin American revolution.

The revolution in Latin America is as inevitable as in Africa or Asia or any other area of the globe where there is oppression. It is inevitable with or without Cuba, with or without the Cuban Revolution. Naturally, the Cuban Revolution has stimulated it, has, above all, set an example for it, has given it solidarity and moral support. It is an example which cannot be destroyed in any way.

No matter how hard they try, no matter how they train mercenary troops or what threats they use the U.S. imperialists cannot prevent Latin America from freeing itself, sooner or later. They cannot prevent the liberation of Africa no matter how much they throw their weight about. They cannot prevent the liberation of Vietnam or of the peoples of other Asian countries oppressed by them. Liberation is inevitable and we do not hesitate to say so.

We entertain no illusions. We do not think we are free from danger. We do not think the imperialists may not in their impotent rage, their hatred and despair, strike out at our country any day. We do not delude ourselves on this score. We are conscious of this danger. And we are preparing accordingly.

It is our duty to be increasingly well prepared to face that danger. As the revolutionary movement in Latin America expands the imperialists' hatred for us will grow, they will blame us more and more, and the threats and dangers will increase.

Nevertheless, we do not say to the peoples of Latin America: "Stop, don't carry on the revolution or it will endanger us." Not at all. We call on Latin America's revolutionaries to fight. We call on them to follow our example, and readily take the risk this involves. We show the Latin American peoples that the revolution is possible and as for the threat, dangers and risks, they don't matter.

Needless to say we do not want the fruits of our effort to be destroyed. We work hard to raise the living standard and safeguard the security of our country. We work for the future of our country. We are unafraid of dangers and are ready to face them. Although Cuba is in danger and although the imperialists threaten us, we want revolution to go on, want the peoples of Latin America to become free. We do not stop to selfishly admire our victories. We want the other peoples of Latin America to achieve the same victories as we have, want them to follow our example. Moreover,

we know that when the peoples rise nothing and no one can stop them.

What is the use of the OAS? And what would be the use of the right to intervention?

The imperialists want the OAS to pass a resolution authorizing military intervention against revolution in any country. What would be the use of such a resolution? What would be the use of the OAS if the institutions and organizations on which the imperialists lean for support in exploiting and oppressing the peoples were smashed along with imperialism? As the revolution makes headway the military castes and feudal oligarchies will disappear along with the OAS. And the progress of the revolution is inevitable, for this is a law of history.

What is our duty now that the world is in a most extraordinary period of its history, when the people's desire for freedom and justice is awakening everywhere? We must work in various fields.

First of all, we must promote the revolutionary and internationalist consciousness of our people more and more. We must build up our armed forces and strengthen our defenses. We must work hard in the economic field to accomplish the social and economic tasks of the Revolution.

It is essential that the Revolution advance in the economic sphere, for this will make it stronger politically, morally and militarily. We must educate the people ideologically, for this also will make us stronger. We must raise the fighting efficiency of our people.

There is not the slightest doubt that we will win the economic battle, or rather are winning it. But are we doing in the economic field all that we can? We believe that while in some cases we do our utmost, in about 80 percent of the cases we may be said to do 25 percent of what we could. And why don't we do our utmost in every case? This is partly due to our inexperience and inability, and partly to the fact that we often ignore the resources and opportunities we have.

Ours is certainly an underdeveloped country. We certainly have too few cement plants to fully meet requirements. Timber is often in short supply. But it is just as true that we do not always tackle our problems in the best way, that we do not always use all the resources and opportunities we have. Some executives solve the problems facing them and some don't.

Our Revolution won seven years ago. In these seven years we have had to make many concessions to the petty-bourgeois spirit. Due to the revolutionaries' ignorance, to the shortage of competent personnel, certain posts were held, certain plans carried out and administrative activity influenced in a thousand ways by people posing as experienced and knowledgeable.

Seven years have passed. Thousands of excellent workers have risen from among our people. The masses have produced a party which is becoming more and more organized, class-conscious and experienced. This is why the Revolution has no reason to make any concessions to the petty-bourgeois spirit. The presence of this spirit in the administrative apparatus has been responsible, not only for the inadequate use of the creative energy of the people but for the entrenchment of red tape in the administrative apparatus.

The point is that the political thinking of the petty bourgeois ignores the masses. One petty bourgeois has helped another to spread red tape in the administrative apparatus. The people know how our Party is grappling with the problem of red tape and combating bureaucratic practices.

True, these practices are not only our fault. They were even worse under capitalism. They are an evil threatening the socialist revolution as much as they do capitalist revolutions. But the socialist revolution should be able to take steps to prevent this evil from striking deep root and causing the damage it can cause.

Commissions for combating red tape have been set up all over the country. They check all the administrative posts and offices one by one in order to rationalize them. And what is to become of surplus personnel? They should study. We are not going to throw them on the streets. We do not propose to deprive them of an income. We will have them study and improve their knowledge.

We have made a good deal of progress in organizing the Party. We do not want the Party to engage in administrative activity. The function of the Party is to provide leadership in every sphere, to stimulate work all along the line, to work continuously among the masses. We want no duplication, no administrative work by the Party. The task of the Party is to control, stimulate and help the administrative apparatus. No national administrative body has a right to fill a post in the provinces with a person who is unfit for it, who is not a revolutionary, who is not trusted by the Party.

It is not a function of our Party to appoint officials, to patronize anyone or promote "friends." Not at all. Let the administration do the appointing, let it promote the best of its workers, and let it consult the Party if it wishes. But it is a function of the Party to disagree, to protest and condemn, and to take appropriate steps, so that a community—whether a region or a province—should not suffer from mismanagement by an incompetent official, an official who is not a revolutionary.

With the present level of organization, we have a right to insist that in every region of the country, in every province and every sector there should be a competent official, a revolutionary. This is indispensable because it will enable us to use our people's vast resources of manpower, energy and creative initiative.

To achieve that, we will this year have to take another step forward in the organizational sphere. It should consist in setting up regional and municipal administrative bodies. In the early days of the Revolution there was a trend toward centralization, which assumed excessive proportions, because we had no experience and often lacked common sense, as well as an organized and efficient political apparatus and experienced personnel in general. Today we must decentralize all that can be decentralized and promote municipal and regional administration to the utmost, because this would be more in keeping with reality and would lead to a higher standard of organization.

There are innumerable services and institutions of local significance, and it is wrong for the national government to manage them. The national government should manage affairs of national significance. It has enough to do as it is. It has a sufficient number of problems to deal with, and cannot concern itself with regional or municipal affairs.

Our task is to enact legislation on the basis of our experience. Our Revolution has this indisputable characteristic, that practice has fortunately kept ahead of theory. It is easy enough to draft a law sitting in an office, but then such a law may turn out to be no good. We often come across a certain type of would-be legislators who imagine that the world is organized according to their notions and try to squeeze reality into the narrow bounds of a law which subsequently proves to be at variance with life and reality.

That is why we have not rushed the decision of certain matters. It is better not to decide a question than to decide it badly. In all the provinces, therefore, we have carried out experiments in regional and municipal administration. On the basis of these experiments, we are now going to plan the organization of local government. Through them we have patiently watched and analyzed what matters should or should not be decided at local level.

We think this will be a major advance in the Revolution, a big step toward establishing appropriate revolutionary institutions. It will mean combating bureaucratic practices, eliminating petty-bourgeois thinking in the administrative apparatus and strengthening this apparatus along revolutionary lines, and organizing life in the communities, organizing local government.

That will mean a considerable advance but it will not be all. For after that we will have to work at national level to elaborate the constitutional forms of the Cuban socialist state.

Our Revolution still has certain tasks to fulfil. We set up many of our institutions in a formal way, with the result that they are out of keeping with reality and do not function properly. We have not rushed the drafting of a socialist Constitution. We do not want

a nominal constitution but one that will accord with reality in both form and substance and give legal expression to revolutionary thought. Then it will be our Constitution, representing our socialist state. This Constitution should define the role of the Party without any formalism, in keeping with our Marxist world outlook. It should define the concepts of party and administration and, should, of course, say in so many words that political power is represented by the working people's Party. Then it will be our constitution.

We must find proper forms for our new, revolutionary institutions with due regard to our conditions and peculiarities and habits, our character and morality and way of thinking, our creative imagination. We are not going to imitate. When we say this we are not prompted by scorn for anyone or anything. We must consider, analyze and weigh the experience gained by every other country, and use it only if it is likely to prove useful. We must always use creatively the experience we borrow.

Our country's prestige today — true, what we do is not always to everyone's liking — our country's prestige in the world of today, among the underdeveloped countries, in the eyes of the peoples fighting for their liberation, is high and solid. We owe this prestige to a policy based on facts, to the firm, unwavering position of a small country which ninety miles from a seat of imperialism resists dangers and threats and economic blockade as it builds socialism on scientific lines, on truly Marxist-Leninist, truly revolutionary lines. In an atmosphere of danger and blockade, our country is educating its people, raising their cultural standard, fostering their political consciousness and proletarian internationalism. It does not hesitate to take the risk involved in its position. It firmly resists and will continue to resist without the least vacillation the dangers threatening it. It will set an example for other peoples who are like our own, an example of fighting imperialism, solving the social problems and economic problems posed by the revolution. We are striving to serve as an example for others, to find correct and realistic solutions, to establish the closest links between the Party and the masses. Our country, which successfully copes with difficulties, has to play an important moral role in the world of today.

When we think of the moral impact of our Revolution we realize that it is a weapon in the struggle against imperialism. We are aware of the fate of other peoples, of the sorrow and suffering of the oppressed peoples, of the peoples fighting for their liberation. We hate the oppressors. We hate the imperialists. And we long to see every people choose their own path, just as we have chosen ours. Therefore, if the example of our people can help, let it do so. If our example can help other peoples to think as we do and

to strive for the same goals, let it do so.

We have had no difficulty in upholding our point of view in our international relations. We maintain extensive relations with other countries. In some cases they are better than in others, but they are governed by this principle. And we are really satisfied with the respect which governments and parties we maintain relations with have shown for our country. This respect is due to our position and our principles. It has been won by a country lying ninety miles from the American imperialists, a country which may be called "the first trench in the struggle against imperialism," the only socialist country on this continent, an isolated and solitary country. We are the first but not the last, nor will ours be the only country. We admire those peoples that are small, such as Vietnam, yet capable of playing so big a role. I think I express the sentiments of our people when I say this. And I think it is right to promote this tradition. It is no easy or simple course to follow.

What we Cubans have today is the fruit of the effort of more than one generation. People fought for it for a long time. It is the fruit of the effort of many generations. Our generation has the privilege of living at a time of outstanding events, when our country has gained complete independence. This process, in which we are taking part has been going on for twelve years. Many things have happened during this time. Many events have taken their swift course since the morning of July 26, 1953.

This strength of the Revolution, this unity of the people, this indestructible cohesion of the people and Party, people and leadership, is worthy of special note, for nothing could be more indicative. The people are the ultimate and supreme judge of historical developments. A historical provess is assessed by its result of the historical process which began twelve years ago.

It is deeply gratifying to us all to be able to point this out, but it also inspires us with a profound sense of responsibility. The people's support of the Revolution and their faith in their revolutionary leaders, far from arousing vanity or conceit in any one of us, make us more keenly aware of our duty and responsibility, of our obligations.

Twelve years have passed since the storming of Moncada. Soon will be celebrating the seventh anniversary of the victory of the Revolution. But this celebration, this solemnity, the effort of hundreds of thousands of people, the long hours spent here by Cubans to demonstrate their militant support for the Revolution will mean nothing if we do not realize its significance. It is as if every year the people gathered together on July 26 to demonstrate their struggle and to give a fresh inpetus to the Revolution, to the leaders of the Revolution.

For we do not assemble here to speak of history, to sum up results, to recall the past. We assemble to make new history, to continue our advance using the strength which the masses have gained on this path, to say that we are not few, that there are more of us than a dozen or a hundred, that we are a whole people on the march, a people making history as have other peoples, and making sacrifices, shedding their blood as they do so.

It is in blood that the Dominicans, Venezuelans, Colombians, Peruvians, Guatemalans, Congolese are recording their history. It is in blood and sacrifice that the peoples record their history.

Who sheds our blood? Who raises obstacles in our path? It is those who shed the blood of the Dominicans, the Vietnamese, the Congolese, of the peoples striving for a better lot, for culture, for bread, for health, for dignity, for freedom. It is the exploiters, those who cannot live without shedding the blood of the peoples, who can live only by the labor of others, by the sweat of the people. And that is why the peoples are compelled to record their history in sacrifice, sorrow and blood. It is the way in which *we* have been recording *our* history.

Revolution is not a gift from on high. It is the fruit of effort, of blood, of sacrifice on the part of a whole people. So it has been, so it will be. No matter how long the path will be. No matter how hard the struggle — our struggle and that of other peoples —will be. Our enemies are powerful but the peoples are still more so. However formidable the obstacles, the will of the people to overcome them is stronger.

Through the creative effort of the people, led by revolutionaries in a revolutionary spirit we must at the cost of sacrifice build a beautiful country, the world of tomorrow, which the rising generation exemplifies already. Already our young people can see it in their mind's eye, as we witnessed it here yesterday, when young men and women representing the 15,000 young people studying to become teachers gathered together. It is evident from the spirit of our future teachers, from enthusiasm with which they work. For it is said that when it comes to doing a job there is no such things as darkness, cold, heat, rain or drought as far as they are concerned. One day when several concrete mixers broke down, these young people crushed the stones with hammers to finish the job. We put our hopes on this generation, which will educate our children in this very spirit in the countryside and in the towns. And that which they achieve, and which will be more than we have achieved, will have to be surpassed by those they educate.

We will build our new state in the face of all obstacles. We know we can do it. It doesn't matter how much we may have to sweat or what dangers we may encounter in doing it. We are looking ahead as we work and create. We are unconcerned by the

dangers to which the fruits of our labor may be exposed. What we have done once we can do again, as many times as may be necessary. There is something which no bombs, aircraft of arms can destroy, something which, like the staunchness of a battle-hardened soldier, never disappears; the qualities which make the seasoned soldier, the fearless fighter who, far from losing his head in battle, becomes stronger as he fights. In the same way our people, a people of battle-hardened fighters, will never quail in battle and their revolutionary spirit will go on strengthening.

There is something which, unlike a factory, power station or highway, is not built of stone. It is not built of cement and stone nor fastened with bolts. It is that which builds up in a people, the schooling they go through, the social consciousness they develop. These are invisible features but they exist and are invulnerable.

All that is material can be destroyed along with many human lives. But no one can destroy the spirit and history and example of our people. Nothing and no one can destroy the revolutionary consciousness of our people, their admirable generosity, their magnificent humanism, their enthusiasm, their optimism, the character which cements their strength.

What makes revolutionary ideas so strong? What makes Marxism so strong? For we are Marxist-Leninists!

Have we always been Marxist-Leninists? No, most of us have not.

What were we like on July 26? At that time we could not call ourselves Marxist-Leninists — conscious Marxist-Leninists. But the group of young people who launched the July 26 Movement studied Marx and Lenin. Among the books we thought of when storming Moncada were books by Marti and by Lenin.

Could we call ourselves Marxist-Leninists? No, we had yet to learn and understand many things. And while we had grasped certain fundamental principles of Marxism, the reality of a society divided into exploiters and exploited, the role of the masses in history, our class consciousness and revolutionary training were still insufficient for us to grasp the phenomenon of imperialism in all its breadth and depth. We may be said to have grasped it theoretically. Our attention was taken up mainly with the immediate task, our fight by insignificant means against the military power that was crushing our country.

We felt that we had a calling for revolutionary. We had revolutionary sentiments and revolutionary passion. But we lacked theoretical knowledge. And we did not master it overnight, nor did we master it by theoretical methods alone. It was brought home to us also by reality. No one taught it to us — we learned it by ourselves. Our ideas developed in step with our revolutionary growth as we mastered scientific socialism, as we searched for

the best solutions to historical and social problems. That was how we acquired our theory and our political history. Nor did we learn it superficially — it became part of our very being, of our thinking and life. And we became Marxist-Leninists.

Naturally, our enemies would have liked us to be moderate liberals, petty-bourgeois reformists.

We *were* petty-bourgeois minded, but we were fortunate enough to gradually discard that ideological burden and to adopt the ideology of the exploited and oppressed, of ordinary men and women, of the working people.

The imperialists would have liked us to continue dabbling in politics and to remain ignorant. They would have liked to perpetuate the situation that existed in our country. But they miscalculated. They claimed that Marxism-Leninism was outlandish, a foreign ideology. But, of course, ideas are accessible to all. The ideas of the French Revolution spread throughout the world. The bourgeois ideas of the United States were born of a philosophy conceived by European and not American authors and philosophers. The imperialists said that it was an outlandish ideology but they did not know of the excellent shoots which Marxist-Leninist ideas were putting forth in our climate. After all, when Columbus arrived here there was no sugar cane in this country. But see how well it grows in our country now! Cuba is the greatest producer of sugar and our cane is the richest in sugar content. The same is true of ideas—see how well revolutionary ideas are growing in our country! And we will be among the foremost producers of revolutionary ideas.

That is just what they had not expected. They had hoped that the ideas of the exploiters and enslavers and racialists, of the oppressors of the people, could sprout here. Yet these ideas were swept away, and into the bargain we swept away their advocates and the class representing and upholding them. Thus we paved the way for the development and flourishing of the ideology of the working people, of the ordinary people of our country.

The Revolution owes its strength to the fact that these ideas are right. The increasing participation of ordinary men and women in the Revolution is an indisputable confirmation of the theory of the class struggle. The unbreakable power of the Revolution is an irrefutable confirmation of the proposition that the masses are "the motive force of history," that a revolution accomplished by the masses under the leadership of a party equipped with a scientific ideology is invincible. This is why our Revolution is successful, and this is what accounts for its strength.

We studied Marxism from books, but above all from life. That is why we are becoming increasingly staunch socialists and Marxists, and why we will fight with increasing fervor for a world

of good, generous men, in which the whole people will live as one big family, in which every man and every woman will have, not one brother, but millions of brothers and sisters, millions of children, millions of fathers and mothers. For we are not like the capitalists, who regard man as a beast. Unlike the capitalists, we do not think man is a wolf, a selfish and cruel being. We believe in man, in his sentiments, in the kindness of his heart. We feel that these good qualities of man can develop indefinitely. That is why we can call ourselves champions of communism, people fighting for a better world, and be certain that we will achieve this goal.

Patria o muerte!
Venceremos!

ORGANIZE AND UNITE THE MASSES, DEVELOP THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY WAR

AN APPEAL OF THE PROVISIONAL REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP CENTER OF GUATEMALA

On the basis of a resolution of the CC of the Guatemalan Party of Labor, the Provisional Revolutionary Leadership Center established in Guatemala has launched the following appeal:

The Guatemalan people are at war with their oppressors. The U.S. imperialists and the landowner and bourgeois oligarchy who exploit and oppress our people, have long since abolished the Guatemalans' liberties and rights in order to uphold their own interests and privileges.

Since opportunities for political struggle by peaceful and legal means are lacking, the revolutionary forces have taken the only road left to our people. They have resolved to oppose revolutionary to counter-revolutionary violence, to pave the way for the Guatemalan revolution by force of arms, to organize and press forward the people's revolutionary war. In the present historical conditions the road of our revolution does not lead through elections.

The forces of anti-communist reaction close their ranks, resorting to terrorism and the most brutal repressions, rather than to recognize the real needs and rights of our people. The revolutionary forces are not begging for these rights. They have taken up arms not only to pay back the enemy but to get to the roots of the age-long problems of our people, to take power and radically solve these problems. And so a tense and hard fight lies ahead. The counter-revolution has shown itself incapable of solving the problems of the nation in favor of the people, of remedying the crisis that has gripped Guatemala.

At the moment the crisis of the reactionary regime expresses itself in ambitious plans and in contradictions within the military dictatorship that constantly threaten to break out in the form of a palace revolution or military coup and are held down only by the fear of revolution and by the intrigues and maneuvers of the U.S. Embassy.

The military dictatorship is anything but an indication of the vigor of the ruling exploiter classes. On the contrary, it is an unmistakable sign of their inability and weakness. The military cama-

rilla, which resorts to repression, torture and murder, still controls the situation, and the revolutionary forces should not underrate its fighting potential, its internal and external reserves, based on the backing of U.S. imperialism, and its fierce hatred of the popular movement. Nevertheless, it is not strong.

It is steadily losing socio-political ground, whereas the revolutionary forces are gaining influence among the masses and mobilizing them. They are becoming more class-conscious and organized, and are daily making headway in the people's revolutionary war and gaining in militancy. Whatever the ups and downs of the struggle, the maneuvers of the imperialists, the intrigues and frauds to which the military dictatorship expressing the interests of the ruling exploiter classes may have recourse, both this dictatorship and these classes are doomed by virtue of the objective laws of social development and history. The revolutionary struggle and the people's war cannot be stopped. The revolution will triumph.

The armed struggle in our country began two years ago under the badge of unity, when the November 13 Revolutionary Movement (NTRM), the April 12 Revolutionary Movement (ATRM) and the Guatemalan Party of Labor (GPL) agreed on coordinating and joining their efforts under the banner of the Insurgent Armed Forces (IAF). The people were quick to realize the nature of the IAF, which won the respect, affection and active support of the peasants, workers and other revolutionary elements.

The initial mistakes in the conception of the IAF, ideological and political differences, serious miscalculations of their command and of their member organizations, incorrect, sluggishly bureaucratic working methods and, afterwards, the sustained splitting and provocative activities of Trotskyite elements in the leadership of the NTRM led to stagnation in the IAF, which embody the unity of the armed movement, and then to their division, with the NTRM withdrawing from them. In the so-called Sierra de las Minas declaration, rejected by the other organizations and by the Edgar Ibarra Guerrilla Front, the NTRM poses as the only embodiment of the armed struggle going on in the country.

We deeply regret that fair-minded and gallant fighters of the NTRM, led by Major Yon Sosa, have under Trotskyist influence taken the road to division, which injures the Guatemalan revolutionary movement. Nevertheless, we hold out our fraternal hand to them in a spirit of unity. We are certain that we will meet on the same side of the line, and that sooner or later we will achieve victory for the workers, peasants and other patriotic and revolutionary elements resolved to defeat counter-revolution and imperialism by force of arms.

The ATRM, for its part, has announced its temporary withdrawal

from the IAF aimed at removing its shortcomings. We consider its decision wrong, for it is impossible to remove shortcomings and to strengthen one's position on the sidelines of the revolutionary struggle taking place in the country today.

In these conditions, we representatives of the principal resistance zones of the country, the Edgar Ibarra guerrilla unit, GPL and Patriotic Labor Youth, being fully empowered by our organizations, zones and guerrillas, have met to examine the situation and to put under a single united political and military leadership the great opportunities of struggle which are growing in the atmosphere of the national crisis and the upswing of the revolutionary movement.

The Guatemalan revolution is a single process which will go on until a new socialist society is built, a society without exploiters and exploited. The contradictions and problems which hamper this process today, and which we must deal with in fighting for power, stem from the agrarian question and imperialist domination. They arise chiefly out of the inequitable distribution of the land with a handful of landed proprietors holding immense areas, while hundreds of thousands of peasants have no land at all or only tiny patches, which are inadequate even for a bare subsistence under exploitation, and out of the predominance of semi-feudal relations of production despite a certain progress of capitalist relations. They are due to the control which the imperialists exercise over the life of the nation, making our economy lopsided, injuring our national sovereignty and cynically interfering in various activities of the nation. Hence the agrarian and anti-imperialist character of the Guatemalan revolution at this stage.

However, overcoming these contradictions is linked with the ultimate goal of our people, the construction of socialism in Guatemala. We are well aware of the intimate connection between these two stages of one and the same process, but we also point out the differences between them. Not until we realize this reality, can we lead the people along the right road, or, in other words, see the problems which we must solve upon the establishment of revolutionary power.

The Trotskyists' wild and absolutely unrealistic appeal to solve allegedly socialist problems before they become the order of the day lead to adventurism and provocation, as they have in other countries. The various programs published in *Revolucion Socialista* are essentially unsocialist, except certain demands, and quite confused.

We favor cooperation with the NTRM comrades but are positively against their Trotskyist orientation. We do not propose on this occasion to examine Trotskyism as an anti-Leninist trend whose ultra-revolutionary verbiage confuses and misleads the masses.

We only wish to stress the following points:

First, the Trotskyists deduce the socialist character of the revolution, not from a specific analysis of national reality, but solely from the world progress of socialism. This deduction is wrong. It is true that the progress of socialism is typical of our epoch, but only an analysis of the internal contradictions of a process can reveal its nature. In Guatemala, the main contradiction is due to the agrarian character of the country and to the struggle against imperialist domination.

There is the dramatic example of South Vietnam, whose people are waging a courageous armed struggle during the transition from capitalism to socialism, when North Vietnam is building socialism. The South Vietnamese people define the character of their struggle on the basis of internal contradictions—they see their struggle as an anti-feudal, anti-imperialist and national-liberation movement.

Secondly, the formula of the socialist revolution, given by the leadership of the Fourth International is a general pattern into which the Trotskyists would like to fit the diverse and manifold realities of every country of the world. This is evident not only from the history of Trotskyism and the conclusions of the Trotskyist Seventh Congress, but from the similar substance of the formulations presented by the Trotskyists in every country. Obviously, this method of raising problems is false and dangerous for all that it is wrapped up in pseudo-revolutionary talk.

When we add to that the Trotskyists' continuous splitting and provocative activity, we see that their effort does not promote unity or the revolutionary struggle and, indeed, plays into the hands of the enemy.

Thirdly, it is entirely wrong to attribute a socialist character to every mass movement and to proceed from this subjective assumption in describing the revolution. True, the immediate demands of the masses should be linked with the interests of the revolutionary movement. But this should not lead to the inference that the masses have acquired a socialist consciousness for this consciousness is plainly and deplorably lacking.

Socialism is not a state of consciousness but a scientific theory confirmed by history, a theory not created spontaneously by the masses but assimilated by them in struggle. Lenin himself said that the masses cannot by themselves develop socialist consciousness, which is brought to them from without. All that the masses attain by themselves is a collectivist consciousness, he said.

The masses are the main motive force of history. To follow the right road, the revolutionary leaders and organizations must always learn from the practical experience of the masses. But one should not regard this creative force as an all-powerful mystical entity as do the Trotskyists, who exalt the spontaneous movement, a

trend contrary to the genuine revolutionary movement.

Fourthly, the Trotskyist concept of armed struggle runs counter to the concept of people's revolutionary war. The Trotskyists, who proceed from a subjective position and a general formula of world revolution, contend that the conditions are ripe and the masses properly trained for an immediate armed uprising. This is why the Guatemalan Trotskyists, while compelled to speak of the guerrilla movement, see the latter as the most backward form of struggle and, in fact, call for a rising, as is evident from *Revolucion Socialista* and as Trotskyists have been doing for forty years now in every country where they have an organization of their own.

We could touch on many other questions but there is no need. What we would like to stress is the gravity of the disruptive stand of the Trotskyists, who use the prestige of the NTRM to mislead the masses.

Who, then, are the friends and who the enemies of the Guatemalan revolution?

From what we have said, the workers, peasants and urban middle strata are the social forces that will promote the Guatemalan revolution. The U.S. imperialists, semi-feudal lords and pro-imperialist bourgeoisie are our enemies. Other elements, such as sections of the national bourgeoisie and the well-to-do petty bourgeoisie, will tend to become polarized as the struggle goes on. They are intermediate forces which will have to be taken into account and neutralized. The duplicity and vacillating nature of the bourgeoisie, its tendency to compromise with imperialism and betray the revolution, are well known. Our attitude to the bourgeoisie will depend on its behavior in the course of the revolutionary struggle.

Revolutionary power will, therefore, have to lean for support on the motive forces of the revolution, namely, the political organizations which win it, being free from all petty and opportunist considerations. We have said that the road to power lies through the people's revolutionary war, in which the masses will join as it develops and which will rally the masses for an organized armed struggle to overthrow the ruling exploiter classes. We must expose and combat the perfectly hopeless tendency to use parliamentary and legal methods, which only benefit the military dictatorship.

We consider the Guatemalan revolution part of the great revolutionary process which is on the rise in Latin America and in whose van marches the heroic Cuban revolution. Our revolution is a component of the world revolution, which at present is characterized by transition from capitalism to socialism, the downfall of the colonial system and the uptrend of the struggle agonst neo-colonialism, as well as by the aggravation of the contradictions and crisis of imperialism of which U.S. imperialism is the outstanding exponent. Despite their might and arrogance, the U.S. imperialists

are losing ground as a result of the advances of socialism and the revolutionary upsurge of the peoples.

We are against the warmongering plans of the U.S. imperialists, for friendship and solidarity among the nations. We fully support the liberation movements of all the oppressed peoples. We publicly declare that our activity is guided by Marxist-Leninist doctrine, analysis and method, whose universal validity has been proved by history.

It is along these general lines that we will sum up the most vital problems, demands and aspirations of our people and country in order to work out in final form a revolutionary program providing for the transfer of the land to the peasants through a deep-going agrarian reform, consolidation of the gains and rights of the working class, improvements in the material and cultural standards of our people, radical structural changes ensuring the proper development of our economy, the full exercise of national sovereignty and, ultimately, the construction of socialism in our country.

The Conference of representatives of the Resistance Zones, Edgar Ibarra Guerrilla Front, GPL and Patriotic Labor Youth resolves:

1. To establish, with the support of the Edgar Ibarra Guerrilla Front, Resistance Zones, GPL and Patriotic Labor Youth, a Provisional Revolutionary Leadership Center that would organize and press forward the people's revolutionary war.

2. To assume the full leadership of the IAF and to take every step toward reorganizing the regions and zones, and ensuring the functioning of the various services according to the needs of the war.

3. To take—depending on the circumstances—the initiative of uniting, as far as possible, all the revolutionary forces opposed to the military dictatorship and U.S. imperialism, and of laying the groundwork for a single military and political movement.

We call on every member of our organizations and all IAF fighters to tighten discipline and raise militancy, to organize and mobilize the masses, use prompt and bold fighting methods, fully display initiative and commit themselves — firmly and to the point of sacrifice—to the cause of the revolution.

We call on the workers and peasants, on all the revolutionaries and patriots, to join fully in the revolutionary fight and to form combat organizations of the IAF.

We call on the people of Guatemala to be true to their principles and their best traditions, to their vital interests and their future, and to take their destiny into their own hands, as they have done in the crucial periods of their history. We call on them to join in the revolutionary war in order to sweep away their oppressors and exploiters once and for all.

We will never forget the fighters who have fallen. Their memory

will help us not only to destroy their murderers but to build a happy future for the Guatemalan people in whose service the heroes stinted neither their blood nor their very lives.

We are convinced of the justice of our cause ,of the triumph of the struggle which the Guatemalan people are waging. We will always be loyal to the principles of socialism, to the great cause of the working people.

THE NATIONAL UNION OF THE WORKING PEOPLE OF MALI IN THE FIGHT FOR THE SOCIALIST ROAD*

At the present time, when Africa is throwing off the fetters of colonialism, the countries which have won national independence are confronted with the task of winning and steadily consolidating their economic independence. Only a strong economy can prevent political independence from becoming a fiction and enable Africa to harness its incalculable resources, to build up its strength and to launch out on a modern life within a brief space of time.

HISTORIC CONGRESS OF THE SUDANESE UNION

In the light of this urgent necessity, the Sudanese Union at its Congress held on September 22, 1960, decided to embark on the building of a planned socialist economy in the Republic of Mali, whose socio-economic development had been deformed by long years of colonial rule. Proceeding from the existing situation, the Congress set the following principal tasks:

—abolition of the colonial structure of the economy without delay;

—creation with utmost speed of a new economic structure by reconstructing and developing further the trade structure within the framework of socialist planning and in line with the conditions of Africa;

—channelling all resources to build up a modern infra-structure adequate to the country's requirements;

—intensification of agricultural production to improve supplies to the population and increase exports;

—harnessing all resources to create a manufacturing industry;

—intensive prospecting for mineral deposits to help make Mali a country worthy of the new Africa;

—effective guidance and control of the economy by the state, which should play an increasingly active role in tackling urgent problems, in particular through the establishment of a national foreign trade office and strengthening the cooperative sector.

As regards Africa as a whole, the Congress stressed the need to create an African common market and currency zone.

*Aus der Internationalen Arbeiterbewegung, N 13, 1965.

NEW TASKS OF TRADE UNIONS IN CONDITIONS OF NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE

No country can take such a road without the support of the trade unions, i.e., of the working people. Our Party has realized this. It should be noted that the position of the working people was one of the main factors prompting the Republic to take the above decision. The trade unions, which always sided with the Party against colonial rule, gradually changed their methods of activity. Whereas formerly they limited themselves to putting forward demands, they now undertook a thorough study of the new financial and economic problems confronting the country. This led to the reorganization of the unions along industrial lines. The united National Union of the Working People of Mali (UNTM) founded in Bamako in July 1963 defined its principal aims as follows:

—workers' participation in the management of the enterprises and in governing the country; establishment of an alliance with the peasantry;

—scientific organization of labor in all fields;

—changed labor legislation to ensure greater social justice;

—definition of the rights and duties of trade union members.

The people of Mali take pride in the fact that the preamble to the statutes of the trade unions contains the following important definition: "The trade unions in the Mali Republic are a school of democracy and socialism."

This thesis, which does credit to our trade unions, is reflected in the principles on which our concrete trade union struggle is based. This includes:

—struggle against chauvinism, regionalism and petty-bourgeois ideology in home policy;

—struggle against neocolonialism and imperialism in foreign policy;

—participation by all working people in the management of the nationalized enterprises and government institutions, in drafting and carrying out economic plans and control of fulfilment of these plans;

—assisting the workers to heighten their political knowledge, professional skill and cultural level;

—all members of trade unions at the enterprises and institutions to be united in a single union; union dues to be calculated in accordance with earnings.

The revolutionary Republic of Mali and its Party, the Sudanese Union, rely in large measure on the activity of the trade unions. The UNTM is fighting for a better life for the working people, it has strengthened its militancy and improved its educational and

organizational work among the masses in the interests of all sections of the population.

The UNTM has scored some significant achievements in recent years. Take, for example, the training and employment of Africans and the guidance of state enterprises by the working people; the introduction of a Labor Code granting the workers considerable privileges; the new marriage law; the right to train trade union functionaries, primarily in the socialist countries; the establishing of a central trade union school and similar schools in the localities; the regular organization of training courses for trade union functionaries.

At the present time a national commission comprised chiefly of representatives of the working people is drafting a code of labor laws that will be binding on all Mali workers. In this connection one may recall the speech delivered by President Modibo Keita on May 1, 1965, in which he said: "State enterprises are the property of the people. The law on the nationalization of enterprises adopted by the National Assembly lays down that these enterprises can never again be returned to private interests. They belong to the people and must be run by a special committee consisting mainly of trade union members. This makes workers' management of the enterprises in the state sector no longer a dream but the reality."

In order to strengthen the alliance with the peasantry the UNTM took part in establishing effective control over grain prices. The unions saw to it that the peasants were granted loans and given assistance, that the interests of agriculture, animal husbandry and fishing were taken into account. The trade unions advocated the setting up of a state sector in agriculture as a means of educating the working people in the countryside and popularizing experience in cultivating new crops.

The UNTM organized seasonal schools for the study of agrarian problems and methods of employing modern techniques in this sphere of the economy.

PLANNED ECONOMIC UPBUILDING CALLS FOR A SCIENTIFIC APPROACH

The First National Conference of Mali working people and leading cadres held on May 24-26, 1965, in Bamako was a signal event in the life of our country. Sponsored by the UNTM, it took place under the personal guidance of the President. Taking into account the difficulties arising in the process of building an independent and prosperous nation, the conference pointed to the need to improve the general style of work in order to ensure the achievement of the national goals.

The UNTM slogan, "Steadily forward, by our own forces, relying

on ourselves!" must be carried into effect by all the working people at the enterprises, construction sites and offices. In order to increase production and raise the productivity of labor, this must be done everywhere. The conference put forward the following basic principles to be observed in our work:

1. Education of the working people (training trade union propagandists for the enterprises and local unions, and establishing a republic-wide UNTM school) and the founding of a workers' university.

2. Scientific organization of labor, including popularization, elaboration of the principles of technical organization of enterprises, consultations and aid to the managers and executives of state enterprises and firms, and dissemination of the best experiences.

3. The targets of the production plan must be concretized at all state enterprises and firms, and the cost of production carefully verified.

4. Control at enterprise level to ensure the most efficient use of the means of production, raw materials and funds as well as labor power. For this the political groups, leading trade union bodies and management committees at the enterprises must be adequately prepared. It is likewise essential to define and strictly observe the norms of expenditure of labor and materials as well as labor discipline.

5. Production at the enterprises must be coordinated with a view to achieving the common aim, and information exchanged between the enterprises concerning their respective plans.

6. A commission should be set up to check up on the equipment available at all enterprises. This commission should advance concrete suggestions concerning the establishment of special workshops to turn out simple machines, tools and spare parts.

7. Promotion of cooperation among handicraftsmen. It is the task of the UNTM to establish, together with the Party and the government, model cooperatives.

8. Organizing the engineers and technicians in trade unions with a view to ensuring them, under the guidance of the UNTM, an opportunity fully to develop their creative talent and abilities.

9. Speedy completion of the drafting of the Labor Code by the above-mentioned national commission and regulation of wages on the basis of this Code.

10. The conference urged that specialists coming from abroad be guaranteed such rights in their respective spheres of activity as would enable them to work effectively and help in training Mali cadres.

11. Implementation of the principle of material incentives and severe penalties for all violations of this principle at whatever level they occur.

Lastly, the conference stressed the need for rallying the working people and vigilance to safeguard the gains of the revolution. It also pointed to the need for lasting alliance with the peasant masses.

CLOSE COOPERATION WITH THE PARTY AND THE GOVERNMENT

The Party and the Government have in the trade unions the most reliable base of support, the most loyal proponent of their policy. We are convinced that the country will exceed the five-year plan targets. This plan calls for increasing gross production from 52,400,000 Franco-African francs in 1959 to 84,800,000 in 1965. According to the plan, 17.9 percent of all school-age children were to be enrolled in schools (in 1959 only 10 percent were able to go to school), but already in the 1964-65 school year enrollment rose to 26 percent.

Responding to the dictates of the time, the Mali trade unions have joined in one center subdivided according to industry. This has made for more fruitful cooperation with production organizations and government bodies.

Our trade unions take an active part at all levels in economic and social life, in adopting decisions concerning production and its organization, and in defining the priority tasks. This cooperation lies at the root of our successes, making it possible to ensure the rational orientation of our plan, the fulfilment of which will mark a major step toward socialism. The results achieved thanks to the foresight of our government, the efforts of the people and the trade unions, and the all-round support rendered by the socialist countries without any political strings attached—support which we deeply appreciate—are an earnest of the rapid building of socialism in Mali.

Our economy has gained strength. A light industry has been created and the sights are now set on building a heavy industry. Mali is not out merely to make a sensational display of revolutionary pyrotechnics. Ours is a country of common-sense, of persevering and resolute revolutionary development. It is steadfastly forging ahead under the wise leadership of the Sudanese Union and its indefatigable General Secretary Modibo Keita, and the watchful eye of the trade unions which are ably assisting in ensuring our progress.

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ANTI-SOVIETISM: ONE OF THE MAIN TRENDS IN THE IDEOLOGY OF IMPERIALISM TODAY*

Anti-Sovietism—organized and calculated struggle against the Soviet Union, the world's first socialist state—became the cornerstone of the ideology and policy of world imperialist reaction after the Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917 in Russia. Today it is the main trend of anti-communism, the substance of which, as the Program of the CPSU points out, is slander of the socialist system and misrepresentation of the Communist Parties' policies and goals as well as the theory of Marxism-Leninism.

Anti-Sovietism bespeaks the bourgeoisie's fear of the growth of the Soviet Union's might and the revolutionizing influence of its example on the working people in the capitalist countries. Seeing no way out of the contradictions of capitalism, the bourgeois ideologists attempt to "shift the responsibility" for the intrinsic defects of their system onto outside facors like the fictitious "intrigues of the Soviet Union" and "world communism." At the same time anti-Sovietism is intended to provide a camouflage for the most reactionary encroachments of imperialism, justify the arms race profitable to monopolies and screen the onslaught against the democratic rights of the working people.

Having originated as a reaction of the capitalist world to the establishment of the Soviet system, anti-Sovietism went through modifications as socialism developed and was consolidated. In the first years after the October Revolution of 1917 anti-Soviet propaganda depicted socialism as a purely destructive and negative force and identified the collapse of capitalism with the "end of civilization" in general. It is difficult to point out an argument which was not used to prove the "unnatural" and "transient" character of the socialist system and the "purely Russian" character of the communist ideology, "alien" to other countries.

In the twenties and the thirties standard methods of ani-Sovietism were developed: slander aimed against the Soviet system, denial of the democratic essence of the socialist state, and allegations about the "dictatorship of the Communist Party," the "utopia" of the economic plans for the building of socialism and the "enmity of communism" towards the individual.

When it became impossible to deny that socialist society en-

*Kommunist, No. 7, July 1965.

sured a high rate of continuous economic development, a rapid advance of culture and vast progress in all spheres of life, new overtones sounded in anti-Soviet propaganda along with the old tunes. The chief new trend was to represent the Soviet Union as an aggressive country threatening peace, as a source of "communist expansion" and export of revolution.

Anti-Soviet propaganda was forced to adjust itself more and more to the rapidly changing situation after the establishment of the socialist world system and the Soviet Union's entry into the period of the comprehensive building of communism. Tacit admission of the failure of the frontal attacks against the Soviet Union has led to the struggle being shifted onto a new plane. Attempts began to be made to take advantage of the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems for ideological subversion designed to lead to the "erosion" of socialist society. Intense search is in progress for everything that might allegedly confirm the possibility of "rapprochement" between and "hybridization" of capitalism and socialism.

Gone is the time when crude fabrications about the Soviet Union could be used to mislead the uninformed. Anti-Soviet propaganda has not given up crude allegations, downright slander and provocation, but it is now trying to indoctrinate wide sections of population by more sophisticated methods, resorting to ever more complex and masked techniques designed to impart a semblance of objectivity to the slander.

But however sophisticated the anti-Soviet propagandists, it is clear that they are being forced to retreat in the face of the Soviet Union's achievements. The activization of their efforts is an indicator of the growing influence of the Soviet Union's progress on the working people in the capitalist countries and on the nations fighting for their national liberation. This is why the evolution of anti-Sovietism in the last half century is, in the final analysis, a record of ideological defeats in spite of the fact that the imperialists have spared no efforts to foster it.

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Anti-Sovietism today is not only an ideology, but also organization of propaganda on an unprecedented scale. Hundreds of millions of dollars have been spent on the maintenance of a tremendous propaganda machinery employing tens of thousands of people, and the latest technical facilities have been placed at its disposal. The latest developments in psychology have been harnessed to propaganda. Numerous institutions are engaged in working out methods and techniques of slanted propaganda and misinformation and studying their effectiveness. A feature of contemporary anti-Sovietism as compared with its prewar stage is international consolidation of anti-Soviet means of propaganda.

The USA and West Germany are the organizing centers. In the USA the main official channel is the United States Information Agency (USIA) with 13,000 employees, including 9,300 in its foreign branches. The Agency has 239 departments in 106 countries, uses the Voice of America radio network and publishes 66 magazines and 20 newspapers in 25 languages. In recent years the USIA has modernized its broadcasting network in the USA and abroad. Every year U.S. film studios release 200 propaganda films (features and documentaries) for the Agency; more than 350 documentaries are produced by the Agency itself outside the USA.

Formally independent, the USIA has actually been controlled by the State Department since its foundation. It is from the State Department that the USIA receives daily instructions complemented by the directives of the Operations Coordinating Board under the National Security Council, Department of Defense and other U.S. agencies. The magazine *Problems of Communism* published by the USIA—a periodical which in effect, lays down the official line on anti-communist policy and propaganda—devoted approximately three quarters of its space to the Soviet Union in 1963 and 1964.

"Russian institutes" and research centers and "Sovietology centers" are functioning at 17 leading universities of the U.S.A. They investigate all aspects of life in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and develop methods of criticizing communist ideology and socialist reality. Professor Barghoorn (USA) noted that the special literature on the Soviet Union put out to date was truly boundless.

In West Germany more than 90 institutes and societies are concerned with anti-Soviet propaganda. These organizations are known under the general name of "Ostforschung"; the most active are those in Munich, Marburg, Cologne and West Berlin. In the Munich institute 80 researchers are concerned with the USSR, their activity being directed by three American advisers; the institute is financed by the governments of the USA and the FRG to which it reports its data on the USSR.

It is clear that imperialism has built a vast machinery for waging a subversive "psychological war" against the Soviet Union, preparing propaganda material and concocting "arguments" which would misrepresent the Soviet economic and political system.

Special attention is paid to waging the ideological struggle against the socialist countries by means of the radio, cinema, TV, newspapers, magazines and books. A ring of radio and television stations with pretentious names like "Radio Liberty" broadcasting in 19 languages of the Soviet Union's nationalities has been established along the borders of the socialist countries. Active propaganda-broadcasting stations are the Voice of America, RIAS in West Berlin, as well as "private" radio stations like Radio Free

Europe. The Voice of America has more than 100 transmitters broadcasting over 100 programs daily.

The USIA television service set up in 1953 prepares daily more than 500 TV programs in video and film recordings for free distribution in more than 40 countries with a total audience of more than 200,000,000.

The Government of West Germany has undertaken the role of an outpost of anti-Sovietism in Europe. It controls two radio stations, Deutsche Welle and Deutschlandfunk. The budget of the Deutsche Welle station alone comes up to DM 40 million a year and the number of employees exceeds 1,500.

The Washington and Bonn anti-Soviet propaganda chorus is echoed more or less faithfully by the foreign broadcasting service of Italy, France, Britain, Spain and Japan.

Anti-Soviet propaganda takes three major directions: first, imperialist propaganda shaping public opinion inside the capitalist countries; second, persistent anti-Soviet propaganda which has been steadily stepped up in recent years in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America searching for ways of non-capitalist development; and finally, the ideological offensive on the socialist countries, intensified in the hope of sowing mutual resentment and hostility among them and shaking their faith in the feasibility of the noble aims the fraternal nations have set themselves.

These three directions have much in common, though each of them has its own specific features. Their common feature is slandering the Soviet Union, its economic system, political organization and culture. The Soviet Union's home and foreign policies are distorted, and the position of classes and nations as well as the development of the family and the individual in the USSR are misrepresented. At the same time the methods and to a certain extent the content of the propaganda are varied depending on the audience.

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The anti-Soviet propaganda inside the capitalist countries aims at undermining the Soviet Union's revolutionizing influence on the minds of the working people and neutralizing the example of growing and developing socialism. The ideologists of imperialism tackling this unfeasible task usually resort to two methods. One of them is undisguised hostility towards the Soviet Union and denial of any progress whatsoever on its part. This is the stand taken by the extreme reactionaries, the "wildmen" and instigators of war; many of them call for breaking off diplomatic relations with the socialist countries, stopping trade with them and steering a course towards thermonuclear war. However, the chances of success for this frenzied reactionary policy are constantly diminishing.

In view of this, the ideologists of imperialism are resorting to

the other form of anti-Sovietism: covering up the reactionary essence of their propaganda by liberal phraseology. They pose as advocates of democracy and progress, champions of justice and peace opposed to any "totalitarianism," which they claim is practised under the Soviet system as well. For the sake of appearances they are prepared to recognize the Soviet Union's achievements, attributing them, however, to anything but the establishment of socialist relations.

Of late, anti-Sovietism has been propagated in the guise of the theory of "rapprochement" between capitalism and socialism as a result of the "modernization" of capitalism and a certain internal "transformation" of socialism. Capitalism and socialism are represented as variants of an "integral industrial society" developing in the final analysis in the same direction. The object is twofold: first, to declare the intrinsic defects of capitalism to be a natural result of the development of the contemporary productive forces (e.g., automation) and, second, to ascribe the same defects to socialism. Anti-Sovietism is thus masked as an "objective" and "scientific" analysis of the ways of development of the two systems.

Characteristically, the anti-Sovieteers seeking to brainwash the population of the capitalist countries seize upon everything that might create the impression that socialism does not, after all, differ too much from capitalism. In particular, this accounts for the noisy campaign around the economic discussions in the Soviet press. The debates as to the best use of commodity-money relations, material incentive and profit for the development of the socialist economy are represented as a "return to capitalism" and "transition to Western methods of management."

The anti-Sovieteers attempt to depict new phenomena reflecting the progressive development of the socialist economy as signs that bourgeois elements are asserting themselves in it, as evidence of bourgeois degeneration of Soviet economic activity. Thus, the the West German economist Georg von Hubbenert contends that the Soviet leadership is "determined to transform the Soviet economy on the capitalist and above all American pattern." ". . . To recognize that profit is legitimate is to recognize its role as a moving force in the economy of any type," stated the Italian newspaper *Popolo*. The British *Daily Express* declared that "communist profit is the same as capitalist profit."

The propagandists of anti-Sovietism do not mention the fact that profit under socialism differs in essence from capitalist profit. The main factor is ignored—that profit under socialism becomes, in contrast to capitalism, the property of society at large, which uses it for the benefit of the working people themselves, and is not appropriated by private proprietors or obtained through the ex-

ploitation of man by man; that economic levers are employed under socialism in the context of social ownership of the means of production, which alters radically the social nature of profit as well as other economic categories. Cost accounting, profit, bonuses, credits and prices are processes and methods which are legitimate under socialism, which follow from the very nature of the first phase of communism and are closely connected with distribution according to labor and control of the amount of labor and amount of consumption. The correction of mistakes due to underestimation of these economic methods is a necessary condition for the further development of the socialist economy. Yet bourgeois propaganda represents this as well-nigh a return to capitalism.

With the same purpose the bourgeois propagandists deliberately distort the problem of the relation between the planned economy and the market. Counterposing one to the other, they claim that the development of the market under socialism weakens the element of planning. They represent the measures aimed at a better registration and satisfaction of demand in the Soviet Union as the beginning of a departure from the planning of the socialist economy. *Business Week*, a mouthpiece of the U.S. monopolies, went to the length of contending that an "economic deplanning program" was in progress in the USSR. The article holds that the decision to correlate the operation of a number of footwear and clothing enterprises more closely with demand marked a "turning point in Soviet economic policy." The "turning point" to what? To capitalism, of course, according to the author.

In their urge to represent each new positive process in the Soviet Union's economic life as a sign that the Soviet system is going "bourgeois," the capitalist propagandists are prepared to overstep all the bounds of common sense. Even the opening in Moscow of a large stories with a wide range of goods like "Beryozka," "Ruslan," "Bogatyr," etc, pointing to the rising welfare of the population was seen as the result of "admission into the socialist system of certain dynamic elements of capitalism."

The "predictions" about the inevitable restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union made by anti-Soviet propagandists in connection with the transition in the '20s to the New Economic Policy evoke smiles today. Their "forecasts" in connection with the current measures to overcome subjectivism in economic management and to ensure economic development on a sound, strictly scientific basis are no less ludicrous.

Anti-Soviet literature abounds in columns of figures, tables and other attributes of documentary evidence. However, all these figures are hand-picked: those indices by which the Soviet Union lags behind the most developed capitalist countries are played up, while the data pointing to the progress of socialism in the competition

with capitalism are passed over in silence. Gleefully the bourgeois propagandists claim, on the strength of Soviet press reports or Soviet statistics, that, for instance, the productivity of labor in U.S. industry is still 2 to 2.5 times higher than in the Soviet Union. On the other hand, they make no mention of the fact that the Soviet productivity of labor in oil extraction or steel making, for example, approaches the U.S. indices, while in railway transport the Soviet performance is considerably higher.

Bourgeois propagandists are especially fond of harping on shortcomings in Soviet services. At the same time they avoid even mentioning the scope of housing construction in the Soviet Union or the fact that rents do not exceed 4-5 per cent of wages in the USSR, while in capitalist countries rents consume from 25 to 40 per cent of wages. The scope of free higher education, free medical service, the fact that the Soviet Union has left far behind the most developed countries of capitalism, including the USA, for the number of physicians per 10,000 of population are all taboos for anti-Soviet literature.

All the bourgeois propaganda concerning the Soviet Union implies this question addressed to the working people in the capitalist countries: "What are you grumbling about: the socialist countries have just the same troubles as we have." To ascribe the defects of capitalism to socialism and to look for facts in socialist society which the ordinary man would associate with what he sees at home, and thus undermine his faith in the struggle against capitalism is one of the most common methods of anti-Soviet propaganda intended for home consumption in the capitalist countries.

The program of the CPSU, which charts the prospects of development of Soviet society, is attacked especially viciously by anti-Sovieteers. Apart from a spate of articles, there have appeared symposiums with scholarly pretensions like the "Future of Communist Society" and "The USSR and the Future," featuring the biggest "experts" in "Sovietology." Special attention is paid to social prospects, and the CPSU's plans for meeting the needs of the working people. Some "Sovietologists" claim that everything the Program of the CPSU promises has long been attained in the West, and in general, that the future communism is nothing but the "improved welfare state" promised by bourgeois ideologists. Others try to represent the development of public forms of distribution outlined in the Program of the CPSU as a system of regimenting the consumption patterns of the population. The Soviet citizen will be forced to consume what has been prescribed by the state, they contend.

These allegations draw on the old prejudice that while realizing social justice, communism restricts the personal freedoms. Anti-

Soviet propaganda still appeals to the individualism, characteristic of the bourgeois world outlook.

To inculcate upon the minds of common people the most absurd ideas about socialism and communism, "Sovietologists" assure them that in the Soviet Union man has been turned into a "mere cog in the machinery of production," a "beast of burden," and uncomplaining worker bee out of a "well-functioning bee-hive," etc. According to Iring Fetscher, the head of the "Marxist Commission of Evangelic Academies" of the FRG, the Soviet Communists "hope on the one hand to outstrip the Western world in the economic and technical contest and create the world's highest living standards for Soviet citizens and on the other hand to convert the country into a smoothly functioning moralized bee-hive."*

In their discourses on Soviet society, socialism and communism, anti-Soviet propagandists make use of the delusion that personal freedom is only possible under capitalism and frighten those who share this delusion by the imaginary prospect of losing their freedom under communism. It is for this purpose that the allegations about the fictitious antithesis between collectivism and personal freedom are being fabricated. However, communist collectivism is opposite only to bourgeois individualism and not to the freedom of the individual. On the contrary, the individual's genuine freedom is possible only if he is free from exploitation. Naturally, the propaganda machinery of the exploiting capitalist system prefers to be reticent about this kind of freedom which is basic to any genuine freedom.

The reference to the persecution of believers in the socialist countries, the inhuman character of atheism spread allegedly by coercion, etc., are also base slander. The propagandists of anti-Sovietism (and by no means churchmen alone) often take advantage of the fact that people abroad (in particular Western intellectuals) know very little about the actual position of religion and the church in the socialist countries, where genuine freedom of conscience is ensured all citizens.

One of the stock devices by which bourgeois ideologists attempt to furbish the capitalist system and compromise the Soviet system is the contention that the capitalist countries constitute a "free world" while Soviet society is a world without freedom. In reality the development of political systems in the capitalist world and in the socialist world reveals two opposite trends: state-monopoly capitalism attempts to whittle down bourgeois democracy, restricted and formal as it is; in the Soviet Union there is a steady broadening of socialist democracy, which was from the very beginning democracy for the overwhelming majority of society — the

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*Die Hoffnungen unserer Zeit. Munich 1963, p. 90.

working people—and then developed into democracy for the whole people, a democracy for all.

In the treatment of anti-Soviet propaganda the true picture undergoes the most fantastic distortion. In recent years some falsifiers have gone so far as to pose as guardians of the purity of Marxism. They charge the CPSU with deviating from Marxism-Leninism, referring to the conclusions of the CPSU Program on the state and Party of the entire people.

For example, Professor Robert Tucker of Indiana University (USA), who contributes to the most vicious anti-communist publications, claims, like many other critics of the Soviet political system, that the formula "all-people's state" contradicts Marxism since the state is, according to the "Marxist view," a mechanism for the suppression of one class by another. These self-styled experts in Marxism are prepared to use any sleight of hand and even pose as champions of the theory which, under other circumstances they declare "exploded," "untenable," and "hoplessly outdated."

Such is the ethics of the anti-Sovieteers. They will go to any length if it is to their advantage. For them anti-Sovietism serves a dual purpose: on the one hand, it is aimed against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and on the other it distracts attention from shady anti-democratic deals in the respective capitalist countries and from the ugly role of the USA as world policeman.

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Anti-Sovietism is also used by imperialism to combat the national-liberation movement in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

The Soviet Union's ideological influence on the developing countries alarms those who want to save the disintegrating colonial system or replace it by the system of neo-colonialism. In the preface of the symposium *USSR and the Future,* L. Shapiro warns, that it would be unreasonable to underestimate the potential effect of the Program of the CPSU on Asian and African audiences. According to the author, the Program is perfectly suitable for export to Africa and Asia: it is comparatively small and politically pointed, it has a strong moral element, and links the progress of the USSR after 1917 and the gradual collapse of colonialism as elements of the same great historical process.

Anti-Soviet propagandists are doing their utmost to dissociate these historical developments in the minds of people. In his book *Asia, Moscow and We,* the German "Sovietologist" Klaus Mehnert goes to the length of giving priority in the liberation of Asia to Germany and Japan which allegedly undermined the colonial powers in World War II. However, Mehnert is forced to concede that the young nations associate their destinies with other forces.

"Socialism and planned economy are the two magic formulae with which many inhabitants of Asia associate all their hopes."*

The mutually advantageous economic cooperation of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries with the newly-emerged nations is an especially alarming sign to the defenders of colonialism. They are out to violate this cooperation and question its motives. However, the young nations see for themselves that the Soviet Union grants loans to them on favorable terms and helps to build first-rate industrial enterprises, educational establishments and hospitals as well as train skilled manpower. Unable to refute these facts, anti-Soviet propagandists take revenge by slandering the Soviet Union's internal national policy.

The anti-Soviet centers include specialized institutions whose object is to "study" the Soviet national republics and discredit the Soviet national policy in the eyes of other nations. Functioning in Britain, for example is a center concerned with Central Asia and Kazakhstan and publishing the magazine *Central Asian Review*. One of the objects of the Munich Institute is also anti-Soviet propaganda for the developing countries. The Institute publishes a magazine in 7 languages. A spate of books and articles concerned with the position of the non-Russian nations in the USSR is produced in the USA, FRG, Britain and other countries. The magazine *Osteuropa* regularly carries articles on this subject.

The book *National Policy of the Soviet Union* by the British "expert" Kolarz exemplifies a crudely slanderous interpretation of the solution of the national problem in the USSR. For the authors, out to whitewash British imperialism, the Soviet Union's national policy is synonymous with "colonial policy." He declares that the word "colony" as he understands it is applicable to all nations of the non-Russian areas of the USSR which he equates with the overseas territories of other powers. It seems that an avowed colonialist cannot visualize any other national relations except the colonial policy of oppression.

To mask U.S. neo-colonialism and to neutralize the growing indigation in African countries at the racialist outrages in the USA, the U.S. propagandists of anti-Sovietism have even sponsored a symposium entitled *Is There Soviet Colonialism?* Director of the Russian Center of Harvard University R. Pipes in his article "The Power of Nationalism", Professor M. Rivkin (New York City College) in his article "Central Asia and the Price of Sovietization" and others vie with one another in trying to prove that black is white and to distort the national policy of the Soviet Union.

The ideologists of imperialism, which is guilty of numberless crimes against the hundreds of millions of exploited people in the

*Klaus Mehnert, Asien, Moskau und wir. Stuttgart, 1956. p. 47.

colonies and which has launched brutal aggression in Vietnam, the Congo and the Dominican Republic, have the audacity to pose as advocates of the right of peoples to self-determination. There seems to be no limit to the cynicism and hypocrisy of imperialism.

It is owing to the persevering struggle of the USSR and other socialist countries against the imperialist system of colonial oppression and on the side of the national-liberation movement that the right to self-determination, theoretically substantiated by Marxism-Leninism, has now found recognition in international law. The bourgeois critics of socialism would like to interpret the right of every nation to self-determination only as a matter of the separation and division of peoples of the USSR. The Soviet Constitution guarantees the right to secession but, as the *Handbook on World Communism** ruefully notes, "not a single republic has used this right." Since the Soviet Union is a multi-national country and no constituent nation intends to secede and set up a separate state, the USSR is labelled a "communist empire" and "colonial power." Such is the "logic" of the anti-Soviet ideologists who are seeking to give a semblance of veracity to their contentions by the tendentious selection of facts or by calumny pure and simple. It is noteworthy that not only professional anti-Sovieteers like H. Decker, B. Meissner and their ilk but also presidents and prime ministers, generals and senators, bishops and bankers indulge in discourses on "Soviet colonialism."

Anti-Soviet falsifiers make a point of ignoring the essential difference between national relations under capitalism which are characterized by the growth of national strife, national narrow-mindedness and egoism, and those under socialism where the general development of nations assumes the form of their association, fraternal reciprocal assistance and friendship. The basic principle of the Soviet Union's national policy is the guarantee of real equality of all nations, taking full account of their interests; special attention is paid to those nations and areas of the USSR which are in need of an accelerated pace of development.

It is this policy of ensuring the real equality of all nations that enabled them to overcome the backwardness inherited from the past within the span of one generation. This is what makes the Soviet Union's example so attractive for underdeveloped countries, to which the traditional way of capitalist development cannot promise such a rapid and radical delivery from economic and cultural backwardness.

Unable to disprove this fact, propagandists of anti-Sovietism attempt to weaken as much as they can the impact or example of socialist industrialization. Some of them question the need for

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*Handbuch des Weltkommunismus, Freiburg-Munich, 1958, p. 266.

industrialization in the underdeveloped countries, others frighten them with its consequences, still others claim that industrialization in the Soviet Union required too many sacrifices and that delivery from backwardness should not be bought at so heavy price.

However, mere propaganda proves to be insufficient. In order to counter the Soviet example and the selfless aid rendered by the Soviet Union, the imperialists in some cases have been obliged—against their will—to participate in the construction of metallurgical and machine building enterprises in the developing countries, something to which they had hitherto been violently opposed. Thus, the existence of the USSR, its reciprocal cooperation with the developing countries and all-round aid to them force the imperialists to make concessions to the emerging nations.

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What are the features of anti-Soviet propaganda intended for the socialist countries?

The head of the East European Institute in Freiburg (FRG) and the "founder of Sovietology" Bochenski emphasizes that the important thing in the ideological war against communism is to take "the offensive in debate, in other words, to direct one's fire at the enemy camp."*

The "credo" of anti-Sovietism today is to carry the war of ideas into the socialist countries and penetrate into the heart of the communist ideology. The West-German magazine *Osteuropa* has been publishing since October 1963 a special column, "Western Penetration into the Spiritual Life of Soviet People," regarding as one of its main targets the investigation of the practical possibilities, means and methods of exerting a "Western ideological influence" in the Soviet Union.

Propagandists of anti-Sovietism realize that they cannot counter the ideas of communism by any positive social ideas of their own. Bourgeois ideologists have complained time and again that capitalism is incapable of producing any ideology that could inspire the masses. Therefore, an ideological struggle for them is not the struggle of ideas, but ideological subversion. Some of them are quite frank about it. The French anti-Sovieteer Charles Montirian instructed his colleagues several years ago in the art of brainwashing: it is necessary to carry out ideological subversion and indoctrinate Soviet young people via sports and cultural contacts with the West, films, television, the penetration into the USSR of jazz music, instilling in Soviet men and women a spirit of money-grubbing, and enticing Soviet young people with a glamorized idea of life under capitalism; to counter communism it is necessary to

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* J. M. Bochenski. Der freie Mensch in der Auseinandersetzung zwischen West und Ost. "Das Parliament." B 23/63.5 June 1963. p. 11.

paint a glowing picture of the "happy" future ensured by capitalism.

However, by no means all anti-Sovieteers are as outspoken as the author of *Revolutionary World. Rebuff of Subversive Activity* (Paris, 1958). In most cases this kind of advice is not published, but circulated secretly.

The West-German anti-Sovieteer Arnold Buchholz in his article "A Hope for the Spiritual Transformation of Communism" makes a special research into the possibility of increasing the influence of anti-communist ideology in the Soviet Union. The author associates his hope above all with economic changes and the growth of the material wellbeing of the Soviet people, which allegedly introduces an element of "embourgeoisement." Admitting the obvious fact that education has acquired an unprecedented scale in the Soviet Union, the author hopes that this will extend the scope of bourgeois ideological influence. He bluntly declares that to realize the hope for the ideological transformation of communism "special importance" must be attached to Soviet young people, the "fourth generation," the generation now in its twenties and thirties* which did not experience the period of socialist construction and the Great Patriotic War.

The expectations of the ideological "erosion" of Soviet society are linked by the propagandists of anti-communism with the hope that growing wellbeing in the USSR will be paralleled by the cultivation of individualism and the communist ideology will be ousted by "natural scientific and technical thinking." This process will (they believe) result in the Soviet young people departing from the principles of communism and turning to the "Western way of thinking."

In the works of Soviet poets and novelists, especially young ones, propagandists of anti-Sovietism are looking for anything that might be used for these purposes. That genuine civic concern with the progress of the Soviet system and the struggle against bureaucracy and survivals of the past which characterize Soviet literature is not to their taste. This is why foreign propagandists are so anxious to instil in Soviet young people utilitarian attitudes to life, scepticism, and disbelief in revolutionary ideals.

Anti-Soviet propagandists are especially frantic now. They realize that their efforts will be reduced to nil by the Soviet people's struggle against bureaucracy, ostentation and indifference to people, by the Party's frank and direct approach to young people without concealing either difficulties or defects, and by the heightening of vigilance.

No less illusory are the hopes of being able to oppose the Soviet

*Die Hoffnungen unserer Zeit. Munich, 1964, p. 98.

intelligentsia to the workers and peasants. The Soviet intelligentsia comes from the people, it is inseparable from the working people and it makes cultural values accessible to all. In the last quarter century the number of people with secondary and higher education has increased nearly five times, and now exceeds 76 million including more than a third of all people engaged mainly in manual labor (more than 44 per cent of workers and 26 per cent of the collective farmers). Communism is not afraid of science and education, for it is on science that it rests.

In recent years anti-Soviet ideologists have been harping on "peaceful coexistence" of bourgeois and socialist ideologies and on "ideological truce" between capitalism and communism. This theory has been propounded in the capitalist and Right-wing Socialist press of the West by Arthur Schlesinger, special assistant of the U.S. President; the French sociologist Raymond Aron; the Austrian Right-wing Social Democrat theorist Karl Czernetz, and the Labourite Mayhew. In his article "Coexistence or Peace" Arthur Schlesinger declared that if the Soviet state stood for peaceful coexistence it should grant the freedom of propagation of bourgeois ideas in the USSR and hence the terms "capitalism" and socialism" should be expunged from the intellectual dialogue.

The idea of the global coexistence of the bourgeois and socialist ideologies is characteristic of the contemporary propagandists of anti-Sovietism. However, whenever they refer to peace in the sphere of ideas they merely aim at opening a breach for the penetration of bourgeois ideas into the Soviet Union. They are using the theory of "ideological coexistence" in order to blunt the vigilance of Soviet people and expand their own ideological offensive.

Obviously, in the propaganda intended for the Soviet Union and other socialist countries anti-Sovietism is not emphasized as openly as in the propaganda intended for "home consumption." Therefore, the main device of the anti-Soviet propagandists is to conduct their propaganda in the guise of objective information. To impart the appearance of objectivity to this propaganda, pure fabrications are avoided, but truth and lies are carefully mixed.

Imperialist radio propaganda is differentiated and adjusted to different audiences: workers, collective farmers, professional people, young men and women, elderly people, housewives, etc. Last year, for example, the Voice of America broadcast a series featuring the life of the "American worker": his wages, what he can buy on them, how he travel during his vacations, etc. The figures cited were for the "average" American worker, and the social differentiation of the working class in the USA and unemployment were passed over in silence. The "brilliant prospects" for acquiring an education and finding work in one's speciality are described in broadcasts for young audiences. Features about refrigerators, kit-

chen utensils, etc., are used by the Voice of America in its broadcasts for housewives.

To keep up the appearance of objectivity, shortcomings in the American way of life, such as poverty, racial segregation, etc., are sometimes mentioned in broadcasts, but these are only casual references as if the evils were chance phenomena not typical of the capitalist system in general.

The same trend is to be observed in the broadcasts of the BBC. Last year, for instance, it devoted one of its broadcasts to the "distressed areas" in Britain. But this broadcast failed to reveal the causes of the distress; it concentrated on the songs that are sung in these areas and the help the government gives them.

In the propaganda intended for the Soviet Union (and to a considerable extent in home propaganda) some of the difficulties we have not yet overcome, difficulties connected with the building of the new social system, are widely exploited. In his article "A Great Beginning" Lenin noted that bourgeois propaganda took advantage of these difficulties to sow doubt as to the possibility of creating a new society. He exposed the scoffing in which the bourgeois propagandists indulged as they compared the building of this society to an attempt to grow a baobab in a geranium pot. Today it is impossible to question the reality of socialism. However, the difficulties stemming from the fact that socialism triumphed first in countries which did not possess highly developed productive forces and which had (and still have) to overcome their lag behind the leading capitalist countries in some branches of production still make themselves felt. The standard device of anti-Soviet propaganda is to distort the historical perspective: to represent these difficulties not as a result of the historical conditions under which socialism is built, but as an expression of the nature of socialism itself. Our ideological enemies thus seek to blame socialism for the difficulties created by capitalism. For example, the imperialists' arms drive has been forcing the socialist countries to make large allocations for defense, which naturally slow down the rise of living standards. This is being used to discredit socialism, to reproach it for not yet having surpassed the most developed capitalist countries in material wellbeing.

In general, anti-Soviet propaganda tends to represent temporary and transient difficulties, and especially mistakes, in the building of socialism and communism as something arising from the laws and nature of socialism. Isolated defects in the socialist economy are played up in order to discredit the Soviet system as a whole.

The building of communist society is a new undertaking, and in the course of the vast constructive endeavors of the Soviet Union, besides epoch-making accomplishments there were and there still are defects. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union

calls for a critical and objective assessment of the progress made, and boldly to expose and correct the mistakes and defects. No matter how the propagandists of anti-Sovietism might try to profit by our self-criticism, this will not benefit the enemies of the socialist system. The correction of mistakes knocks the ground from under the feet of the anti-Sovieteers.

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Anti-Sovietism seeks to combat the Soviet Union's growing influence by retooling technically, increasing the numbers of its hirelings and devising more sophisticated arguments. However, it has a wretched past, dreary present and hopeless future. Anti-Soviet propaganda may play, with varying success, on one or another defect or difficulty still to be observed in Soviet society, giving an impression of verisimilitude. But authentic as some reports concerned with particular cases might seem, the propaganda of anti-Sovietism as a whole is built on lies. And this being the case, no amount of skill, no sophistication of methods, no pseudo-scientific "Sovietology" will help.

Long ago, during the Civil War, the Whiteguards claimed that the Bolsheviks owed their success to the art of agitation. Lenin replied: "But after all people heard all kinds of agitation: Whiteguard and Constituent-Assembly agitation. It is ridiculous to think that they followed the Bolsheviks because their agitation was more skilful. No, the explanation is that their agitation was more truthful." (*Works*, Vol. 30, p. 280). Truth, the great truth of communism, is what terrifies the proponents of anti-Sovietism; against this truth all their propagandist sophistry is powerless.

Our answer to anti-Sovietism has always been and will be the reality, the facts, the truth about our great aims and ideas. The Soviet cosmonauts' feat was a breakthrough not only into outer space, but also into the hearts of millions of people in the capitalist countries. The mountain of allegations about the technical backwardness of the USSR so diligently built up by the propagandists of anti-Sovietism collapsed within hours as the news flashed around the world. Each success in science, engineering, production and better living in the Soviet Union is that counter-propaganda by facts in which all Soviet people are actively engaged.

TWENTY YEARS OF VICTORIOUS REVOLUTION*

The August Revolution was a glorious chapter in Vietnamese history. In the 20 years that have passed since, our people have won signal victories.

The Vietnamese people broke the fetters shackling them, defeated their enemies, removed the obstacles in their road and carried forward the revolution. The victory of the August Revolution was a direct result of strenuous and courageous struggles over 15 years that the people launched upon the founding of our Party. The Revolution was a great movement of our whole people united in the Vietminh anti-imperialist front. This front was based on the alliance of the workers and peasants and was led by the heroic working class. The August Revolution was a national people's democratic revolution, the first revolution of its kind to triumph in a colonial and semi-feudal country. It overthrew the reactionary power of the imperialists and feudal lords and established a revolutionary state of the people. It was a result of skilful combination of the people's political and armed struggles under the leadership of the Party.

For 20 years the people waged a revolutionary struggle unprecedented for bravery in the history of our country and seldom recorded in world history.

Our people's armed struggle under the leadership of the Party began with the Bacchon rising in September 1939, revolts in the South in December 1940 and a general rising in August 1945 and continued as a resistance war from September 1945 to July 1954. Today our people are fighting against U.S. imperialist aggression in South and North.

We have won major victories since the August Revolution. We have beaten off the French colonialists' aggression, freed North Vietnam, completed the agrarian reform, embarked North Vietnam on socialist development, and transformed the North into the base of the Vietnamese revolution. In the South we are achieving victory after victory over the U.S. imperialists. We have freed four-fifths of South Vietnam with a population of 10 million and set up strong bases for the resistance war. In the liberated areas we are carrying out democratic changes to meet the vital interests of the people.

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*Abridged from **Nian Dan**, August 19, 1965.

As a result of these great victories, Vietnamese society has thoroughly changed. The revolutionary forces are steadily growing in either part of the country. Already they are strong enough to defeat any enemy.

The revolutionary struggle of our people and the victories they have won in the past 20 years are very important for strengthening and defending the socialist camp and for strengthening all the forces fighting for national independence, peace and democracy. They have contributed to Marxism-Leninism in respect of revolutionary strategy and tactics, and of the art of waging people's wars.

At present the Vietnamese revolution is fulfilling two tasks: socialist construction and the completion of socialist changes in North Vietnam, and the accomplishment of the people's democratic revolution in South Vietnam. Its most pressing task in terms of the whole country is *to rally all the forces in order to defeat the U.S. imperialist aggression, free the South and defend the North.*

To avoid complete defeat, the U.S. imperialists are hurriedly moving American and satellite troops into South Vietnam, and are carrying on a terroristic air war against the North. Today the whole of Vietnam is fighting the U.S. imperialists. In the South Vietnamese battlefields, the balance has tipped in favor of our people and is most unfavorable for the U.S. imperialists and their agents. The Liberation Army and the people's armed forces of South Vietnam continuously attack the enemy, retaining the initiative everywhere. They have destroyed a substantial proportion of the enemy's manpower. The enemy is sinking deeper and deeper into the whirlpool of war, turning to passive defense as his strength becomes scattered and melts away. The situation is exceedingly unfavorable to the United States. Its "special war" has failed and its puppet army is disintegrating physically and morally. The people are strong enough to resist the enemy in any situation and to fight directly the armed forces of the USA and its satellites.

America's much-advertised air supremacy has failed. Some 500 U.S. planes have been downed and hundreds of planes have been damaged during their piratical air raids on North Vietnam. Over 2,000 U.S. aircraft have been shot down, destroyed or damaged on the ground in South Vietnam. Many American flyers have been killed or taken prisoner. This is yet another major setback for the U.S. imperialists.

The American aggressor himself is compelled to admit that it suffers serious reverses in Vietnam and that never in its history has the United States been in a military impasse comparable to the present.

There is no difference between America's war of aggression in Vietnam and the war which the French colonialists waged in Indochina in the past. The present war is a long and grinding campaign,

and the increasing reverses the U.S. imperialists are suffering make them less arrogant and reflect on their prestige.

The Americans are putting vast financial, material and manpower resources into the war, and moreover, they themselves do not believe they can win it. The war is becoming hopeless for them as they become bogged down in it and sustain increasingly graver reverses. They have spent over $4,000 million this year, and will have to spend still more if they escalate the war. The U.S. economy is faced with grave crisis. The dispatch of an additional 50,000 American troops to Vietnam compelled Washington to double the call-up, prolong the term of military service, and reduce its forces at U.S. military bases in other parts of Asia.

A protest movement is developing among the American people and the Army against the Vietnamese war. The U.S. troops and satellite forces in Vietnam are in climatic conditions they are not used to, nor do they enjoy any support from the people. These facts are bound to hasten their defeat, which they cannot escape no matter how hard the U.S. imperialists try to build up their military strength.

The resistance war we are waging is a war of the whole people. Millions of people have taken up arms. They form combat units in every village and every district. Every village has become a stronghold and every district has its armed force. The people of South Vietnam can win ten victories in one battle whereas the U.S. aggressor cannot win so much as one victory in ten battles. The Liberation Army and the people of South Vietnam are closely united in struggle and display unprecedented bravery. They are fighting in familiar geographical surroundings and in a habitual climate, and enjoy the active support of their compatriots in the North and the peoples of the world. That is why they are scoring more and more victories and are certain completely to defeat the enemy.

The Army and people of the North are determined to fight and win. It is chiefly by means of their own forces that they strike powerful blows at the modern aircraft of the United States. The whole of North Vietnam is covered by a dense network of weapon installations which have become a terror for U.S. aircraft. Thanks to a correct policy in waging the people's war, and to ardent patriotism and bravery, our Army and people have already dealt a severe blow to the U.S. aggressor.

We are battling staunchly against the enemy's devastating air raids as we continue to build socialism. We are always ready to repel every enemy attempt to extend aggression. The whole people of North Vietnam have taken up arms, forming combat units in town and country, at factories and building sites, in public offices and educational institutions. The armed strength and defense capacity of our people are growing. The patriotic movement of resist-

ance to U.S. aggression, for the salvation of our country, is gaining in strength and scope in our towns and villages, under the watchword "Let everyone double his efforts!" North and South are competing in destroying the enemy, in performing feats of bravery to liberate the South and defend the North.

Our present might was created and consolidated in twenty years of grim, heroic battles. It will rout the common enemy of our country, the U.S. imperialists and their underlings, and advance the Vietnamese revolution. Our people are ready to overcome all difficulties and weather all hardships. Should the war last five, ten, twenty or even more years, our people are certain to win completely, as Chairman Ho Chi Minh stated.

The U.S. imperialists have already suffered a severe reverse but they have not yet abandoned their aggressive schemes. They are trying to cover up their plan for escalating the war with false talk about "peace talks" they send tens of thousands of troops to South Vietnam and step up their destructive war against North Vietnam. While talking about "unconditional negotiations," they advance brazen demands aimed at forcing our people into surrender, turning South Vietnam into a military base and a new colony of U.S. imperialism and perpetuating the division of our country.

Our people have for twenty years been waging an armed struggle for their freedom and independence. They will continue their struggle until the whole country is free. Their struggle has the sympathy, support and assistance of all the socialist countries and the freedom-loving peoples of the world, including the American people. This support and this assistance increase our strength.

The Vietnamese people will be the ultimate winner. They will by all means establish a peaceful, democratic Vietnam, united, independent and prosperous.

SPEECH* BY A. N. SHELEPIN

MEMBER OF THE PRESIDIUM AND SECRETARY OF THE CC, CPSU, ON THE 20TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE LIBERATION OF KOREA

Comrades, friends,

It was with great pleasure that we accepted the invitation of the Central Committee of the Korean Party of Labor and the government of the Korean People's Democratic Republic to take part in the celebration of the 20th anniversary of the liberation of the Korean people from the colonial tyranny of Japanese imperialism. The Korean people's Liberation Day is a common holiday of the peoples of all the socialist countries, and Soviet people, your sincere and loyal friends, are marking it on a vast scale.

Allow me, on behalf of the CC, CPSU, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the Soviet Government and the entire Soviet people, to convey the most heartfelt congratulations to the Korean Communists and all Koreans and to wish them fresh successes in socialist construction.

Two decades ago the Soviet Army, which delivered crushing blows to the Japanese imperialists, helped the Korean people acquire national freedom and independence.

During the three and a half decades of the imperialists' brutal rule your workers and peasants as well as the best of your intellectuals fought valiantly against the invaders, undaunted by bullets, tortures and the hangman's rope. Thousands upon thousands of heroes, the flower of the Korean people, gave their lives for freedom. In the last 15 years preceding liberation, the Communists and other patriots, led by the KPL, withstood untold hardships and privations as they waged a heroic fight against the Japanese, for the renaissance of their industry, for the liberation of their people. They did not shed their blood for nothing.

The workers and peasants of North Korea were enabled to set about building a new, socialist society.

Soviet people realize that the events of twenty years ago were unparalleled in Korean history in greatness and significance. Korea has been in existence for thousands of years and her courageous, industrious and gifted people have performed many glorious deeds. But their most cherished dreams, for which they had worked and

*Pravda, August 18, 1965.

fought over centuries, became a reality only as a result of the history of the victory won 20 years ago.

Twenty years is a brief span in the history of a people whose culture dates from hoary antiquity. But in this short period the Korean people, led by the KPL and its Central Committee headed by an outstanding son of the Korean people, Comrade Kim Il Sung, have performed a veritable miracle, doing completely away with the aftermath of years of colonial oppression. The People's Korea of today is an industrial-agrarian state confidently marching forward, scoring more and more victories in socialist construction. The Korean People's Democratic Republic is now one of the industrialized states of Asia. Your energy, labor and intelligence have transformed a colony into a socialist country. Your glorious working class produces machine tools, motor vehicles, tractors, electric locomotives and various chemical goods. Modern factories and mills have gone up in the mountains and valleys, new roads have been built and irrigation systems created. The Korean peasants, who under the guidance of the KPL have taken the road of socialist cooperative farming keep pace with the working class in advance to prosperity. Thousands of agricultural machines are working in the fields helping the peasants to grow large crops of grain and cotton.

The people's democratic system has provided every condition for a cultural revolution. The children of workers and peasants now have access to modern knowledge, to the achievements of science and culture.

Thanks to the devoted labor of your people, your country is advancing fast, as if carried by Chhonlim, the legendary winged steed, embodiment of your forefathers' millennia-old dream of a flight to freedom and happiness.

All these achievements became possible because socialism is being built under the guidance of the KPL, around which your people have rallied into a close-knit family.

Your successes are the best argument for the millions in Asia, Africa and Latin America to choose the socialist road. Korea is demonstrating the advantages of socialism to the peoples that are getting rid of colonial dependence. For it is to socialism that you owe your economic and cultural progress, your freedom and happiness. Your successes stand out all the more when compared with life in South Korea, whose virtually colonial status is maintained by a reactionary, anti-popular regime propped on American bayonets. The people of South Korea lack elementary civil rights. Economically, South Korea lags far behind the KPDR. The complete dependence of the South Korean authorities on their U.S. masters is exemplified by the fact that, despite the will of the entire Korean people, they are sending their troops to Vietnam to take part in the criminal aggression against the Vietnamese people.

Comrades, allow me to take this opportunity to tell you that in the past 20 years our people, too, have worked hard and done much to promote the economic and cultural progress of the Soviet Union and to strengthen its defenses. Full-scale Communist construction has been launched in our country. Vast projects are under way, with all our people participating in them. I shall only cite a few figures.

About 600 big enterprises are put into operation every year. Last year alone the aggregate capacity of our power stations increased by 9 million kilowatts. In the first six months of this year industrial output went up by 9.3 per cent. Measures are being taken to bring about a decided upturn in agriculture. Our science has achieved new remarkable successes. You know, of course, about the space flight during which Leonov, a Soviet man, a Communist, stepped into outer space. New important measures have been taken to raise the standard of living. But it would be wrong to think, comrades, that we in the Soviet Union have no unsolved problems. Our Party boldly exposes difficulties and indicates ways of surmounting them. Guided by the Party, to whose cause they are devoted heart and soul, the Soviet people are working hard to overcome these difficulties.

Dear friends, not long ago we marked the fourth anniversary of the signing of the Soviet-Korean Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance, which formalized the traditional good-neighbor and fraternal relations existing between our peoples.

The Soviet and Korean peoples are good old friends. Soviet-Korean friendship, born during the fight against the Japanese imperialists, was steeled in the years of the Koreans' gallant struggle against the U.S. invaders, a struggle from which your people emerged victorious. The Korean people's just Patriotic War against the U.S. invaders had the fraternal support of the Soviet and Chinese peoples, of the peoples of all the socialist countries.

Soviet-Korean fraternal cooperation bears good fruit also in the field of peaceful endeavor.

We are deeply convinced that our friendship, which rests on the firm foundation of proletarian internationalism, common ideals, fidelity to Marxism-Leninism and the principles of complete equality, mutual respect and mutual benefit, will go on developing and growing stronger for the common good of the Soviet and Korean peoples.

Soviet people appreciate the interests and aspirations of the fraternal Korean people. They wholeheartedly support your struggle for the reunification of your country, for the establishment of a single Korean state. Our Party and government fully agree with our Korean friends when they say that the problem of Korean reunification can and must be solved by the Koreans themselves,

without any outside interference. We have invariably supported this principle, which accords with the national interests of the entire Korean people and the interests of all the socialist countries.

Our Party, Government and people unreservedly join the Korean people in demanding the withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Korea. Let those unbidden guests get off Korean soil. Free from U.S. interference, the Koreans will settle their internal affairs themselves and determine ways of reunifying their country.

Korean reunification would put an end to the twenty-year-old rule of the U.S. imperialists in the South of the country and improve the situation in the Far East.

The U.S. rulers are doing everything to prevent the reunification of Korea. At their instigation the puppet clique of Jung Hee Park has made a deal with Japanese monopoly capital. The Soviet Union emphatically condemns every attempt to settle Korean national problems without the participation of the KPDR, through a separate deal between the Japanese authorities and the South Korean puppets, and fully supports the position of the KPDR government set forth in the Statement of June 23, 1965.

The present international situation, especially in the Far East, is characterized by military provocations on the part of the imperialists; by their continuous attempts to obstruct the peaceful labor of the free peoples. A dangerous situation developed in Southeast Asia, where the U.S. imperialists are waging a wanton predatory war, grossly interfering in the affairs of the Vietnamese people.

The Soviet people, like progressive men and women everywhere, are revolted by the heinous crimes the U.S. aggrssors are committing against the Vietnamese people. All indications are that the U.S. imperialists have forgotten the lessons of World War II. They have forgotten the sad fate that befell Hitler and his allies when they attempted to realize the maniacal idea of crushing communism and establishing their world domination. Now the United States claims the right to rule the destinies of freedom-loving peoples and subordinate them to its dictates. But it is in for bitter disappointments and inevitable defeat. Mankind will never forgive the U.S. imperialists their atrocities in Vietnam, any more than the crime they perpetrated in Hiroshima and Nagasaki 20 years ago. The Soviet people, and the peoples of the other socialist countries warmly and unanimously support their Vietnamese brothers in their courageous fight against the U.S. imperialists. They give and will go on giving increasing assistance to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam to strengthen its defenses.

The Soviet Union fully supports the terms of settlement of the Vietnamese question advanced by the DRV Government and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, namely, an end to bombing raids on the DRV, strict adherence to the Geneva agree-

ments, recall of all the troops of the United States and its allies from South Vietnam, withdrawal of U.S. weapons from Vietnamese territory, and the possibility for the people of South Vietnam to decide their own destiny.

The aim of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union is to ensure peaceful conditions for the building of socialism and communism, to strengthen the unity of the socialist countries, to support all the peoples fighting for liberation, for national independence, against a thermonucletar world war. The Soviet people have given and will continue to give both moral and material support to the national-liberation struggle of the peoples.

Our people, like the people of the other socialist countries, are loyal to the banner of revolutionary anti-imperialist struggle. They will remain loyal to this Leninist banner as long as imperialism goes on committing its atrocities, as long as a part of mankind continues to suffer from colonial slavery, as long as the exploitation of man by man persists.

Today the working class, the most revolutionary anti-imperialist forces is faced with the arduous but sublime task of realizing mankind's cherished dream of a great society where all men will be equal, free and happy.

The Great October Socialist Revolution, which established the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country, indicated the road to carrying this dream into reality. Today the road of the October Revolution, of Lenin, is followed by millions of working people in Europe, Asia and Latin America. Tomorrow it will be taken by the peoples of more countries. The flame of revolutionary struggle kindled by the proletariat is rising higher and higher. Feeling more and more cramped on our planet, the capitalists are trying to regain their lost positions, to throw the free peoples back to slavery, but the working class of the USSR and the other socialist countries, equipped with the revolutionary teachings of Marxism-Leninism and with modern weapons, stands vigilant guard over the new world. All attempts by the U.S. and other imperialists to stamp out revolution and bar the peoples' way to freedom and progress will be ultimately frustrated by the joint efforts of the working class and other working people of the world.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union works steadily for the unity and solidarity of all the socialist countries and of the world Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. In this we see an earnest of success in the struggle for world peace, against reaction and imperialism, for the vital interests of the working people. The Communists of all countries are united by common revolutionary goals, a common hatred for social and national inequality, oppression and exploitation, and by the striving to build a radiant communist future. We

regard this community as a sound basis for the increasingly stronger unity of the socialist countries. We are convinced that closer unity of the socialist family of nations is in keeping with the vital interests of each socialist country.

The CPSU and its Central Committee steadfastly advocate complete equality of the fraternal parties, their comradely cooperation, the inviolable right of each party independently to determine the forms and methods of the struggle for socialism in its country. The family of Communists owes its strength to its unity on the basis of Leninist fidelity to principle, and respect for one another, for the equality and independence of each national contingent.

It is not long since we arrived in your country, but we have already come to live with all our hearts your mountains and your rivers running for thousands of *li*, your courageous and hard-working people. As we toured Pyongyang, we found it hard to believe that a little over ten years ago the city lay in smoking ruins and people had to live in dugouts. Today Pyongyang can justly be called one of the finest captials in Asia. Attractive houses have risen on the banks of the Taedong, beautiful wide thoroughfares cross the city. The visitor to Pyongyang cannot but admire its modern enterprises, its magnificent Opera House, its Young Pioneers Palace — it's impossible to list all the things of which the residents of your capital are justly proud.

We had the good fortune of attending the celebrations in Wonsan, the hero city whose glory will never fade in Korean history. It is one of the cities where the liberation of Korea began. There Soviet soldiers sealed with blood their brotherhood with the courageous patriots of Korea. And during the Patriotic War against the U.S. imperialists Wonsan became a symbol of the heroism of the Korean people. Today it is a beautiful city whose people are taking an active part in construction.

Yesterday and today we were greatly interested to see Hamhung, the famed city of Korean chemical workers. Its chemical plant is a remarkable enterprise. Its workers make a valuable contribution to the alliance of the workers and peasants, by putting into practice the idea of the town helping the countryside.

We were favorably impressed also with the February 8 Chemical Plant.

The Hamhung chemical workers are among the foremost contingents of the Korean working class. Allow me, on behalf of our delegation and the Soviet working people, to wish you builders of the national chemical industry, all the workers, engineers and technicians of Hamhung, and in your persons the entire working class, still greater successes and good health, and to express confidence that through your devoted effort you will fulfil and surpass the im-

portant tasks the KPL and the Government set before you under the Seven Year Plan.

We trust the industrious chemical workers of Hamhung will continue their advance to socialism.

All of us were greatly impressed with the trip through your country and the meetings we had with your workers, peasants and intellectuals. Wherever we went we saw how enthusiastically your people are doing the tremendous job of building a new society.

We are satisfied by the talks we had with Comrades Kim Il Sung, Tsoi Yen Ghen, Kim Il, Pak Kim Cher and other leading comrades. The atmosphere of the talks was friendly, cordial and fraternal. We feel certain that they have helped to promote understanding and friendship between our countries, our peoples, our parties.

We are convinced that Soviet-Korean friendship, which has already benefited our two peoples so much, will go on developing and growing stronger.

Dear comrades, allow me once again to give the Central Committee of the KPL heartfelt thanks for inviting our delegation and giving us a warm welcome.

We are also grateful to the comrades from Pyongyang, Wonsan and Hamhung, to the heads and Party workers of the industrial establishments and the members of the cooperative farm we have visited, to workers in culture and the arts, for the warm reception they gave us.

We know well that the warm, fraternal feelings expressed to us refer to the great Soviet people, to our Leninist Party.

Long live the unbreakable friendship of the Soviet and Korean peoples

Long live the heroic fraternal Korean people and their glorious vanguard, the Korean Party of Labor, and its Central Committee headed by Comrade Kim Il Sung!

May the friendship and unity of all the peoples of the socialist countries go from strength to strength!

PEOPLE'S KOREA BUILDS NEW LIFE

SPEECH* BY KIM IL SUNG, CHAIRMAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE KOREAN PARTY OF LABOR AND PREMIER OF THE KOREAN PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC.

Today we join the working people of the province of Kangwon in celebrating August 15, the 20th anniversary of liberation, in Wonsan, this splendid seaport city on the shores of our Eastern sea. On this festive occasion permit me, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Korean Party of Labor and the Government of the Republic, heartily to greet the entire people of Korea and the working people of the province of Kangwon. I also extend my heartiest greetings to the fraternal delegates of the socialist countries and our friends from other Asian, African and Latin American countries who are present at this reception. The present visit of many foreign comrades and friends to our country is a source of great support and inspiration for our people and adds to the joy of this occasion. It is a contribution to the further strengthening of our friendship and solidarity.

In the 20 years since liberation our Party and people have traversed a difficult but illustrious path of struggle. We had a great many difficulties to overcome and faced many severe trials. But our people, under the leadership of the Party of Labor, ordered its own destiny, overcoming all the hardships and withstanding all trials by indefatigable effort and accomplishing much to ensure the progress of our country and the prosperity of coming generations.

Our country, abolishing the age-old backwardness and poverty, and healing the wounds inflicted by war, has become a socialist industrial-agrarian state with a strong, independent national economy. The material and cultural conditions of the people have improved and vast changes have taken place in its political and moral attitudes. In the course of the 20 years of struggle in the name of the revolution and the building of the new life our Party has consolidated its prestige and won the confidence of the people, rallying them solidly behind itself.

We have laid the foundation for making our socialist homeland richer and stronger and raising the standard of living of our people;

*Delivered at a reception in Wonsan on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the liberation of Korea. Translated from **Pravda**, August 17, 1965.

we have strengthened the basis of our revolution politically, economically, culturally and militarily, and this is an earnest of the unification of the country and the final victory of the revolution. Our people have every ground to take pride in these achievements won in heroic struggle and creative labor.

A prosperous new, socialist life has come to Kangwon province as to all other parts of our country. In the past, 20 years the working people of this province have fought, together with our entire people, for the freedom and independence of our native land, taking an active part in the building of the new society.

During the patriotic liberation war the people of Kangwon province, rallied in close unity with the People's Army and sharing its joys and sorrows, fought courageously against the aggressors, defending their native soil and the national heritage from the enemy. Many places in Kangwon, such as Hills 1211 and 351, are associated with the immortal exploits of the local people who, together with the valiant fighting men of the People's Army, defended the freedom and honor of our country with their lives.

Under the leadership of the Party, the working people of Kangwon province have scored signal achievements in all areas of life, waging a selfless struggle to make the land for which they shed their blood a thriving socialist paradise.

Kangwon province, once one of the most backward mountain areas in our country which, moreover, suffered more in the war than any other area, is today a flourishing region whose people live well: its economy and culture are thriving and the very appearance of its towns and villages is changing.

Fittingly marking the 20th anniversary of liberation, the working people of Kangwon have displayed exceptional enthusiasm and creative initiative in their labor effort and diverse undertakings, thereby offering visible proof of their devotion to the Party, the country and the Revolution. Today all the working people of our country are working to ensure a sharp upswing in the building of socialism, forging ahead with seven-league strides under the leadership of the Party and in the spirit of Chhonlim.

Permit me on behalf of the Party and the Government to convey our hearty greetings and express our profound gratitude to our workers and peasants, our entire people, who have displayed unprecedented heroism and patriotic self-sacrifice in the struggle to uphold the freedom and independence of our country and to build socialism. Permit me also, on behalf of the people of the northern part of the Republic, to voice our fervent sympathy and support for the South Korean population which, inspired by the development and prosperity of the true homeland of our people—the Korean People's Democratic Republic — is courageously fighting against the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen, and to extend

our heartfelt fraternal greetings to our countrymen in Japan who are fighting for democratic national rights and the reunification of their homeland and to all Korean residing abroad.

I take this opportunity to express gratitude to the peoples of the socialist countries, to the peoples of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and all progressive peoples who have supported the joint struggle of the Korean people.

We have won great victories in the revolutionary struggle and in building up our country. But we must not lapse into complacency on this score. We must carry forward the Revolution and continue our constructive endeavors with still greater vigor. Building socialism in our country calls for raising the industrial and agricultural productive forces to a still higher level as well as all-round promotion of science, technology and culture. We are building socialism in the northern part of the country. But we still have to complete the national-liberation revolution on the scale of Korea as a whole. The people of South Korea are still under colonial oppression and the fascist rule of the U.S. imperialists and their hangers-on, and are fighting for freedom, liberation and national reunification. The U.S. imperialists and their lackeys have made South Korea a U.S. nuclear and missile base and are constantly committing provocative acts against our Republic, resorting to ever new aggressive machinations, going so far as to draw the Japanese militarists into South Korea. On the international arena a fierce struggle is under way between the revolutionary forces and the reactionary, imperialist forces. The Vietnamese people, our brothers and comrades-in-arms, are waging a heroic struggle against the armed aggression of U.S. imperialism. The peoples of many countries are fighting against imperialism and colonialism, capitalist oppression and exploitation, for national and social emancipation. All our working people must intensify their efforts to accelerate the building of socialism in the northern part of the Republic, to render greater support to the South Korean people in their revolutionary struggle and to hasten the reunification of our country and the final victory of the Korean Revolution.

In all spheres of the economy and at every enterprise it is essential to work unflaggingly to promote technological progress and economic efficiency, to fulfill and overfulfill the state plan. Moreover, in view of the aggressive maneuvers of the enemy, every effort should be exerted to strengthen still further our revolutionary positions in the political and ideological spheres, further to build up our defense capability. The Party of Labor and the Korean people regard it as their sacred internationalist duty to defend the socialist camp, to uphold the unity of this camp and the cohesion of the world Communist movement, and to sup-

port the liberation movements of the peoples everywhere. Our people will continue to render resolute support to the anti-imperialist and anti-colonial struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and also the struggle for peace and progress waged by the peoples everywhere.

Bearing aloft the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, our Party and people, in solidarity with the peoples of the socialist countries, the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America and progressive peoples the world over, will exert every effort to strengthen and carry forward our common struggle against the aggressive forces of imperialism headed by the USA, for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism. As is demonstrated by history of the Korean people's struggle over the past 20 years and the world-wide liberation movement, the aggressive and reactionary forces of imperialism are doomed to perish and the peoples risen to the struggle are bound to win.

I am convinced that our entire people waging a stubborn struggle, united more solidly than ever behind the Party, will win new great victories.

On this momentous occasion, I propose a toast to the prosperity of our country and a still happier life for our people, to fresh victories in their struggle, to the building of socialism and the reunification of our homeland, to the health of the delegates from the fraternal socialist countries, of our friends from the Asian, African and Latin American countries, and of the diplomatic representatives of all countries present at this reception who have come to join in our celebration. Your health, comrades and friends!

STATEMENT

FULL TEXT OF THE STATEMENT, ISSUED BY THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SUDAN ON ELECTIONS MAY, 13, 1965

Since the victory of conscious revolutionary forces of the people over the reactionary military regime and, as a result, the formation of the national government of October 21, 1964, the country witnessed a series of conspiracies designed by imperialism and implemented by its agents in our society. American and British imperialists were terrified by the success of the Sudanese people in overthrowing the reactionary military regime which was brought to power, and supported by them. They did not like to see the Sudanese people regain democratic rights and reestablish the freedom of organization and political activity, because they know very well that the guarantee of democratic rights in our country means putting an end to their control and interests.

Lastly the show comes to an end by "elections" which arouse suspicion and puts power in the hands of the reactionaries, lackeys of imperialism. This is by no means a surprise. There were many signs which had indicated such a result. All methods were employed to bring about this result: terror, maneuvers and a campaign for elections financed for reactionaries by sources which arouse suspicion and dominated by demagogy and shameless deceit.

PEOPLE VERSUS REACTIONARIES:

The Military Coup of November 17, 1958, was designed because the imperialists had realized the impossibility of keeping the Sudan under their influence if the Sudanese people enjoyed some democratic rights. We thus imagine their intentions after the success of the October Democratic Revolution which started to break all chains and which provided the people with the freedom to stride quickly forwards and become masters of their own destiny.

All political events which took place in our country since the overthrow of the reactionary military regime until the declaration of the results of elections can only be explained in the light of the following main point: struggle between the imperialists and their allies the reactionaries—who aim at depriving the people of their democratic rights—and between the forces of the people who strive for democratic rights and intend to direct the Sudan in the path

of the consolidation of independence, liberation and economic progress.

DEMOCRACY OR DICTATORSHIP

Democracy for the forces of the people, or dictatorship? This is the essence of the struggle since November 17, 1958, until this day. The imperialists have decided to hinder—at any costs—the establishment of democracy in the Sudan, because it enables the people to influence the turn of events in the country. It is with this intention that they plotted the coup in November 17th, 1958, and it is with the same intention that they pushed the country to the present situation and planned to bring in a government which protects their influence and sets up a "civil" dictatorship in the country.

THE REVOLUTION GETS READY

Following the formation of the October 21, 1964 government foundations were laid for democracy in the country. Simultaneously, conspiracies were being drawn. During the glorious revolution, the people making use of their past experiences and their knowledge of the hindrances created by imperialism to stop democratic development—were able to express their deep desire to establish democracy in our country. In the countryside, the call for democracy was heard, demanding the abolition of the backward system of Native Administration. People demanded democracy in the State apparatus i.e., progressive legislation with which to secure the rights of the people. They called for a kind of democracy which would be able to secure the future of those who represented the main forces of the October Revolution, the workers and peoples. While sacrificing their own sons, the people were looking forwards, with expectations and leaving behind them the dark days of military regime as well as the serious defects in the parliamentary system experienced after the declaration of independence. Despite the fact that the government of the October Revolution did not firmly comply with the deep wishes of the people, the popular pressure was steadily heading towards victory. It was thus possible to make the government react and put an end to its hesitation, because it was —as compared to all other governments tested by the people—the government with the closest links to the people, and ready to realize lawful demands.

Thus, the October Revolution was gathering its forces and getting ready for the last battle with the imperialists in their positions of control in Sudanese life. In economy, culture and foreign policy, especially in connection with the liberation movements in the Arab and African spheres.

IMPERIALISTS CONSPIRE

Those are the real reasons behind the imperialist attacks against the October 1964 government. The reactionaries started a malicious campaign based on fabrications and deceit, claiming that the government was "Communist" and that it intended to establish a "Communist Society" in the Sudan. That campaign was unprecedented in the history of our country.

The political gutter press, the existence of which was threatened under the democratic system, set loose an insidious campaign against the government. Those misleading people in the name of religion broke the sacredness of mosques by repeating in them the contents of material circulated by western embassies. Reactionary organizations made an active appearance trying to split the forces which had gathered around "The National Front of Professional Organizations" and carried out the political strike. The imperialists did not care to hide their connections with the events underway. Their newspapers wrote openly on the expected fall of the October government and the resignation of its Premier under pressure from British, American and Belgian embassies. The government did fall, in an atmosphere of terror and deceipt. Another government was formed which pursued a clear policy: to check as much as possible the strong current threatening to wipe out all hindrances which hamper the reconstruction of the Sudan on a corect democratic basis. As planned, the government froze the resolution concerning the liquidation of Native Administration. It stopped the progress of democratization processes in the state apparatus which was previously dominated by corruption and oppression. It went even further and gave the corrupted elements the chance to return to their jobs. In spite of all that, the reactionary elements were not able to deprive the people of all democratic rights, because of the transitional nature of the government and the existence of some patriotic elements in it. Nevertheless, we can state that the reactionary takeover of government, which followed the resignation of the Prime Minister, did accomplish the tasks set for it.

A REACTIONARY ELECTORAL LAW

The imperialists and their puppets then went a step further towards stifling the people's revolution by hastily holding elections in the country, in a manner which arouses legitimate suspicion. It is true that the October revolution was aiming, in all its steps as well as in its very nature as an anti-dictatorial revolution—at the restoration of democracy, of stable democratic rule. The question arises: which sort of democracy did the people want? For the sake

of which democracy did the martyrs fall and did the people face bullets and cannons?

Certainly, the people did not strive for the false "democracy" which they had experienced before November 17, 1958, and which meant bribery, corruption, foreign interference in internal affairs and depriving the people of democratic rights. They were rather for a sort of democracy which reserves independence from imperialist and reactionary plots and is cleansed from bribery and corruption. Such democracy would be guarded by the control of the conscious people who enjoy all their rights of organization, belief and expression.

The Communist Party and all Octobrist revolutionaries have expressed these rightful aspirations of our people by rejecting the reactionary electoral law and pointing out quite reasonable and wise criticism against it. They mentioned that the law was drawn in 1957 on suspicious suppositions and with the aim of falsifying the will of the people. How could such a law be the basis for holding elections in 1965 and after the changes in the political situation? An electoral law which does not reflect the social importance of the forces of the people, which have resisted and defeated the military dictatorship cannot be described as democratic. Such a law entrusts certain forces with the task of defending democracy, a task which cannot be accomplished by these forces. At the same time, it deprives other forces of this task in spite of the fact that they have proved, by example and sacrifice, their capability of carrying it out.

It was, however, crystal clear for the Communist Party and other revolutionary forces of the people that elections could either mean an extension and development, or a relapse and destruction of the revolution. In order to have it as an extension and not a relapse of the revolution, the Communist Party—expressing the will of the patriotic forces—called for the preparation of conditions necessary for holding honest and fair elections, and for the creation of conditions which enable the people to express their real will.

For this reason, the Communist Party submitted a memorandum to the sovereignty Council and the Council of Ministers, dated February 18, 1965. It said: "We have already expressed our opinion as regards elections and have assumed that elections should not be viewed as an aim in itself, but as a means of developing democracy in our country, that is why our opinion has been and still is that it is not in the interest of the country to hold elections on April 21, 1965.

Firstly, because it would be impossible to hold elections in the Southern provinces before creating a free democratic atmosphere so that our brothers in the South may express their will without any interference. To postpone elections would give us a chance to create the proper atmosphere for the growth of a correct political

movement which brings to the Constituent Assembly representatives in the face of foreign interference.

Secondly, the people were exhausted by the revolution and the events which followed it. Elections need time for proper preparation and mobilization.

Thirdly, to hold elections in a short period full of tension and events increases the danger of foreign interference, especially after taking into consideration that the majority of parties are not well off. Some might be induced to seek financial help from foreign circles. To postpone elections woud give the political parties time for getting ready, financially.

Fourthly, the electoral law needs to be carefully revised. A new, thorough census is necessary. Chance must be open for an increase of constituencies, and their distribution according to regional, and not a tribal, basis.

There is also the question of workers' and peasants' representation in the Constituent Assembly. We still maintain that it is a most important question which affects the very core of democratic development in our country.

STUDY OF FORMER EXPERIENCES IN DEMOCRACY IS NECESSARY

Our country has former experiences in democracy which should be deeply studied in a way which guarantees the impossibility of a second military interference against the democratic system. It seems that many circles did not draw necessary lessons from previous experiences. They have again started non-objective abuses which cannot be of any use to the cause of democracy. We have always been of the opinion, and we still believe, that holding elections according to correct principles is the only guarantee for getting a Constituent Assembly which represents the real wishes and hopes of the masses of the people who carried out the revolution.

We are of the opinion that democracy is not and cannot be mere slogans void of essence. It must be principles, deeply rooted in the previous experiences of our country, its present needs and aspirations.

These and other steps would have been enough to guarantee to develop the revolution, accomplish its tasks and secure a considerable improvement in the material and spiritual life of the people.

Thus, the patriotic forces of the revolution was steadily heading towards the liquidation of foreign control and reactionary influence in the country. These forces were, however, aware of the fact that the imperialists and their lackeys intend to liquidate the October Revolution completely and set up a reactionary system which deprives the people of their elementary democratic rights. According

to this design, preparation for elections and the way they were held took place in a strange and extraordinary circumstances. In spite of all the reasons and grounds given and of objections, preparations were made for elections ignoring all national interests.

TECHNICAL OBJECTIONS

All technical objections raised by the Communist Party against steps taken as a preparation for holding elections were aiming at securing strong guarantees for the fairness of elections. All these objections which were enough to exclude any doubts or suspicion on many aspects of preparation were categorically refused. The Communist Party has repeatedly written to the Elections Commission on these questions. An example is our note of April 23, 1965 in which we raised the following objections:

The Elections Commission was not serious in finding a way to prevent an elector from voting twice.

Shortcomings in registration and the unnecessary haste in carrying it out. As a result big numbers of citizens who do not belong to certain constituences were registered there. This was proved by the courts which handled such cases.

The disappearance of the names of hundreds of the electorate and their deprivation of their right to vote under unconvincing reasons which indicate the lack of seriousness in creating necessary provisions for Constituent Assembly elections.

The hindrances created for graduates by postponing elections for them and refusing to allow those who had to change their addresses to vote wherever they are. The very late declaration of the date and way of elections for graduates. The refusal of our request in which we asked for the participation of the agents of candidates in guarding Elections Boxes.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY STOOD ALONE

The Communist Party stood alone against these conspiracies, trying to thwart these designs and send up some MP's who represented the spirit of the October Revolution. For this very reason, we appealed to all other patriotic forces not to boycott elections; but to take part in it. We did all we could, together with other organizations which are signatories of the "Social Democratic Grouping" to unite all forces for defeating reactionaries and use votes as weapons to defeat reactionaries in elections. Had these forces united, the result would have been different. Patriotic forces would have been in a position to raise a strong vote in parliament and diminish the dangers to which the country is exposed.

Our participation in elections played an important role in expos-

ing the nature of the conspiracy. People speak about the reactionary conspiracy which succeeded in excluding all those who participated in the October Revolution instead of speaking about the number of seats secured by this or the other party.

The Communist Party was aware of the deepness of the struggle underway and the many technical and political difficulties involved. We were not only struggling against local forces but also against covert foreign interference with formidable resources. The results of the regional constituencies prove the correctness of our assessment.

It is not by mere chance that the main forces of the October Revolution are not represented in the Constituent Assembly, and that, above all, the Communist Party is not represented.* The representation of these forces in the Constituent Assembly would hamper the implementation of the imperialist designs. One cannot abolish the rights of the people in the presence of genuine representatives of the people who defend those rights.

NUP LEADERSHIP RESPONSIBILITY

History knows no mercy specially in crucial moments for the people. We must mention here that the leadership of the NUP played a prominent role in the severe attacks against the people and their revolution by participating in all details of the imperialist designs mentioned above.

This leadership chose to play the role of a mask for the Umma Party. It signed all first anti-revolution statements. It participated in the attacks on the "National Front for Professional's Organizations," denying the role it played in the revolution and in protecting the revolution. That was the first step in splitting unity of the national forces.

This leadership supported and helped the Umma Party and the Islamic Charter Front in their feverish campaign of lies against the government of October 1964 under the cover of the so-called Communist danger, and thus contributed to the fall of that government.

It accepted the reactionary Electoral Law. The NUP itself has now suffered from this law for the second time, which proves the leadership's failure to learn from the past and realize the deep changes which have taken place in the country.

It opposed the representation of the main forces of the October Revolution: the workers, peasants and patriotic intellectuals. It stood against giving them special constituencies in order to secure their fair representation in the Constituent Assembly.

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*This statement was made before the appearance otf the results of the elections in the 15 constituencies of the graduates. The Communist Party and the candidates whom it supported gained all out of these 15.

It attacked the patriotic forces within tne NUP itself either by refusing to chose them as party candidates or to dismiss them from the membership of the party. It openly declared that there are no differences between the NUP and Umma Party programs. The NUP is reaping today the fruits of this policy. The illusion that the NUP would be in a better position if elections were hastily held because of the unpreparedness of other parties has proved to be a fallacy.

THE IMPERIALIST DESIGN WILL COLLAPSE

The reason of elections point out that the country faces today, as it did on November 17, 1958, the question of democracy, the elementary interests of workers, peasants and progressive intellectuals (the anti-imperialist forces which stand for democracy and socialism).

If these forces, and all other forces who agree with them, were able to unite, they would be in a position to stand firm in the defense of their democratic rights. The whole imperialist design will thus collapse; the hands of imperialists would be tied and the other forces would be able to stride forwards.

The imperialist forces concentrate their efforts on our country because it is a bridge way between the national liberation and socialist movements in the Arab and African spheres. They know fully well that the Sudanese people use democracy for the liquidation of imperialist influence, defeating reactionary forces and rendering moral as well as material help to the revolutionaries in Africa and Arab world. That is why they did not tolerate the limited democratic rights prevailing in 1958 and were forced to design the hateful coup on November 17, 1958. They were naturally terrified by the success of the October Revolution, the victory of democracy which transformed the Sudan into a center of help to Congolese and South Arabian revolutionaries. The people started to gather its forces and get ready for the liquidation of all imperialist influence and for tying the hands of local reactionaries. As a result all the forces of reaction united their efforts in order to liquidate democracy in the country as a pre-condition for the "protection" of their interests. They picked up the notorious slogan of anti-communism in order to weaken national unity. They went on to realize their design step by step and closed the whole show by the force of elections which puts power in the hands of the reactionary forces under a cover of a distorted parliamentary system, hoping thereby to take the country back to the year 1958 and the anti-democratic military rule which followed.

THE FORCES OF OCTOBER ARE VIGILANT

However the reactionary forces forget while scoring a temporary victory — that the forces which have brought about the October Revolution are still standing by. They are not going to hand over their democratic rights for the simple reason that elections which arouse legitimate suspicion have deprived them from their right to be represented in the Constituent Organization. The masses of the people continue to struggle for:

—Winning complete democratic rights for the people.

—Democratization of the state apparatus.

—Agrarian reform and the improvement of the living conditions of the working people, for a policy of socialism and development.

—Pursuing an anti-imperialist foreign policy, in solidarity with the socialist forces in the Arab world, and supporting the cause of liberation in Africa specially in the Congo.

The forces of October, united around these main aims and insisting to achieve them, can come together anew and stand firmly in the face of the reactionary onslaught. These forces of October are still there. They have proved their existence during the elections campaign by standing boldly and faithfully behind the communist and progressive candidates who polled in the capital alone more than a quarter of the votes.

It is the duty of all working people and patriots, in factories, fields and offices; the duty of students, youth and women to unite in our respective organizations in order to stand in the face of any reactionary attempts to set up a civil dictatorship under the cover of a parliamentary system. Our forces are powerful. If united, they would form a very effective opposition.

The central Committee of the Communist Party of the Sudan hails the stand taken by all those who supported our party in the past, specially during the elections campaign when the reactionaries concentrated their feverish attacks on the party. We draw from the heroic struggle of the past our confidence in the future and our determination to continue struggle until the will of our people triumphs again. Such a day is not far away.

Central Committee,
Communist Party of the Sudan.
Khartoum, May 13, 1965.

PLENUM OF THE CC, CPG

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece met for its Ninth Plenum last August. The Plenum analyzed the critical situation in the country and outlined the tasks of the Party in the fight for a democratic way out of the abnormal situation created by the palace coup. Following is the resolution adopted by the Plenum.

UNITY AND ACTION FOR A DEMOCRATIC WAY

1. Greece is passing through a most severe political crisis. The reactionary forces, inspired and directed by the U.S. imperialists and centring around the Court, are riding roughshod over the Constitution. Through the palace coup of July 15 they have plunged the country into a political chaos and persist in pushing it back to a neofascist police regime. The people are firmly resisting this attempt. Encouraged by their victory over the Karamanlis tyranny and by their subsequent gains, they are resolved to prevent a fascist regime. They are fighting staunchly for democratic legality, for the democratization of the country, for a policy of peace, independence and social progress. The question whether the country is to head for democratization or for fascism poses itself more sharply than ever before.

2. The forces of foreign and domestic reaction are out to strike at the democratic forces, nullify the people's gains, restrict and upset the functioning of parliamentary institutions and virtually impose a regime of absolute monarchy in order to strengthen the positions of the imperialists in our country, solve the Cyprus problem in a manner acceptable to NATO, drag Greece into the dirty war in Vietnam, and intensify the exploitation of the working people and the plunder of the country by the foreign and home monopolies.

The political crisis in our country is directly and closely linked with the "Johnson Doctrine" and the aggravation of the international situation as a whole due to aggressive policies of the imperialist powers, with the United States in the lead. The imperialists, alarmed by the gains of the democratic forces throughout the world, resort to the most reckless gambles, escalation of the war in Vietnam, and more brutal interference. For the same reason they are stepping up their interference in Greek affairs. They want to strengthen their shaken positions in our country and, in general, on the south-eastern flank of NATO.

3. The palace coup and the continuous and brutal flouting of democratic liberties and constitutional order deeply angered the whole

nation, giving rise to unprecedented resistance by the masses, who exposed and foiled the conspirators' plans. True to the nation's heroic democratic traditions, the Greek people rose to uphold constitutional legality and democratic order.

For a whole month now hundreds of thousands of men and women representing every segment of the population and led by the working class and a fiery standard-bearer, the democratic working-class student youth, in whose ranks the unforgettable Sotiris Petroulas fought, have every day demonstrated in the streets their unshakable resolve to bring about the resignation of the royal government, the restoration of constitutional order and legality, and the triumph and progress of democracy. The 24-hour general political strike of July 27 was a milestone in this great popular struggle, which has attained heights unprecedented in post-war years.

The rapid growth of the popular movement, which is the main characteristic of political life today, upsets the plans of the enemies of legality and order, and stamps all political developments. Today Communists, Left democrats, Centrists and other patriots, MP's, trade union leaders and leaders of the Union of the Center (UC) and of the Left have rallied for the first time and with such firmness, perseverance and unity to fight for common goals and under common slogans, to battle shoulder to shoulder for democracy.

The democratic parties and the organizations of the working class, youth, members of the National Resistance, scientists and intellectuals, peasants and handicraftsmen are in the lead of multiform and impressive mobilizations of the people. In this common fight, a great deal of prejudices and vacillation gives way while the cause of democratic unity for the salvation of the country gains ground. The Communists, and members and supporters of the Left are in the van of this struggle. By their staunchness and devotion and heroism, by their sustained day-by-day work among the masses, they have raised the struggle of the masses to a high level.

4. For years the CPG and the Left as a whole have been strenuously paving the way for this unity by their policy and their action. In the face of great difficulties, the Communists, leaders and rank-and-file members of the Left have stinted no effort and stopped at no sacrifice in fighting against reaction, as well as against Left and Right deviations, promoting the spirit of unity, establishing links with the democrats and other leaders of popular organizations, with the people as a whole. They have forged unity in the struggle for the people's big and small demands, fighting against the Right-wing splitters in the trade unions and other professional organizations helping by their action to do away with prejudice and the influence of anti-communism and the "struggle on two fronts" doctrine.

This unity has grown in the course of the crucial events of the

last month. It has expanded, takes on various forms and becomes more solid. It has lent unprecedented depth and scope to the mass movement.

Unity is an important gain of the people's democratic movement, and an earnest of further progress of the movement. It should be strengthened and carried forward.

5. The palace coup and the events preceding and following it have confirmed that the CPG and the Left as a whole were right when they gave warning of the neofascist plans and objectives envisaged by foreigners, the Court and the Right. These developments justified the policy of the CPG and the Left forces generally aimed at fostering the unity of the democratic forces and resolutely drawing on the people's support to frustrate the Rightists' plans and bring about serious democratization measures. The CPG and other Left forces have repeatedly and in good time exposed the threat of neofascism. The democratization program put forward by the CPG in February 1964 ogered a correct and sure way to eliminate this threat, meet the people's demands and really democratize the country.

But the policy of the U.S. government toward the Court, the Right and the West, the government's concessions and vacillation, the fact that it did not purge the state machinery of the Right and of the West, its refusal to meet the basic democratic demands of the people, disband the National Security Battalions, and repeal all the emergency measures helped the enemies of democracy to retain their strong positions and subversive network in the state machinery, and enabled them to hatch and carry out their conspiratorial plans. They owe this, above all to the fact that the UC government was dominated by its Right wing, which used the key positions it held to prevent democratization and promote the anti-democratic schemes of the Court and the West.

Experience increasingly convinces the democratic forces of the Center of the harmful implications of that policy, of the need to resist the Rightists and lean on the people for support in order to foil the plans of reaction.

6. The Court, which is the focus of all the most reactionary forces and the mainstay of the regime of subservience, persists in its anti-democratic practice against the will of people and Parliament.

The CPG calls on the people and all the democratic forces to fight jointly and resolutely against violations of the Constitution by the Court and to ensure that the King keeps within the bounds of his constitutional functions and stops interfering in the political life of the nation and the internal affairs of the parties, that he ceases to insist on controlling the armed forces and using them for anti-democratic purposes, and that the royal camarilla no longer plots with impunity.

7. The Court, the ERE, their ex-UC allies, who conspire against democracy, and the U.S. imperialists, the main inspirers and guides of the national reaction persist in maintaining and extending lawlessness and in carrying out their anti-democratic plans. Nor does the reaction desist from attempts to impose an open fascist dictatorship.

We must heighten the people's vigilance. The masses should be ready to staunchly resist and combat every plot by joint effort. The sons of the people who are in the Army, and honest, democratic-minded officers will not allow themselves to be used for abolishing constitutional and democratic liberties and suppressing the will of the people.

The Communists must bend their energies to rally all the democratic forces and to draw them into action in order to foil every attempt at forming a government backed by the ERE, a party condemned by the people, resist all unlawful decisions, overt or covert, ensure respect for constitutional order and bring about a democratic solution of the crisis.

8. As matters stand today, the CC, CPG sees a democratic way out of the crisis in the immediate dissolution of Parliament and the holding of general elections by a provisional government trusted by all the parties. To ensure that the election leads to a real solution and normalizes the political situation, it is necessary in holding the election to guarantee free expression of the people's will, and the unhampered activity of every single party. This should be achieved by ruling out the possibility of a new electoral coup and guaranteeing respect for the people's will.

The CPG has always advocated an electoral system based on proportional representation. It does not consider, however, that this issue can become an obstacle to democratic unity or that it should be used as a pretext for preserving the present abnormal situation and preventing the immediate holding of an election.

The CC, CPG re-emphasizes that the maintenance of the emergency measures and the ban on the legal activity of the CPG are a permanent source of abnormality of the political situation. This is why it considers that the fight for genuinely free elections should be linked with the fight for the repeal of the emergency measures, and legalization of the CPG, the repatriation of political exiles, and a general political amnesty.

9. The struggle for a democratic way out of the present crisis should be directly linked with the struggle for every democratic right, however elementary, for the satisfaction of the everyday demands of the working people, for democratization. We must step up our activity among the workers and our fight to thwart attempts at bringing on a new split, disrupting the trade union movement and overthrowing the leadership of the Greek General Confederation of

Working People (GGCWP). We must intensify the fight for the restoration of trade union unity and for the convening of the fifteenth congress of the GGCWP on the basis of unity and democracy. We must steadily intensify our work among the peasants and youth.

The gravity and complexity of the present situation, and the people's active participation in political life and struggle make it our duty to extend and improve our organization and ideological work, widely popularize the Program and policy of the CPG and its role in the nation's political life.

10. The battle for democracy is in full swing. In the face of foreign and domestic tyranny, the courageous Greek people reaffirm their resolve to have their will respected. Inspired by lofty democratic goals, men and women, old and young alike, are devoting their all to the fight for democracy, for which the best sons of the people have given their lives.

Our people have the strength and determination to frustrate neofascist plans, re-establish constitutional order and normal life, and advance to democracy with firm step. "Unity and action" is the watchword. Our people's just struggle is supported by the peoples of the world.

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ON IMPROVING MANAGEMENT OF INDUSTRY, PERFECTING PLANNING AND ECONOMIC STIMULATION OF INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION

SPEECH* BY A. N. KOSYGIN, MEMBER OF THE PRESIDIUM OF THE CPSU, CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE USSR

Comrades, the Presidum of the Central Committee is submitting for discussion at this Plenary Meeting proposals for improving the planned guidance of industry and organization of industrial management. This is a most important problem the solution of which is imperatively demanded by the practice of communist construction in our country.

The October (1964) Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee has initiated a new approach to the essential problems of national economy based on a profound analysis and all-round consideration of the objective laws of economic development. The Party, drawing on the historic experience of socialist construction in our country and the experience gained by the entire world socialist community, is gaining an ever deeper knowledge of the essence of economic relations in our society, in order properly to utilize its economic laws and tremendous creative potentialities.

The Soviet Union is on the threshold of a new five-year plan. We have to make a big stride forward along the road of economic development and considerably to raise living standards. The Presidium of the Central Committee and the Council of Ministers hold that a series of measures have to be taken to improve planning and industrial management and economic stimulation of production, in order to cope with the new tasks in developing industry—the basis of the entire national economy—and to create conditions making for higher rates of technical and economic progress.

Correct solution of these problems is of tremendous political and practical significance. It will be no exaggeration to say that the successful completion of the program of building the material and technical basis of communism, further improvement of the people's well-being and the strengthening of the defense capa-

*Pravda, September 28, 1965.

city of our country will largely depend on how effectively they will be solved.

The issues involved in improving planned guidance of industry have been extensively and lively discussed for a number of years by Party workers and economists, scientists and our press. Many useful proposals have been made.

The basic measures which are being submitted for consideration by this Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, have been comprehensively discussed by managements, Party workers, economists and other workers of many industrial enterprises in Moscow, Leningrad, Volgograd, Minsk and other cities, by scientists and experts from planning and economic organizations. They were also considered by the Councils of Ministers of the Union Republics, the State Planning Committee of the USSR, the Presidium of the Academy of Sciences, Ministries, State Committees and Departments. The fundamental propositions of the draft have met with universal approval.

1. INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT AND NEW DEMANDS DEVOLVING ON MANAGEMENT

Comrades, our industry is developing on the sound and firm foundation of socialist production relations. A considerable increase in industrial output has been achieved in the course of the Seven Year Plan; the structure of production has improved; the most progressive branches are advancing at a faster rate. Ever new areas, and especially areas in the east of the country, are being drawn into industrial development.

In the course of the Seven Year Plan, which will be completed this year, the overall volume of industrial production will grow by 84 per cent instead of the 80 per cent envisaged by the plan. Generation of electric-power has more than doubled, from 235,000 million kwh. in 1958 to 509,000 million kwh. in 1965.

Steel output is to increase from 55,000,000 to 91,000,000 tons, which is much more than the aggregate steel output in Britain, France and the FRG put together. Oil production will rise this year to 242,000,000 tons compared with 113,000,000 tons in 1958, and natural gas output will total some 130,000 million cubic meters as against 30,000 million cu.m. in 1958. The 2.4-fold increase in the output of engineering and metal-working industries and the nearly 2.5-fold increase in the output of the chemical industry are an important result of the Seven Year Plan. Output in light and food industries increased 50 per cent.

More than 5,500 major industrial enterprises have been built and put into operation in the course of the seven years. Fixed assets in the national economy have increased by 90 per cent,

and in industry by 100 per cent. This means that in the course of the Seven Year Plan we shall have put into operation the amount of fixed assets in industry equal in value to that of the assets it disposed of in 1958 as a result of all previous development.

The technical standard of Soviet industry is rising. This is expressed in a constant growth and renewal of fixed assets, an increased amount of power per worker, launching of new branches of production, development and introduction of the most modern highly-productive equipment, mechanization and the automation of production processes. Thus the amount of power per worker in industry has increased over 50 per cent in the past seven years.

The share of electric power, engineering, metal-working and chemical industries, i.e., the industries which underlie technical progress in the entire national economy, is steadily growing in the total production volume. In the course of the seven years this share has increased from 27 to 35 per cent.

Our science and technology have outstanding achievements to their credit which have earned them world-wide recognition, and are in the lead in a number of important areas of world scientific and technological progress. The splendid achievements of our country in space exploration are well known. Broad opportunities are opening up for using sputniks and rockets to improve communications, weather forecasting and navigation. The Soviet Union is in the forefront of world progress in nuclear physics and nucleonics.

Major successes have been achieved in the sphere of electrification, in the design of the world's biggest hydro-turbogenerators, thermal turbines, and in transmitting electricity over long distances.

Soviet science has made a major contribution to the development of quantum generators. Achievements in physics and chemistry have provided broad opportunities for evolving new effective methods of processing materials. Tangible progress has been made in increasing the hardness and durability of many structural materials. Industrial production has been organized of artificial diamond crystals, used as abrasive materials. Important achievements have also been registered in other branches of science and technology.

Under the influence of technological progress new branches of production are constantly being launched and developed; they are springing forth from the old branches of industry, and specialization is steadily growing. A step forward has been made in creating a number of specialized branches, such as the manufacture of spare parts, castings, forgings and other items of general use in industry.

In the course of the Seven Year Plan, a number of major meas-

ures has been implemented to improve the well-being of the people. Working hours have been cut, average wages have grown, wage taxes have either been abolished or reduced for a substantial section of factory and office workers and pensions have been introduced for collective farmers. The assortment of goods available on the home market has substantially expanded, and the supply of consumer goods to the population has improved. Housing construction is conducted on a large scale.

All that is the result of the creative effort of our glorious working class, engineers, technicians and scientists, the result of the extensive organizational and political work carried out among the masses by the Party, government, trade union and Komsomol organizations.

But to be able to visualize more clearly the tasks of securing a further advance of socialist industry, we have to take into account a number of factors characterizing the present stage of development of social production.

The scale of production, the volume of capital investments and the value of the fixed assets have grown immensely. Economic ties have expanded considerably and become more complex.

The pace of scientific and technological progress has quickened, and prompt industrial application of the latest results of science and technology has become a must.

The present-day scientific and technical revolution advances to the fore such problems as technical standards, quality, reliability and effective use of goods. It is precisely these factors that are today in the focus of the peaceful economic competition between the socialist and capitalist countries.

We must make tremendous accumulations for capital investment and at the same time secure a considerable improvement in the material well-being of the people. This poses the very important problem of expanding the sources of economic growth.

Thus raising the efficiency of social production to the utmost, saving live and materialized labor, and considerably and steadily increasing returns from capital investments and fixed assets becomes a prime and central task.

Of great importance, in this connection, is intensification of the struggle against all manner of mismanagement, wastefulness and unproductive spending. We still have considerable overstaffing and unnecessary overheads in our managerial apparatus. We must instil strict order and rigid economy in this field.

It is not at all a matter of indifference to society by what effort and at what price results are obtained, what the efficiency is, not only of each enterprise but also of each individual worker.

Rational and economical management in all branches of the national economy without exception, and first of all in industry,

is acquiring decisive importance at the present stage of development of the Soviet economy, science, technology and culture.

And how do matters stand with raising efficiency of production and productivity of social labor?

In order correctly to assess the state of industrial production, it is necessary clearly to see not only the successes achieved but also the shortcomings and difficulties we have, as well as the still unresolved problems facing industry.

It should be said that in recent years the national income and industrial output calculated per ruble of the fixed assets' worth has somewhat declined. The rate of growth of labor productivity in industry, which is also an important index of the efficiency of social production, has slowed down somewhat in recent years. We can and must remedy this state of affairs in the near future.

It must be said that our learned economists are doing very little in the way of analyzing the effectiveness of social production and of working out ways of increasing it.

The tremendous socio-economic advantage of our country must be utilized so as to secure the necessary rate of growth of the national income, an increase in output per ruble of fixed assets and a steady rise in labor productivity.

The higher the national income, the more means can be allocated for the development of production and for raising the well-being of the people. We must, therefore, strive to achieve steadily growing returns from each ruble invested in the fixed assets.

Because the fixed assets are not yet adequately utilized we have to invest heavily with a view to creating new production facilities. This cannot but affect the distribution of the national income and the size of the share allocated for popular consumption.

One of the most important problems is to increase in the next few years the share of the national income spent on consumption. The absolute volume of capital investments, however, must also grow steadily. We have the opportunities to do this. All we need is to use them rationally. This calls for constantly improving the use of the tremendous and ever-growing production capacities created by the labor of the people, and increasing the productivity of social labor.

We must admit that the advantages and potentialities offered by the socialist system of economy are still far from being utilized in full. Although our industry is developing successfully and on the whole is overfulfilling the targets of the Seven Year Plan, we are not satisfied with the results achieved, especially in such

branches as the light, food, chemical, timber and paper industries and in the building materials industry.

We are aware, comrades, that in the not-too-distant past quite a few errors were committed in planning, and a thoughtless, voluntaristic approach prevailed in solving important economic problems. This led to the upsetting of the necessary proportions between the different branches of economy. For a long time we have not had the necessary correlation between the development of agriculture and the development of industry. The lag in agriculture has resulted in a slowing down of the rates of development in industry, and especially in the branches producing consumer goods.

The March Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee considered in detail the reasons for the lag, and evolved concrete measures to step up the development of all the branches of agricultural production. We must say outright that it was only the March Plenary Meeting which mapped out effective measures to do away with that imbalance. Consistent implementation of the measures adopted has already yielded practical results.

An incorrect proportion has developed between industry of group "A" and group "B". For a number of years now the "B" group has lagged behind in its development. This lag has been due not only to the fact that the plans themselves envisaged inadequate rates of growth for the group "B" branches but also to the fact that even those plan targets have been systematically underfulfilled.

The lag in agriculture and group "B" industries has created a certain discrepancy between the production of consumer goods and the production of the means of production. This could not fail to influence the rate of growth of the real incomes of the population and the level of material incentives. Elimination of this lag by raising the efficiency of the whole of social production is the principal task today.

Some negative phenomena in the national economy have arisen also as a result of underfulfilment of plans in certain branches of heavy industry, mainly in putting new capacities into operation. This has caused difficulties in the supply of raw materials and semi-finished goods, as has happened, for example, in the chemical industry.

There are serious shortcoming in capital construction: often the time-limits set for putting new capacities into operation are not observed, the cost of the enterprises put into operation exceeds the planned cost, and considerable state funds do not bring in the expected returns for a long time.

In present-day conditions, with technology developing at a fast rate, slowness in building enterprises means that the equipment

installed becomes technically obsolete even before the plant becomes operational.

To a great extent the major drawbacks in capital construction are due to the unsatisfactory standard of planning. Inflated plans for capital construction result in funds being scattered over many projects, creating financial and material difficulties, and causing damage to the national economy.

The USSR State Planning Committee must play the main role in introducing order into the system of capital construction planning. The Planning Committee must, in drafting plans, adhere strictly to the correct correlation between financial and material resources and the volume of capital construction, no matter what pressure is brought to bear on it by government departments and local organizations. We must firmly and consistently follow this principle in our plan for 1966, which will greatly accelerate the development of our economy and cut down on the amount of incomplete capital-construction work.

It is necessary to reconsider the very system of planning capital construction. The performance of construction organizations must be guaged not on the basis of how much money they have spent but by their output, i.e., by the enterprises and housing actually made available.

A radical improvement in capital construction calls for the implementation of many measures in the sphere of financing, for the improvement of mutual cost-accounting relations between the contracting organizations and their clients, for better designing and quantity-surveying of the projects and better construction work as such. We must begin evolving such measures now so that later we will be able to consider all the problems of organization and planning of capital construction thoroughly and comprehensively.

Lower output per ruble of fixed assets is largely due to the fact that bringing the new project to full-capacity operation takes too long a time. The planned output indices for new enterprises are in a number of cases reached over 4 years or even longer. New production capacities are being realized particularly unsatisfactorily in the chemical, iron and steel, building materials, and pulp and paper industries. More often than not this is the result of putting incomplete sets of plant into operation at new enterprises, and of errors and mistakes in design and the technological processes. Poor organization of the supply of raw materials to new plants and inadequate training the personnel for their exploitation also tell here.

The Kuibyshev, Volzhski and Efremov synthetic rubber plants, for example, where capacities for producing new types of synthetic rubber have been created, lag seriously in utilizing these new capacities. Our national economy, therefore, is not getting

all the synthetic rubber it needs—and our needs for this commodity are very great. The capacities which have been made available for the manufacture of double superphosphates are also being put to poor use. Thus, of the production capacity commissioned in 1963 at the Voskresensk Chemical Plant only 17 per cent is being used, and of the capacities put into operation in 1964 at the Volkhov Aluminium Plant, 32 per cent.

Faster mastery of new capacities is a fundamental issue of scientific and engineering progress.

At present, industry has entered upon a stage of development where rates of growth are increasingly determined by technological progress and the speed with which scientific achievements are introduced into the production process. But we have serious shortcomings in this sphere which tend to affect adversely the rates of growth of industrial production and the technical re-tooling of many enterprises.

The reasons for the slow introduction of scientific achievements derive, on the one hand, from the inadequacy for practical purposes of a number of scientific projects, and, on the other hand from the slowness with which industry masters the highly effective technological processes, machinery and materials which have been evolved by science. Permit me to cite a number of examples.

Several years ago, and for the first time in the world, our scientists developed a highly effective method of working metals with liquids under great pressure. The method makes it possible to work metals—even those which it is hard to reshape—with great precision, improve their properties, decrease production premises, simplify the technological equipment and work metals at high speeds. Production of high pressure equipment had to be organized in order to secure widespread introduction of the new method. This however, has not been done to this day.

Several years ago our scientists evolved fundamentally new and highly-efficient transistorized electric current converters. These converters, as compared with the old mechanical or mercury rectifiers, are of higher efficiency and smaller in size. Despite all their advantages our industry is lagging inexcusably in developing their production on a broad scale.

Over five years ago, Soviet scientists evolved a method of producing polypropylene, a highly effective structural material. Polyprophylene can be used to manufacture pipes, fixtures and parts of machines resistant to chemically aggressive media, parts for radio- and power-engineering industries, film products for industrial, agricultural and domestic purpose, and very durable fibres. The first plant in our country for producing polypropylene was to have been put into operation in December 1964. However, the Moscow City Economic Council and the State Committee for the

Chemical Industry failed to put it into operation by the specific date.

The plans for research work and the introduction of achievements of science and engineering into production processes are regularly underfulfilled. The situation is especially unsatisfactory in designing and launching mass production of new plant. Complex mechanization and automation of production is introduced too slowly, and efficacy of a number of automation measures is very low. New technologies are not finding proper place in production.

The pattern of output of machinery and equipment by many branches does not conform to modern standards. Up to now, for example, precision casting machines and forging and pressing equipment account for a very insignificant share of the total output of metal-working equipment.

We should considerably expand the output of modern types of machinery and equipment. Above all we must increase the output of forging and pressing equipment, machines for precision casting, machine-tools and plant for working metals with the help of electrophysical, electrochemical and other highly productive methods.

In vigorously developing our engineering industry we must make wider use of the achievements of engineering abroad.

The quality of our goods must compare favorably with the best international standards. To this end we must strengthen technological and production discipline in all enterprises and raise overall production efficiency, so that we are able genuinely to satisfy our own needs and the needs of our export trade.

Rational use of manpower resources is of great importance in attaining higher rates of development of production and in improving the well-being of the people. At present 85 per cent of our total able-bodied population, including 75 per cent of the women, are either employed in social production or are studying, while the rest of the population either work on the individually-owned plots of land or keep house. These figures show that there are opportunities for drawing additional manpower into social production and the service industry.

There are considerable reserves of manpower in small towns, especially in the western areas of the Ukraine, Byelorussia, in some localities in Transcaucasia and in the central areas of the Russian Federation. It must be stressed that one of the reasons for this state of affairs is the tendency of the economic organizations, committees and ministries to develop production and build new enterprises primarily in large cities. This practice cannot be considered correct.

The State Planning Committee must study the availability of

manpower by the country's regions and envisage, in the national-economic plans, such a distribution of production and construction work as will secure the fullest possible utilization of manpower resources in the national economy.

The Presidium of the Central Committee of the Party and the Council of Ministers of the USSR have thoroughly analyzed the shortcomings in the national economy and have laid bare the reasons for slower rates of economic growth. This analysis has shown that certain difficulties in the development of our economy are temporary difficulties that must be overcome very quickly.

The Presidium of the CPSU Central Committee and the Council of Ministers of the USSR are of the opinion that in tackling the problems of the further development of industry and the raising of the people's living standards, the greatest attention should be focussed on improving the methods and forms of industrial management. The forms of management, planning and stimulation now in use in industry no longer conform to modern technico-economical conditions and the level of development of productive forces.

The framework within which the enterprises can display economic initiative and exercise their rights is too narrow, while their responsibilities are inadequate. The cost-accounting system, or *khozraschet*, is in many ways a formality. The existing system of material benefits to industrial workers for high production results is a poor incentive for interesting them in improving the overall results of the work of their enterprises and, more often than not, runs counter to the interests of the national economy as a whole.

Greater flexibility and efficiency are needed in industrial management and planning under present conditions. It is highly important to take the changed economic situation into account at the proper time, to be able to maneuver with resources, adequately to correlate production—not only from the top, but also from below—with the increased needs and demands of the population, to introduce swiftly scientific and engineering achievements into production, and to find the best solutions to economic problems facing each particular enterprise.

All this can only be achieved when the centralized planned management is combined with the economic initiative of enterprises and collectives, with the increased application of economic incentives and material stimuli in developing production, and with using sound business principles. Only then will the system of economic management become sufficiently suited to tackling the tasks of raising production efficiency.

The proposals put forward for consideration by this Plenary

Meeting have as their point of departure the thesis on the leading role of centralized planned management in developing our economy.

Improvement in planning methods and greater economic stimulation of industrial production will yield the necessary effect only in combination with such organizational forms of management as would correspond to the level of the productive forces achieved and the tasks posed at the present stage of the creation of the material and technical basis of communism.

In the conditions of today, when production and technical problems are becoming extremely complex, industry can only be managed effectively if full account is taken of the specific features and functions of every industrial branch. Specialization of production is an important aspect of technological progress and the development and improvement of production. For this reason the principle of management according to industrial branch should underlie all economic management.

As we know, the principle of management according to industrial branch has been violated in recent years, which has somewhat hampered the development of production and technology. The proposed measures will permit us to remedy this situation.

The management-by-branch principle must be combined, however, with the territorial principle, with inter-branch activities required by the comprehensive development of the national economy as a whole and the individual economies of the Republics and territories of our country, and with wider economic rights of the Republics.

Proposals on the following are entered for consideration by this meeting: first the improvement of planning, provision of greater scope for the economic initiative of enterprises and more economic stimuli in production and, secondly, better organization of industrial management. The first set of questions is closely connected with the new and recently endorsed Statute of the Socialist Enterprises, and the second—with the Resolution on granting wider economic rights to the Union Republics. All these questions together comprise an integral whole.

The main aim of the submitted proposals is to bring the planning system and methods of economic management into line with the tasks of communist construction, to develop further the most important aspects and advantages of the socialist mode of production, and thus to secure a more rapid advancement of our economy along the road to communism.

Allow me to proceed to an exposition of the problems connected with the improvement of planning and increasing economic stimulation of industrial production.

II. IMPROVEMENT OF PLANNING AND GREATER ECONOMIC STIMULATION OF INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION

What are the main trends of the proposed program to improve the forms of the planned guidance of industry and the methods of economic management at each and every enterprise.

First, a number of measures are envisaged to raise the scientific standards of state planning of the economy.

The rates of growth of production and of the national income, and the basic proportions envisaged in the national-economic plans must be optimum, i.e., they must guarantee the best and most effective utilization of all available potentialities in conformity with the objective economic laws of socialism. In conditions of the scientific and technical revolution, the task of the planning bodies is to stipulate a rapid industrial application of the latest achievements of science and engineering. Plans should be compiled on the basis of the outlook for scientific and technological progress. It is necessary to attach more importance to long-term planning, and to work out a system of scientifically grounded planning norms.

Thus we shall be able to avoid voluntarism in planning and create conditions for raising the effectiveness of social production.

Second, a series of measures are proposed to expand the economic independence and initiative of enterprises and amalgamations, and to raise the importance of the enterprise as the main economic unit in our economy. In conditions of the growing concentration of production and multiplication of ties between enterprises, the existing framework of economic independence has become too narrow for modern socialist enterprises and tends to restrict their capability to raise labor productivity and production efficiency. Greater economic independence of enterprises and the growth of the political consciousness and activity of the working class, open up before the factory collectives the possibility to participate on a broader scale—under the leadership of Party organizations—in the management of production.

To this end it is necessary to abolish the improperly excessive regulation of the economic activities of enterprises, to provide them with the necessary means for developing production and to establish firm legal guarantees for the greater powers of the enterprises.

Third, it is proposed to strengthen and develop the system of *khozraschet*, or cost accounting, to intensify the economic stimulation of production with the help of such indices as price profit, bonuses and credit. Each enterprise should be made more interested in the growth of its production, in increasing its in-

comes and in the optimum utilization of its tremendous wealth—the fixed assets assigned to the enterprise.

It is planned greatly to enhance the interest of factory and office workers in improving the overall performance of their enterprise and thus to strengthen the economic foundation for expanding the masses' independent activity and initiative in economic construction, and ensure them a greater say in the organization of production.

The proposed measures are aimed at the consistent application of the Leninist principle of providing material incentives for the working people, at finding new reserves at the enterprises themselves and creating new sources for raising the wages of factory and office workers.

Improving Industrial Planning and Increasing the Economic Independence of Enterprises

In order to increase the economic independence of enterprises it is proposed to reduce the number of indices assigned from above. At the same time the indices retained in the plan should be aimed at raising production efficiency.

Experience shows that the index of overall volume of output does not stimulate the enterprises to produce goods really needed by the national economy and the population, and in many cases holds up the improvement of assortment and quality. Not infrequently our enterprises produce low-quality goods which the consumer does not want and which therefore do not sell.

Instead of an overall volume of production index, it is proposed that the plans of enterprises should incorporate assignments for the volume of goods actually sold. This will make enterprises pay greater attention to quality in order to be able to fulfil their assignments for marketed products. An enterprise that produces low-quality goods will experience difficulties in selling them and, consequently, will be unable to fulfil its plan. Under the existing system of evaluating the activities of an enterprise on the basis of overall volume of output, such an enterprise would have been considered as having fulfilled its plan.

However, it would not be sufficient to appraise the work done by an enterprise only on the basis of the volume of goods sold. The national economy requires definite products to satisfy the needs of society.

For this reason assignments for the more important items must be retained as plan indices.

When economic ties between enterprises have been well organized and the contract system well developed, it will be possible steadily to reduce the assortment of goods produced accord-

ing to the state plan, and to substitute for it a classified, or enlarged, list of commodities.

If the assignment for goods sold is aimed at establishing closer ties between production and consumption, to orientate the enterprise towards raising efficiency, it would appear better to use the profit index, the index of profitability. The size of obtained profits characterizes, to a considerable extent, the contribution made by an enterprise to the net national income which is used to expand production and raise the people's standard of living.

It goes without saying that profit assignments do not make the need to lower production costs less important but, on the contrary, increases its omportance. One of the most important tasks of economic managers is to lower production costs. The production cost index should command special attention in the technical, production and financial plan of the enterprise.

The state is interested in constantly increasing accumulations not only by lowering the cost of production of each item, but also by producing more, and by expanding and modernizing the range of manufactured goods and raising their quality. Profit reflects all these aspects of the production activities of an enterprise in a much more complete way than the production cost index. What is important in this case is to take into account not only the amount and increment of profit obtained, but also the level of profitability, i.e., the amount of profit per ruble of fixed assets.

Substantial changes are also envisaged in the planning of labor at enterprises.

At present the enterprises receive four labor indices from above —productivity of labor, number of workers, average wages, and wage fund. From now on it is proposed to hand down only one of these indices—the wage fund. This, of course, does not mean that the other indices have lost their significance. The indices of labor productivity, number of employees, and average wages will remain important elements of the national economic plan and the production plan of the enterprise. But is it really necessary to hand down all these assignments to the enterprise from above? Experience has shown that such planning fetters the initiative of the enterprise in the search for means and ways of increasing labor productivity.

There have been proposals that the wage fund of the enterprise be not assigned from above, either. But to discard the planning of the wage fund would be premature. There must be a proper balance between the quantity of consumer goods manufactured and the population's purchasing power. And the purchasing power is determined in large measure by the wage fund.

In the future, when we have succeeded in considerably expanding the production of consumer goods and accumulating adequate

stocks of these goods, we will be able to discontinue assigning the wage fund of the enterprise from above. We plan to do this, first of all, in the industries producing consumer goods.

Thus the enterprise will have the following indices passed down from above:

— the volume of goods to be sold;
— the main assortment of goods;
— the wage fund;
— the amount of profit and level of profitability;
— contributions to the budget and allocations from the budget.

Besides, they will be assigned:

— the volume of centralized investment and the putting into operation of production capacities and fixed assets;
— the main assignments for introducing new techniques;
— the indices of material and technical supply.

All other indices of economic activity will be planned by the enterprises themselves, without endorsement from above. This will relieve the enterprise of uncalled-for tutelage, and will enable it to adopt the most economical decisions according to the actual conditions of production.

While extending the economic independence of the enterprises, the state will continue to conduct a unified policy in the sphere of technical progress, investment, labor remuneration, prices and financing, and will ensure the compilation of accounts and statistical returns according to a unified system.

Improving the quality of goods in conformity with the demands of consumers and modern technical standards is one of the main tasks facing the planning and economic organizations.

The plans must incorporate the most important indices relating to technical standards and the quality of goods, and all the financial, manpower and material resources necessary to achieve them.

It is necessary to raise the role of state standards as an effective means of raising the quality of output. State standards should be steadily improved in the light of the latest achievements of science and technology. A system of state certification of the quality of goods should be introduced.

The normal economic activity of an enterprise is frequently upset by the fact that the plans assigned them from above are not supported with the necessary technical and economic calculations and that the different sections of the plans are not correlated. Little attention has been given so far to the working out of the technical and economic management. Plans are frequently changed, which upsets the work of the enterprise and lowers production efficiency. One of the main tasks in improving planning is to work out stable plans for enterprises on the basis of scientifically sound standards

and technical and economic calculations taking into account the peculiarities of the industries and groups of enterprises concerned.

The need to raise the scientific standards of planning confronts our professional economists with the task of analyzing modern processes of the technical and economic development of the country, and of ascertaining the trends and prospects that are emerging. A special effort should be made to increase the economic effectiveness of new machinery and equipment, readjust the patterns of both production and consumption, and study economic ties, the comprehensive development of regional economies and the territorial division of labor throughout the country.

Now that raising the technical standards of production and its efficiency has become a most important task, planned management of the economic activity of enterprises cannot be restricted to annual plans. As to long-term plans, their importance has been underrated. Many enterprises did not take the trouble to compile them at all, and those that did usually failed to correlate them with plans for the development of the national economy. Another major drawback of the existing system of long-term planning was that the assignments included in long-term plans and, in particular, the target figures of the Seven Year Plan, were not broken down into annual figures.

As a result, enterprises do not know their production prospects and so cannot make preparations in time nor establish links with suppliers and consumers on a permanent basis.

It is proposed to make the five-year plan the basic form of planning, distributing the more important assignments by years, so that the enterprises may carry on their production and economic activities on the basis of this plan.

Lately national economic plans have envisaged few measures aimed at increasing production efficiency by industries, which is due to violation of the branch principle of management. In industrial management and in national economic plans, the task is to increase the significance of each branch of industrial production and to guarantee a correct combination of planning by branches and planning at republic and economic-area level.

In this connection we must mention the tasks facing the State Planning Committee of the USSR. The Committee must concentrate on guaranteeing proper balances and relationships within the national economy, raising the efficiency of social production, and searching for means of hastening the growth of the national income and the improvement of the people's standard of living. Of special importance in this respect will be a more profound and thorough elaboration of national income and its utilization, of the manpower supply and its utilization both in the country as a whole and in individual areas, the balance of money incomes and expen-

ditures of the population, the balance of financial resources, and the more important material balances.

Increasing Economic Stimuli for Enterprises and Promoting Cost Accounting

Improvement of the forms and methods of planning will make it possible to tackle the problem of strengthening and developing cost accounting in a new way. Lenin stressed that each enterprise must work at a profit, i.e., completely cover its expenditures from its incomes and make a profit.

The enterprises operating on a cost-accounting basis, and their managers must bear full responsibility for the economic results of the work they do. Lenin's ideas of cost accounting should underline our economic activities. We see their consistent implementation and further development as the way to solve urgent problems of communist construction at the present stage.

What must we do to strengthen and develop cost accounting in the new conditions?

First, we must create conditions in which the enterprises will be able to solve problems of improving production independently, and will be interested in making better use of the fixed assets assigned to them to increase output and profit. It is therefore necessary to leave to the enterprises more of the profit they derive, so that they can develop production, improve techniques, materially encourage the staff and improve its working and living conditions. The proportion of funds to be left to the enterprise should be made directly conditional on how effectively it uses its fixed assets, increases the volume of goods sold, improves the quality of its goods and increases profitability. At the same time the state should restrict the gratuitous financing of investment and extend the use of credits.

Secondly, it is necessary to strengthen the principle of cost accounting in the relations between enterprises, guarantee strict fulfilment of delivery commitments and increase material responsibility for their fulfilment.

Thirdly, on the basic of cost accounting, it is necessary to provide material incentives for the entire personnel and every shop and section of the enterprise personnel and every shop and section of the enterprise, so that they will not only fulfil their own assignments but also improve the overall results of the enterprise. The system of incentives should be so devised that the enterprise will be interested in working out and fulfilling higher plan assignments and in making better use of its internal resources.

In short, it is necessary to direct the entire activity of the enter-

prise towards finding ways of improving the economics of production, increasing the incomes of the enterprise and thereby increasing the overall national income.

Under the existing system, investments are almost exclusively allocated according to the central plan, and a considerable proportion of them is spent on new construction. Many of the operating enterprises lack adequate means and so cannot replace obsolete plant in time. This holds up the growth of labor productivity, improvement of the quality of goods produced and the growth of profitability.

It is proposed that every enterprise establish a production development fund which would include deductions from its profit. Part of the depreciation money intended for the complete restoration of fixed assets would also be contributed to the fund. At present this part of the depreciation money is allocated on a centralized basis for financing capital construction, and the enterprises cannot use it as they see fit.

When these measures have been implemented, the production development fund — which the enterprises will be free to use for technical improvements in production—will constitute a much larger sum than is the case now. This can be seen from the following data.

In 1964 expenditures from enterprises' funds for the introduction of new techniques and development of production in industry totalled 120 m. rubles, and 600 m. rubles in bank credits was spent for the same purposes; the total figure was therefore 720 m. rubles. Under the new conditions, the development funds will approximate to 4,000 m. rubles in 1967, including 2,700 rubles from the depreciation fund.

The promotion of cost accounting and the economic stimulation of production depend on the basis on which the state grants means to the enterprise, and on the way in which the enterprise transfers part of its income to the budget.

Investment at present is financed gratis from the budget. Enterprise managers show little concern as to the cost of the reconstruction of the enterprise or the effect that additional investment will produce, because their enterprises are not obliged to refund the sums granted them. Hence we need a system that will induce our economic managers to strive for the most judicious use of investment funds, so that new shops and units can be built with a minimum of investment and put into operation in time and that their rated capacities are put to use as early as possible.

One way of solving this problem is to switch from the free allocation of means for capital construction to long-term credits. The idea is that credits will be introduced, first of all, for investment in operating enterprises. As for new construction, it would

apparently be expedient to introduce long-term credit for projects with a comparatively short period of recoupment.

Of great importance in making production more efficient is correct and economical use of the working capital allocated to the enterprise. At present, any shortage in the working capital of the enterprise is made up for from the budget. We cannot, therefore, speak of genuine cost accounting if the enterprise does not, in effect, bear any economic responsibility for the utilization of the working capital allocated to it. It is proposed to abolish the practice of providing free supplements to the working capital of enterprises from the budget and to grant them credits if necessary. Such a system will induce enterprises to use the working capital allocated to them more thriftily.

A change in the system by which enterprises make payments to the state budget from their incomes is also envisaged. At present the amount of the deductions made from profits of enterprises in favor of the budget does not depend on the value of the fixed assets assigned to them. That is one of the reasons why enterprises attempt to obtain more money from the state for investment and for supplementing their working capital, without taking the necessary measures for their rational use. Sometimes an enterprise purchases equipment it does not need just to spend the funds allocated to it.

As has been said, the effectiveness of fixed assets has recently declined in a number of industries. It is most important, therefore, to interest enterprises in increasing their output and raising not only the sum total of their profits but also the amount of profit made per ruble of fixed assets assigned to them. To this end it is necessary to introduce deductions in favor of the budget from the profits of enterprises in proportion to the value of fixed essets and working capital allocated to them, as payment for the fixed assets.

Rates of payment for fixed assets and working capital will be established for a long period—over several years—so that after each payment a normally functioning enterprise will have profits left for setting up incentive funds and for covering its planned expenses. Those enterprises which make better use of their fixed assets and working capital will retain more profit for setting up incentive funds, which will provide adequate material encouragement for better use of the public funds allocated to the enterprises.

New machines, newly-installed equipment, and shops and enterprises just put into operation cannot in every case produce their full economic effect immediately, and enterprises may therefore experience temporary financial difficulties. Therefore it is proposed that deductions for fixed assets and working capital be made only when the planned time-limit for mastering new capacities has passed.

It must be stressed that these payments are not proposed as additional contributions to the budget over and above payments which enterprises make now; the idea is to divert a considerable proportion of the payments to the budget through a new channel. Eventually payments for fixed assets and working capital will become a most important part of the budget income, and the importance of other payments, including the turnover tax, will decrease accordingly.

It is also planned to use cost accounting more freely between enterprises. At present the mutual economic responsibility of enterprises is most inadequate. Contracting has not as yet acquired the importance it deserves in relations between enterprises.

It is proposed to increase the material responsibility of enterprises and organizations in cases of non-fulfilment of contract obligations for deliveries of goods so that, as a rule, losses will be made good by the faulty enterprise. The responsibility of rail, water, road and other transport organizations for delays in moving goods from enterprises and retarding their delivery to the customer will also be increased. It is necessary that design organizations should also be responsible for errors made in projects, technical drawings and designs, if these errors lead to material losses and additional expenditures during the building of a project or while production at new-built plants is being organized.

The introduction of the sales index makes the position of the producing enterprises and the size of their funds dependent on payments by customers. It goes without saying that every enterprise must itself bear full responsibility for making payments and for clearing accounts with suppliers in time. A cost-accounting relationship between enterprises demands that payment discipline be tightened. Simultaneously the role of state credit in economic turnover must be intensified with the aim of guaranteeing unhindered clearance of accounts between suppliers and their clients.

Increasing Material Incentives for Workers to Improve the Work of Enterprises

At present the material incentives provided for production collectives and for individual workers to improve the overall results of the work of their enterprises are quite inadequate. Enterprises have very limited opportunities of raising the pay of their staffs out of sources of income created by the enterprises themselves.

About 50 per cent of the industrial enterprises have no funds created from their own profits, and where these funds do exist they are very small and the sums paid out of them by way of encouragement are insignificant. Nearly every kind of bonus and other stimuli are paid, not out of profits, but out of the wage fund. The

achievements of the enterprise in increasing profits and raising profitability have no direct effect on the wages and salaries of the staff.

We must change this practice in order to provide staffs with greater material incentives. We must establish a system under which the enterprise's opportunities for increasing the remuneration of its staff would be determined, above all, by the growth of production, improved quality, increased profits and greater profitability. Basic wages and salaries will be raised on a centralized basis as before. At the same time enterprises should have—in addition to the wage fund—a special fund to stimulate their employees for individual achievements and for a good performance of the enterprise as a whole.

This fund should consist of a part of the profit obtained by the enterprise, which would use it not only to pay the staff bonuses for high efficiency in the course of the year, but also an extraordinary allowance at the end of the year. In doing this, account will be taken of the length of uninterrupted service at the enterprise, which will help to check the outflow of skilled manpower.

Under the existing system of material incentives, enterprises are not interested in providing in their plans for the fullest utilization of their internal resources, because the performance of the enterprise is appraised and its staff offered inducements according primarily to the extent that plan targets are exceeded. This system encourages enterprises to strive for lower plan assignments in terms of volume of output, growth of labor productivity, and lower costs, and for larger wage funds, staffs, investments and material funds, so that it will be easier for them to exceed plans. This makes it difficult to draft realistic plans. How is this system to be changed?

A fund for the material stimulation of the staff will be set up at each enterprise. It will be derived from the profits obtained by the enterprise. Allocations for the material stimulation fund should be made according to stable quotas established for a number of years and in such a manner as to ensure that the amount of the material incentive fund is determined by increases in the sale of products or in profit and by the level of profitability envisaged by the plan. Those who exceed the plan will be paid relatively less by way of incentive than those who achieve plan indices. This will induce enterprises to find reserves in time and to accept larger plan assignments.

The material stimulation fund will also increase depending on the proportion of new products and on additional returns derived by the enterprise from higher prices for goods of higher quality. Enterprises will be interested in mastering the production of new items and in improving their quality as soon as possible.

Since the pattern and cost of production and the ratio between

profit and wages vary from industry to industry, we propose to differentiate the rates of allocation for the stimulation fund according to groups of enterprises, taking the amount of the wage fund into account.

A fund for financing social and cultural development and housing construction must also be set up at enterprises. Allocations from this fund will be spent for housing construction (over and above the sums allocated for this purpose on a centralized basis), the construction and upkeep of children's institutions, Young Pioneer camps, holiday and health homes, and other social and cultural purposes.

Consequently, the better an enterprise functions, the more opportunities it will have, not only to raise wages and salaries, but also to improve the living conditions of its staff and carry out cultural and health-protection measures.

The proposed changes in the methods of planning and economic stimulation are not based on theoretical conclusions alone but also on experience.

In 1964 and 1965, new methods of planning and economic stimulation were introduced at a number of enterprises of the sewing, footwear and textile industries. The performance of these enterprises is evaluated according to output and profit under the plan.

Recently a new bonus system for managers, engineers, technicians and office workers has been introduced at enterprises in a number of industries to afford the personnel greater incentives to increase output and improve quality. The first results show that we are on the right track. I would like to dwell in some detail on a practical experiment involving the use of the new system. It has to do with motor transport.

There are some major shortcomings in motor transport. About half of the runs are empty ones. Of course, plans every year envisage a reduction of empty runs, a lowering of maintenance costs, an increase in loads, etc. But they yield scant results. Motor transport organizations put forward any number of arguments to prove that the plan quotes assigned to them are unrealistic.

Five months ago the Council of Ministers of the USSR instructed the Labor and Wages Committee and the Moscow and Leningrad City Soviets to introduce the new system of planning and economic stimulation in some motor transport organizations. The system was introduced in three Moscow and two Leningrad organizations. They are large organizations servicing construction, the trading network, industry, and inter-urban transport.

The economic independence of these organizations was extended: they had fewer plan indices assigned from above and were allowed greater freedom in using above-plan profit and savings on the wage

fund to encourage their personnel in material terms, improve social and cultural conditions and expand production facilities.

The Presidium of the Council of Ministers of the USSR recently examined the first results of their work and heard the reports of the directors of two of the Moscow motor transport organizations. The very first results showed that the introduction of the new system of planning and economic stimulation produces a considerable effect. Having received ample powers and opportunities, the collectives found ways and means to improve their work and to transport more, above all by reducing empty runs. They extended the range of enterprises and organizations using their services, considerably improved the quality of service, encouraged their clients to shorten loading and unloading time, improved the organization of repairs and maintenance, sold the lorries and equipment they did not need, and reduced their staffs.

The new system of planning and economic stimulation increased the employees' interest in the results of their work. In four months of work under the new conditions (May-August 1965) empty runs were reduced by 15 per cent, with the result that haulage increased by 34 per cent. Labor productivity went up by 31 per cent and profits more than doubled, making it possible to raise wages. Above-plan profit in the five organizations totalled 969,000 rubles in four months. As before 40 per cent of the profit was transferred to the budget, and the balance—over 550,000 rubles—was used for improving facilities, accumulating reserves, meeting social and cultural requirements and stimulating the staffs materially.

Of course, one can hardly expect that the work of all the motor transport organizations would improve in the same way. Nevertheless, the results of the experiment speak for themselves. We see in them something new that will also yield important results in other branches of the national economy.

The transition to new forms and methods of economic stimulation of industrial production demands improvements in the pricing system. Prices should increasingly reflect the expenditures of socially necessary labor, cover production and circulation outlays and ensure that each normally-functioning enterprise makes profit.

The existing underestimation of economic methods in planning and managing the national economy, and neglect of cost accounting, are connected to a considerable extent with the serious shortcomings in price formation. If prices are not well-grounded, economic calculations become less reliable, which, in turn, leads to the adoption of subjectivist decisions.

From now on, in fixing wholesale prices for industrial goods, it will be necessary to calculate the level of profitability of the various industries on the strength of scientific evidence. Normally

functioning enterprises should make profit from the sale of their products at wholesale prices and so be able to form a corresponding stimulation fund, and also have the necessary means for expanding their activities, paying for their fixed assets and making other contributions to the budget.

Prices must also play a major role in solving problems of quality and in extending the reasonable length of service and dependability of products. This is why, in pricing new, improved articles, the additional expenditures made by the manufacturers and the economic effect which customers will derive from improved products should be taken into consideration. This will encourage manufacturers to improve their products, and will make it economically more advantageous for customers to use these products.

In preparing for this Plenary Meeting, the Presidium of the CC, CPSU and the Council of Ministers of the USSR decided to set up a State Committee for Prices under the State Planning Committee of the USSR. This Committee is entrusted with working out and presenting by January 1, 1966, guidelines for fixing wholesale prices for industrial goods with a view to bringing prices as near as possible to the value of socially necessary labor expended. These prices must guarantee the implementation of the contemplated measures for the improvement of planning and economic stimulation of enterprises.

A better pricing system and the fixing of wholesale prices will help in improving the economic indices of the work of industry, in finding additional reserves and in ensuring steady reduction of production costs. Needless to say retail prices may be revised only with the aim of reducing them.

Experience shows that establishing wholesale price levels for every product, and preparing new price lists for every industry will take considerable time. It will probably be possible to introduce new prices in 1967 or 1968.

However, the State Planning Committee, the Ministry of Finance and the Committee for Prices will have to introduce the necessary amendments into current prices in all those industries where the new forms of economic stimulation will be adopted at an earlier date, in order to eliminate unjustified differences in profitability.

Such are roughly the main proposals for improving planning and stimulation in industry,. The proposed system of planning and stimulation is also applicable, in its main features, to the building industry, railway transport and certain other branches of the national economy. But it must not be extended to these branches mechanically, without taking into account their special economic features and the tasks facing them. Work in this direction will be gradually carried on.

III. IMPROVING THE ORGANIZATION OF INDUSTRIAL MANAGEMENT

Improving the organizational forms of economic management on the Leninist principle of democratic centralism and through the timely elimination of outdated forms of management is objectively necessitated by the development of the productive forces and of socialist relations of production.

It goes without saying that genuine improvement of economic management has nothing in common with rash, ill-advised changes divorced from economic reality and running counter to objective economic laws.

Recent years have seen a large-scale reorganization of economic management in our country. Ever since 1957 industry has been managed through economic councils. Industrial ministries were abolished, and the enterprises operating under them were subordinated to economic councils.

The organization of industrial management through economic councils had a number of positive aspects. In some cases it resulted in the useful amalgamation of kindred enterprises, in the setting up of plants for equipment repairs and for the production of semi-manufactured parts and tools for a wide range of industries.

But in time major shortcomings began to make themselves felt. Division of managerial functions in industries constituting a single production and technical entity among numerous economic regions disrupted management. The various industries were dissolved, so to speak, in the economy of the economic regions. Heterogeneous industries are often managed by economic councils not through specialized, but through multi-sector boards. The councils lack competent personnel for some of the industrial branches.

This state of affairs prompted us to look for remedies. In 1960 Republic Economic Councils were set up in the Russian Federation, Ukrainian SSR and Kazakh SSR, and in 1962 some economic councils were amalgamated. The National Economic Councils and Supreme Economic Council of the USSR, and state committees for branches of industry were established. However, these additional measures could not eliminate basic defects.

The branch committees had no decisive effect on the technical standards of industrial production. Lacking adequate rights as they did, they became in fact, consultative bodies dissociated from the enterprises concerned and the entire range of production problems.

As matters stand today, plans for new plants are examined and decided upon by one agency, plans for production and capital construction by another, and supply problems by a third. There is virtually no single agency that could examine and decide upon every aspect of the development of an industry.

All this has produced an adverse effect on technical progress, growth of output, specialization, and the production ties between enterprises located in different economic regions.

Departures from the industrial branch principle have told on management. They have led to infringements of the uniform technical policy and to the dispersion of competent personnel and given rise to a multi-stage system of managament. Numerous agencies bearing no direct responsibility for the development of the particular branch have appeared. The overall result is irresponsibility, endless coordination of decisions, and managerial inefficiency.

Thus the problem of seriously improving industrial management has become urgent. To develop industry successfully, it is essential to integrate the management of production, technology, economics and research in every particular industry. Under the socialist system the managerial forces of industry can be properly concentrated and centralized only by following the branch principle of management.

Characteristically, industrial progress has necessitated a new form of organization—branch amalgamations operating on the cost accounting principle. The rise of branch amalgamations based on cost accounting within the framework of economic councils proves that the branch form of management is gaining ground because it is more effective. This form promotes the specialization, coordination and concentration of production, makes for a more judicious use of competent personnel, and creates favorable conditions for improving technical and economic management.

To improve management, we must set up managerial bodies on the branch principle, that is, industrial ministries fully empowered to manage production branches and fully responsible for the development of these branches.

The ministries are to plan and control production and handle technical policy, supplies, financing, labor, and wages. They will run branch research institutions. This will facilitate production and economic activity of the enterprises, since all the important problems of this activity will be settled by a single body, the ministry.

The ministries will be responsible for satisfying the demands of the national economy and the population. They will have to take the initiative in manufacturing new, more up-to-date items and see to it that the output of these items keeps pace with demand.

It is clear that centralized planned management of the economy should be combined with measures to encourage the initiative of the Union republics, of local bodies and enterprises.

We propose to estabilsh all-Union, Union-Republic and Republic industrial ministries, with due regard to the production and technical peculiarities of each industry.

We plan to set up all-Union ministries by branches of the engi-

neering industry, which is particularly in need of integrated technical management on a country-wide scale, such as would enable it to carry out standardization and unification of articles, units and parts and to guarantee that they are up to the present high standard of world science and technology. These problems can be dealt with provided the engineering industry is managed on a country-wide scale.

We propose to establish the following all-Union ministries for the management of branches of engineering:

—Ministry of Heavy, Power and Transport Machine Building,

—Ministry of the Building, Road-Building and Municipal Machinery Industry,

—Ministry of the Tractor and Farm Machinery Industry,

—Ministry of the Automobile Industry,

—Ministry of Power Engineering,

—Ministry of the Instrument-Making, Automation Facilities and Control Systems Industry,

—Ministry of Chemical and Oil Machine Building,

—Ministry of the Machine-Tool and Tool Industry,

—Ministry for the Manufacture of Machinery for the Light and Food Industries and of Household Machines.

Other industries are to be put under Union-republic jurisdiction. This will enable the Union republics to take part in the management of these industries. Both Union-republic ministries of the USSR and ministries of the same name in the Union republics will be set up, and the republics themselves will decide, by agreement with the corresponding ministry of the USSR, whether to set up a ministry or a board (economic association) for the industry concerned in the republic.

We propose to set up the following Union-republic ministries of the USSR:

—Ministry of the Iron and Steel Industry,

—Ministry of the Non-Ferrous metals Industry,

—Ministry of the Coal Industry,

—Ministry of the Chemical Industry,

—Ministry of the Oil-Extracting Industry,

—Ministry of the Oil-Refining and Petrochemical Nndustry,

—Ministry of the Timber, Cellulose and Paper, and Woodworking Industry,

—Ministry of the Building Materials Industry,

—Ministry of Light Industry,

—Ministry of the Food Industry,

—Ministry of the Meat and Dairy Industry.

The Union-republic industrial ministries or boards (associations) in the Union republics will be subordinated to the councils of ministries of the Union republics and the corresponding Union-re-

public ministry of the USSR, and in their management of enterprises will follow the guidelines elaborated by the Union-republic ministries of the USSR.

As regards industry under republic jurisdiction, the republics will decide themselves whether to set up this or that ministry or economic association. A vital function of the republic bodies will be to develop local industry, which is very important for the population.

The Central Committee of the CPSU and the Council of Ministers of the USSR have upon discussion decided to grant new powers to the Union republics in the field of planning, capital construction, financing, labor and wages. In the future as well, we will have to promote the initiative of the Union republics in the sphere of economic and cultural development.

The setting up of ministries should by no means lead to increases in managerial staffs. On the contrary, they must be reduced. We must devise a simple pattern for the ministries and assign them small staffs since the enterprises and economic associations are to be granted extensive rights and hence there is no need for a machinery exercising petty tutelage over enterprises.

The setting up of branch ministries will call for enhancing the role of the State Planning Committee. The existence of centralized branch management bodies will increase the importance of coordinated development of the various branches of the economy and economic areas of the country.

The State Planning Committee of the USSR is at present subordinated to the Supreme Economic Council. But as Lenin stressed, the task of the State Planning Committee is to plan the entire national economy along scientific lines. We therefore propose to subordinate the State Planning Committee, a Union-republic agency, directly to the Council of Ministers of the USSR.

To ensure proper territorial planning and comprehensive exploitation of the natural, labor, power and other resources of the economic areas, the state planning committees of the republics will draft economic development plans of the republics, including industries under Union-republic and republic jurisdiction. The state planning committees of the republics will also have to draw up proposals for the draft plans of the enterprises under union jurisdiction, situated on the territory of the republics in question.

Thus, the state planning committees of the Union republics will become agencies dealing with problems of the industrial development of the republics as a whole, bearing in mind the interests of the entire national economy. This will enable the Union republics to rule out parochialism.

The State Committee for the Coordination of Scientific Research of the USSR is to be reorganized into an all-Union State Commit-

tee of the Council of Ministers of the USSR for Science and Technology. It is expedient to reorganize the State Committee for Construction of the USSR, now under the Supreme Economic Council, into the State Committee of the Council of Ministers of the USSR for Construction, preserving it as a Union-republic agency.

We plan to abolish the Supreme Economic Council and the Economic Council of the USSR as well as economic councils of the republics and economic areas.

The organization of material and technical supply is an important field of economic management. On it depend in large measure the proper utilization of material resources, labor productivity, profitability and quality. Material and technical supply must be planned and managed as a single whole if it is to meet the needs of the national economy.

A departmental system of material and technical supply, with numerous overlapping small offices, depots and warehouses, existed till 1957. It was a costly system under which economic resources could not be handled flexibly.

The measures taken in recent years to organize supply and sales along territorial lines have resulted in improving this system somewhat. The vast number of small supply-and-sale organizations has been cut. Larger and better-equipped specialized depots, general (inter-branch) offices and warehouses have been set up. Fuller use is being made of local resources.

In the future the State Planning Committee of the USSR will place material and technical resources at the disposal of the Union ministries, which will control these resources and distribute them among the consumers subordinated to them.

The resources will be used by the central supply-and-sales boards and territorial material and technical supply bodies operating at the present time.

It is intended to retain the existing territorial material and technical supply bodies with their network of offices and specialized and general depots and warehouses for the utilization of raw and other materials and equipment according to plan. They will be responsible for the utilization of material resources supplied by the enterprises situated in the areas concerned and for control over delivery of the products of these enterprises to consumers in other areas.

We should encourage more extensive direct contacts between manufacturing and consuming enterprises in the sphere of material and technical supply. We should gradually go over to wholesale trade in certain materials and items of equipment through territorial supply-and-sales centers in the areas of consumption.

We plan to entrust the guidance of material and technical supply

in the country to a Union-republic State Committee of the Council of Ministers of the USSR for Material and Technical Supply. It will be responsible for the realization of supply plans, coordinated inter-branch deliveries, and control over the timely fulfilment of delivery plans. It is intended to subordinate to this committee the central boards of inter-republican deliveries now under the Economic Council of the USSR.

However, no supply system will meet the interests of the national economy unless enterprises and organizations are really made responsible for the fulfilment of economic contracts and unless they are afforded adequate material incentives.

This, in the main, is how the economic management of industry is to be reorganized.

It may seem at first glance that what is suggested is a mere return to the ministries of the past. To think so, however, would mean disregarding a number of new factors and making a mistake. The new ministries will work in entirely different conditions. The administrative management of industry will be combined with a considerably greater application of cost-accounting methods and economic incentives. The economic powers of enterprises will be substantially extended and their initiative stimulated.

A network of cost-accounting organizations is to be set up in the various industries to exercise direct management of their respective enterprises. Management will be increasingly built on the principle of cost accounting, with strict adherence to state planning discipline. The ministries will enlist the assistance of cost-accounting organizations by handing over many of their own routine functions to them. Moreover, within the ministries themselves, particularly those of the light and food industries, many departments will operate on the principle of cost accounting. The ministries will concentrate on the main progressive trends of development of the industries they manage. Emphasis will be laid on economic levers, on rendering enterprises practical assistance to improve their operation and steadily to introduce complete self-sufficiency.

The development of economic methods of industrial management changes the very character of relations between enterprises and higher bodies. The old notion that the leading economic bodies have only rights and the enterprises only duties must be given up. The development of economic methods of management, the extensive introduction of cost accounting in industry, calls for the establishment of mutual rights and duties between enterprises and industrial management bodies, and for greater responsibility on the part of both.

The draft statute of the socialist state-owned industrial enterprise was discussed for a long time with broad participation of factory

workers. It was studied by the Presidium of the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Council of Ministers of the USSR, and will be introduced after this Plenary Meeting. The Statute settles pressing questions of the economic activity of enterprises not only in industry, but also in construction, agriculture, transport and communications.

The enterprise will enjoy wider powers in the use of its working capital, depreciation funds and also the receipts from the sale of surplus equipment and other material values. The housing built by it will be distributed only among its workers. The enterprise will enjoy wider powers in the use of the money saved on the wage fund during the year. It will decide independently, without registering in financial bodies, on its structure and staff and on administrative expenses. It will be allowed greater economic initiative and independence in solving other production problems. The Statute will no doubt promote cost accounting.

The proposed measures for improving the organization and the economic methods of industrial management combine centralized planning by the state with complete self-sufficiency of the enterprise, centralized management of industry with far-reaching local economic initiative, the principle of one-man management with greater say for the personnel. This system will meet present-day requirements and will help to use the advantages of the socialist system more effectively.

The rapid growth of our socialist economy will continue to call for improvements in economic management. This is why we must overcome the lag in research in this field and carefully elaborate the scientific principles of managing social production.

IV. IMPLEMENTING THE NEW PLANNED INDUSTRIAL MANAGEMENT SYSTEM IN ORGANIZED FASHION

Comrades, the decisions of this Plenary Meeting will bring big changes into the planned management of industry. It is, in fact, an important economic reform covering the production activities of the millions of factory and office workers, engineers, technicians, economists and industrial executives.

The adoption of new economic and organizational methods in industry will no doubt benefit the entire national economy. It will enable us to raise the entire economic system to a qualitatively new stage, to draw on additional sources in increasing the wealth of our country and improving the people's living standard.

But success will not come of itself. To use the opportunities being provided, we must make careful organizational preparations for the transition of the economic management of industry to new working conditions, raise the standard of the economic activity of

industrial personnel in keeping with new tasks and requirements, and allow proper scope for the creative activity of the workers, individually and collectively.

The measures planned to improve industrial management must be implemented in an organized manner, by stages and in strict accordance with the plan. The organization of ministries will take time. The transition to the new managerial system must be so effected as to ensure that state plans are fulfilled and that industry operates normally.

Until every production unit has been placed under the control of the relevant ministry, the economic councils must continue to work and bear full responsibility for the uninterrupted operation of the production units under their jurisdiction. This applies also to the state production committees and their duties.

The drawing up of the economic development plan and the state budget for 1966 is nearing completion. The plan and the budget have been suited to the present structure of industrial management. The councils of ministers of the Union republics, the economic councils and the appropriate state committees must therefore hand the plans down to production units in time.

In view of the establishment of new ministries, the list of production units to be assigned to each ministry should be specified as early as possible and, accordingly, the economic plan and budget targets determined for every industry, in line with the new managerial structure. The State Planning Committee should carefully organize and supervise this work. The Finance Ministry should carry out appropriate work to draw up the state budget for 1966 with due regard to the new structure of industrial management.

On the basis of decisions to be adopted, the State Planning Committee, Finance Ministry, State Labor and Wages Committee, State Prices Committee, State Bank and the industrial ministries must carry out this year, and especially in 1966 and 1967, a great deal of work to prepare regulations, methodological instructions and directives taking into account the specific features of each industry and each group of production units. This work must be conducted with the participation of industrial executives, leading specialists and research workers.

The transition to the new industrial management system will necessitate a redistribution of executive personnel. This important problem should receive serious attention from the central committees of the Communist parties of the Union republics, the councils of ministers of the Union republics, ministries and local Party, government and economic organizations.

We must do our utmost to provide production units with highly qualified personnel. After all, it is on them that success hinges. We must also carefully select competent people for the new

ministries, for the efficiency of industrial management will largely depend on this. We must give maximum attention to executive personnel and use every worker properly.

Many thousands of able and competent organizers of socialist production have been trained in our country in Soviet years. At the present time more than two million experts with a higher or secondary education are employed in industrial establishments. There are more than four million Communists working in industry. This is a large force with which we can accomplish very complicated tasks. The Party and the people value the country's experts and executives whom they fully trust and support in their difficult work for the good of society.

The demands on our industrial and managerial personnel are growing due to changing conditions. Managers are expected to display initiative based on competence, an ability to make prompt decisions, a business-like approach to problems, a sense of the new, an ability to make the maximum use of production resources in the given situation.

As their powers are extended, economic executives must show an increasing sense of responsibility to the Party and the state. They will have to solve, together with their staffs, problems which formerly were solved for them higher up.

The training of specialists for industry in the new conditions will be much more important. There are serious shortcomings in this sphere for many of which the Ministry of Higher and Specialized Secondary Education and the State Planning Committee are to blame. Major imbalances have been allowed to develop in the training of technicians and engineers, with the result that we have a shortage of specialists in some industries and a surplus in others.

The economic training of engineers and technicians is poorly organized. It is impermissible for an engineer or designer to have a superficial understanding of production economics today.

The training of economists will be of paramount importance. We must give greater attention to this matter since there is a serious shortage of trained economists. At the beginning of 1965 specialists with a higher economic education constituted only six per cent of the total number of specialists in the USSR, somewhat less even than the figure at the end of 1940.

The earlier system of raising the qualifications of key executives, which proved its worth, should be restored. It was a big mistake to abolish it.

Many establishments use engineers and technicians wrongly. Heads of factories and building projects, engineers and technicians are often obliged to participate in useless conferences instead of attending to their direct functions. Some of the specialists are

compelled to draw up all kinds of performance and statistical reports, which are not really their duty.

These shortcomings in the training and utilization of personnel must be eliminated.

The industrial manager is personally responsible for the job assigned him by the state. This responsibility, and one-man leadership in industry, is of especial importance now. But one-man management should go hand in hand with the broadest participation of the staffs in discussing every important economic problem of the enterprise and its management. The success of a manager's work depends on the support he receives from his staff and on the authority he wins by his competence and integrity.

Better management is impossible without carrying forward its democratic principles and considerably extending the participation of the masses in it. The role of the workers and their organizations in the solution of planning problems, the mustering of internal production reserves, the assessment of the results of work and the provision of incentives must be substantially enhanced. As the funds of the enterprises are to be increased, factory organizations will have to play a much greater role in the use of these funds. Every worker should be made to feel that he is one of the owners of the factory. No factory can operate efficiently without strict labor and production discipline, and unless every executive, engineer, office employee or worker is properly fulfilling his duties and tasks.

The collective agreement is an important means of enlisting the participation of the personnel in the effort for more efficient operation of the factories. Its role will be greatly enhanced. Collective agreements should be extensively and carefully discussed by the workers, for they are going to have a much greater stake in improving overall results. Every employee should know of the specific measures that will be taken to operate the factory better and more profitably, of how improved operation of the factory will effect his working and living conditions and pay, and of the responsibility the collective agreement places on every employee. Managers and trade union organizations must improve the negotiation of collective agreements and see to it that the commitments contained in the agreements are fulfilled.

To improve management, the Party and trade-union organizations and heads of enterprises must radically improve the organization of the socialist emulation movement. The new methods of economic management provide a solid economic foundation for this movement, organizing labor on scientific lines, achieving greater profitability, improving the quality of output, and raising labor productivity. Every new departure at an enterprise should be popularized through the socialist emulation movement. This is an im-

portant condition for raising the standard of socialist management at every enterprise.

The Party, the trade unions, the government and economic agencies must organize the extensive popularization of the measures to improve planning and management, and to provide greater economic stimuli for industrial production, with a view to rallying the efforts of all the working people and ensuring that every enterprise, and industry as a whole, works efficiently.

Comrades, our Leninist Communist Party is the leading and guiding force in the advance of the socialist economy to communism. It always strives to find the most effective ways and means of solving our country's major economic problems. This meeting of the Central Committee of our Party will discuss and adopt decisions of fundamental importance. Their implementation and, consequently, the progress of our economy will depend in decisive measure on the political and organizing work of our Party, of its organizations and members.

The very nature of the proposed measures points to the growing role of Party guidance of the economy. The responsibility of the central committees of the Communist parties of the Union republics and the territorial and regional Party committees for ensuring truly scientific management of industry, management free from any influence of parochialism and departmentalism, for the full use, in the interests of communist construction, of the opportunities which will be afforded by the new methods of management, will increase steadily. The responsibility of the territorial and regional Party committees for the management of industry will now be greater than ever before.

Without doing the job of the economic management agencies, and without exercising petty patronage over them, Party committees at all levels should work, in their own specific way, first of all, among the people, among the workers and specialists. The important thing is to encourage their initiative and activity, to pool their experience and creative energy.

The increased rights and independence of the enterprise will be accompanied by the growth of the role of its Party organization. One of the important tasks of the latter will be to find reserves for increasing output, improving quality and making proper use of economic stimuli. It is the Party organizations that must provide moral stimuli for work, and promote the communist consciousness of the working people.

There can be no doubt that, given a steady effort by all our Party organizations, the measures proposed for improving production management will yield favorable results and their success will contribute to the construction of communist society in our country.

Comrades, the work of this Plenary Meeting is bound to evoke

widespread comment abroad. We are sure that our friends in the socialist countries, who are following Soviet life and economic progress with keen interest, will be gratified by the decisions of this meeting. But our enemies will certainly try to misrepresent these decisions. Bourgeois ideologists, who have heard about the economic reform being prepared in the USSR, are already trying to present it as evidence of the weakness of socialist economic planning. The bourgeois press, emphasizing some real but mostly imaginary shortcomings of our economic development, talks of "chaos" and "crisis" in the Soviet economy. Apparently that is the distorted way in which the discussions we had on improving economic planning and management were reflected in the minds of some bourgeois "Sovietologists." While we think of how to make our work still more effective and how to use the opportunities of socialism to still greater advantage, they keep talking, as in times past, about the "failure" of our system of social production, about the Soviet Union "reverting" to capitalist economic management and replacing the principles of planning by the chaotic machinery of market regulation.

Vain hopes! The character of an economic system depends on who wields state power and owns the means and instruments of production, in whose class interests production is developed and profit distributed. This is a fundamental issue, and in this issue we have always adhered, and will continue to adhere, to an unshakable Marxist-Leninist position. The Soviet Union stands firm as a country of victorious socialism, a country confidently building the material and technical base for communism. Socialist property in the USSR is developing into communist property. And the bourgeois economists' talk about the gradual "return" of the Soviet economy to the capitalist track is merely wishful thinking.

We realize that the propaganda fuss about "difficulties" in the Soviet economy and about its "bourgeois transformation" has yet another aim. Our enemies are alarmed because many independent Afro-Asian countries choose the socialist road of development, study the experience of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and develop economic and political relations with them.

Their tale about "crisis" in the Soviet economy is designed to discredit socialism, its economic methods, its economic efficiency, and so to defame our country's economic policy. It will not help them. Decisions which this Plenary Meeting will make open opportunities of making still better use of the advantages of the socialist economic system.

An important international feature of the proposed economic reform is that it will strengthen socialism in the economic competition between the two different social systems.

Economic management is being improved in almost every Euro-

pean socialist country. The distinctions in the approach to the solution of specific problems reflect peculiarities of the national economies concerned. The changes that are taking place are aimed at raising the scientific standard of planning, providing stronger economic stimuli for production, promoting cost accounting and increasing the independence of enterprises.

It is typical of all the European socialist countries that they are developing the branch principle of management, with branch amalgamations working on the cost-accounting basis and playing a growing role.

The adoption of new methods of socialist economic management in our country and in other socialist countries of Europe will contribute to the development of the international socialist division of labor and to the close and mutually profitable coordination of economic development plans. This also shows the great international significance of the decisions to be taken by this meeting.

The Presidium of the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Council of Ministers of the USSR consider that the adoption of the new methods and forms of planning and management of industry will strengthen the economic foundations of the Soviet policy of cooperation between countries. The proposed reform meets the basic interests of the Soviet people, who want to see their country prosper. Its implementation will help improve the life of the Soviet people, increase the might and defense capacity of our country, and hasten our advance to communism.

Allow me to express confidence that the measures worked out by the Presidium of the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Council of Ministers of the USSR for improvements in industrial management will be fully supported by the members of the Central Committee and receive the unanimous approval of the Party and the people.

SPEECH* BY LEONID BREZHNEV

FIRST SECRETARY OF THE CC, CPSU

I

RAISING INDUSTRY TO THE LEVEL OF ITS TASKS IN COMMUNIST CONSTRUCTION

Comrades, this Plenum is discussing a question of exceptional importance for our Party and state, for all Soviet people. The proposals drafted by the CC Presidium are aimed at radically improving industrial management and planning.

In drafting these proposals, the CC Presidium was prompted by the need to remove all obstacles to the free operation of the economic laws of socialism, to clear the way for it. We expect the new structure of industrial management, the measures to improve planning and economic activity, to promote the progress of our industry, to unleash the initiative of all, from the worker to the top executive.

Comrade Kosygin's report describes the measures that this meeting is to decide upon.

I must say once again that the reason why the CC Presidium is calling for improvements in industrial management and planning and for greater economic stimulation of industrial production is not that there are any failures in the operation of our industry. Not at all.

Our industry operates well. This is shown convincingly enough by the facts and figures of industrial progress given in the report and the debate. Our working class and our engineers and technologists have achieved remarkable successes in many fields of industry.

The Soviet people, led by the Communist Party, have built a powerful, well-developed industry. This enables us to meet the requirements of our national economy and guarantee the defense capacity of the Soviet Union by providing our glorious Armed Forces with first-rate modern weapons and equipment. Our industry is satisfying the demands of our citizens more and more fully. Consumer goods output has increased considerably and continues to grow.

The Soviet Union now ranks second in the world in gross industrial output and first in the production of many important items.

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*Pravda, September 30, 1965. Slightly abridged.

All this is, so to say, the quantitative aspect of the matter. But our industry is changing fast in qualitative terms as well.

The share of the industries whose role in technological progress is decisive is increasing. We are introducing technologies that until recently seemed to be a matter of the distant future. Super-high and super-low temperatures and pressures, and enormous concentrations of energy are being put at the service of man. We are making increasingly wide and varied use of nuclear energy, electronic computers and cybernetic devices.

The tremendously increased potentialities and proportions of our industry make exceptionally high demands on people, while the task of organizing and planning production becomes more complex.

The objective trend of development in our industry is that the dividing lines between the various branches of production are becoming more and more distinct, with each branch developing in its own specific way, each having its own technology and peculiarities of technological progress. In each the introduction of the achievements of science and technology and the training and retraining of personnel present specific problems. In these circumstances, industrial management through economic councils is beginning to conflict with the branch trend of development.

The result is a situation which was aptly characterized by many of the speakers here. There is no denying that the present forms of industrial management and the serious shortcomings in economic activity prevent us from benefiting in full measure from all the advantages of our social system, from using them properly for the good of the people. This is the heart of the matter we are discussing here.

In drafting proposals for the Plenum, the CC Presidium was guided by the counsel of Lenin, who saw our Soviet economy as a single whole and held that the need was for unity of the economy on a country-wide scale, for a close economic alliance of the Soviet republics.

Lenin stressed that to divest the center, one for the whole country, of direct control over all the enterprises of the given branch of large-scale industrial production "would be regional anarcho-syndicalism, not communism."

Experience has shown that these important principles of unified economic management could not be properly implemented under the economic-council or regional system. This is understandable, for no economic council can run the whole of any industry if it controls only some enterprise of that industry. This was shown very well by many speakers.

Branch management will make for more efficient unified technical and economic management, more judicious distribution and utilization of personnel and more effective application of the latest

achievements of science and technology. This is a tremendous advantage of the branch system of management.

An industry simply cannot be confined within narrow limits, it cannot exist without constant contact with other industries and the economy as a whole. It was not without reason that even under the regional system of industrial management through economic councils we had to retain the branch principle of planning in the case of industry. This spared us many mistakes.

Under the present system of industrial management, the guidance of research and design organizations is virtually divorced from production. The economic councils in charge of industry are understaffed with regard to researchers, designers and technologists. On the other hand, the state committees which control research and design organizations lack adequate powers to put the results of research to use in industry and are therefore compelled, as a rule, to limit themselves to recommendations binding on no one. As a result, the introduction of scientific and technological achievements and progressive methods into industry is in many cases artifically held up, which, naturally, has an adverse effect on industrial progress in general.

I would like to re-emphasize the importance of our chief task—to raise the technical standard of our industry by utilizing all the best achievements of our researchers and designers.

Here is another point. We will evidently have to think it over and decide whether the present system, under which dozens of enterprises of the same type try to organize their own designing, independently of other enterprises, is correct. Let me cite a vivid example.

The Kharkov tractor plant manufacturers the DT 74 tractor and the Volgograd plant, the DT 75. Both tractors have the same capacity and are used for the same purpose, but they differ in design.

Things are much the same in the automobile industry. The Likhachov plant, for example, makes the ZIL 130 lorry and the Gorky plant, the GAZ 53A. Both vehicles have the same carrying capacity but quite different designs: their engines, rear axles, gear boxes and other main units are not standardized and so are not inter-changeable.

No need to prove how wasteful this practice is and how greatly it complicates the exploitation of our tractors and automobiles.

This unnecessary duplication seems fairly common. It is the sort of thing that Comrade Tolstikov spoke about here when he cited the striking fact that sea-going and river tugs are designed by ten organizations under different departments. This is why tugs of the same capacity are built according to nine different designs!

In giving these examples, I wish to stress that our new ministries and planning bodies will in the near future have to give very

serious thought to introducing a uniform technical policy in their respective industries.

What we mean here in discussing improvements in industrial management is not a mechanical return to the old, pre-economic-council system, but branch management based on new planning principles and on assessment of the economic results achieved by enterprises, on the promotion of both centralized management and the operational and economic autonomy of the enterprises.

With a view to ensuring the fullest utilization of the potentialities of the socialist mode of production, it is proposed to strengthen the economic levers of management. The economic incentives to be used are intended to induce every worker, foreman, technologist, engineer and office employee of the enterprise to introduce new techniques, improve production methods, increase labor productivity and raise the quality of output. The extension of the powers of the enterprise under the recently adopted Statute of the Socialist Enterprise has the same purpose.

The measures proposed by the CC Presidium are aimed at promoting people's initiative and creative effort at the enterprises. to use a figure of speech, we are regrouping our forces and reappraising our possibilities in order to advance faster, to develop our national economy still more successfully.

The task of properly combining centralization with local autonomy, initiative and responsibility is a fundamental issue of state policy. The new system will ensure an effective combination of centralism and democracy in industrial management. This will be done, specifically, by establishing Union republic ministries and economic associations in a number of industries and by extending the powers of the Union republics in the fields of planning, capital construction, financing, labor and wages. The result should be a harmonious combination of the interests of the state as a whole and those of each republic.

The industrial executives of our Union republics have gained ample experience in management. Their experience will no doubt be fully utilized under the new system as well.

The new system of management will reduce the number of stages between the enterprises and the central authority—a clearly useful change. However, it will call for greater initiative and bolder decision-making on the part of every executive and every section of the administrative apparatus, and will impose increased responsibility upon them.

Under the present system, whenever one and the same problem is dealt with by several agencies (the economic council of the region, that of the republic, that of the Union, and the Supreme Economic Council), some executives are tempted to blame their blunders and shortcomings on another department, to attribute all difficulties

to "objective factors." In these conditions it often happens that even a competent executive stops feeling directly responsible for the job entrusted to him. I will cite just one example.

To accelerate the sinking of oil wells, a group of Volga specialists decided to develop equipment and tools for drilling with a turbodrill suspended on a flexible cable instead of drill pipes. That would have speeded up pulling and running operations several times. The importance of this seemed clear to all. But it is almost a year since the first steps were taken to agree upon the schedule for the manufacture of that equipment. Unfortunately, it has not been agreed on to this day, because it required the signatures of 15 representatives of different agencies subordinated to state committees and economic councils. The schedule must have the approval of the chairmen of four state committees and the heads of two republic economic councils.

Nor is that the limit by any means, it seems. Comrade Zarobyan spoke here today of a simple matter whose decision had required 30 signatures from different departments. These bureaucratic exercises must stop. Questions of this kind can and must be decided in a much simpler way.

I could cite many other cases of practical work being supplanted by formalistic procedures, by the establishment of numerous commissions, by endless consultations, with people trying to palm off their tasks on someone else.

Of course, managerial reorganization alone will not eliminate these shortcoming. We need hard work and persistent effort by the administrative apparatus, but above all by Party and mass organizations to educate people and weed out irresponsibility, red tape, bureaucratic behaviour. It is very important to assign managerial jobs to people capable of working boldly and exercising initiative.

Comrades, the tasks to be tackled by the new ministries have been outlined in the report and the debate. Without repeating them, I would like to make the following brief remarks.

We place big hopes in the ministries. We must state firmly at this meeting that the ministries and ministers will have to bear full responsibility to the Party and the state for the operation of the industries they head. They will have to ensure the comprehensive development of their industries by drawing on the latest achievements of science and technology in order to satisfy the requirements of the national economy the more fully as regards the quantity and assortment and the quality of products. One of the more important tasks of the ministries will be to tighten state discipline, establish exemplary order and ensure high efficiency of the industries concerned.

To be able to cope with their tasks, the ministries should wield authority in their fields, should truly govern. Years of experience

show that numerous restrictions on the powers of ministries and economic councils, occasionally amounting to petty tutelage, do not help improve matters. Conversely, the granting of greater powers to executives enables them to accomplish more. This was rightly stressed by Comrade Butoma and other speakers.

We must simplify the system of industrial management as much as possible. We must make a thorough study of the structure of every ministry, old and new alike, and reduce the number of executive ladders, so as to lend the ministries greater mobility and enable them to decide any question bearing on the work of the enterprises promptly and competently.

The education and training of personnel will occupy an important place in the activity of the ministries. Top priority should be given to staffing them with able specialists and organizers who can manage affairs in statesmanlike fashion. We should assign to the ministries the most capable people from both the state committees and the enterprises. There should be a proper combination of old and young personnel. Capable young people should be boldly promoted to key posts.

Day-to-day guidance of the education and training of personnel should, in our opinion, be the responsibility of one of the deputy ministers. This is not a formal measure, comrades. It will help greatly improve the selection, placing, training and advanced training of people, of which many comrades have spoken here. It goes without saying that this measure should in no way absolve the ministerial collegiums and the ministers from responsibility for the selection of personnel.

In the past many excellent captains of industry, highly skilled and experienced specialists went into the economic councils. They made a great contribution to the development of industry. No staff member of an economic council, state committee or other agency that is to be abolished should doubt that his experience and knowledge will be put to good use.We have a great deal to accomplish, comrades, there will be work for all, and it is our duty to take care of that.

In introducing new achievements of science and technology, the ministries should get a great deal of help from the State Committee for Science and Technology. Under no circumstances should the competent personnel of this important agency be allowed to disregard the pressing needs of our industry and to work for the bookshelf, so to speak.

The new industrial management bodies should see to it that their research institutes bear full responsibility for the decisions and recommendations they make. We must eliminate wasteful duplication, the scattering of funds and personnel due to a great number of far-fetched research projects of no potential value.

The reorganization of industrial management, and measures to make economic levers more effective will impose increasingly difficult tasks on economic planners.

We have pointed out time and again that our plans, both long-range and annual, should be drafted on a scientific basis, that they should be economically sound and balanced. Unfortunately, we have yet to achieve this. Speakers here, in particular Comrades Kunayev, Masherov, Kokarev, and Novikov, commented on many serious drawbacks in our planning and their consequences. We still have imbalances in the development of industry. The number of uncompleted construction projects and the amount of uninstalled equipment are growing. Large funds and material resources are frozen for a long time. Of course, it is not easy to do away with these shortcomings, but they must be combated perseveringly, by the joint efforts of the center and the republics.

The shortcomings of our plans and the wrong attitude of some managers to their fulfilment are evident from the numerous changes in indices and assignments made during the plan period. Not infrequently the head of an enterprise or economic council asks for the revision of an assignment, sometimes because he has mismanaged its fulfilment. And we have Party organizations which find it possible to support such requests and insist on complying with them.

Planning needs improvement at all levels, from the enterprises to the central planning agencies. These agencies should become veritable leading centers of scientific progress. Plans should be based on an accurate estimation of current and foreseeable demands of society, on a thorough knowledge of potentialities and reserves. All problems of speeding up technolokical progress should be settled through plans, so that the state should have adequate reserves. All problems of speeding up technological progress should unforeseen tasks.

Special care should be taken to staff the planning agencies, especially the State Planning Committee of the USSR with the most experienced and qualified specialists, conscientious workers, competent economists. The State Planning Committee should be, as Lenin put it, a conglomeration of knowledgeable people, experts, men of science and technology. We must enhance the role and extend the autonomy and authority of the State Planning Committee as an economic management body.

In short, every effort should be exerted to do away for good with voluntarism and subjectivism in planning. Planners should go only by objective economic estimations, and should be enabled to do so.

Comrades, the measures for more efficient industrial management and planning and for increased economic stimulation of industrial production that are to be approved by this meeting imperatively

demand decisive improvements in the organizing and political work of our Party. We must say plainly that if the economic measures we are outlining are not backed up by the effort of the entire Party, of the millions of Communists, we will be unable to carry them out properly.

The Central committees of the Communist parties of the Union republics, the territorial, regional, city and district committees of the Party, and all the Party organizations should concentrate on popularizing the decisions of this meeting. These decisions must be brought home to the whole Party, to every Communist, to all the working people. It is extremely important that every Soviet man and woman should see the reasons for these decisions and the role they are expected to play in promoting our industry and our economy as a whole, in raising the people's standard of living. Every worker, technologist and engineer should fully understand his function and his responsibility for improved production. The press, radio and television, and our propagandists can and must do much to popularize the decisions of this meeting.

Important problems of industrial economics should invariably be a special concern of Party organizations. They are duty bound to ensure correct application of the principles of economic stimulation and other economic methods of management, to encourage the initiative and activity of the workers, engineers, technologists and office employees.

Effective realization of the proposed changes in industrial management, and the application of economic stimuli will not only advance our industry as a whole, but also provide incentives for the staffs of enterprises and the individual worker to do better.

Good performance by the workers and other employees of any enterprise will bear fruit in the form of additional funds for more houses, new kindergardens, cultural establishments, sports facilities, etc., for them. This important circumstance was rightly stressed by many speakers here.

The important tasks facing the new ministries will put special responsibility on the Party organizations of these ministries. Highly competent and experienced Party workers should be recommended for the office of secretaries of the Party committees of the ministries. These committees should periodically inform the Central Committee of the CPSU about the work of their organizations, about the steps they take to improve the operation of the ministries in question.

The extension of the powers and autonomy of industrial establishments particularly enhances the role and responsibility of the local Party organizations, that is, those of the units whose role in production is decisive. From now on, the enterprises themselves

will draft and approve many plan indices and determine the prospects of introducing new technique and increasing output.

This means that the Party organizations of enterprises will have to go deeper into the problems of production. But their prime task will be, as in the past, educational and organizing work among people, among our working class. The working class has been, and is, the main producer of material values. Together with our engineers and technicians, it uses its labor and its skill to fulfil national economic plans.

In this connection, I would like to stress the importance of properly combining material incentives with moral stimuli, with more effective communist education, which Comrade Yegorychev rightly pointed out here.

The primary Party organizations in industry, construction and transport have ample experience in guiding economic development, in the fulfilment of economic plans. They initiate many patriotic undertakings to promote technological progress, improve the quality of output, enforce cost accounting and eliminate waste.

The tasks that will face the primary organizations from now on are now even more formidable. It is highly important that Party organizations should exercise more initiative and play a more active role in carrying out plans, improving economic indices and promoting socialist emulation, which has always, at every stage of our development, been a paramount factor.

Party organizations should concern themselves with economy and thrift in everything as an important problem. This is not a new problem, of course, for the Party has dealt with it many times. But the importance of the strictest economy is growing as we advance and as the national economy expands. With the present scale of production, even the loss of a small fraction of per cent of materials or working time runs to enormous figures and does great damage to the country.

Credit should be given to every Party organization and every Party leader that succeeds in inspiring every Communist and every worker with a strong desire to save state funds and to make the most effective use of raw and other materials and equipment.

This meeting is posing serious problems before theoreticians. The Party expects those active in the social sciences to make a fitting contribution to Marxist-Leninist economic theory.

Communist construction is constantly giving rise to many urgent problems whose solution requires penetrating theoretical research. Prominent among these problems are socialist *kozraschet*, or cost accounting, the use of profit, price, credit, economic contracts, etc., in planned economic management, research into the theory of socialist industrial organization and management in the period of technological revolution, the combination of centralized

planning with the economic autonomy of enterprises, and others. These problems are particularly urgent today. The first commandment for the scientists, theoretician and propagandist should be a creative approach to vital economic problems.

We must also step up our struggle against misinterpretation by exponents of the ideology hostile to us of the economic measures adopted by our Party.

One of the cardinal tasks of Party organizations is to select, place and educate personnel. To educate personnel should be a key element of Party activity, the chief concern of every Party organization. But attention to this matter has slackened of late.

Party committees and organizations have a great deal to do in this field, all the more because such harmful trends as parochialism have cropped up here and there. Here is a case in point:

A republic or, say, an economic area manufactures a product which is in short supply. When it comes to distributing this product, the manufacturer shows real concern only for the needs and demands of "his own" clients, who even get more than they had bargained for, while finding it possible to take a dim view of deliveries to clients in other republics or economic areas and failing to carry out inter-republican deliveries. What else is this but parochialism pure and simple, a harmful and absolutely intolerable practice in our socialist state?

Occasionally the head of an economic area goes out of his way to organize production of some equipment although it would have been much more expedient for the state to manufacture that equipment elsewhere.

All these trends are harmful, and the Party should combat them unrelentingly. Comrades Mzhavanadze, Akhundov and others were quite right when they spoke here of the harmful effects of parochialism and stressed the necessity for properly combining the interests of each republic or economic area with what should be above everything else—the interests of our great socialist homeland.

The progress of our industry and our economy as a whole hinges on the harmonious development of the entire country. This is undeniable, and it guided the CC Presidium in drafting the proposals this meeting is discussing. Implementation of the proposed measures will hasten the comprehensive economic development and the strengthening of the Soviet Union.

As we steadfastly enhance the role of the Party in communist construction, we must never forget that this calls for hard work by every organization, above all the Soviets, the trade unions and the Komsomol. We are confident that they will do everything to carry out as effectively as possible the important tasks that will arise from the decisions of this meeting.

II

THE MARCH PLENUM OF THE CC CPSU HAS PROVIDED A SOLID BASIS FOR THE POLICY OF THE PARTY IN THE COUNTRYSIDE

Comrades, although agricultural production is not on the agenda of this meeting, allow me, nevertheless, to inform you briefly of the situation in agriculture since the March Plenum of the CC, CPSU.

The members of the CC know how the Party and the people were roused and gratified by the decisions of that plenum. It is too early to make a comprehensive summary of what has been done to carry out its decisions. But everyone can now see that they have led to greater political activity and more efficient work in the countryside. This year the farms have been working in more organized fashion, overcoming considerable difficulties created by unfavorable weather. The main difficulties are due to a late and cold spring almost everywhere and a dry summer in large grain-producing areas. Water shortage in Central Asia, our main cotton-growing region, was another difficulty this year.

What preliminary results of the year can I report to this meeting?

The yield of grain and other crops is good in Ukraine, the Kuban area, the central chernozem and non-chernozem belts. Byelorussia and the Baltic republics.

A bad drought in Kazakhstan, Siberia and certain regions of the Volga country affected grain crop yields.

Grain purchases in keeping with the decisions of the March Plenum are still going on. But the total amount of grain to be purchased by the state will apparently fall short of the plan target.

The CC, CPSU and the Council of Ministers of the USSR have everything to ensure that the country's grain requirements are met properly.

The Central Committee and the government envisage improvements in bread supply with regard to both quantity and quality.

A great deal has been done this year to extend the area under rice, with the result that the rice area has increased by 10 per cent.

This year we expect a certain increase in the delivery and sale of such cereal crops as rice and buckwheat.

As for other crops, the situation is shaping as follows:

Due to the tremendous effort of the collective farmers, state-farm workers and agricultural experts, as well as of the Party and government bodies concerned, the cotton yield in Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Turkmenia, Azerbaijan, Kirkhizia, Kazakhstan and Armenia is good, and the state plan for this valuable crop will be

fulfilled. Everyone realizes how important this is for our economy.

The performance of the beet-growers of the Ukraine, the Russian Federation, Byelorussia, Moldavia, Kirghizia and Kazakhstan is worthy of commendation. The crop they have raised will enable industry to fulfil the plan for sugar output provided the processing is carried out efficiently. This is another important index of our economy.

We are looking forward to satisfactory yields of oil-bearing crops, first of all sunflower. We are in a position to fulfil the plan and so to purchase one million tons more sunflower seed than the annual average purchased over the last five years.

Right now they are picking potatoes, vegetables, fruit and grapes everywhere. We have every opportunity to meet the demand for these products.

Comrades, you know that the situation in our animal husbandry has been unfavorable in late years, particularly since 1963. We have made the development of this branch more dynamic now. Livestock population and productivity have increased during the past year. The average milk yield per cow has gone up by 283 kilograms in eight months.

As of September 20, the state had purchased 28 per cent more milk than in the same period of last year. The increases in meat and egg purchases were 15 and 30 per cent respectively.

Reports from the councils of ministers and the central committees of the Communist parties of the Union republics show that the annual plans for meat, milk, eggs and wool will be exceeded throughout the country.

Conditions for the winter maintenance of livestock are favorable except in certain regions that were hit by dought. This promises well for animal husbandry, in particular as regards productivity.

Since the abolition of unwarranted restrictions, collective farmers, factory workers and office employees have increased the number of head of livestock on their personal holdings as well.

All this has already enabled us to improve somewhat the supply of dairy and meat products. But it will take us much more effort to eliminate the lag in this branch of agricultural production so as to meet requirements in full.

Last March our Party took a very important step by planning economic measures to advance agriculture. But that is not all that we have done or will do in this field, as we have repeatedly stressed. Our plans for the next five years provide for substantial spending on the manufacture of motor vehicles, tractors and farm machines. We have specified the main assignments and increases in output for the enterprises producing chemical fertilizers and

insecticides, which we all feel certain will also greatly help to raise soil fertility and achieve high crop yields.

I must stress that in the State Planning Committee, certain ministries and various other government departments there persists a tendency to patch up things in other fields, to "balance" figures, at the expense of agriculture, to the detriment of the interests of collective and state farms. And this occurs despite the perfectly clear decision of the March Plenum of the CC demanding that agriculture be given maximum assistance.

Such tendencies are very dangerous to our common cause, for unless we advance agriculture we can hardly hope to succeed in communist construction. We must insist on precise execution of the decisions of the March Plenum by everyone, by every ministry or other department whose duty is to help agriculture.

Our agricultural plans must necessarily take into account the serious impact which adverse weather has in various parts of the country almost every year.

You know that a considerable proportion of our arables lies in low rainfall belts. Sometimes this is the main reason for the low effect of our efforts in agriculture. From 1930 to 1965, that is, in thirty-five years, we have, according to the Central Weather Institute, had severe droughts in the Saratov, Kuibyshev, Volgograd, Astrakhan and Rostov regions (10, 12, 15, 18 and 12 times respectively) and in Stavropol Territory (14 times). In the Ukraine—chiefly its southern regions—eleven of those thirty-five years were droughty.

Elsewhere—in Byelorussia, the Baltic region, the Polesye country in the Ukraine, and the non-black-earth belt in the Russian Federation—there is excessive humidity on a sizeable area of farmland, which in some cases is even bogged up.

This brings all of us to the conclusion that we must engage in large-scale irrigation and reclamation of land on collective and state farms. On instructions from the Central Committee and the Council of Ministers of the USSR, the Ministry of Agriculture, State Committee for Water Conservation and Irrigation, State Planning Committee of the USSR and the Academy of Agricultural Sciences are working, in collaboration with the Union republics, on proposals for large-scale irrigation and reclamation of land. We intend to discuss this matter on a special occasion.

Comrades, agricultural progress should remain one of the problems uppermost in the minds of our Party and people. We can steadily increase output of every agricultural product provided we consistently carry out the decisions of the March Plenum of the CC, CPSU.

It would be most useful for the central committees of the Communist parties of the Union republics and the regional, territorial

and district committees of the Party to have the results of the agricultural year and the progress made in the execution of the decisions of the the March Plenum discussed in Party organizations and at meetings of collective farmers and state-farm workers, and to draw up a program of action for the proper maintenance of livestock in the winter and for the careful preparation of spring sowing. In short, they would do well to discuss all the issues arising from the new measures aimed at raising the standard of agriculture, increasing output, and strengthening the collective and state farms economically.

III

INTERNATIONAL ISSUES

Comrades, the CC Presidium considers it necessary to inform this meeting of certain international issues.

The growth and strengthening of the forces of world socialism, the progress of the national-liberation revolution of the once-oppressed peoples, and the continued weakening of the capitalist world system constitute the main trend of the international situation as a whole. The imperialists, headed by the United States, resort to force and aggression, to armed intervention in the affairs of other nations, in an effort to hold up the peoples' advance to freedom and progress and to weaken the forces of socialism, hoping to retain their shaky positions or even to retrieve their losses if possible. Of course, this seriously complicates the international situation. It means that we must heighten our vigilance work unremittingly to strengthen the defenses and international positions of the Soviet Union, and vigorously promote the unity of the socialist countryes and the world Communist movement.

Our foreign policy is aimed, to put it in a nutshell, at reinforcing the socialist world community, supporting the liberation movement of the peoples and preserving peace on earth. And that is what we are doing. We are striving to make our diplomacy active and dynamic. At the same time we show flexibility and circumspection.

In recent months our country has ben visited by numerous government and Party-and-government delegations, and many of our own statesmen and political leaders have made trips abroad. Our foreign policy activity is not limited to that, of course, but reciprocal visits by leaders indicate that we are following an active foreign policy.

The talks and discussions we have with each new delegation give us better insight into the policy of the country or fraternal party concerned. They enable us to present our views and our poli-

cy in detail and so to influence world developments more effectively.

All the talks we have had were specific and to the point. They were concerned with economic, political and other important matters.

Speaking of the socialist countries, we have this year received delegations from Mongolia, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Rumania, the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia, Vietnam, Bulgaria and Cuba. For their part, Soviet Party and government delegations, led by members of the CC Presidium, have visited Hanoi, Budapest, Warsaw, Prague, Berlin, Sofia, Pyongyang and Ulan Bator.

Our talks with the representatives of socialist countries and fraternal parties were intended to promote the unity of the socialist world system and the world Communist movement.

The conversations we had with Vietnamese and Korean comrades in Moscow, Hanoi and Pyongyang enabled us to see each other's position still better and to reach agreement on closer contacts and relations between our states and parties.

The talks with our Polish, Czechoslovak, German, Hungarian, Bulgarian, Rumanian, Mongolian and Cuban friends focussed on specific economic problems and problems of coordination of the foreign policies of our countries. We are satisfied with the outcome of the talks.

As for economic countries, we registered a unanimous desire on the part of our fraternal countries to strengthen the Council of Mutual Economic Aid. Soviet economists will collaborate with the economists of fraternal socialist countries in discussing a number of important measures to improve the functioning of the CMEA and draft appropriate recommendations for the further international socialist division of labor.

Bilateral economic cooperation was one of the points discussed with the delegations of fraternal countries. It was decided to set up intergovernmental agencies for economic cooperation with Yugoslavia, Rumania and the GDR.

I would like to point out that economic relations with fraternal countries are of mutual advantage.

But, of course, there is more to them than mutual advantage. Wherever necessary, wherever the economic and political situation calls for it, we help fraternal countries gratuitously, as in the case of, say, Vietnam. This is our international duty, a duty of the strongest and most developed socialist power. And we are doing our duty.

A good deal of attention was given to coordinating the foreign policies of the socialist countries, specifically our actions in the UN and its specialized agencies. We discussed ways of improving the operation of the Warsaw Treaty organization, and the need to

set up, within the bounds of the Treaty, a permanent and efficient machinery for the discussion of pressing matters.

The complicated international situation compels us to devote special attention to military cooperation with socialist countries. A great deal is being done in this respect, including standardization of armaments, exchange of experience in combat training, and joint army maneuvers.

The settlement of all these questions reinforces the socialist system and enhances its role on the world scene. Altogether it is safe to say that we have succeeded in making the relations between the Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries of Europe much more active. As a result, the fraternal alliance of the socialist countries has become stronger, and the Warsaw Treaty countries carry greater weight in world affairs.

Since its October Plenary Meeting the CC, CPSU has received in Moscow numerous delegations from Communist and Workers' parties. In addition to the delegations from socialist countries I have mentioned, we played host to leaders of the fraternal parties of almost all the Latin American countries, Italy, France, Britain, West Germany, Finland, Belgium, Portugal, Spain, Indonesia and other countries. Our discussions, which we consider most useful, concerned primarily ways of fostering the unity of the world Communist movement, of consolidating it against imperialism and imperialist aggression. As we see it, those discussions made for greater unity of the world army of Communists and furthered our relations with fraternal parties.

On the other hand, there are clearly many obstacles to the consolidation of the socialist countries and the world Communist movement.

It is almost a year since our Party set out to normalize Soviet-Chinese relations and restore the unity of the CPSU and CPC on the basis of principle. We took a series of important steps to that end. Unfortunately, we must say that these efforts of the CPSU brought no support from the CPC leaders.

The Presidium of the CC, CPSU considers that we must, nevertheless, persevere in searching for ways of settling differences and fostering friendship and cooperation beween the Soviet and Chinese peoples, between our parties and countries.

The situation in Vietnam was prominent in our talks with the representatives of fraternal countries.

The Soviet Union has been doing its internationalist duty toward the Vietnamese people. We have been rendering the Vietnamese comrades important assistance. We have already supplied the DRV with substantial quantities of arms and war materials.

It is our policy to continue giving the DRV all the help, both material and political, that it will need to repel U.S. aggression.

We consistently advocate joint efforts by all the fraternal socialist countries to back the Vietnamese people, who are resisting imperialist aggression.

A word about the state of our relations with the capitalist countries and the countries of the "third world."

I will begin with Soviet-American relations. Naturally, they have been considerably affected by the events in Vietnam. We have made it clear to the U.S. leaders that the idea of normalizing our relations is incompatible with the U.S. imperialists' armed aggression against Vietnam, a fraternal socialist country.

Thus our relations with the United States have become rather complicated, and plainly tend toward freezing-point. The subsequent trend of our relations with the United States will depend on whether the leaders of that country show sufficient common sense to stop their policy of aggressive attacks on socialist countries and of interference in the internal affairs of other nations.

As the Labor government of Britain has taken a stand for unqualified support of the U.S. aggression in Vietnam and, moreover, has put forward the draft of a so-called Atlantic nuclear force, which would bring nuclear weapons within reach of the FRG, it should be obvious that the progress of our relations with Britain has also been slowed down considerably.

Our relations with the Federal Republic of Germany are as bad as ever, and it is the rulers of that state who are to blame for this. Bonn's hard-headed policy of revenge and militarism, the West German militarists' persistent attempts to get hold of nuclear arms, and the continued policy of isolating the GDR, known as the Hallstein Doctrine, leave us no choice at the moment but steadfastly to expose and counteract the policy of the West German rulers. We are faced there with the main European center of reaction and militarism, with the chief ally of the aggressive imperialist circles of the United States, and that, needless to say, leaves no room for the development of fruitful relations with West Germany. (Although mutually beneficial economic relations continue, our trade with the FRG remains at roughly the same level as before.)

Lately we have taken a series of fairly important steps to promote relations with France. Among them are agreements on trade, scientific and technological cooperation and cultural relations, exchanges of information on certain foreign policy issues, and reciprocal visits by statesmen. In view of the realistic stand of the French government on important foreign policy issues, and that government's policy of expanding relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries of Europe, we may say that the outlook for our relations with France at the moment is not bad.

There has been a lively exchange of visits with Japan, particularly in the economic field. As it happens, the leading business quar-

ters of that country show a serious interest in long-term economic relations with the Soviet Union. Furthermore, Japanese opinion favors the political idea of promoting good-neighbor relations with the Soviet Union. We consider it useful and necessary to continue the policy of developing good-neighbor relations with Japan on a mutually beneficial basis.

Our relations with Turkey are worthy of mention. You know well that recent months have seen an exchange of visits by statesmen and public figures with Turkey. Turkey was visited by a Soviet parliamentary delegation and by the Soviet Foreign Minister. The Soviet Union was visited, first by the Turkich Foreign Minister and then by Premier Uguplu.

The resulting contacts and talks undoubtedly bore fruit. We signed a number of commercial and economic agreements. But that is not the important thing. The important thing, in our view, is that after decades of perfectly unjustified and unnecessary hostility and mutual distrust, our countries have brought about a certain turn in their mutual relations toward greater mutual trust and good-neighbor relations. We propose to persevere in our policy of improving relations with Turkey.

Our policy has been, and will be, to expand and strengthen friendly relation with India. This summer's visit to the Soviet Union by Prime Minister Shastri of India and the talks we had with him remarked a further step in this direction.

Since the visit of President Ayub Khan of Pakistan to the Soviet Union and the talks held with him in Moscow, certain prerequisites have developed for better relations with Pakistan.

Our attitude to the military conflict between Pakistan and India is well known from numerous official statements of recent date, and so I will not repeat them. I only wish to say that the Soviet Union's peace-loving, disinterested policy, prompted by concern for peace and by a friendly attitude to the peoples of India and Pakistan, have enhanced the prestige of our country in both those countries and in the world at large.

Our relations with the Afro-Asian countries which have freed themselves from colonial tyranny and are intent on following an independent policy are on the whole active and are making good progress.

Speaking of the very latest period, I would like to stress the Soviet visit of President Nasser of the United Arab Republic. We are satisfied with the results of our talks with him, for they were a contribution to the friendly relations between the Soviet Union and the UAR.

We are favorably impressed also by meetings with such leaders of countries friendly to the Soviet Union as Ne Win, President of the Revolutionary Council of Burma, President Sekou Touré of the

Guinean Republic, President Alphonse Massemba-Debat of the Congo (Brazzaville), and Prime Minister Milton Obote of Uganda.

By strengthening our friendly relations with the developing countries, we contribute to their national independence and cooperate with them for peace, against imperialist aggression. I hardly need demonstrate the importance of this.

Lately there has been a sharp controversy over the UN. The United States and certain of its allies, taking advantage of the so-called financial crisis worked up by themselves, tried to bring the UN under their sway by undermining in that organization the position of the socialist countries and the newly-free countries of Asia and Africa. But the United States was unable to carry out that scheme, as you know. As a result of the firm and consistent support of the fundamental principles of the UN, above all by the Soviet Union, the Americans had to retreat, and the General Assembly began its deliberations in normal conditions.

Our delegation there has presented two major issues: "Interference in the Internal Affairs of Other Countries is Impermissible. Their Independence and Sovereignty Must Be Safeguarded" and "Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons." Both issues have an anti-imperialist point, and both have been suggested by developments.

Comrades, these are, in very brief outline, the major aspects of the foreign policy of the Presidium of the CC, CPSU and the Council of Ministers of the USSR in recent months. The CC Presidium believes that this activity strengthens the international standing of the Soviet Union and helps consolidate the socialist countries and all the progressive forces against imperialism, for the assertion of the policy of peaceful coexistence, for peace, democracy, national independence, and socialism.

We are confident that the members of the CC, CPSU will approve this foreign policy.

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Comrades, now that this meeting is drawing to a close, we may well note with deep satisfaction that it has been distinguished by genuine Party activity, an earnest approach to issues, comradely criticism, and a sense of real concern and responsibility for the further progress of our socialist industry.

It will be easily seen — as many speakers have pointed out — that there is a direct connection and kinship between the issues we are discussing now and the decisions of the October, November and March plenums of the CC. True to Lenin's behests, our Party is advancing with firm step along the road it has chosen, improving the forms and methods of Party and government leadership in every sphare of communist construction.

The unanimity shown by the speakers at this meeting in discus-

sing a question of immense importance to our country makes us feel certain that the decisions to be adopted with a view to radically improving our industrial management will be carried out successfully. We must implement the proposed reorganization promptly and in organized fashion, so as not to upset the smooth operation of enterprises, and so as to bring the economic year to a successful end.

In discussing the proposals of the Presidium, members of the CC have advanced certain new ideas which are of considerable interest and should be carefully examined. The Presidium of the CC, CPSU and the Council of Ministers of the USSR will no doubt see to it that this is done.

Comrades, we are tackling a task of great magnitude and importance. Execution of the decisions to be taken by this meeting will enable the Soviet people to follow its chosen course — communist construction — still more confidently. It will also have a notable effect on the world-wide economic competition between socialism and capitalism.

We will be able to cope with the tasks we have set ourselves provided we rely on the people for support, provided we lend ear to their opinion and always remember that all that our Party does is intended to serve the interests of the working people, of Soviet man, who is building communism.

ON CONVENING THE 23RD CONGRESS OF THE CPSU*

DECISION OF THE CC, CPSU PLENARY MEETING

1. To convene the 23rd Congress of the CPSU on March 29, 1966.
2. To approve the following agenda of the congress:
   1) Report of the Central Committee of the CPSU, to be presented by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev First Secretary of the CC, CPSU.
   2) Report of the Central Auditing Commission of the CPSU, to be presented by Comrade N. A. Muravyova, Chairman of the Central Auditing Commission.
   3) Directives of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU for the five-year plan of the economic development of the USSR in 1966-70
   4) Elections to the central bodies of the Party.
3. To establish the following norms of representation at the 23rd Congress of the CPSU: one delegate with vote from 2,500 members of the Party and one delegate with voice but no vote from 2,500 candidate members of the Party.
4. According to the Party Rules, delegates to the 23rd Congress of the CPSU are elected, by secret ballot at Regional and Territorial Party conferences and congresses of the Communist parties of the Union republics. Delegates from the Communist parties of the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan will be elected at Regional Party conferences.

Communists in the Soviet Army, Navy and internal and frontier guards will elect delegates to the 23rd Congress jointly with the other Party organizations at Regional and Territorial Party conferences or congresses of the Communist parties of the Union republics.

Communists in the Soviet Army and Navy units stationed abroad will elect delegates to the 23rd Congress of the CPSU at the Party conferences of the respective units.

*Pravda, October 1, 1965.

MEASURES TO IMPROVE ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT AND PLANNING AND TO INCREASE ECONOMIC INCENTIVES IN INDUSTRY*

DECISION OF THE PLENUM OF THE CC, CPSU, SEPTEMBER 29, 1965

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which is firmly and consistently carrying on the policy of building communist society in the USSR, has since the October (1964) Plenum of its CC been making an earnest effort to improve the methods of guidance of political, social and economic life in the country. It has re-established the Leninist principles of organization of Party bodies. In guiding the national economy, it has been going deeper and deeper into the character of economic relations in our society in order to make proper use of the economic laws of society and its immense creative potentialities for the good of the people. A program of measures to increase agricultural production drawn up by the March Plenum of the CC is being put into practice.

A major task today is to improve the operation of industry. A well-organized and highly-developed industry forms the basis of an up-to-date socialist economy, of the might of the country. The growth of our economy, the improvement of our people's standard of living and the strengthening of the defenses of our country depend on the level and extent of industrial progress, on the results achieved by industry.

Industry is growing and improving steadily. Since the Seven Year Plan was launched gross industrial output has increased by roughly 84 per cent as against the 80 per cent planned; power generation and output of oil, gas, coal, iron and steel show a steep uptrend.

Output of chemical products, machinery, equipment, instruments and consumer goods has been growing noticeably. Over 5,500 large industrial plants have been built and put into operation in seven years. The fixed assets of industry have almost doubled.

In line with modern requirements, the pattern of industrial production has been undergoing important changes. The share of the power, engineering and chemical industries, that is, of the indus-

*Pravda, October 1, 1965.

tries guaranteeing the technological progress of the entire economy, has gone up from 27 to 35 per cent since the beginning of the seven-year period.

The wages and salaries of certain categories have been raised, collective farmers have been granted pensions, the supply of consumer goods has been improved and housing construction expanded.

These achievements are due to the tremendous effort of workers, engineers, technicians and scientists, to the vast amount of organizing and educational work done by Party, government, trade union and Komsomol organizations.

The important tasks facing the Soviet economy — raising the level and rate of industrial development, hastening technological progress in every branch of the economy and improving the standard of living—call for using all the untapped resources of industry and for increasing the national income. This means, first and foremost, increasing production efficiency, raising labor productivity, achieving greater returns from investments and fixed assets, exercising the most rigid economy, eliminating excesses and wasteful spending, and encouraging the working people's initiative to accomplish these tasks.

It is very important to improve planned guidance of the economy and raise the scientific standard of state planning. Economic plans should take into account the prospects of scientific and technological progress and provide for the speedy introduction and use of the latest achievements of science and technology. They should be based on realistic and objective calculations. In drawing up plans, the principal effort should be made to take the economic laws of socialism into careful consideration, guarantee the balanced development of the economy and obtain maximum output with minimum outlay.

This Plenum of the CC, CPSU notes that the present organization of industrial management, methods of planning, and economic stimuli no longer meet requirements and fall short of the level attained by the productive forces.

The prevalence of administrative to the detriment of economic methods is a serious drawback of industrial management. At the enterprises, cost accounting is largely nominal. The economic powers of the enterprises are restricted.

The operation of enterprises is controlled through numerous plan indices, which limits the autonomy and initiative of their staffs and discourages them from improving the organization of production. The material incentives employed in industry do not properly encourage people to improve the overall performance of the enterprises concerned, to make production more profitable and to improve the quality of output.

Industrial management on the regional principle slightly extended opportunities for inter-industry specialization and coordination within economic regions. On the other hand, it held up branch specialization and hampered appropriate links between enterprises situated in different economic regions. It moved research and production farther apart, led to fragmentation and to multi-stage control of industries, and lowered efficiency.

With a view to advancing industry, making social production more effective, hastening technological progress, increasing the rate of growth of the national income and achieving on this basis a further rise in the people's standard of living, we must improve planning methods, afford greater economic stimuli for industrial production and provide staffs with greater material inducements to improve the performance of the enterprises concerned.

The Plenum of the CC considers it necessary to organize industrial management on the branch principle and to establish Union-republic and Union ministries by industries.

It recognizes the advisability of ending excessive control of the enterprises, reducing the number of the plan indices the enterprises are assigned from above, providing them with adequate means for the expansion and improvement of production, and making better use of such important economic stimuli as profit, prices, bonuses and credits.

Economic and planning agencies must show great flexibility and efficiency in planning and guiding production, promptly take into account changes in the economic situation, use resources flexibly, coordinate production with the growing requirements of the population, promote cost accounting, promptly introduce the latest achievements of science and technology, and find at each particular enterprise optimum ways of fulfilling assignments.

The whole system of planning, guidance of production and material incentives should be directed toward ensuring the rapid growth of social production and making it more effective. To attain these objectives, it is very important to afford the personnel of enterprises inducements to make greater commitments under plan, improve the use of production assets, of manpower and material resources and funds, improve production techniques and the organization of labor, and make production more profitable.

While extending the economic autonomy of the enterprise, the Party and the Government will continue to follow a uniform policy as regards planning the main lines of development of production, technological progress, investment, prices, remuneration, and financing.

The proposed measures to improve management and promote economic methods of guiding industry are important in that they

combine integrated state planning with full self-sufficiency of the enterprises, centralized branch management with free economic initiative at the level of the republic or the enterprise, and the principle of one-man management with the increased role of the staffs. Furthermore, they will make for the extension of the democratic principles of management and create economic conditions for greater participation of the rank and file in production management, enabling them to influence the economic performance of the enterprises. This system of economic management is more in keeping with modern requirements and will enable us to make better use of the advantages of the socialist system.

The Plenum approves the measures to improve industrial management and planning and increase economic incentives in industrial production, drafted by the Presidium of the CC, CPSU and reported by Comrade A. N. Kosygin, member of the Presidium of the CC, CPSU, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR. It instructs the Presidium of the CC, CPSU and the Council of Ministers of the USSR to adopt relevant decisions and to submit to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR proposals concerning industrial management bodies.

The Plenum instructs the Presidium of the CC, CPSU, the Council of Ministers of the USSR, the central committees of the Communist parties of the Union republics and the territorial and regional committees of the Party to settle without delay all the organizational questions arising from the establishment of Union-republic and Union ministries, as well as of local economic management bodies, in order to guarantee the normal operation of industry, solve properly the problems of placing and using the personnel of the economic agencies to be abolished, and assign highly competent executives to enterprises. The new ministries and departments should be staffed with highly competent experts and able organizers who can organize production in statesmanlike fashion.

The chief task of the ministries, the staffs of industrial enterprises and the research, designing and planning offices is to ensure the rapid growth and greater efficiency of industrial production, the highest possible productivity of labor, and the most effective use of available production assets. With this aim in view, it is imperative to put the latest achievements of Soviet and foreign science and technology to use in the national economy, organize labor on scientific lines, improve the quality of output, tighten state and production discipline, and heighten everyone's responsibility for his job.

The Plenum of the CC stresses that the ministries are responsible to the Party, state and people for the development of industry. They must see to it that the technological standards of indus-

ry are high, that every branch of the economy is provided with technically perfect and highly efficient machinery, equipment and instruments, with high-grade raw and other materials, and that the population's demand for high-quality goods is met more fully.

With the adoption of the branch principle of industrial management, and greater economic stimulation of production the role of the Party organizations of the republics, territories, regions, towns, districts, enterprises, ministries and departments in accelerating economic progres will grow, and will impose added responsibility on them for the operation of enterprises and the functioning of economic agencies as they fulfil economic plans and government assignments. Without assuming the functions of economic executives, Party committees must concentrate on organizing work, on the selection, placing and education of personnel, on control over the execution of Party and Government directives, on more active communist education of the people.

Party organizations are duty-bound steadfastly to study the work of enterprises, help economic executives in revealing and removing shortcomings, direct the efforts of staffs toward utilizing every production reserve, and combat departmental and parochial abuses.

Party committees must have a thorough knowledge of the economic aspects of production, organize the working people's effort for thrifty management, for economy in the use of funds, materials and manpower, make thriftiness a cause for the whole people, disseminate economic knowledge among executives, and teach them to use economic stimuli for improving industrial production.

Party, trade union and Komsomol organizations must intensify their effort to heighten the communist alertness of the people, foster their creative activity, strive for higher productivity of labor, for proper labor and production discipline, and pay greater attention to the task of improving the working and living conditions of staffs. It is essential to organize the working people's socialist emulation movement more effectively so as to ensure that every progressive method developed at an enterprise is put to widespread use. The new system of management should be used to the utmost to promote production and afford material inducements to efficient industrial enterprises and personnel.

The economic stimulation of labor productivity is a powerful means of promoting the advance of the socialist economy to communism. On the other hand, the Party will continue its effort to heighten the communist consciousness of the people and inculcate in them a communist attitude to labor. Communist construction will progress only if every working man or woman does his or her job consciously, exercising initiative and approaching the

task in hand in a creative spirit, and if everyone treats public property as thriftily and carefully as his own. It is the duty of Party organizations to promote moral stimuli for labor and provide every condition for the genuinely communist creative effort of the people.

The Plenum considers it the duty of Party organizations to explain the purpose of the decisions of this Plenum to industrial personnel and to working people generally, and to concentrate the effort of Party, government and economic executives on the realization of the measures proposed by the Party and the Government. In drafting these measures, our Party was prompted by the fundamental interests of the working class and other working people of our country, and took into full account the proposals and suggestions made by workers, engineers, technicians and scientists, by Party, government, trade union and Komsomol organizations.

* * *

The Plenum of the CC, CPSU feels confident that the Party and all the working people of our country will welcome the measures to improve industrial management and planning and increase economic incentives in industrial production. Realization of these measures will increase the economic power of the Soviet state, improve the living standard, strengthen the alliance of the workers and peasants, and make for increasing success in communist construction.

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COMMUNIQUE

ON STAY IN USSR OF PARTY AND GOVERNMENT DELEGATION OF SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF RUMANIA

The Party and government delegation of the Socialist Republic of Rumania, headed by Nicolae Ceausescu, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Communist Party, stayed in the Soviet Union on an official visit between September 3-11, 1965, at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the USSR Council of Ministers.

During their stay the members of the Rumanian delegation visited, besides Moscow, Volgograd and Leningrad. They inspected a number of industrial enterprises and cultural and historical memorials, met with Party and government leaders of Moscow, of the Volgograd and Leningrad regions, and with the working people, taking advantage of this opportunity as well to familiarize themselves with the life and accomplishments of the Soviet people.

Everywhere the Rumanian guests were accorded a warm, heartfelt reception, which reflects the sentiments of friendship entertained by the Soviet people towards the fraternal Rumanian people. The delegation expressed their sincere gratitude for the friendly hospitality and cordiality shown them in the Soviet Union.

The Party and government delegation of the Socialist Republic of Rumania had meetings and talks with L. I. Brezhnev, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, A. N. Kosygin, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, A. I. Mikoyan, President of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and other Party and government leaders of the USSR.

Taking part in the talks held were:

From the Soviet side — L. I. Brezhnev, First Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; A. M. Kosygin, Presidium Member of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; N. V. Podgorny, Presidium Member and Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee A. N. Shelepin, Presidium; Member and Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; Y. V. Andropov, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; V. N. Novikov, Member of the CPSU Central Committee and Vice-Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; P. F. Lomako, Member of the CPSU Central Committee and Vice-Chairman of the USSR Council and USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs, and I. K. Zhegalin, Member of the

CPSU Central Committee and USSR Ambassador to the Socialist Republic of Rumania.

From the Rumanian side — Nicolae Ceausescu, General Secretary of the RCP Central Committee; Ion Gheorghe Maurer, Member of the Executive Committee and of the Permanent Presidium of the RCP Central Committee and Chairman of the SRR Council of Ministers; Gheorghe Apostol, Member of the Executive Committee and of the Permanent Presidium of the RCP Central Committee and First Vice-Chairman of the SRR Council of Ministers; Alexandru Birladeanu, Member of the Executive Committee and of the Permanent Presidium of the RCP Central Committee and First Vice-Chairman of the SRR Council of Ministers; Paul Niculescu-Mizil, Member of the Executive Committee and Secretary of the RCP Central Committee; Manea Manescu, Secretary of the RCP Central Committee; Corneliu Manescu, Member of the RCP Central Committee and SRR Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Nicolae Guina, Member of the RCP Central Committee and SRR Ambassador to the USSR.

In the course of the talks, which proceeded in an atmosphere of friendship and cordiality, a sincere and useful exchange of views took place on questions of the further development of Soviet-Rumanian relations, and on current problems of the international situation and the world Communist and working-class movement.

I

The sides pointed out with satisfaction that the fraternal friendship of the Soviet and Rumanian peoples and relations between the Soviet Union and the Soviet Republic of Rumania are growing stronger and successfully developing on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, socialist internationalism, cooperation and comradely mutual assistance, with the strict observance of equality, mutual respect for independence and sovereignty, non-interference in one another's internal affairs and the combination, on this basis, of the interests of each country and the common interests of the socialist world system.

The delegations informed one another on the course of the construction of socialism and communism in their countries and on the most important measures carried out in the USSR and the SRR.

The Soviet side expressed deep satisfaction over the achievements scored by socialist Rumania in developing national economy, science and culture, and in improving the well-being of the people. Under the leadership of the Rumanian Communist Party the Rumanian people have secured the final victory of socialism. This historic victory has been recorded in the new Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Rumania. The Rumanian people are now success-

fully working on the implementation of the decisions of the Ninth Congress of the RCP directed towards the completion of socialist construction in all fields of economic, scientific and cultural endeavor. By their efforts and achievements the Rumanian people are making their important contribution towards strengthening the socialist world system and the victory of socialism and peace.

The Party and government delegation of the Socialist Republic of Rumania stresses with special satisfaction the achievements scored by the Soviet people in increasing the productive forces and developing the material and technical basis of communism, in technical progress and promotion of science and culture, in raising the living standard of the Soviet people. The constructive efforts and enthusiasm of the working people guided by the Communist Party have turned the Soviet Union into a great industrial power. Energetically developing the national economy in every way, the Soviet people are winning considerable victories in fulfilling the tasks of communist construction mapped out by the 22nd Congress of the CPSU. The achievements of the Soviet people constitute an outstanding contribution towards strengthening the socialist world system and the triumph of socialism and peace.

Both sides noted that considerable successes have been achieved in recent years in the field of economic, commercial and cultural cooperation between the USSR and the SRR. From 1961 to 1965 trade between them increased more than 65 per cent compared with the preceding five-year period. Rumania exports to the Soviet Union industrial and agricultural products, installations and equipment for the oil and chemical industries, sea- and river-craft. The Soviet Union supplies Rumania with machines and equipment, sets of installations, raw materials and renders technical assistance in building certain industrial enterprises and projects.

On the basis of consultations held between the planning bodies of the USSR and the SRR on the questions of the coordination of development plans of both countries for 1966-1970 a protocol on economic cooperation and the deliveries of the most important commodities in this period has been signed. The agreement on economic cooperation in the forthcoming five years will promote the creation of favorable conditions for the expansion of this cooperation in various branches of the national economy in the interests of both countries.

With the aim of further extending and developing economic ties the sides decided to set up a Mixed Soviet-Rumanian Inter-Governmental Commission on Economic Cooperation.

The two delegations stressed the importance of the development of scientific and technical ties playing a significant role in raising the production of both countries to an ever higher level. Scientific and cultural exchanges between the USSR and the SRR are

conducive to mutual cultural enrichment, the development of socialist culture in both countries and the constant strengthening of friendship between the Soviet and Rumanian peoples.

The sides once again confirm their interest in the further development of economic, scientific and technical cooperation within the framework of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid as well as in the development of cooperation with other socialist countries. They stress that the relations of economic cooperation between the sovereign and equal socialist countries in the spirit of mutual benefit and comradely assistance, non-interference in internal affairs of one another and socialist internationalism promote the realization of the striving of each people towards welfare, the development and flourishing of every socialist state, the strengthening of the socialist system as a whole and add to the attractive power of socialism on the international arena.

The delegations highly evaluate the meetings and consultations on various questions of internal and foreign policy between Soviet and Rumanian leaders as well as the exchange of experience in socialist and communist construction. In this connection they stressed the need for further extending inter-Party and state contacts as well as contacts between the public organizations of both countries, promoting the strengthening of the relations of friendship and all-round cooperation.

Both sides are of the opinion that the necessary conditions exist in the Soviet Union and the Socialist Republic of Rumania for the expansion and strengthening of cooperation in the political, economic and cultural fields. They will spare no effort for the realization of these favorable opportunities for the good of the Soviet and Rumanian peoples, in the interests of strengthening the socialist world system.

II

During the discussion of international issues the sides noted the identity of views in the appraisal of important problems of today, such as questions of war and peace, struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, support given to the national liberation movement, general disarmament and international detente.

The situation in the world today is characterized by the strengthening of the world system of socialism, which increasingly determines the entire course of social development, by the process of the further disintegration of the colonial system and the growing role of the new independent states, by the growing struggle of the working class and of the democratic movement for social progress, and by the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism.

At the same time the delegations note that the international situa-

tion has of late become considerably more tense. Life confirms that as long as imperialism exists, the danger of a world war remains. The reactionary forces, and primarily U.S. imperialism, are striving to hinder the march of history, taking different aggressive actions against the socialist states and the revolutionary movement, against the peoples and countries fighting against colonial domination. Interference of the imperialist forces in the internal affairs of other countries, and pressure of all kinds exerted on the peoples cause tension and mistrust among the states, and are a source of danger for peace throughout the world.

Both sides consider that the vital interests of preserving peace, the cause of progress of mankind demand the observation of the sacred right of each people, big or small, to decide its own destiny, freely to choose the way of its political, social and economic development, taking into account its specific national features and conditions.

The Soviet and Rumanian delegations specially stress the firm determination of the Soviet Union and of the Socialist Republic of Rumania to work to strengthen the unity of the socialist countries on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. The inviolable cohesion of the socialist world system, based on fraternal relations between sovereign and equal socialist nations, is the principal source of strength and invincibility of the socialist world system, which is the decisive force of present-day social development, for securing peace and progress throughout the world. The unity of the socialist countries is founded on the community of their basic aims: their common Marxist-Leninist ideology, the creation of a new social system, ensuring a happy life for the working people and strengthening the forces of socialism throughout the world. Each socialist state works to build socialism, determines its home and foreign policy and carries out all its activities in accordance with the conditions of its development, in the interests of prosperity of the given people, and mindful of the common interests of the socialist world system.

The delegations consider that the intensified aggressive actions of the imperialist circles call for more vigilance, for constantly strengthening the power and defenses of the Warsaw Treaty states, of all socialist countries, for promoting the cohesion of the anti-imperialist forces, and of all champions of peace and progress.

The Soviet Union and the Socialist Republic of Rumania resolutely denounce the U.S. armed intervention in South Vietnam and the aggression against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and demand that they be stopped immediately. These actions are a violation of the elementary standards of international law and present a serious danger to peace not only in South-East Asia but also all over the world.

Being in full solidarity with the just struggle of the Vietnamese people for their freedom and independence, the USSR and the SRR declare their full support for the position of the DRV government and the National-Liberation Front of South Vietnam concerning the ways of solving the Vietnamese problem on the basis of the 1954 Geneva Agreements, discontinuation of bombing of the DRV, withdrawal of all troops of the USA and their allies and U.S. arms from South Vietnam, respect for the right of the Vietnamese people themselves to decide their internal matters without foreign interference. They regard the National-Liberation Front of South Vietnam as the sole lawful representative of the people of South Vietnam.

Soviet and Rumanian sides state that aid to the DRV in its struggle against the U.S. aggression is an international duty, and express their readiness to continue rendering the DRV all-round assistance and support necessary to repulse the aggression.

The Soviet Union and the Socialist Republic of Rumania condemn the U.S. armed intervention against the Dominican Republic and back up the demand of its people that the American interference in that country's internal affairs be stopped.

The Soviet Union and the Socialist Republic of Rumania hold that the agreement on the so-called "normalization" of relations between Japan and South Korea, signed under the pressure of the United States, creates new obstacles in the way of the restoration of national unity of the Korean people. The government of the USSR and the SRR support the position of the government of the Korean People's Democratic Republic with regard to this unlawful collusion.

Proceeding from the principle that each state, big or small, bears responsibility for the preservation of peace and the strengthening of international security, both governments expressed their determination to continue to work unrelenting for the strengthening of trust among nations and the assertion of peaceful coexistence in the relations between states with different social systems. The Soviet Union and the Socialist Republic of Rumania are resolutely coming out for general disarmament, for banning and destroying nuclear weapons, for setting up non-nuclear zones in various parts of the world, Europe in the first place, against the plans of creating multilateral or Atlantic NATO nuclear force which pursues the aim of arming the West German revanchists with nuclear weapons, for the abolition of military blocs and foreign military bases on other countries' territories, and also for the withdrawal of all the foreign troops within their national borders.

The sides support the decision of the UN Disarmament Committee approving the proposal on calling a World Disarmament Conference with the participation of all states of the world. They deem it expedient to call a conference of states on the problem of a com-

plete ban and destruction of nuclear weapons and, as the first step, to conclude an agreement on banning the use of these weapons. They fully support the corresponding proposal of the Chinese People's Republic.

The Soviet Union and the Socialist Republic of Rumania are coming out for the creation of an effective system of European security in which all the European peoples are vitally interested. They maintain that the achievement of a peaceful settlement in Germany would be the most im important contribution to peace in Europe. Both sides stand for the inviolability of the present borders in Europe, including the state border between the GDR and the FRG, for the non-armament of both German states with nuclear weapons, and for other measures toward European security.

The Soviet Union and the Socialist Republic of Rumania declare that they are fully resolved to take, in keeping with the agreement reached within the framework of the Warsaw Treaty, all the necessary protective measures in case the NATO states, acting contrary to the interests of peace and in violation of the Potsdam and other international agreements, embark upon the road of carrying out the plans of giving West Germany access to nuclear weapons.

The Soviet side highly appreciates the efforts which the Socialist Republic of Rumania, along with the other socialist countries, exert towards strengthening world peace and European security, in the struggle for general disarmament and the ban on the nuclear weapons. The Soviet government supports the measures taken by the government of the Socialist Republic of Rumania for the development of good-neighborly relations between European states and for turning the Balkans and the Black zone into a zone of peace and friendship among nations.

The Rumanian side highly appreciates the vigorous activities conducted by the Soviet Union, along with the other socialist countries, for preserving peace and international security, for preventing world war, and for encouraging relations of cooperation among states irrespective of their social and political system. The Rumanian government supports the initiatives of the Soviet government aimed at securing general disarmament, using outer space for peaceful purposes, and other measures designed to create a climate of detente and mutual understanding among peoples in international relations.

Both sides emphatically condemn colonialism and neocolonialism in all their forms and manifestations, confirm their solidarity with the national-liberation movement of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America fighting for their freedom, for strengthening their economic and political independence and sovereignty. The Soviet Union and the Socialist Republic of Rumania hold that the Second Conference of Afro-Asian countries will be able to make an im-

portant contribution to the cause of strengthening the progressive forces in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, for universal peace and international friendship.

The Soviet Union and the Socialist Republic of Rumania are for enhancing the role and efficiency of the UN in the cause of promoting world peace and security on the basis of principles of its Charter. They resolutely condemn the attempts of the imperialist forces to use the UN for purposes alien to peace and cooperation among the peoples. They are coming out for restoring the lawful rights of the Chinese People's Republic in the United Nations, for turning the United Nations into a truly universal organization uniting all states of the world, and for a broader representation of the new independent states of Asia and Africa in the UN agencies.

III

During their talks the representatives of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Rumanian Communist Party exchanged views on the further extension of contacts and cooperation between the CPSU anad the RCP, and on topical issues pertaining to the international Communist movement.

The CPSU and the RCP maintain that stronger unity of action by all Communist and Workers' parties is vitally needed today. In the complex process of the socialist revolution and in view of the diversity of conditions in which Communist and Workers' parties operate — a diversity determined by historical and national peculiarities of the countries concerned — there naturally arises a great variety of forms and methods in the struggle both to win power and to build socialism.

The two parties hold that, in conformity with the Marxist-Leninist teaching and proletarian internationalism which constitute the basis of the activity of all Communist and Workers' parties, each party is entitled to shape its own political line, devise the forms and methods of its work, creatively applying the Marxist-Leninist teaching in the specific conditions of its country.

The two delegations reaffirm the Marxist-Leninist principle guiding relations between parties, according to which each party is entitled to express, and may express, its views on questions of present-day social development and the international Communist and working-class movement, contributing thereby to the common treasury of Marxism-Leninism.

The analysis and overcoming of differences in opinions that appear over these issues must be based on Marxism-Leninism, on adherence to principle, on a comradely, painstaking and preserving approach, with the effort made to achieve closer relations and mutual understanding in order to secure unity. Both delegations

maintain that the differences arising over some questions of present-day social development or the international situation must not affect the comradely, international relations between the countries of the socialist system.

Indispensable for the attainment and consolidation of unity are the consistent observance of the basic standards of inter-Party relations, the principles of independence, equality and non-interference in the internal affairs of other parties, sincere and comradely discussion of issues of common interest through direct talks between parties and their leaderships.

Meetings and contacts between the fraternal parties, the discussion of cardinal questions of theory and tactics in the spirit of mutual respect and trust and on the basis of Marxism-Leninism may provide a tangible foundation for surmounting the difficulties in the Communist movement.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Rumanian Communist Party regard it as their lofty obligation to work, persistently and unswervingly, to strengthen the unity of the Communist and Workers' parties and the solidarity of the countries of the socialist world system on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and of the 1957 Declaration and 1960 Statement, so as to rally all revolutionary forces in the struggle against imperialism, for social progress and peace.

Both sides have stated the necessity to further the exchange of experience in the building of socialism and communism and to become reciprocally familiar with the work of the CPSU and the RCP by exchanging delegations and informative material. The representatives of the CPSU and the RCP believe it useful for the leaders of both Parties to exchange official and unofficial visits. The discussion of relations between the two parties facilitates the attainment of better understanding between them and the consolidation of fraternal cooperation between the CPSU and the RCP.

Both sides have agreed to employ more widely such forms of inter-Party cooperation as consultations between representatives of the two parties on questions of common interest, and to develop and deepen still further the relations between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Rumanian Communist Party.

★ ★ ★

The delegations have emphasized that the CPSU and the RCP and the governments of the Soviet Union and the Socialist Republic of Rumania will continue to do everything necessary to strengthen the unbreakable Soviet-Rumanian friendship and the unity of the countries of the socialist world system on the basis of the principles of socialist internationalism, full equality and mutual assist-

ance, and the national sovereignty of the socialist countries, so as to promote the interests of each socialist country and the socialist world system as a whole.

The visit paid by the Party and government delegation of the Socialist Republic of Rumania and the talks held are a useful contribution to the further development and consolidation of friendship and fraternal cooperation between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Socialist Republic of Rumania, contributing at the same time to the unity of the socialist countries and the international Communist movement and to the cause of socialism and world peace.

The Central Committee of the Rumanian Communist Party and the Council of Ministers of the Socialist Republic of Rumania have invited a Soviet Party and government delegation with Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, First Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, as its head, to pay an official visit to the Socialist Republic of Rumania. The invitation has been gratefully accepted. The date for the visit will be agreed upon later.

L. I. BREZHNEV,
First Secretary, CC, CPSU.

A. N. KOSYGIN,
Chairman, USSR Council of Ministers.

NICOLAE CEAUSESCU,
General Secretary, CC, RCP.

ION GHEORGHE MAURER,
Chairman, SRR Council of Ministers.

Moscow, September 10, 1965.

ON THE RESULTS OF THE BUNDESTAG ELECTIONS

RESOLUTION OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE CC, CPG.

A serious situation has developed following the elections to the Bundestag. The CDU-CSU and the big capitalist arms manufacturers backing it will use the outcome of the polling to vindicate their policy and to press on along the perilous road of atomic armament, state-of-emergency dictatorship and revenge. Cunning demagogy and the whipping up of nationalist and anti-communist passions helped them to delude millions of people. Fraudulently posing as the champions of Germany's future, security and prosperity, they managed to obtain the votes they need to pursue a policy diametrically opposite to that which they promised the electorate.

This became possible because considerable strata of the population have not yet awakened to the fact that the militarists and their ruling party are preparing war, that their policy is aimed not at German reunification but at aggravating the tension in the country, not at promoting democracy but at establishing a dictatorship based on emergency laws.

The Social Democratic Party of Germany failed to live up to the promises of its leadership, which had counted on its emergence from the elections as the strongest party in the country. The Wehner-Erler policy of community of views with the CDU-CSU on vital issues and their refusal to enter into a principled debate with the CDU-CSU on the latter's policy proved to be incorrect. This helped the CDU-CSU to mislead millions of people; as a result, the opportunity to defeat the CDU government was missed. Since the Social-Democratic leadership did not offer any clear-cut alternative to the voters, many of them saw no point in opposing the CDU-CSU. The SDPG was also harmed by its leadership's flat rejection of the alternative proposals of the trade unions.

During the preparations for the elections the CPG stressed that the CDU-CSU and its policies could be defeated only if its program was countered with a sound alternative. Regrettably, the election results show that we were correct, as were those Social-Democrat comrades and trade union activitists who demanded that the SDPG reject the policy of community with the CDU-CSU and put forward its own political alternative.

During the election campaign the German Peace Union advanced,

in contrast to the government's policy, proposals for a policy of democracy and peace. The significance of this step cannot be judged by the election returns. The anti-democratic 5 per cent rule, the demagogic propaganda alleging that the Peace Union votes should be wasted, and the nationalist and anti-communist slander campaign undoubtedly prevented many voters from casting their ballots for the Peace Union.

The results of the elections are a warning to all who want peace, democracy and social progress, obliging them to enhance vigilance and redouble efforts to disseminate the truth about Bonn's dangerous policy. This is the way to overcome complacency and increase the readiness to fight back. The working class and its trade unions, and the people generally, should bring greater pressure to bear on political life. The extra-parliamentary popular movement against nuclear armament and the emergency laws, for peace, democracy and mutual understanding between the two German states, for the social demands of the working people, is more important today than ever before. Only a nationwide popular movement can make the ruling circles realize that the election did not give them carte blanche to pursue their disastrous policy.

Prior to the Bundestag elections our Party addressed the SDPG with proposals aimed at defeating the CSU-CDU by the joint efforts of all the progressive forces. Despite the negative attitude of the SDPG leadership, we supported the Social-Democratic candidates who opposed nuclear armament and the emergency laws. After these elections, joint efforts of all the forces of the working-class movement, Social Democrats, trade unionists, Communists and Christians, joint actions by the entire working class, have become a still more urgent necessity.

First and foremost, we call upon the members and supporters of the SDPG to press for a change in their party's policy, so that the SDPG should put forward, in and outside Parliament, a new, independent policy, a policy of peace, mutual understanding, defense of democracy and solution of the social and cultural tasks of society through a reduction in military expenditures, that it should work for the satisfaction of the demands of the trade unions.

The SDPG is now stronger in the Bundestag than before. It should do everything in its power to prevent the deepening of the division of Germany and the aggravation of the danger of nuclear war on German soil as a result of granting nuclear weapons to the German militarists. It can prevent the CDU-CSU government from acquiring dictatorial powers through the emergency laws. Only if it acts as a strong opposition offering a definite alternative will the SDPG be able to justify the trust reposed in it by its voters and win new supporters.

The elections demonstrated that the working class of the FRG

needs a legal Communist Party. Both before and during the election campaign our Party told the truth to the people, exposing the perilous militarist policy of the CDU-CSU government and indicating the way to replacing this policy with a new one.

The Political Bureau thanks all comrades who were active during the past election campaign and thus greatly contributed to the cause of enlightening the masses and restoring the legality of our Party. Today it is necessary to step up our activity still more, and above all to conduct a comradely dialog with the Social Democrats on ways of initiating a new policy.

The CPG calls upon the Social Democrats, trade unionists, Christian workers, young people, all peace-loving and democratic-minded people to join efforts and launch a broad popular movement for a new policy, a policy of peace, disarmament, agreement between the FRG and the GDR, for guaranteed democracy and higher living standards.

JOINT SOVIET-CZECHOSLOVAK STATEMENT*

At the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Soviet Government, a Party and Government delegation of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic headed by A. Novotny, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, paid the Soviet Union an official visit from September 6 to 15, 1965.

The delegation included: J. Lenart, member of the CC, CPC Presidium, and Chairman of the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic; J. Hendrych, member of the Presidium and Secretary of the CC, CPC; O. Simunek, member of the CC, CPC Presidium and Vice-Chairman of the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic; M. Sabolcik, alternate member of the CC, CPC Presidium and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia; V. Koucky, Secretary of the CC, CPC; V. David, member of the CC, CPC and Minister of Foreign Affairs; B. Lomsky, member of the CC, CPC and Minister of National Defense, and O. Pavlovsky, Member of the CC, CPC and Ambassador of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic to the Soviet Union.

The members of the delegation visited Moscow, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic, the cities of Minsk, Yerevan and Gorky, industrial enterprises, collective farms and state farms, scientific and cultural institutions, inspected monuments of culture, had meetings and talks with high officials of Union Republics, regions and cities, representatives of public organizations, workers, collective farmers and intellectuals, and acquainted themselves with the life of the Soviet people and their achievements in communist construction.

The Party and government delegation of the CSSR was everywhere accorded the warmest and most cordial reception indicative of the sincere feelings of fraternal friendship the Soviet people entertain towards the people of Czechoslovakia. The meetings and rallies with the participation of the delegation developed into a manifestation of the unbreakable friendship and growing moral and political unity of the Soviet and Czechoslovak peoples and demonstrated their readiness to struggle for strengthening the unity of the socialist countries, for the triumph of communism.

*Pravda, September 16, 1965.

During the delegation's stay in the Soviet Union talks were held in which the Soviet side was represented by L. I. Brezhnev, First Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; A. N. Kosygin, member of the Presidium of the CC, CPSU and Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; A. I Mikoyan, member of the Presidium of the CC, CPSU and President of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; N. V. Podgorny, member of the Presidium and Secretary of the CC, CPSU; Y. V. Andropov, Secretary of the CC, CPSU; P. F. Lomako, member of the CC, CPSU and Vice-Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; M. A. Lesechko, member of the CC, CPSU and Vice-Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; A. A. Gromyko, member of the CC, CPSU and Minister of Foreign Affairs; S. V. Chervonenko, Ambassador of the Soviet Union to Czechoslovakia.

In the course of the talks, which proceeded in an atmosphere of cordiality, fraternal friendship and complete mutual understanding, the delegations discussed a wide range of questions pertaining to the further development and extension of all-round fruitful cooperation between the Soviet Union and the CSSR. They also exchanged opinions on topical problems of the present international situation and on questions of the international Communist working-class movement.

I

During the talks the delegations informed each other of the situation in their respective countries and the tasks linked with the creation of the material and technical foundation of communist society in the Soviet Union and the further development of socialist society in Czechoslovakia. Considerable attention was devoted to an exchange of views on ways of further economic growth of both countries, above all, through broad application of the achievements of science and technology and improvement of forms and methods of management of the national economy.

The Czechoslovak delegation gave information on the measures for the improvement of management and planning of the national economy being carried out in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, which are called upon to provide conditions for the further comprehensive development of socialist society.

The sides discussed questions of economic relations. They noted that the state of these relations, traditionally based on the principles of proletarian internationalism, creates prerequisites for the further expansion of economic scientific and technical cooperation and leads to economic rapprochement of the two countries. This task calls for the coordination of long-range economic development plans, which will enhance their stability and effectiveness,

and for better cooperation and specialization in industrial production. The two sides, basing themselves on experience, will continue to strive for the development of new progressive forms of scientific and technical cooperation. Such mutually advantageous cooperation makes for more fruitful economic relations with all countries.

The results of economic, scientific and technical cooperation between the USSR and the CSSR and of the bilateral consultations on the coordination of the economic development plans for the period 1966-70 were examined in the light of the aforementioned propositions. The delegations at the same time exchanged views on a number of concrete questions of cooperation, notably in the field of joint exploitation of material, raw material and power resources and the use of the economic possibilities of both countries. The two sides deem it necessary to conclude in the nearest future a long-term trade agreement between the USSR and the CSSR for the period 1966-70.

The two delegations note that at present, when extensive economic ties exist between socialist states, international socialist division of labor is becoming a vital factor of economic growth, technological progress and effectiveness of production in each socialist country. Therefore, the two sides will continue to strive to promote and improve mutually advantageous economic cooperation between member states of the Council of Mutual Economic Aid, in the interest of the triumph of socialism in the economic competition with capitalism.

Attaching great importance to the development of cultural cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the two sides agreed on concrete measures for the further expansion of contacts in the field of science, culture and art.

The two delegations expressed firm confidence that the successfully developing Soviet-Czechoslovak cooperation and ever-growing friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia will not only serve the interests of the two countries, but also promote consolidation of the unity of the entire socialist community, and the strengthening of world peace.

II

During the discussion of the present international situation complete identity of views was reaffirmed as regards its evaluation and the approach to the solution of important international problems.

Noting that consolidation of the positions of socialism, upsurge of the national-liberation and international working-class movements, and growth of the forces coming out for the preservation and consolidation of peace constitute the main trend of world

development today, the participants in the talks at the same time expressed concern over the situation arising in certain regions of the world. Particularly alarming is the situation resulting from the U.S. aggressive actions in Vietnam.

Rudely trampling underfoot the 1954 Geneva agreements, the United States launched an open armed aggression in South Vietnam. The fire of war has spread not only to the towns and villages of South Vietnam. The American aggressors have transferred it to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, subjecting its territory to barbarous bombings, sowing death and destruction among the peaceful population of the country. The U.S. government continues to build up its armed force in Vietnam. The so-called escalation in Vietnam threatens to expand the zone of conflict and directly endangers peace not only in Southeast Asia but also in other regions of the world.

Expressing full solidarity with the fraternal Democratic Republic of Vietnam, with the entire Vietnamese people fighting against the American aggression, the Soviet Union and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic support the just demands of the Vietnamese people and resolutely demand an end to the bombings of DRV territory, withdrawal of all troops of the U.S. and its allies with all their weapons from South Vietnam, and strict observance of the provisions of the Geneva agreements.

The governments of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia reaffirm that they will continue to render the necessary aid and support to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam to help repel the U.S. aggression. They fully agree that the affairs of South Vietnam should be decided by the Vietnamese people themselves.

Both sides expressed their anxiety over the military conflict between India and Pakistan. The Czechoslovak delegation unreservedly supports the appeal of the Soviet Government to the governments of the countries concerned to stop the hostilities immediately and to find peaceful means of settling the disputed issues.

Special attention was paid by the participants in the talks to the situation in Europe, above all to the problem of ensuring European security. They stated that at present the main danger to peace in Europe emanates from the forces of militarism and revanchism which are again rising in West Germany with the support of the reactionary circles of the United States. Revanchist demands have become an integral part of the official policy of the Federal Republic of Germany. Pursuing this dangerous policy, the West German government refuses to sign a Peace Treaty on the basis of recognition of the real fact of existence of two German states and demands a revision of the postwar borders, presenting territorial claims to other European states. The FRG government

persists in refusing to recognize from the very beginning the unlawfulness of the criminal Munich diktat and to draw proper conclusions from this.

Both delegations pointed out that the security of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the inviolability of its frontiers are reliably safeguarded by the Treaty of Friendship, Mutual Assistance and Postwar Cooperation between the two countries, and also by the Warsaw Treaty.

Taking advantage of U.S. patronage, the West German government is trying to block any steps aimed at lessening international tension; it conducts an arms race and stubbornly presses for access to nuclear weapons, threatening the security of all the peoples of Europe and the German people themselves. This line is encouraged by some NATO countries, whose ruling circles, in blind hatred of communism, are losing, like in Munich times, the capacity to understand the real interests of their countries and are ready to enter into a collusion with belligerent German militarism.

The unceasing attempts to establish a NATO multilateral nuclear force opening a straight road for the FRG to nuclear weapons, demand that the peace-loving peoples display particular vigilance and take effective measures to curb the forces of aggression. In this connection the Czechoslovak side declared its full solidarity with the Appeal of the Soviet Union to the Governments, Parliaments and Peoples of All Countries, dated May 9, this year, on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the victory over fascist Germany, and expresses ites readiness to cooperate with all states and organizations in securing a lasting peace on earth and averting a new world war.

The Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia consider the inviolability of the established postwar German borders, including the border between the two German states, to be a most essential factor of ensuring European peace. Any policy aimed at changing these borders by forcible means, particularly in conditions when military groupings stand oposed to each other in Europe, is fraught with the gravest consequences for European and universal peace.

Both sides will continue to work for the solution of the most important problem of European security—German peaceful settlement and normalization, on this basis, of the situation in West Berlin. At the same time they will continue efforts to secure agreement on partial measures aimed at reducing the war danger in Europe and above all the danger of thermonuclear war. They support the proposal of the Polish People's Republic on setting up a denuclearized zone and a nuclear freeze zone in Central Europe as well as its proposal on calling a conference of the European states on the problem of ensuring European security. An important step towards creating firm guarantees of European

security would also be the acceptance of the proposal of the German Democratic Republic concerning the renunciation by both German states—the GDR and the FRG—of the manufacture, acquisition and utilization of nuclear weapons and of their deployment on their territories.

Both sides consider it necessary to declare that West Germany's access to nuclear weapons would create a new situation in Europe which would force the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia to take, together with other socialist countries, the necessary retaliatory steps to ensure their security and prevent aggression.

Both sides declare their complete solidarity with the fraternal German Democratic Republic, a state of peace on German soil.

The participants in the talks also exchanged opinions on other international problems requiring the pursuit of a concerted policy. They discussed the problem of general and complete disarmament, of preventing further nuclear proliferation, and other measures to ensure peace and the security of peoples. They unanimously declared in favor of calling a world disarmament conference and of an undelayed implementation of the Declaration on Granting Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1960. Both sides will continue rendering aid to the peoples which have liberated themselves from colonial domination an to the peoples fighting for national liberation.

The sides analyzed the activities of the United Nations Organization. They came out resolutely against the attempts of the imperialist forces to weaken the UN and utilize it in the aims alien to peace and international cooperation. To enable this international organization to play its role more effectively the Soviet and Czechoslovak sides consider it necessary that the decisions on expanding the composition of the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council and on a just representation of the new independent states of Asia and Africa in these bodies be implemented without delay. They reaffirmed their view concerning the need for the immediate restoration of the rights of the People's Republic of China in the UN.

The sides reaffirmed the appraisals and conclusions made in their earlier joint statements, including the communique on the stay of the Czechoslovak Party and Government Delegation in the Soviet Union, dated December 3, 1964. The representatives of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia declare once again that in the future as well they will resolutely pursue the policy of peace and peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, consistently fight for the unity of all anti-imperialist forces against all acts of aggression and encroachments upon the freedom and independence of the peoples.

The CPSU and the CPC, the governments of both countries will continue efforts to strengthen the unity and solidarity of the countries of the socialist community, which is the supreme internationalist duty of every socialist country.

III

The leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia noted that both parties cooperate on a broad basis and regularly exchange views on key issues of mutual interest. The relations between the two parties rest on the existing ideological unity between them. The representatives of the CPSU and CPC declare that they will continue to promote all-round ties, fruitful cooperation and exchange of experience between the two Communist parties and to strengthen fraternal relations between the Communists of both countries. They stress the importance of still wider ties in ideological work, creative elaboration of basic theoretical problems and the need for stepping up the joint struggle against the reactionary theories of anti-communism.

Full identity of views on the situation in the world Communist and working-class movement was emphasized during the talks. The representatives of the two Communist parties expressed their resolve to carry forward the effort to rally all the forces of the socialist community in the struggle to consolidate the world Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The two delegations reaffirm that the main road to stronger unity lies through every Communist Party displaying a higher sense of international responsibility and vigorously contributing to joint action in the common struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, in support of the liberation struggle of the peoples against the domination of monopoly capital, for peace and international security, for the cause of socialism and communism. The point of departure in relations between Communist parties should be that which unites them in the common fight for peace and socialism.

The representatives of the two Communist parties reaffirmed their loyalty to the Statement and Declaration adopted by the Moscow meetings of the Communist and Workers' parties in 1957 and 1960. They emphasized the importance of the Consultative Meeting of Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow in March 1965, and declare that they will continue to dedicate every effort to realizing the ideas formulated in the Communique of the Meeting.

Evaluating the results of the conference of the Communist

parties of the capitalist states of Europe held in Brussels in June 1965, the two parties maintain that such conferences create favorable conditions for the future convocation of an international conference of all the Communists and Workers' parties.

The Czechoslovak Party and Government delegation sincerely thanks the CC, CPSU, the Soviet Government and the entire Soviet people for the cordial, comradely reception, for the feelings of fraternal friendship shown towards the Czechoslovak people and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

The Soviet and Czechoslovak sides voiced the conviction that the visit paid to the USSR by the CSSR Party and Government delegation and the cordial, frank and constructive exchange of opinions, which took place in an atmosphere of full confidence and mutual respect, will further promote friendly cooperation between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and will make a new contribution to the maintenance of peace and the consolidation of the positions of socialism throughout the world.

On behalf of the CPC Central Committee and the CSSR Government, the Party and Government delegation of the CSSR invited a USSR Party and Government delegation to pay a friendly visit to Czechoslovakia. The invitation was gratefully accepted.

L. BREZHNEV,
First Secretary, Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union

A. MIKOYAN,
President, Presidium of USSR Supreme Soviet

A. KOSYGIN,
Chairman, USSR Council of Ministers

A. NOVOTNY,
First Secretary, Central Committee, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, President, Czechoslovak Socialist Republic

J. LENART,
Chairman, Government of Czechoslovak Socialist Republic

Moscow, September 14, 1965.

MATERIALS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AUSTRALIA

STATEMENT* BY CPA

NEW THREAT TO DEMOCRACY

A plan for a major attack on cherished Australian democratic rights, particularly the public right to criticize government policies, lies behind the Liberal Party's call for a "White Paper on Communism."

This would be a government publication, issued under Parliamentary privilege (and so, safe from libel suits), in which individuals of many walks of life and viewpoints, together with Communists, would be slandered by means of false allegations of "sabotage," "treason," "dupes" and "fellow-travellers."

Announced last Friday by former Inner Cabinet Minister McBride on behalf of the Federal Council of the main Federal Government party, the scheme is significantly timed.

It follows immediately on:

—The upsurge of critical public discussion and opposition to the government's policy on Vietnam, embracing many prominent spokesmen of the Australian Labor Party, trade unions, university life, the churches, the arts and many other spheres.

The Communist Party is certainly not alone in opposing the Vietnam war and the foreign policy of reliance on military force in south-east Asia.

—Mounting campaigns for satisfaction of wage, salary and pension demands by all sections of the working people, to meet spiralling price inflation, the Arbitration Commission's wage freeze and now the Government's new tax burdens of the war budget.

The National trade union movement is united around these demands, and has the backing of the ALP.

The Communist Party is certainly not alone in working for these campaigns for the betterment of the working people's lives.

REAL AIM REVEALED

Sir Philip McBride revealed the real aim of the "White Paper" scheme when he claimed it was necessary to expose activities "behind so-called fronts."

*Tribune, August 25, 1965.

He meant movements and organizations like those campaigning for peace in south-east Asia — such as the 513 members of Australian university staffs who have signed a petition to Sir Robert Menzies . . . the Liberal Party's leader who recently said that all peace activities in Australia were "Communist-inspired."

McBride further showed the government's hand when he referred to "mischievous operations in the trade union movement."

Recent open threats of the use of the Crimes Act (Arbitration Judge Gallagher) and of "drastic action" (Federal Labor Minister McMahon), directed against legitimate trade union action particularly by the waterside workers, provide the significant background to this statement by McBride.

Spokesmen of the ACTU and major national "white collar" organizations last week had to sharply reprimand Minister McMahon for an equally pointed statement that union criticisms of the basic wage decision were the fault of "international Communism."

The "White Paper" would aim at softening up public resistance to the increase of punitive powers against trade unions, foreshadowed by Minister McMahon on July 11.

As to McBride's attacks on the Communist Party of Australia — its "anti-Australian program," "contempt for law," "sabotage and intimidation," — all this is so much eyewash, a mere excuse to open a campaign of hysteria and unconcealed "intimidation" against the big public movement of opposition to foreign and home policies.

POLICIES ARE PATRIOTIC

The Communist Party's campaigns for an independent Australian foreign policy for peace and friendship with Asia, for democratic rights, higher living standards, Australian ownership of Australia's resources and for socialism, are deeply patriotic.

Only such policies can lead to the security and prosperity our nation desires and needs.

We reject, too, Sir Philip McBride's absurd claim that the Communist Party has a "concept that a revolutionary minority seizes power by force and terror."

The aims of our Party can only be realized by the will of the majority of the people and our efforts are directed toward securing the support of the Australian people.

As for our so-called "contempt for the law" and "sabotage" we have no doubt that if there were only the slightest truth in this the Menzies government would have used the law against us.

For months past, the "White Paper" demand has been peddled by extreme rightist groups like the National Civil Council and the top leadership of the Returned Servicemen's League.

NCC leader Santamaria, who nearly three months ago reported

that the White Paper had already been drafted, has frequently disclaimed the aim of a ban on the Communist Party but advocated instead that a White Paper "exposure of Communist 'fronts' would strike at both the guilty and the gullible." (*News-Weekly*, June 10, 1965).

The Menzies government itself demonstrated its methods first in 1950-51 in its unsuccessful campaign to place a ban on the Communist Party.

Prominent figures in the trade union movement and Labor Party were publicly branded by government spokesmen in a McCarthyite fashion then, and later in the notorious Petrov Commission.

NOW IS THE TIME TO ACT!

Because the Australian people recognized the sweeping, anti-democratic nature of such anti-Communist proposals, the government was defeated in the 1951 Referendum on the issue.

As a result, the Communist Party remained a legal political party.

Its policy and activity are open to public view and discussion in its many publications, such as the recent booklet on Vietnam, which challenged the Liberals to debate the issue — a challenge they evaded.

The "White Paper" plan has emerged into the open from Liberal Party H.Q., rather than from the Cabinet Room, precisely because the government (mindful of 1951) is still testing out public opinion.

This should be seen as a warning to all democratic Australians, and an opportunity to express, in the shortest possible time, public opposition to this plan.

COMMUNISTS OPPOSE ANY INTERFERENCE IN THE TRADE UNIONS*

COMMUNIST PARTY STATEMENT

The trade union movement is by far the largest organization in Australia, with more than two million members. It plays a most important role in national affairs.

Australian unions have always striven to unite workers of all political and religious views within one trade union movement, avoiding the weakness arising from division of the trade unions into several movements formed along party-political or religious lines.

The growing cooperation between the unions of industrial and "white collar" workers in Australia is adding new strength to the movement.

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*Tribune, July 21, 1965.

This unity has enabled the trade union movement to represent, defend and advance the interests of all workers.

The trade union movement has always preserved its independence, resisting efforts to make it an appendage of any political party, the government in office, or the arbitration system.

Experience has shown that united, independent political action by the unions is necessary to influence governments to pass legislation in workers' interests, to defend democratic rights attacked by governments (Crimes Act, penal clauses), to work for peace and a genuinely Australian foreign policy, and to advance the common cause of the labor movement in Australia.

The Communist Party upholds the independence of the trade union movement. It opposes attempts at domination of the unions by any political party; it does not seek such control for itself.

It states its views openly and publicly.

Every political party in the country, not to speak of employers' organizations and the anti-labor newspapers, state their views in regard to the trade unions and actively propagate them.

Nor could it be otherwise in view of the importance of the trade unions in the life of the nation.

Expression of views is certainly not interference in the internal affairs of the trade unions.

Interference is the effort to impose outside control on unions, to subordinate unionism to the sectional interests of a particular political party, and thus divide, according to party labels, a movement whose strength derives from its unity based on the common industrial interests of all workers, irrespective of political viewpoints.

WANTED: DOCILE TRADE UNIONS

United, militant trade unionism is bitterly opposed by the employers, the wealthy companies which control press, radio and TV, and the Liberal government.

They use every method, including penal clauses and other repressive measures to fight against it.

They want a docile trade union movement, confined to arbitration.

The National Civic Council and its political front, the DLP, also oppose militant unionism.

These forces are currently waging a big propaganda campaign, trying to push the Labor Party into what would be a disruptive and abortive attempt to establish party-political control of the trade unions.

All these forces are anti-labor, and their urging for ALP interference is certainly not motivated by any sympathy for Labor Party aims or the well-being of unionism.

One of their arguments is that ALP control of the unions is necessary if Labor governments are to be elected.

In fact, such control would weaken united trade union action which is so essential to defeat of Tory governments.

ALP DOMINATION NOT WANTED

Another argument is that the Communist Party seeks to subvert or control the Labor Party by dictating to Labor Party members who are delegates to ALP Conference from unions in which there are Communist Party officials.

The Communist Party is a definite political trend within the labor movement.

It does not want to control the Labor Party, but seeks to win support for its own policy and organization among the Australian people.

It favors united action for common objectives, in the course of which the labor movement would be able to decide through democratic discussion the most effective way to advance the interests of the working people and reach the objective of socialism.

This objective is stated as the aim of the Labor and Communist Parties and the Australian Council of Trade Unions.

Mr. E. G. Whitlam, M.H.R., recently advocated further ALP interference in the trade unions.

He demanded that unions elect all-ALP leaderships, on pain of disaffiliation.

He condemned as "men without honor or courage" ALP members who, in seeking to advance trade unionism, act in unity with Communists.

This was an attack on trade union independence, an attempt to dictate which officials unionists should elect.

Mr. Whitlam apparently does not understand the part played by the unions in the formation of the ALP or that affiliation does not give the Labor Party any right to dictate to the unions.

The demand that trade unionists who are also members of the ALP should not associate with fellow trade unionists who are members of the Communist Party also consttiutes interference in the trade unions.

In some of the stronger and best organized unions, workers' experience has given rise to broad representative leadership, in which Labor, Communist and non-party unionists are democratically elected to official positions.

Experience has also proved that confining unionism exclusively to arbitration advocacy would lead to tame-cat unionism and lower living standards.

This has been shown most recently by the Arbitration Commission's scandalous decision in the basic wage case.

Industrial action, including the strike, is essential for the use of union strength, so is direct negotiation with employers.

While the arbitration system exists, skilled arbitration advocacy will also be necessary.

This is proved in the campaigns of recent years which have won widespread over-award payments, the three weeks' annual leave in 1963 (after its refusal 12 months before), the 10 per cent margins rise in 1963 and the £1 basic wage rise in 1964.

The decisive factor in achieving workers' demands under capitalism has been and will always remain strong trade unions, which use their strength in the unending contest with the employers, who seek to keep wages and conditions as low as possible.

COMMUNISTS AND THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

A Press Conference* held by Mr. L. Aarons, CPA General Secretary.

"In our view, the Australian trade unions are the backbone of the labor movement, which also includes the Labor Party and the Communist Party.

"Trade union membership is far greater than that of either the ALP or CPA, and includes people of all political and religious views, who are united by recognition of the need for union organization and action to improve wages and conditions of employment.

"This united character of the unions is expressed at all levels of the movement — on the job, at union meetings, in leadership of individual unions, and in the parliaments of the movement — the Labor Councils and Australian Council of Trade Unions.

"Artificial creation — by forces outside the union movement — of the so-called 'Unity Ticket' controversy, is an attempt to confuse the issue, to divide the unions and institute outside control.

"Practically all Communists are workers, either industrial or white collar. As such, they are required by the Party Constitution to 'join and help build the trade union or professional association covering their calling.'

"Communist trade unionists want to build their union and the whole trade union movement. Their views on how the movement can be built, the policy it should fight for and the methods of action it should use, are naturally conditioned by their philosophical outlook and political views.

"Because the union movement covers such a broad grouping of the people, and because it depends for its power upon uniting peo-

*Tribune, July 28, 1965. Abridged.

ple of diverse views, the Communist Party opposes any action which would make the trade union movement a battleground for party political conflict.

"Still more, we are against any effort to impose party-political control or domination on the trade unions. We think this would be harmful to unionism and could rebound to the detriment of those who tried to impose it."

Q. Should trade unions dominate a political party?

A. I don't think this is desirable or a fact today. Many trade unionists do belong to parties, but most do not.

The ALP system of union affiliation doesn't give trade unions control of that party.

As to trade unionists who are members of the Communist Party, they express themselves just as other members do.

Q. Does the CPA try to influence trade unions?

A. Individual Communists have views and ideas and put them forward in their union meetings and among unionists. But we don't try to get unions to carry out Communist Party policies as such.

Q. What is meant by the phrase in the statement "the Communist Party is a definite political trend within the labor movement?"

A. The labor movement embraces all trends that want to advance the interests of the working people. The views of the CPA do not always agree with the views of the ALP but on many issues they do.

For example, while both parties have the general aim of socialization, we Communists have our own views on how the working people can actually change the social system from capitalism to socialism. So we can describe the Party as one definite trend in the labor movement.

Q. Does this imply some increasing support for CPA policies?

A. Support for CPA policies is not confined to the trade unions. The party has some 5,300 members (which is, incidentally, about 25 per cent of the figure recently published for ALP membership). The CPA stands candidates in Federal, State and local elections.

In the most recent election (NSW State election) CPA candidates secured an average figure of 4.7 per cent of the votes over the 13 seats in which they stood.

Thus the Party has the support of a section of the community at large. Also so far as the trade unionists, the organized working class, are concerned, the CPA has the support of a section. It is by no means a majority section, but is, in our view, the most politically advanced section.

Q. Is it proper for a man, elected to union office as an ALP candidate, to then form an alliance with the CPA, despite the "unbridgeable gulf" that ALP leaders have said lies between the ALP and the CPA?

A. Firstly, it is rarely that anyone is elected to union office on any party "ticket."

The real point is — should or should not all unionists work together for their common interests?

We believe it is proper that all unionists, of all political views, should cooperate together in this way.

Q. What is the CPA attitude to "certificated" ALP candidates?

A. We say it is wrong to issue "tickets" on a political party basis in trade unions. We have never done it. We don't agree with it as it will divide the trade union movement on party lines.

Q. Do you regard it as an ideal arrangement when there is returned to union office a group of officials including Communists, ALP men and non-party members?

A. It does allow the various viewpoints of the workers to be reflected in the top executive level of a union. This helps unite a union.

Q. Is the CPA making a plea for coexistence with the Left-wing of the ALP?

A. The CPA is making a plea for coexistence and united action with *all* trade unionists for common objectives. Our main purpose is to set out clearly the views of the CPA on trade unionism, particularly that unions should be independent of political party control.

CPA policy is for peaceful coexistence and cooperation between all sections of the labor movement for common aims.

In Australia the working class movement has created two political parties with different views on how to realize the socialist aim.

We have differences with both the Right and the Left of the ALP.

But we also have things in common — such as socialization, and immediate issues such as the interesting proposals recently made by Mr. Whitlam on nationalization, and establishment of government enterprises competing with overseas private monopolies.

We do not, however, agree with him that these would constitute socialism. Still, we would support them.

Again, the ALP opposes the policy of sending troops to Vietnam.

So do we. We agree on this.

But as to the reasons, as explained for the ALP by Mr. Calwell in Parliament, we disagree in part — particularly in attitude to the so-called "American alliance."

We agree, too, with what Mr. Whitlam was recently reported to have said in Singapore, that the Vietnamese people should have the right to choose their government, whether Communist or not.

On these and other issues, the ALP has some views, we have others. There should be an approach of coexistence and discussion among the working people to elucidate which political trend is the better, on the various issues.

The press conference, which was well-attended by press, radio and TV representatives, was chaired by Mr. C. Jones, a member of the Party's secretariat, who apologized for the absence of the president (Mr. R. Dixon) on holidays, and the vice-chairman (Mr. L. Sharkey) who was ill.

PROGRAM OF THE MEXICAN COMMUNIST PARTY*

INTRODUCTION

The Mexican Communist Party is the vanguard party of the working class, a party which takes guidance from Marxist-Leninist theory and which, together with the most class-conscious and progressive forces, must prepare conditions for the revolutionary transformation of society in our country.

The immediate objectives of the Party, determined by present contradictions, are to achieve complete political and economic independence for Mexico, eliminate the power of the monopoly groups and the vestiges of feudalism in the countryside, and democratize the political system. These objectives can be attained only through a democratic revolution of national liberation.

The MCP is part of the world Communist movement, the great army of fighters for the happiness of all the people, for peace, for national liberation from imperialist tyranny, for socialism and communism. Its Program is an expression, in the conditions of our country, of the struggle of the international working class to free mankind from the exploitation of man by man. The solutions to concrete problems of Mexico which the MCP proposes and fights for are invariably based on the great gains of the world proletariat and the peoples fighting for their liberation.

I. WE LIVE IN THE ERA OF THE TRIUMPH OF SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM

The main content of our epoch is the transition from capitalism to socialism, initiated by the Great October Socialist Revolution. In previous epochs, the struggle of the working class shook the foundations of capitalism but could not solve the principal problem, that of transferring power to the working people. Today the working class is the main force of our epoch.

The struggle for national liberation contributes tremendously to the abolition of capitalism and greatly aggravates all its contradictions. It undermines the political, economic and military positions of the metropolises in the countries living under colonial rule. Contemporary development has shown that the problem of national emancipation of the peoples cannot be solved without the existence

*Abridged from **La Voz de Mexico**, August 22, 1965.

of the socialist system, without its support and material assistance, without the revolutionary actions of the working class in the developed capitalist countries.

The national-liberation movement, the successes of the socialist system and the struggle of the working class in the capitalist countries merge into a revolutionary stream aimed at destroying imperialism, the chief obstacle to mankind's social progress. The contradiction between the peoples oppressed by imperialism and the metropolises is merely a particular expression of the fundamental contradiction of the entire capitalist system. Any attempt to dissociate these three movements or to wage the liberation struggle in isolation, without the support of the socialist system or of the world-wide class struggle, may lead to the defeat of the liberation movement or involve the developing newly-independent states in a protracted and painful process of capitalist development.

The rise in the national liberation movement in Latin America is one of the distinguished features of the present international situation. The Cuban Revolution is the most vivid manifestation of this movement. Its development bears out the Marxist-Leninist thesis of democratic revolutions in the imperialist epoch in general and today in particular. Having achieved its democratic and anti-imperialist aims, the Cuban Revolution has developed into a socialist revolution. For the first time in the history of our continent the working class, which has taken power into its hands, is building socialism in alliance with the peasantry, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the revolutionary intellectuals.

The example of the Cuban Revolution has a powerful impact on the Latin American peoples and shows that given close unity, the people can overthrow imperialist rule, uphold their independence against attacks from the U.S. aggressor by relying on the power of the socialist world system for support, substantially improve the living conditions of the exploited and impoverished classes, do away with economic stagnation, and make further social progress. This is what the Cuban Revolution means to the Mexican people.

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The experience of the world Communist movement has borne out the Marxist-Leninist thesis of revolution in the capitalist countries, as well as in the colonial countries and countries dependent on imperialism.

The working class, the most consistently revolutionary class in present-day society, must unite and must lead all the other revolutionary classes and strata of society to victory in both the national liberation and the socialist revolution.

The working class, led by its Communist Party, must pursue an effective and correct policy in order to draw the masses into the struggle, win their support, unite all the democratic and progressive forces, foresee and influence the course of events, and always bear in mind the historical perspective of the revolution.

These factors are an earnest of victory of the democratic revolution of national liberation in our country, to be won through the conscious and organized cooperation of the workers and peasants, of large sections of the people.

By fighting at the national liberation stage of the revolution for the leading role and hegemony of the working class, for an alliance of the working class and peasantry, for the broadest possible popular union, the Communist Party is creating conditions for the future progress of this revolution towards the historical goal of the proletariat: abolition of all exploitation and all the exploiter classes.

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The class struggle of the working class, both for immediate objectives and to fulfil its historical mission, is developing in the conditions of grim ideological and political battles. The ideology and strength of the ruling classes and the middle strata influence the working-class movement and manifest themselves in trends and actions hostile to the proletariat. Sometimes these trends are openly inimical to the ideology of the proletariat, but sometimes they camouflage themselves by Marxist phraseology and capitalize on the popularity of socialism.

Revisionism and dogmatism, and Right and "Left" opportunism are deviations resulting from this influence. Whenever they prevail, they paralyze the activity of the proletariat and the revolutionary movement, shatter the hope of victory for the working class, cause confusion in its ranks and divide the Communist parties.

The Right and Left opportunists combat the Marxist principle of organic unity of the ultimate goal of the working class—communism—and its immediate objectives.

The Right opportunists advocate renouncing the struggle for the ultimate goal and "fighting" for partial reforms.

The "Left" opportunists underestimate the interests of the day-to-day struggle of the working class and other working people. They deny the need for the masses to prepare carefully for revolutionary action. Discounting the historical situation and waiving objective historical analysis, they insist on an immediate socialist revolution as the sole pressing task.

Within the working-class movement, the MCP is fighting on

two fronts—against the Right and the Left opportunists. It combats Right-opportunist attempts to supplant the principle of revolutionary class struggle with that of cooperation of antagonistic classes, sow illusions among the working people about capitalism's "peaceful evolution" towards socialism, deny the historical necessity of the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, renounce proletarian internationalism, the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party and its organizational principles, above all the principle of democratic centralism, and replace the principle of the hegemony of the proletariat in the national-liberation and socialist revolution by the thesis of the hegemony of the bourgeoisie.

The MCP is fighting also against the adventurism and pseudo-revolutionary ideology of the petty-bourgeois Left opportunists, against their refusal to take into consideration the objective conditions indispensable for the revolution, the various stages of the revolutionary process, the need to organize the masses and win their conscious participation, and to build the political party of the revolution.

Inside the country the MCP has been fighting on two fronts. Within the world Communist movement, it has been fighting, and will continue to fight, for the unity of the vanguard contingents of the proletariat on the basis of collective decisions, opposing all Right and Left deviations, which threaten a split and infringements of the internationalist discipline of the working class. It firmly adheres to this Leninist principle, which it has upheld and will continue to uphold.

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In the present epoch, proletarian internationalism has the following principal aspects:

—solidarity of all the revolutionary contingents in the struggle against imperialism and reaction, for the national independence of all the peoples, for democracy and peace, and for the establishment of socialism and communism;

—greatest consolidation of the socialist world system, the decisive factor in modern revolutionary development;

—defense and promotion of world Communist unity on the principle of equality and independence of the Communist parties;

—joint struggle against factional and disruptive activities in the world revolutionary movement;

—maintenance and creative development of Marxism-Leninism, the ideological foundation of our movement.

After the victory of the October Revolution defense of the first state of workers and peasants became the prime internationalist

duty of the proletariat. By defending the October Revolution, the working class of the world was defending its socialist future, the idea of revolutionary transformation of all the countries. By now socialism has crossed the national confines of the Soviet Union to become a world system. Hence, the chief internationalist duty of the proletariat is to strengthen and develop its principal gain, the socialist world system.

However, the Soviet Union, the workers' and peasants' state founded by Lenin, remain the strongest and most experienced contingent of the world Communist movement, of the working class of all the countries. Those who deny the role which the Soviet Union and the CPSU, the party leading the Soviet people, have played and will yet play, are not internationalists.

The CPSU was the first to take state power and ensure the building of socialism. For the first time it is leading the people in communist construction. The Soviet Union was the mainstay of the working-class and national liberation movements against fascism. Today the Soviet Union is the main force which deters the blows of imperialism and which has put its military, political and economic might at the service of the interests of the working class and of all the peoples fighting for national liberation, peace and socialism.

No other country, no other Communist party has sacrificed so much in the struggle for socialism and the social progress of the peoples as the Soviet Union and the CPSU. No other Communist party has contributed such revolutionary experience and rendered such ideological and political assistance to the world revolutionary movement as the CPSU.

II. SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT OF MEXICO

The years of World War II witnessed the growth of the light, oil, metal-making and other industries and the independent of export farming.

The national bourgeoisie has used its power to enrich itself fast. It has produced a stratum of big bourgeoisie plainly bent on establishing monopoly. The big bourgeoisie increasingly tends to compromise with U.S. imperialism and reaction, and this trend has become the principal feature of its policy.

More and more, state capitalism serves the interests of the big bourgeoisie and less and less, those of the middle bourgeoisie.

The big bourgeoisie, which has taken possession of large tracts of land and monopolized the domestic market for farm produce, enters into direct contradiction with the peasants. It steps up the exploitation of small agricultural producers with the help of the

economic machinery of the state (banks, warehouses, trading establishments, etc.), evicts them from their land, and makes common cause with the feudal lords who are still there, urging them to go over to capitalist methods of exploitation in agriculture.

The big bourgeoisie also aggravates its contradictions with the working class. It openly violates the workers' rights, reducing the right to form trade unions, to strike and to conclude collective agreements to a dead letter. The economic policy of the big bourgeoisie, in particular concessions to the imperialist monopolies, harms the interests of the national bourgeoisie and fetters its development.

A section of the big bourgeoisie has shown it has an interest in maintaining its dependence on imperialism. It tries to resolve its contradictions with the U.S. monopolies chiefly through compromise and conciliation.

This section, interested neither in the independent economic development of the nation nor in complete elimination of the vestiges of feudalism, is to blame for the prevalence of anti-democratic methods of government.

Along with the conciliatory big bourgeoisie, we have in our country a traitorous big bourgeoisie, a go-between for the big foreign monopolies. Its interests coincide primarily with those of the U.S. imperialists. This section includes big bankers, importers and industrial associates of foreign monopolies.

The two sections adhere, on the whole, to common positions, opposing the radical changes necessary for Mexico's progressive development. They block these changes, and the revolutionary forces must remove them from leadership of the state.

In recent years the official policy favoring the penetration of imperialism and consolidation of the big bourgeoisie has had an increasingly damaging effect on the interests of the national bourgeoisie. At present the national bourgeoisie does not come out against the groups holding sway in Mexico. It submits, on the whole, to the policy of the conciliatory big bourgeoisie, with which its members, who hold government posts of secondary importance, collaborate.

But the contradiction between the national bourgeoisie and imperialism is objective in character due to the conflict between its interests and those of the imperialist monopolies on the national market. This makes the national bourgeoisie a potential ally of the exploited, of the masses, in the anti-imperialist and democratic struggle.

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At present Mexico's dependence on imperialism expresses itself chiefly in the complementary structure of industry and agriculture,

in the penetration of monopoly capital into the main spheres of production, and in non-equivalent trade.

U.S. imperialism is the most reliable bulwark of the domestic ultra-reactionaries, the greatest obstacle to the democratization of the political system.

U.S. imperialism and its agents are the chief enemy of the Mexican people, the main obstacle to the country's development, the mainstay of reaction and obscurantism.

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From 1940 on, the Mexican working class grew considerably in numbers as ruined peasants and artisans joined its ranks. This growth was a result of industrial development during the war and in the early post-war years. The development of capitalism in the countryside, and the eviction and cruel treatment of hundreds of thousands of peasants led to the growth of the agricultural proletariat.

That was how the relatively solid core of the industrial proletariat which existed and waged large-scale battles in the nineteen-thirties became a minority compared with the mass of urban workers.

These circumstances, and the fact that the bourgeoisie succeeded for a considerable time in maintaining employment at a definite level and made economic concessions prevented the Mexican proletariat from overcoming its main historical weakness—spontaneity and submission to the capitalists' ideological and political leadership.

The courageous strikes and hard-fought battles of large sections of the proletariat and the peasantry in 1958 and 1959 marked the commencement of a new stage in the working-class and democratic movement. The working class gave evidence of its revolutionary potential and its influence on the nation's social development.

But the industrial workers were unable to end bourgeois domination in the trade unions and bring about a radical change in their condition.

The bourgeois state constantly flouts the constitutional rights of the working class. Various restrictions and frauds and the use of a powerful repressive apparatus have virtually nullified the right to strike. The right to form trade unions exists only on paper. The working people's efforts to elect independent trade union leaderships are opposed and suppressed by the authorities. Most of the trade union organizations are dominated by agents of the bourgeoisie, opportunists and gangsters who keep afloat through police terror and legal machinations.

The overwhelming majority of the working class suffers from

both relative and absolute impoverishment. Today the proletariat gets a lesser share of the national income than in 1938. Steadily rising prices have brought down the real wages of most of the workers, although labor productivity has almost doubled in the last two decades. The eight-hour working day is, in effect, a thing of the past. Since their wages are below subsistence level, the workers are compelled to work overtime or two shifts in a row.

The agricultural workers suffer from yet another form of exploitation— they are almost completely denied the right to set up trade unions.

Mexico's capitalist development has brought the working class more exploitation and poverty and has abolished the workers' rights. Years of "revolution from above," instead of really improving the conditions of the working class, have enriched the exploiters and strengthened their positions.

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The years 1940 to 1960 showed that the development of relations of production in the countryside strengthens medium and big farms of a capitalist-type.

A large majority of the middle peasants who had their own plots or worked on nationalized land have become impoverished. There are now more semi-proletarians among the small peasants. A handful of *ejidatarios** have enriched themselves and exploit both peasants and agricultural workers.

Peasant poverty is particularly marked in the regions with a backward agriculture where archaic methods of farming still predominate.

The imperialist monopolies ruthlessly exploit every section of the rural population, especially in the agriculturally developed regions. In particular, they exploit the *ejidatarios*, petty landowners and the lower strata of the rural bourgeoisie through loans, control over production and by other means. This exploitation affects even landlords and big capitalists. Many medium-sized farms are to be sequestered—most of them as a result of usurious loans from foreign-controlled banks.

The latifundium still exists, and many peasants remain in the sphere of semi-feudal relations of production. The sharecroppers, who pay their rent to latifundists by working for them or sharing the crop with them, or by doing both, still make up a considerable proportion of the peasantry, especially in the central part of the country. Their incomes barely enable them to make both ends meet.

The workers' actions in 1958 and 1959 evoked widespread

*Holders of ejidos, or allotments received under the agrarian reform.

response in the countryside and invigorated the revolutionary traditions of the Mexican peasants.

Large sections of the exploited masses in the countryside realize that the Mexican bourgeoisie cannot carry out the agrarian reform. Hence the growing militancy of the peasant movement and the intensified struggle of the exploited peasants.

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The social importance of the middle strata has grown noticeably.

The capitalist development of the last two decades has led, among other things, to an increase in the number of skilled workers, technologists and intellectuals.

There are many artisans in our country. Thousands upon thousands of them join the ranks of the proletariat. They find themselves under the increasing control of the big companies, especially the monopolies from which they receive orders and are often exploited more ruthlessly than the workers. The artisans, who have to buy raw materials, take loans at usurious interest and pay exorbitant taxes, and who earn very little, are robbed of the greater part of their earnings and become impoverished.

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As a socio-economic formation, Mexican capitalism has the following characteristics:

—the absence of a national sector manufacturing means of production;

—imperialist exploitation in every form;

—the existence of a domestic monopoly bourgeoisie;

—developed small-scale commodity production;

—the importance of merchant and money-lending capital, especially in the countryside;

—a lopsided industry;

—the survival of pre-capitalist relations of production in many regions.

The historical development of Mexican society has given rise to the following major contradictions:

a) The principal contradiction, that between the national interests, the interests of the whole people, who are striving for the all-round development of the productive forces and for distribution of the national wealth in the conditions of complete economic independence and democracy, on the one hand, and U.S. imperialist interest, which want to preserve and consolidate the existing relations of dependence, on the other. Unless this contradiction is resolved in favor of the national interests, Mexico will never go

over to higher stages economic, social and political development.

b) The contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, which is growing in acuteness as capitalism develops in town and country. The increasing gravity of this contradiction is evident from the big class battles waged by the proletariat. It accounts for the anti-democratic, anti-labor and anti-popular position of the Mexican bourgeoisie, whose historical enemy, the working class, is rising to demand a cardinal solution of the nation's problems.

c) The contradiction between the peasants, on the one hand, and the semi-feudal landlords and the big rural bourgeoisie, who have seized the best land, on the other. It has reached a crucial stage, as the tremendous discontent of the poor peasants shows.

d) The contradiction between the petty and middle bourgeoisie and the domestic big monopoly bourgeoisie. It is growing steadily, becoming interwoven with the principal contradiction as a result of the close alliance of the monopoly groups and imperialism.

III. DEMANDS WHICH THE MCP UPHOLDS

To ensure Mexico's independent economic development in the interests of the people, the MCP upholds, and will go on upholding, the following demands:

—nationalization of industrial, commercial and agricultural companies, banks, finance and insurance institutions dominated or controlled by imperialist monopolies; nationalization of these monopolies' shares in private or state enterprises;

—rejection of all foreign loans and credits having political strings attached or aimed at subjugating the country economically or mortgaging it, or prejudicial to national sovereignty or independent development;

—state control over foreign trade; conclusion of trade agreements with any country willing to trade with Mexico on the basis of equality and mutual benefit, above all with the socialist countries;

—radical measures against the monopoly groups; nationalization of private banks;

—a deep-going reform of the fiscal system to increase taxes on superprofits and incomes, i.e., establishment of a progressive tax;

—abolition of taxes on low incomes;

—high taxes on real estate, and prosecution of land profiteering;

—democratization of state capitalism through the use of all the nationalized companies and state investments in productive activity, and the use of other forms of participation of the state, to raise the living standards of the people and promote national development independently of imperialism;

—stimulation of industrialization through state investments in the oil, power, metal-making, chemical and other basic industries;

—municipalization of city transport, and nationalization of air transport; state control over foreign transport companies (cars, buses); integration and improvement of the national railway system;

—rapid economic development of the backward regions through better utilization of the natural resources, rural electrification, the establishment of new industrial centers, and rapid technological progress;

—expansion of the domestic market through increased purchasing capacity of the masses.

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The MCP will insist on the government following an independent foreign policy, a policy of peace and friendship with all the peoples, specifically by:

—advocating the destruction of nuclear weapons, and a total ban on their use; championing effective progress towards general and complete disarmament;

—insisting on putting an end to the arms race and on using the means released as a result for a program of civilian production, housing construction, promotion of public health and education, etc.;

—upholding the principles of self-determination of the peoples, non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, and equality of all states;

—annulling alltreaties, agreements and pacts harmful to the nation's security, sovereignty and independence, such as the Rio de Janeiro Treaty, the decisions of the ninth and tenth inter-American conferences and San José and Punta del Este conferences; withdrawing from the Organization of American States, and from all the other organizations and regional or bilateral pacts concluded under the pressure and in the interests of the U.S. imperialists;

—recovering the U.S.-occupied part of the national territory;

—showing solidarity with the peoples fighting for their national liberation, above all with the peoples of Latin America; concluding an alliance and treaties of mutual assistance and friendship with the Latin American countries suffering from imperialist aggression;

—promoting friendly relations with all the peoples of the world;

—fostering or establishing diplomatic, commercial and cultural relations with the socialist countries and the developing countries of Asia and Africa embarking on independent policy.

With a view to maintaining and extending democratic freedoms, the MCP advances the following demands:

—strict observance of the rights and guarantees of the people as recorded in the Constitution of 1917;

—repeal of the laws restricting democratic freedoms;

—repeal of all legislative acts aimed at combating "sedition" and used solely for persecuting working people's organizations, the party of the working class, and the democratic forces;

—repeal of the federal electoral law now in force and enactment of a new law guaranteeing and facilitating the exercise of the right to form parties, to ensuring the right to vote and complete respect for it, eliminating government control over the electoral system and its operation, establishing genuinely proportional representation in both chambers of Parliament and abolishing what is virtually a one-party system, and guaranteeing the right to every citizen freely to join any political party of his choice;

—disbandment of all the police forces set up in violation of the Constitution;

—abolition of the organs which have usurped the right to pass judgment on the results of elections to trade union and peasant organizations; strict prohibition of interference in the internal affairs of these organizations by ministries and other government agencies.

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To radically improve the standard of living of the exploited, the MCP will uphold the following demands:

a) for the working class:

—higher wages and pensions, especially for the low-paid categories; extension of social security; establishment of a minimum wage that can meet the economic and cultural requirements of the working man and his family;

—reduction of the working week, with no wage cuts, the right to a pension for workers with a service record of thirty years, irrespective of age;

—extension and improvement of insurance;

—enforcement, without any discrimination, of the principle equal pay for equal work;

—measures to guarantee the equality of working women;

—full respect for trade union democracy and autonomy and for the right of the working people to establish their trade unions, federations and confederations, to elect their leaders and to manage the affairs of their organizations;

—full guarantee, both in law and in practice, of the right to strike;

—extension of all these rights and provisions to the agricultural workers, with legislative guarantees;

—b) for the peasants:

—a radical agrarian reform providing for:

1. abolition of the latifundium and all other types of big land ownership;

2. distribution of the expropriated land among the landless and land-hungry peasants and agricultural workers;

3. encouragement of cooperative forms of farming;

4. abolition of the barbarous forms of exploitation of the peasants by the rural bourgeoisie, money-lending capitalists, the big bourgeoisie and the monopoly groups;

5. nationalization of agricultural credit, as part of the nationalization of all credit;

6. priority to use federal water resources;

—a direct and decisive say of the peasants on the distribution of land and other measures arising from the radical agrarian reform demanded by us;

—democratic legislation on agriculture;

c) for the middle strata:

—effective measures to solve the housing problem;

—federal, state and municipal construction of low-cost modern housing for fatcory and office workers and other working people;

—extension of the right to medical care and social security to all sections of the population;

—incentives to artisans to unite in state-financed producers' cooperatives.

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IV. TOWARDS A DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION OF NATIONAL LIBERATION

These tasks, whose fulfilment can guarantee continuity of social development, can be accomplished only by the progressive and democratic classes and sections of the population. The reactionary classes will, if things come to a sharp turn, make the concessions needed to maintain their power, try to check the struggle of the masses with the aid of tailored reforms, or openly suppress this struggle. Even at a time when the national bourgeoisie was represented in the state apparatus, the pressing problems of Mexican society were not solved properly. In the long run it was the reactionaries who gained the upper hand. This shows that what is needed to meet the needs of the people is neither a reform, however deep-going, nor a more or less lengthy period of reforms,

but a new revolution, a democratic revolution of national liberation.

This new revolution should eliminate the power of the reactionaries, prevent them from returning to state leadership and meet all the anti-imperialist, democratic and popular demands set forth in this program.

The democratic, national-liberation revolution is characterized by struggle against the war danger, defense of national independence, nationalization of the property of imperialist monopolies, a radical agrarian reform to wipe out the survivals of feudalism in agriculture and abolish big capitalist landownership, restrictions on capitalist accumulation, which breeds monopoly, removal of the reactionary classes and strata from power, a higher standard of living for the people, etc. These features clearly demonstrate that the issue is not to buttress capitalism. The democratic, national-liberation revolution will not affect the interests of the national bourgeoisie. It does not envisage the abolition of its ownership of the means of production, nor is it spearheaded against the rural middle bourgeoisie. But neither does it aim to pave the way for the unrestricted deveolpment of capitalism, to the point of forming national monopolies. On the contrary, the revolution will take a firm stand against the existing monopoly groups and subsequently will oppose the formation of new groups of this type. In this sense, the democratic revolution of national liberation will acquire an anti-capitalist character.

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The history of the revolution in the twentieth century shows that in our time the democratic revolution need not necessarily be separated from the socialist revolution by a period of bourgeois domination. On the contrary, history tells us that the distance between these two revolutions is shortening from day to day, that the transition from the democratic, national liberation revolution to the socialist revolution may occur, not as a result of the development of two different revolutions, but as a result of the development of two stages of a single revolutionary process.

For the revolution to develop along these lines, it is indispensable that the working class should be in the van of the struggle for democratic and anti-imperialist changes needed by the people, that it should win the leading role in the course of the first stage.

The most forcible evidence that this road is possible and that it delivers the exploited classes and progressive forces from the prospect of further suffering is the progress of the Cuban Revolution which, upon completing its democratic and national liberation tasks, has proceeded to reorganize Cuban society along socialist lines.

It is in the interest of the working class that social changes should take place without civil war, which has become possible thanks to the changes in the world balance of forces in favor of the camp of peace, democracy and socialism.

However, the choice of the road to the democratic, national-liberation revolution does not depend on the working class alone. Should the reactionary and pro-imperialist forces resort to military and police violence to suppress the democratic and national-liberation movement and bolster their power, the revolutionary struggle of the people will take the form of armed struggle. The working class should master every form of struggle, and in any situation choose the least painful forms, those likely to cause less suffering to the revolutionary forces. Marxist-Leninists have never clung to any one form of struggle—they utilize all forms depending on the situation.

The victory of the democratic, national-liberation revolution is inevitable in any case.

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The revolutionary changes which are required by Mexico's progress and which are to result from the democratic, national liberation revolution, can be brought about only through large-scale popular struggles. They cannot result from the activity of any one leader, however popular; neither can they be a result of political combinations or surprise actions by small groups of daring fighters, as sectarians and opportunists claim. They will be a result of united action by the overwhelming majority of our people, by all those classes and strata which favor social progress and national liberation and whose interests clash with the interests of imperialism, the big bourgeoisie, and the latifundists who are still there.

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The democratic front of national liberation is an appropriate form of uniting and organizing the democratic and patriotic forces of Mexico in the struggle to free the country from imperialist oppression and bring about the changes necessary for the socio-economic progress of Mexico. It should be a broad alliance of the classes and strata interested in national liberation from imperialism and in the democratic development of Mexico. The motive forces of the revolution are made up of the working class, the peasantry, the democratic intellectuals, the small bourgeoisie and that section of the national bourgeoisie ready to combat imperialism.

The democratic and anti-imperialist front will be able to play its part provided the working class becomes its main and leading force.

The working class wins a leading role in the democratic front of national liberation through its actions and struggles and thanks to the activity of its organized vanguard—the Communist Party—aimed at building, expanding and developing the democratic, national-liberation front and performing its historic mission, at rallying and uniting the workers, peasants, and other sections of the population ready to fight against imperialism, for democracy and the victory of the revolution.

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The worker-peasant alliance embodies the unity of action of the most revolutionary classes of our society. It therefore constitutes the core and the principal forces of the democratic front of national liberation.

This alliance groups around itself the middle strata of the population which play a prominent role in the democratic revolution: revolutionary intellectuals, students, handicraftsmen, civil servants, office employees in private companies, and small traders.

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The national bourgeoisie, too, can cooperate with the democratic front of national liberation. By the national bourgeoisie we mean that part of the Mexican bourgeoisie which, irrespective of the amount of its caiptal or the sphere of its application, is not subservient to imperialism and aspires to the independent economic and political development of the country.

The national bourgeoisie is the most irresolute of all the forces which can take part in the national liberation movement. However, its contradictions with imperialism and its ability to fight for the country's independent economic and political development make it a force which can join the national front.

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U.S. imperialism and its agents are the main enemies of the revolution.

We regard as agents of imperialism not only those who act as instruments of its economic penetration, but also those who side with imperialism in the political arena, insist on subservience to it, popularize its slogans, and promote its campaigns.

The semi-feudal landlords, who have monopolized the land,

have political and economic links with imperialism and are the main exponents of the survivals of feudalism. They are enemies of the revolution, as is also the big rural bourgeoisie, which has emerged as a result of appropriating cultivated lands, using state funds to drive the peasants off the land, and joins hands with imperialism in exploiting the agricultural resources of the country.

The conciliatory big bourgeoisie, dominant in Mexico, is an enemy of the revolution owing to its stand for compromise and concessions to imperialism and its agents, its hostility to the popular movement, and its economic and political interests that run counter to those of the masses, the working class and its allies.

The monopoly groups of the commercial and financial bourgeoisie which maintain close links with imperialism are also enemies of the revolution.

V. DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL LIBERATION

The winning of power by the popular forces will lead to the formation of a new government whose composition will reflect the participation of the progressive classes and strata in the democratic national liberation revolution.

One of the principal tasks of the democratic government of national liberation will be to safeguard, on behalf of the revolutionary forces, the gains of the Mexican people against the encroachments of the imperialists, the big bourgeoisie and other reactionary forces, which will try to retrieve their lost positions in the state machinery and in the economy.

The democratic government of national liberation will have to extend democracy to the utmost, so as to realize the economic, political and social rights of the working class the peasantry, the middle strata and the national bourgeoisie not linked with imperialism.

VI. HISTORIC ROLE OF THE MCP

The historical tasks confronting the working class today will be accompanied effectively and correctly if it is headed by its own political party—the MCP—and if the Party actually plays the role of political vanguard of the people in the fight for national liberation.

By presenting this program to the Mexican people and signifying its determination to spare no effort in the fight for its implementation, the MCP fulfils its revolutionary duty to the working class, the peasants, patriotic intellectuals and democratic and progressive forces.

The program of the MCP will be translated into reality if supported by the workers and the whole people, if its main provisions are carefully explained to the people, if they are embodied in mass actions and become the foundation for unity with other revolutionary and democratic strata. The tasks set in the program will be fulfilled if the MCP can find ways and means of winning the support of the working class and the whole people for its program, so that the patriotic and revolutionary activity of the Communists should become the basis of the struggle for national liberation and for a genuinely democratic popular government.

Building up the Party ideologically, politically and organizationally is a task for all its members. But, besides this, every sincere supporter of complete national liberation and democracy is also interested in strengthening the Party. The advance of the revolutionary movement and the victory of the democratic, national-liberation revolution are closely linked with the existence of a strong Communist Party.

It is for this reason that the enemies of the working class and the forces striving to preserve imperialist oppression of our country are striking out at the MCP, trying with might and main to undermine, disorganize and destroy it.

But their efforts are doomed to failure, just as they have failed in the past. No enemy can destroy our Party, which is part of the working class, its most conscious segment and its vanguard.

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The unity of the Party and the solid cohesion of its ranks are an essential condition for its development and consolidation. Maintaining this unity against all enemies is a historical duty of every Communist.

The future belongs to the working class. No temporary setbacks will prevent our Party from fulfilling its historical mission. Marxism-Leninism will triumph in our country, too.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY PROGRAM*

Gus Hall

What is the program of the Communist Party? What do the Communists stand for? What is the Communist solution to the difficult problems arising from automation? What is your answer to the continued stubborn resistance to ending discrimination against our Negro citizens? How do you propose to shield the world from a nuclear war? What will United States socialism be like? How do you propose to achieve socialism? How do you view the status of the United States working class, of the trade unions? What is your attitude to the struggle for democracy?

These are some of the questions our fellow Americans are asking us in ever greater numbers. They are questions rising from the experience of battle, questions that reflect the probing of increasing numbers of people for more basic solutions. They reflect the political and economic currents, the rumblings of a social upsurge. They are the questions of people in struggle, of masses in motion.

Because of these demands, we cannot put off any longer the task of writing a basic program of the Communist Party of the United States.

HOW TO CONDUCT DISCUSSION

This is a very serious and difficult undertaking, which will require much study and discussion. As the outset, I want to say something about the process of discussion, because this will be in many ways the real test of our leadership. It can become a process through which our Party leadership can rise to a new height. If we conduct it properly, this discussion can establish our collective leadership on a new level. In other words, the discussion itself can be a historic "experience," as the youth called the school they recently attended.

I think we can start the discussion with the assumption that there are going to be differences among us on some questions. There will be differences because there are a number of areas in which we have not yet hammered out a unified position. There will be differences on emphasis, on approach to some questions, and on estimates of developments and problems. I think we can also assume that we will be able to resolve most of these differences. But we

*Political Affairs, August 1965.

should assume further that there will be some questions whose solution will have to wait for more experience, and should not be disturbed if there are questions which we cannot resolve at this point.

Is it unusual for our Party to hold a discussion in which we know there will be differences? I don't think so. But it *is* somewhat unusual for us to say so openly. I think it is better, however, to approach the discussion on that basis. A discussion of differences can be dangerous to the Party only if we let it get out of hand. The first test of our leadership, therefore, will be to accept the responsibilities of a discussion of this nature. And there *is* a serious responsibility for each of us, individually and collectively — a responsibility not to permit the discussion to become subjective or personal, not to permit it to become unnecessarily polemical, and not to permit derogatory inferences from positions taken by comrades. It is especially incumbent on all of us not to conduct private campaigns for individual viewpoints or positions. Let these rest on their merits and let them be discussed openly in meetings, without private rounding up of support by anyone.

We should also assume that we will be discussing new positions in new areas; and here especially is where differences can develop. And we should assume that we are all going to change in the course of this discussion, because it deals with very fundamental positions of our Party. The fact is, of course, that one cannot learn or mature politically without changing. Members of a collective gain understanding and stature from one another's experience.

I would suggest, therefore, that during the discussion we each ask ourselves every so often: "Am I adding heat or ideas, invectives or concepts? Am I constructive or destructive?" We should bear in mind that the discussion must be comradely and without unnecessary heat. I mean *personal* heat — there is nothing wrong with *political* heat.

I say all this because our Party does not have much background of this kind of discussion. Too often, differences in the past have been discussed in a rather unhealthy, factional-like atmosphere. I do not mean that this is the first time we will be having this kind of discussion, but rather that this is a good opportunity for us to develop further this style of collective work and leadership. If we achieve it, we will both have a good program and attain leadership of a new stature. In many ways, this discussion is a school for all of us — a class in which we can achieve these two things.

Finally, I would say that the closer we get to formulating correct positions, the less disagreements we are going to have. In a general discussion there tend to be more disagreements, but as we formulate positions more precisely, we will narrow disagreements down to manageable proportions.

THE NATURE OF THE PROGRAM

Now, about the program itself. All of you have had the draft outline for some time. Let me briefly give you its background. The secretariat set up a special small committee of five in order to facilitate its drafting. Yesterday a meeting of the full program committee took place. A very spirited discussion occurred, which I will try to reflect, though of course within the confines and limitations of my own reactions to it. The outline is not a draft of program. It is not even a draft of positions that will be the basis of a program, but simply a list of the questions on which we must develop positions, and it should be discussed in that light.

What is it that we are trying to achieve? Again, on the basis of past experiences, there are a number of misconceptions we should avoid. Among other things, a program is not a political resolution. Neither is it a political article or commentary. Therefore, it cannot go into elaborate detail. What we want is a fundamental programmatic statement of the Party's position. The committee felt we should aim for the maximum statement, even though we may find later that we must lower our sights and be satisfied with less.

While the document to be prepared is the fundamental statement of our Party's position, it is also a program that the Communist Party offers to the people, to the working class. It must therefore have an "outer" approach and style. It must state the basic reasons for our existence as a party in an easily understandable fashion. Above all, the program itself should be an answer to the question: "Is there a need for the Communist Party?" It should be of such a character that anyone reading it will conclude: "Yes, there is a need for such a party. It does have a role and a very important one."

The program, of necessity, must be predicated on the needs of the people — on today's needs in the framework of long-range basic solutions. It must reflect the new problems, new developments and new relationship of forces in our country and in the world. What is needed is much new and bold thinking by all of us. In our discussion, we want to maintain an atmosphere of probing and seeking, and a feeling of freedom of expression. We want to get the thoughts of as many of our countrymen as is possible.

Further, the program must rest upon the basic ideological and political pillars on which the Party's position is founded. It must reflect not only those ideological and political positions that we hold in common with other groups, and there are many such positions, but also those which are uniquely and peculiarly Communist, and there are many of these also.

The program must rest on and reflect our scientific concept of society. It must be based on the acceptance of the scientific concept that there are laws of social development, and hence there is a dis-

cernable direction of that development. Not only is there a direction of social development in general, but these laws enable us to understand the direction of development of classes, class positions and class relations. The program must show that it is this understanding of the laws of social development, and of the direction and flow of human society, that is the foundation of our socialist convictions and our long-range socialist outlook. It is the basis of our strategic concepts, of our conviction that capitalism as a form of human society is declining, and that it will be replaced not by just some other society but of necessity by a socialist society.

I believe that up to this point we are still on common ground with other socialist or Left groups — with many of them. But of course, as Marxists we cannot stop here. There is much more to our position, and it is very decisive how this is mirrored in the program. Our Marxist science does not take a narrow, limited program. Our Marxist science does not take a narrow, limited approach to the effects of these laws. We cannot accept the concept of mechanical determination of direction because ours is a dialectical understanding of these laws and of the social forces in which they are reflected. We recognize the existence of the main class forces that the operation of these laws projects, resulting in a central class contradiction, but we also recognize the existence of other, secondary forces and factors. And as Marxists we take into account the effects of the conscious human element on the affairs of society. We take into account, too, the interplay and inner relationships of all these factors and especially the element of time — the specific stage of development at each given moment.

I believe that this Marxist, dialectical understanding already separates us from many of other Left groups. It is this which lies at the very root of our sharp tactical differences with such groups as the Socialist Labor Party, the Trotskyites or the Progressive Labor Party, which cling to a mechanical approach to the laws of social development. The program must reflect our correct Marxist understanding of these laws and of the forces reflecting them. There is a very important tactical flexibility that emerges from this full Marxist-Leninist understanding.

CLASS NATURE OF SOCIETY

This leads us to the next basic pillar of the Party's position, namely, the acceptance of the class nature of society, of the role of classes as central and decisive, and of the role of the class struggle as a vehicle of progress. Can we take this for granted in this program or in our discussion? I don't think so. On the contrary, I consider it a very important point to pin down, and for two reasons. First, it has long been my very firm conviction that part of the root of the differences in the world Marxist movement lies ex-

actly in this area. Secondly, we cannot take this concept for granted because it is being challenged by Left forces in the United States. And this challenge is offered not merely by an occasional individual here and there. It has various sources and it is a challenge that our Party must exert itself to meet. Therefore, the program must not in any way equivocate on the Marxist concept of the role of classes and especially on the role of the working class.

In the August 1965 issue of *Ramparts*, Saul Landau, an editor of *Studies on the Left* and a close co-worker of the late C. Wright Mills, quotes Mills as saying: "For Marx the proletariat was the history-making agency. Now any fool can see that is not true." And he adds that "in order to develop a New Left, we have to kick this labor metaphysic." But our program must rest precisely on the solidly established premise that the working class *is* the main "history-making agency."

Again, this does not mean that we can be satisfied with general statements concerning this role of the working class. Rather, we must so place problems that it emerges as the foundation for our approach to them. What must come through is that we are the champions of our class and strive to be the spokesmen for it, and that we try above all to understand this class, its role and its problems and try to find solutions for these problems. Once we do that, we are in a position to discuss the weaknesses as well as the strong points of this class. We then have the framework for the criticism of weaknesses in the trade union leadership. Undoubtedly we must discuss the organizational, ideological and political weaknesses in the ranks of the working class, but if we do not first have the framework for it, we are going to appear as outside critics, who do not understand or accept the historic role of the working class. Most liberals who are today so energetically criticizing the trade union movement are people who do not accept the concept of the progressive role of the working class in society. And there is a big difference in tone and method when it is approached from that angle. Criticism must be very concrete. It cannot be criticism of the leadership as a whole, because leadership in the trade union movement is a very broad category. It must be criticism of specific leaders, of concrete issues and positions.

What must come through in the program on this question is that we take pride in the achievements of our class, both historically and in the present. The program must reflect a certain pride in the achievements of struggle for economic standards and democratic rights. We must view these achievements not only as fruits of a developing phase of U.S. capitalism, which is done very often, but also as fruits of mass struggle. When we do this, the role of the working class stands in correct perspective and there is a correct understanding of its significance and role in our history.

THE ANTI-MONOPOLY STRUGGLE

Our concept of the anti-monopoly struggle also flows from the laws of capitalist development. Anti-monopoly forces will increasingly emerge as a reaction to the development of monopoly. Since our concept is based on such a process of development, everything that we project does not necessarily exist full-blown at this moment. In the program, the anti-monopoly concept must be developed as a concrete answer to the present problems of the victims of monopoly, and must not be confined to expressions of general opposition to monopoly.

Thus, the anti-monopoly struggle is a struggle for higher economic standards, for civil rights, for democracy. It is a struggle against the monopoly squeeze on its victims, a struggle to roll back the power and domination of the monopolies. And each sector of the victims joins this anti-monopoly struggle on the basis of the particular way in which it is being squeezed. The working class joins in the struggle to forward its class interest. The Negro people join with it in the specific interest of their own rights. But they join with it also because they are concerned with the overall struggle against monopolies. Therefore, all progress, whether in terms of immediate reforms, more basic structural changes or the struggle for socialism, will gain from the all-class struggle against monopoly control. It is a necessary phase of the overall struggle for progress.

Increasingly this becomes the essence of all struggles in America because increasingly monopoly domination becomes an obstacle to all progress. However, the overall anti-monopoly struggle should not be confused with specific forms of struggle; for instance, the anti-monopoly struggle and the class struggle are not one and the same thing. It is true that they have a very close relationship and overlap. But they are distinct and separate, and we should not confuse them. The same distinction applies to the relationship of national liberation struggles and the question of socialism. There is a very close relationship and overlapping between them, and many of the same forces are involved in both, but one must not confuse the two. One does not replace the other. There are forces who join hands in the anti-monopoly struggle but who will be on opposite sides in the class struggle.

The program should present a fresh assessment of the ideological and political trends within the Left as they are developing today, and of the problems in its ranks. It should discuss such questions as what gives rise to the Left, around what issues it is developing, at what level it is manifesting itself. It should also deal wtih our relation to the Left — with the question of Left unity and our approach to current Left developments. It should show how the Left is developing in the ranks of the working class, the trade union

movement, the Negro people's movement and the peace movement. And it should examine the specific nature of the Left in each of these movements.

The program should express our basic ideas on the struggle for civil rights, our understanding of the special nature of the struggle of Negro Americans for equality, of their special status as an oppressed people, and of the special relationships of this people to the class structure of our society and to each class in America. For instance, it should deal with its special relationship to the working class in the struggle for jobs and economic security, and in the area of political action and the struggle for political power. It should deal with the relationship of the struggle for civil rights to the struggle for civil liberties.

SOCIALISM IN THE U.S.

Next, a few words on how the program deals with socialism in the United States. I have a feeling that most people who want to see the Party program are going to turn to this page first. The program must give a picture of what U.S. socialism will be like. True, we cannot present a blueprint. Nevertheless, we will have to give some idea of what a socialist United States will be like and how it will attempt to solve some of the basic problems of the American people. It must also give some idea how we intend to get it. These are areas that we cannot avoid if we want to have a program that people will read.

On the question of peaceful transition to socialism, the program should state that we will seek the most peaceful path possible. We have to explain on what basis we think a peaceful path is even possible. Confidence in the Party and its leadership can be built if masses are convinced that the Party will seek the most peaceful path. They do not want guarantees that it will turn out that way, but they do want the guarantee that we will *try*—that we will seek that path. This is really the heart of the question. This applies not only to the question of socialism but to tactics in mass struggles generally. Whenever masses feel that a leadership is not going to seek the least painful path to victory, that leadership has lost contact with the masses, it is without confidence. For example, in the case of a strike, if one starts advocating violence in any way or gives any indication that he doesn't care whether there is violence or not, he has lost the leadership position right there.

It is the same with the question of socialism. The masses must have the assurance that we are going to do everything possible to find the best path. In the light of this, struggle and the relationship of forces will determine the outcome at the proper time.

Another aspect of the problem of socialism that we have to think of in a new way concerns the negative effects arising out

of the fact that socialist development took place in less-industrialized areas first, and therefore faced the very difficult problem of industrialization at a forced pace. There are also the effects of the fact that socialist development took place first in countries without much democratic tradition or experience. There are a number of other specific historical factors that have left their imprints on the societies in each of the socialist countries. Among these is the fact that socialism in its infancy was faced with the problem of defense against an antagonistic capitalist world. There are also the mistakes made in the pioneering periods of socialist construction.

The masses of Americans, in weighing questions of socialism in the United States, do not take these factors into consideration. We have now reached the point in the world socialist transition where, with one-third of the world socialist, they look at the concrete example rather than listen to what we are saying about socialism. We must reflect on this question. The program must try to foresee a number of things that U.S. socialism will *not* have to do, in addition to the very positive things it *can* do, because of the specific historical conditions American socialism will inherit. This is a difficult problem because the masses look upon socialism in the U.S. as they see socialism in other countries. We, of course, know that there are going to be some very big differences, but how to place these differences is a very important question.

We should also try to indicate which of our democratic experiences or democratic institutions can be either trasferred, modified or improved upon in a socialist USA. We are faced at the outset with the contradiction that here in the U.S. we have on the one hand the world center of imperialism and on the other hand long-standing democratic traditions and institutions. We must approach this contradiction on the basis that our democratic institutions by and large are *not* products of capitalism, that many are here in spite of capitalism and that present-day capitalism seeks to destroy them. We fight to preserve them both for today and for a socialist USA. If we approach it in this way, we can achieve a different appreciation of these democratic institutions and their role in society. If there is a lack of appreciation and a reluctance to view these democratic institutions in any positive sense, it is because we look upon them as institutions that capitalism has "given us" and therefore should be rejected. This is an area in which some fresh thinking is needed, and it should be reflected in the program.

The role of the struggle for bourgeois democracy will also come up in our discussion and in the program. In this area there are no great differences among us, but there are certainly misunderstandings by non-Communists about our position because we have not done enough work on this question.

Our approach should be that this struggle for bourgeois democracy determines the framework in which all other struggles take place — the economic struggle, the civil rights struggle, the peace struggle. Dr. Carlton B. Goodlett, as head of the U.S. delegation at the recent world peace conference in Helsinki, had to deal with this question. He had to state that we are not a fascist country in spite of the intervention in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic, that we still have the possibility and the right to struggle for peace—and that is very important.

The struggle for democracy involves many concrete questions that we have to find ways of expressing in the program. Among them are the reapportionment question, the voting rights in the South, civil liberties, the McCarran Act and a whole number of others.

The program must reflect the overall position of the United States in today's world, and the outlook of a USA in a world where colonialism is at an end. It must take sharp issue with the Johnson Doctrine, which expresses a long-range policy of U.S. insistence on determining what kind of government it will permit in any part of the world. From that standpoint the program must proceed to the question of the right of self-determination of all nations as a fundamental position of our Party. It is a world in which one-third is socialist that the U.S. must face. In projecting our program on the role of the United States, it is on this basis that we must raise the question of the struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence from the angle that these policies are in the interests of our people and our nation.

AREAS OF STUDY

So much for ideas on the content of the program.

What we want to do is keep drafting and talking simultaneously. The program committee proposes that we start publishing some of the reactions to the initial outline. We want to propose five commissions for the purpose of working out concrete position papers in the following five areas:

1. The working class, its role and status; the trade union movement and its leadership; etc.
2. The Left; its nature, the question of Left unity, forms of action by the Left, etc.
3. Perspectives and problems in the civil rights struggle.
4. The correlation between democratic struggles and the struggle for socialism, including ideological and political questions involved in this relationship.
5. The nature of the U.S. state; monopoly capitalism and the structure of the state; the struggles over states' rights versus fe-

deral centralization, executive power versus legislative power, checks and balances, etc.

We should encourage the broadest possible discussion on the problems of the program. It is not necessary to wait for a draft before one begins to formulate ideas.

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COMMUNIQUE*

ON THE VISIT OF THE GDR PARTY AND GOVERNMENT DELEGATION TO THE USSR

A Party and government delegation of the German Democratic Republic headed by Comrade Walter Ulbricht, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and Chairman of the State Council of the GDR, stayed in the Soviet Union on an official friendly visit from the 17th through the 28th of September, 1965, at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers.

The delegation included: Willi Stoph, member of the Political Bureau of the CC, SUPG and Chairman of the Council of Ministers; Erich Honecker, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC, SUPG; Professor Kurt Hager, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC, SUPG; Alfred Neumann, member of the Political Bureau of the CC, SUPG, Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Chairman of the Economic Council; Dr. Erich Apel, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the CC, SUPG, Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Chairman of the State Planning Committee; Gerhard Grueneberg, alternate member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC, SUPG; Dr. Guenther Mittag, alternate member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC, SUPG; Professor Dr. Erich Correns, Chairman of the National Council of the National Front of Democratic Germany; Otto Winzer, member of the CC, SUPG and Minister of Foreign Affairs; Rudolf Schultze, GDR Minister of Post and Telecommunications and member of the Presidium of the Central Board of the Christian Democratic Union; Dr. Herbert Weiz, member of the CC, SUPG and Secretary of State for Research and Technology; Erich Rost, Deputy Finance Minister and member of the Political Committee of the Liberal Democratic Party; Hero of Labor Maria Lueck, field husbandry team leader of the Neuendorf-Priester Agricultural Cooperative (Saalkreis, Halle Area), and Deputy of the Democratic Peasants' Party to the Kreistag (District Council); Marianne Weiland, director of a semi-state enterprise in Schwarzkolm (Kottbus Area), member of the National Democratic Party, and Horst Bittner, GDR Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the USSR.

The delegation visited Moscow, Baku, Yerevan and Kiev, in-

*Pravda, September 28, 1965.

spected industrial and agricultural enterprises, research institutes and public establishments and familiarized itself with the life of the Soviet people and their achievements in economic and cultural construction. Everywhere the delegation was accorded a heartfelt welcome by the Soviet public, which is an expression of fraternal friendship existing between the peoples of the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic.

During the delegation's stay in the Soviet Union talks were held in which the Soviet side was represented by L. I. Brezhnev, First Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; A. N. Kosygin, member of the Presidium of the CC, CPSU and Chairman of the Council of Ministers; A. I. Mikoyan, member of the Presidium of the CC, CPSU and President of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; N. V. Podgorny, member of the Presidium and Secretary of the CC, CPSU; M. A. Suslov, member of the Presidium and Secretary of the CC, CPSU; K. T. Mazurov, member of the Presidium of the CC, CPSU and First Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers; P. N. Demichev, alternate member of the Presidium and Secretary of the CC, CPSU; Y. V. Andropov, Secretary of the CC, CPSU; P. F. Lomako, member of the CC, CPSU and Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers; V. N. Novikov, Member of the CC, CPSU and Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers; M. A. Lesechko, member of the CC, CPSU and Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers; A. A. Gromyko, member of the CC, CPSU and Minister of Foreign Affairs; N. S. Patolichev, member of the CC, CPSU and Minister of Foreign Trade; V. V. Kuznetsov, member of the CC, CPSU and First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs; P. A. Abrasimov, member of the CC, CPSU and USSR Ambassador to the GDR; V. S. Semyonov, member of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission and Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs; K. V. Rusakov, assistant depatrment chief of the CC, CPSU, and L. M. Zamyatin and I. I. Ilyichev, member of the Collegium of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

In the meetings and talks, which proceeded in an atmosphere of cordiality and complete mutual understanding, the sides discussed questions pertaining to the further development of fraternal friendship and cooperation between the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic. An exchange of views on topical problems of the present international situation and the world Communist and working-class movement also took place, which confirmed the identity of positions of the sides on all questions under discussion.

I

Both sides have noted with deep satisfaction that the fraternal

relations between them, based on the lofty principles of socialist internationalism, have been developing successfully in every area after the conclusion of the Treaty of Friendship, Mutual Assistance and Cooperation of June 12, 1964. The experience accumulated since the conclusion of the Treaty on Relations between the USSR and the GDR on September 20, 1955 and the Treaty of Friendship, Mutual Assistance and Cooperation on June 12, 1964, has proved that the close and fraternal cooperation between the USSR and the GDR, based on complete equality, mutual respect for sovereignty and non-interference into one another's domestic affairs, is bearing rich fruit. The friendship and close cooperation of the two states help to carry out the historic tasks of the working people of the USSR and the GDR—the building of a socialist and communist society—and consolidate the might of the entire socialist world system.

The GDR and government delegation noted the great achievements of the USSR in developing its economy, technology, science and culture and in raising the living standards of the Soviet people. The visit to the southern Union republics, former oppressed borderlands of tsarist Russia, has given the GDR delegation an extremely valuable understanding of the vitality and prospects of the socialist social system in the USSR. The establishment of Soviet power brought the peoples of the USSR true national liberation and created, in particular, the prerequisites for the attainment by the Armenian, Azerbajanian and Ukrainian peoples of unparalleled progress in all spheres of economic, scientific and cultural life. The delegation has been deeply impressed by the great enthusiasm with which the Soviet people, guided by the Leninist Communist Party of the Soviet Union, are working to attain the great targets of communist construction in the USSR.

The GDR Party and government delegation stresses that the Soviet people's efforts and successes are an important contribution to the cause of consolidating the community of socialist states and frustrating the imperialists' encroachments upon peace. The world's first country building the material and technical foundation of communism, the USSR is the standard-bearer of all progressive mankind in its struggle for the happy future of all nations.

The Soviet side points out that the German Democratic Republic is confidently forging ahead along the road of socialism and peace chosen by its people. Under the guidance of its Marxist-Leninist vanguard—the Socialist Unity Party of Germany—the working people of the GDR have been scoring important successes in developing their economy, technology, science and culture, in perfecting the forms and methods of socialist economic management, and in improving the well-being of the people. Thanks to the selfless labor of the working class, peasantry and intelligentsia,

the GDR has become a leading country in Europe as regards the level of economic development.

By successfully implementing its program for full-scale socialist construction the German Democratic Republic is making a worthy contribution to the consolidation of the socialist world system, to the triumph of socialism over capitalism in peaceful economic competition. It is paving the way to a happy future for the whole German nation.

II

During the visit the sides exchanged opinions and displayed complete unanimity of views in assessing the present international situation, as well as the tasks confronting the two countries in the struggle for the strengthening of peace, independence and friendship between the peoples.

With the support of the more reactionary circles of the member-states of military blocs, specifically West Germany, the aggressive forces of imperialism pursue a policy of interference in the domestic affairs of other nations, a policy of overt aggression, and thereby threaten world peace. The Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic consider that in view of the increased international tension the two countries should heighten vigilance and display, jointly with the other socialist countries, unabating care for ensuring their security.

The Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic reaffirm their solidarity with the fraternal Democratic Republic of Vietnam and with all the Vietnamese people heroically defending their sovereign rights and independence in the struggle against the U.S. aggressors who want to turn South Vietnam into their military base. They fully support the proposals made by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam concerning the ways of solving the Vietnamese problem. They demand an immediate end to the bombing raids on DRV territory, the withdrawal of all troops of the United States and its allies and the removal of U.S. weapons from South Vietnam. The Vietnamese people have the right to settle their domestic affairs independently without any foreign interference, and the Geneva agreements of 1954 should be strictly observed. The sides regard the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam as the sole legitimate representatives of the people of South Vietnam expressing its will and aspirations. The USSR and the GDR will continue rendering the DRV the aid necessary for strengthening its defense capacity and protecting its sovereignty from the encroachments of the imperialist forces of the U.S. and its accomplices. The GDR delegation highly appreciates the exten-

sive and unselfish aid which the Soviet Union is rendering to the people of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

The Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic note with concern that peace and security in Europe are increasingly threatened by the dangerous militarist and revanchist policy of West German imperialism. The military intervention of U.S. imperialism in South Vietnam, its acts of aggression against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and its interference in the domestic affairs of other countries have encouraged the West German imperialists to step up the policy of revenge and demand armaments. The ruling circles in West Germany turned the elections into a nationalistic and chauvinistic campaign keynoted by revanchist territorial claims to other countries; they are brazenly demanding atomic weapons for the Bundeswehr. They have developed the Bundeswehr into a half-a-million-strong army, the largest of the NATO bloc in Europe; they hasten military preparations and vehemently oppose steps to ease international tensions. In exchange for its active aid to U.S. aggression, West German imperialism demands U.S. support for the Bundeswehr's atomic armament and Bonn's revanchist policy. Political spokesmen of West German imperialism state openly that they want to turn Europe into the main theatre of aggressive actions against the forces of peace and socialism. At the same time West German imperialism uses all means of economic and political pressure as well as its position in NATO, in the Common Market and in other organizations in the pursuit of a policy of blackmail with the purpose of gaining a say on atomic weapons. Using the notorious "Hallstein doctrine" it is trying to prevent the establishment of normal relations between the GDR, this peaceful German state, and other countries.

This policy of the FRG is a challenge to all the peoples and peaceful states demanding an end to the nuclear arms race, general and complete disarmament, and removal of the danger of a world thermonuclear war.

The U.S. aggressive forces regard alliance with West German imperialism as the main condition for preserving their military-political positions in Europe. That is why they continue to press for the adoption of the plans for giving the Bundeswehr access to nuclear weapons through the so-called NATO multilateral nuclear force. Both sides agree that preventing the atomic armament of the FRG has become pivotal in the struggle to ensure European security and world peace.

The Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic call the attention of the governments of the NATO states to the serious consequences the access of the FRG militarists and revanchists to nuclear weapons might have for European peace and security. At the same time both sides declare that if the NATO states never-

theless embark upon this road the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic, together with the other countries of the Warsaw Treaty organization, will be forced to implement the defense measures necessary for ensuring their security.

The Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic express their concern in connection with the conflict between India and Pakistan, two of the largest Asian countries. Both sides welcome the cease-fire between these two states. The Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic hope that the cease-fire will be an important step to the efforts for the settlement of disputed issues between India and Pakistan by peaceful means, through negotiation. The GDR delegation expressed its full approval of the measures that have been taken by the Soviet Union to help towards a peaceful settlement of the Indian-Pakistani military conflict.

The Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic hold that the aggressive imperialist policy should be resolutely and unanimously resisted and rebuffed by all the peace-loving and democratic forces. The unity and cohesion of the socialist states are of paramount importance for this. Great responsibility in the struggle for peace devolves on the workers' parties and trade unions of the capitalist countries. In the face of the aggressive and interventionist policy of U.S. and West German imperialism the USSR and the GDR consider that preservation and consolidation of world peace in the present situation imperatively call for the cohesion of all the peoples and governments, of all the peace-loving forces coming out for mutual understanding and cooperation, regardless of the differences in world outlook and in religious and political views.

III

The Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic, regarding as the chief aim of their foreign policy the ensuring of peaceful conditions for building socialism and communism, the consolidation of the unity and cohesion of the socialist countries, the rendering of support to the national-liberation movements of the peoples, and the prevention of a world nuclear war, will continue to fight resolutely for peace and peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems.

Both sides will work to secure an agreement on general and complete disarmament under strict international control, and also an agreement on partial steps to ease international tension and slow down the arms race. Foremost among such partial steps in the present situation are the dismantling of foreign military bases, the evacuation of all foreign troops from the territories of other

states, and agreement on the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons.

The Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic attach great importance to the resolution of the UN Disarmament Commission approving the proposal to convene a world conference on disarmament with the participation of all countries.

The two countries come out for an international treaty on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, which would block every avenue to the spread of these weapons — direct and indirect, through military alliances. Such a treaty could become a serious obstacle to the further intensification of the nuclear armaments race.

The Soviet Union supports the GDR's proposals, submitted to the 18-nation Disarmament Committee, on the renunciation by the two German states of the manufacture, acquisition and use of nuclear weapons and of the development of these weapons on their territories, and on measures to reduce the armed forces and armaments of the two German states.

The two sides favor an agreement among all the states concerned on urgent steps to ensure the peaceful life and security of all the peoples of Europe. They support the initiative of the Polish People's Republic for convening a conference of the European countries to discuss the questions of creating an effective system of security in Europe, and are ready to consider at this conference any proposals aimed at achieving the objective.

The Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic believe that the setting up of a nuclear-free zone in Central Europe would be in the interests of all European peoples. Of great importance for creating an atmosphere of tranquility and mutual trust would be the recognition of the inviolability of the present frontiers in Europe, respect for the sovereignty of every state, and a non-aggression pledge by the European states. The inviolability of the state frontiers of the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany is one of the main factors of European security in keeping with the Treaty of Friendship, Mutual Assistance and Cooperation between the USSR and the GDR and the Warsaw Treaty, the sides reaffirm their determination jointly to guarantee the inviolability of these frontiers.

The sides drew attention to the stepped up revanchist activities of the FRG ruling circles in West Berlin, and found it necessary to stress in this connection that West Berlin has never been and will not be part of the Federal Republic of Germany. The Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic regard West Berlin as an independent political unit and, in view of the existence of a state border between West Berlin and the GDR, declare their determination to take every necessary measure against the provocations of the revanchist and militarist forces of Federal Germany

in West Berlin, and against all attempts at an unlawful incorporation of West Berlin into the Federal Republic of Germany.

The Soviet Union actively supports the struggle of the German Democratic Republic for a unified, peaceful and democratic Germany. It agrees with the GDR that German reunification is a matter for the Germans themselves and not for foreign powers. That is why it sees in the national policy of the GDR, outlined in the Manifesto of the People's Chamber of the GDR on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the liberation of the German people from fascism, the only practical path in the present conditions towards rapprochement between the two German states and peaceful German reunification.

The Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic attach great significance to a peaceful German settlement and maintain that it would conform to the vital interests of peace and security in Europe and would in the present conditions be an important contribution to normalizing the entire international situation. They regard the establishment of a collective security system in Europe as one of the most important prerequisites for solving problems of the reunification of the German people in a democratic and peaceful way.

Both sides stressed that the eradication of the surviving vestiges of the Second World War and settlement of these questions in accordance with generally recognized standards of international law would help strengthen European security and promote international cooperation on the basis of complete equality and mutual respect. The Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic condemn the acts of discrimination undertaken against the GDR in international economic relations and trade. Stressing that such acts run counter to international law, the Soviet Union supports the policy of the German Democratic Republic aimed at promoting trade and economic contacts with all countries.

The Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic consider that the realistic decision on the question of recognition of the existence of two German states, already adopted by many countries, deals a serious blow at the militarist and revanchist forces of the FRG and helps towards German reunification. Removal of the barriers artificially raised by the imperialist forces to the establishment of normal relations between the GDR and other states would facilitate exchange of experience and the cooperation between all the countries and peoples in different fields of the economy, science, culture and sports.

The Soviet side notes with satisfaction that the German Democratic Republic is successfully promoting political, economic and cultural contacts with a constantly growing number of countries. The steady growth of the international authority and influence of

the GDR shows that despite the rude pressure and blackmail on the part of the West German imperialists, ever more sovereign states proceed from the real fact of the existence of two German states and reject the absurd claims of the FRG to act on behalf of the whole of Germany. This is indicative of the growing international recognition of the active role of the GDR in the struggle for peace, friendship among nations, prevention of a new world war, against imperialist interference in the affairs of sovereign states, for the abolition of colonialism and neo-colonialism.

IV

Both sides state that the economic, scientific and technical cooperation between them, successfully developing in accordance with Article 8 of the Treaty of Friendship, Mutual Assistance and Cooperation of June 12, 1964, is of considerable benefit to the peoples of both countries. In 1964 and 1965 consultations were held to coordinate the economic development plans of the two countries for a period up to 1970 and important agreements on economic and technical cooperation in this period were concluded, including agreements on still greater cooperation in the construction of atomic power stations in the GDR and on mutual deliveries of plant for the chemical and oil refining industries, a long-term agreement on scientific and cultural cooperation, and others. The USSR is the biggest trade partner of the GDR whom it ensures long-term sale prospects. Close cooperation with the USSR has helped enhance the efficiency of the national economy of the GDR and has increasingly facilitated the development of its trade with other countries. In accordance with the recommendations of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid extensive work is being done for the further promotion of international division of labor and cooperation in the field of production and science to help the steady economic progress of the two countries.

As a result of the talks held during the present visit of the GDR Party and government delegation to the USSR, the two sides agreed on further measures to deepen and extend economic, scientific and technical cooperation. They stressed that it was in the interest of continuous advance of science as a productive force and the achievement of the greatest possible efficiency of labor to develop new forms of cooperation in science and production between the two countries, especially in important branches of science and technology.

To develop economic contacts and hasten technical progress in the two countries, the sides agreed on establishing, on a parity basis, an inter-government commission on economic, scientific and technical cooperation.

The sides attach great importance to the promotion of contacts in the fields of culture, art, education and sports, and also tourism. Intensive exchange of cultural values and experience enriches the spiritual life of the peoples of the two countries and brings them closer together. To ensure even closer cooperation on the basis of the Communist world outlook, the delegations agreed on measures to improve all forms of cultural and scientific contacts.

The sides are firmly resolved to continue promoting and strengthening in every way the relations of friendship, fraternal mutual assistance and cooperation between the USSR and the GDR, which conform to the vital interests of their peoples as well as the interests of the entire community of the socialist countries.

V

The Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic declare for strengthening the United Nations Organization as an instrument of maintaining international peace and security. They consider that to enhance the efficiency of the UN in coping with the tasks outlined by its Charter, it is necessary to make it a really universal organization incorporating all states of the world. That aim would be promoted by the admission to the UN of both German states, which hold an important place in the system of international relations. The Soviet side expressed confidence that the active participation of the GDR in the work of the UN would strengthen the forces in that organization advocating extensive cooperation of states in the interest of peace and progress.

The sides stress again the need for the immediate restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the UN.

In connection with the planned convocation of the Second Afro-Asian Conference, the sides express confidence that it will contribute substantially to the unity of all the forces of the two continents in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism, for peace and friendship among nations.

The USSR and the GDR note that the independent states of Asia, Africa and Latin America pursue an ever more active anti-imperialist policy, oppose interference and blackmail on the part of the colonialists, and greatly contribute to the maintenance of peace and development of international cooperation. An important feature of the present stage of the anti-colonial revolutions is also the transition of a number of countries that have freed themselves from colonial oppression to their own, non-capitalist way of development, and the growing influence of the ideas of socialism on the masses in the developing countries.

The Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic denounce colonialism and neo-colonialism in any form and declare their

solidarity with all countries and peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America waging a struggle to gain or strengthen their independence and sovereignty and to develop their national economy and culture, against colonialism and neo-colonialism.

The USSR and the GDR support the struggle of the peoples of South Arabia, Oman, Southern Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique and the so-called Portuguese Guinea against imperialist colonial domination and racialism, for national independence. They denounce the political, economic and military support of the colonial powers and racialist governments by the imperialist forces of West Germany.

The Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic are firmly convinced that the interests of socialism, peace and progress, of the freedom and independence of the peoples demand strengthening in every way the socialist world system, the unity and cohesion of the socialist countries, their close alliance with the newly-free peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and the solidarity of all the anti-imperialist forces.

VI

The leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Socialist Unity Party of Germany note with gratification that an unshakable unity of views has developed between the two parties concerning all fundamental questions of the theory and practice of socialist and communist construction, and that the closest possible friendly contacts and cooperation have been established and continue to grow steadily between them. The successful exchange of experience through regular consultations and exchange of delegations and groups of Party functionaries to familiarize themselves with the forms and methods of Party guidance of various aspects of life in the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic enriches both parties and helps carry out the tasks confronting them in all fields of ideological and political work, in the further development of the national economy, science and culture both in the Soviet Union and in the German Democratic Republic.

The sides expressed readiness to continue to promote in every way inter-Party relations, to carry on extensive exchange of experience in socialist and communist construction, using for this purpose all the means and methods at their disposal. It was found expedient to extend the cooperation between the two parties in the fields of ideology and theory, on questions of political economy, philosophy, literature and the arts.

In the course of friendly talks, which passed in an atmosphere of mutual understanding and unity, the sides emphasized complete

coincidence of views on the problems of development of the international Communist and working-class movement at the present stage. They expressed their satisfaction with the efforts being made by their parties in the collective, internationalist struggle of Marxist-Leninsts for the goals jointly set by the fraternal parties. The representatives of the CPSU and the SUPG reaffirmed their determination to continue to work consistently for the cohesion of the socialist community, for the consolidation of the entire Communist movement on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist teaching and the principles of proletarian internationalism.

Both delegations voiced solidarity with the views, held common by Communist and Workers' parties, that the main way to strengthen unity in the world Communist and working-class movement is for each one of its contingents to display a higher sense of internationalist responsibility and participate still more actively in the common struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, in support of the liberation struggle of the peoples, for peace and international security, for socialism and communism. That which unites the Communist and Workers' parties in their common struggle for socialism and peace should be the main factor and starting point in relations between them.

The delegations of the two parties once again expressed their allegiance to the Statement and the Declaration adopted by the Moscow meetings of the Communist and Workers' parties in 1957 and 1960; they declare that they will continue to be guided by the ideas of these documents in the effort to strengthen the unity of the international Communist movement. They consider it useful to hold bilateral and multilateral meetings, international theoretical seminars and conferences to discuss problems of the present international situation and of the development of the socialist countries, as well as questions of the history of the working-class movement in the capitalist countries, the national liberation movement, and the ways of assisting the development of the young national states.

Both parties consider that, as was shown, specifically by the Brussels meeting of the Communist parties of the European capitalist countries in June 1965, such activities provide favorable conditions for calling, in the future, an international conference of all the Communist and Workers' parties.

In the course of the meetings and talks the sides expressed the conviction that the exchange of opinions on a broad range of questions, which passed in an atmosphere of complete confidence and mutual respect, and was of a cordial, sincere and constructive nature, will further promote friendly and fruitful cooperation between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the German Democratic Republic, and will certainly help strengthen European

and world peace and consolidate the international positions of socialism.

The Party and government delegation of the GDR thanks the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers for the invitation to come to the Soviet Union and expresses its gratitude to them and to the Soviet people for the friendly, exceptionally cordial welcome given it everywhere during its stay in the Soviet Union. On behalf of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the State Council and the Council of Ministers of the GDR, the Party and government delegation of the GDR invited a Party and government delegation of the USSR to make an official visit of friendship to the GDR. The Soviet side accepted the invitation with gratitude.

L. I. BREZHNEV,
First Secretary, Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

A. MIKOYAN,
President, Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

A. KOSYGIN,
Chairman, Council of Ministers of the USSR.

W. ULBRICHT,
First Secretary, Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Chairman, State Council of the German Democratic Republic.

W. STOPH,
Chairman, Council of Ministers of the German Democratic Republic.

Moscow, September 24, 1965.

OUR GOAL IS COMMUNISM

SPEECH* BY FIDEL CASTRO, FIRST SECRETARY, CC, CP OF CUBA

I must begin, Fidel Castro said, with a question that has no direct bearing on the object of this meeting. I must begin with it because it is an urgent and interesting political problem which I cannot but deal with.

The problem has arisen from the statement we made on September 28 about what had been going on for three years and what our enemies had been insidiously taking advantage of to campaign against our revolution. It concerns people who have been half here, half there, so to speak, ever since air trips between Cuba and Miami were stopped.

The policy on this matter has been one and the same since the early days of the revolution, Fidel Castro stated. Ever since the beginning of the revolution, anyone who wanted to leave Cuba and who had U.S. permission to go to that country have left without let or hindrance. The policy on those who wanted to leave the country has not changed in the least.

During every revolution — whether the French, the Russian or the Cuban — the flight or emigration of members of the privileged classes has been an undeniable fact.

If leaving one's country — if the fact that men and women leave the country where they were born for another — is indicative of a social system, then Puerto Rico is the most vivid example. That island, seized by the U.S. imperialists, lives in the conditions of colonial exploitation. As a result, over a million men and women born there have had to emigrate to the United States.

Mr. Johnson has forgotten Puerto Rico and the million Puerto Ricans living in impossible conditions in the most poverty-stricken districts of New York and doing the most humiliating jobs.

We have never refused permission to leave to those who wanted to visit their relatives and then come back. We have held that while there are Cubans who have relatives in the United States and are eager to join them, there are also Cubans who have relatives in the United States but no desire whatever to leave Cuba. Since Mr. Johnson, who finds himself near the Statue of Liberty,

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*Abridged from the text reported by **Prensa Latina**. The speech was delieverd in Havana on October 3, 1965, in connection with the establishment of the leading bodies of the Communist Party of Cuba.

has taken the trouble to season his utterances with all that talk about freedom, I ask him: can the United States allow visits to relatives in Cuba to those who would like to stay here for a while and then go back to the United States?

Is the United States willing to permit Cubans who do not wish to live in the USA to visit their relatives in that country and then return to Cuba? And lastly, would the United States permit its citizens to make trips to Cuba?

This is why we make another offer to the U.S. government. We suggest that it give those who have relatives here that do not want to leave for the United States permission to stay in Cuba for a while, to visit their relatives in Cuba. We suggest granting these relatives who live in Cuba and have no desire to leave it permission to stay in the United States for a while and then come back. Finally, we suggest allowing students or any other American citizens to travel unhampered to Cuba, just as we allow every citizen of this country to go and come back. We suggest allowing trips to Cuba by members of Negro organizations in the USA or of civil rights organizations, so that they can see how, in our country, racial discrimination has disappeared along with the exploitation of man by man.

It is not there but here that a world of genuine freedom is being built, a world so free that we do not want to make anyone live in it against his will. Our socialist society, our communist society, has by its very nature to be a genuinely free association of citizens.

It is true that certain citizens brought up under the old system and in the spirit of its ideas prefer to go to the United States. But it is just as true that our country has become a refuge for the revolutionaries of this continent. We think we have a right to offer the hospitality of our people and our country, not only to those who were born here, but to every man or woman who speaks our language and whose culture is our culture, as well as to those who do not speak our language but then have the same historical and ethnical origins as we and have become victims of the same exploitation from which we suffered in the past.

Fidel Castro then went over to internal problems and to questions of Party life.

Naturally, he said, all that stimulates and strengthens the revolution, all that enables us to advance with giant strides, causes the greatest concern to the imperialists.

The whole country applauded the news of the formation of our Central Committee. We did our best to elect to the Central Committee those who, in our view, are the foremost exponents of the history of our revolution, who have fought and worked perseveringly and indefatigably both to bring about the victory of the re-

volution and to consolidate the revolution, to defend it and to carry it forward.

This Central Committee, which met yesterday, has adopted several decisions.

First of all, it has approved measures decided on by the former National Leadership. It has approved the decision on the composition of the Political Bureau, the Secretariat and the working commissions, as well as the nomination of the comrade entrusted with the post of secretary in charge of organizational matters. Besides, the Committee has passed two important decisions proposed by the former National Leadership.

One of these decisions concerns our official newspaper. It says that instead of the two political newspapers published so far the personnel, equipment, and stocks of paper shall be concentrated to publish a new and only morning paper of a political nature, in addition to *Mundo*, which, in effect, is not a political publication. The question is of combining all those resources to found a new paper entitled *Granma** as a symbol of our revolutionary concept and of the road we have been following.

The other decision, which is more important still, concerns the name of our Party. Originally we called ourselves the United Revolutionary Organizations. We were only just taking the first steps toward uniting the revolutionary forces, with all the positive and negative aspects of the time. Afterwards we took the name of the United Party of the Socialist Revolution. This was a highly important step toward setting up our political apparatus.

For three years we made efforts which resulted in the people, that inexhaustible source, adding innumerable new members to our Party. We owe it to all this that today we are what we are in numbers and, above all, in quality. The name "United Party of the Socialist Revolution" says much but not everything. Implicit in it is the idea of the necessity for unification, and it is a reminder of the political "roots" of each of us. We consider that we have reached a stage of development where all shadings and all allusions to origin setting some revolutionaries apart from others should disappear. For we think our revolution has made sufficient progress for us to say that there is only one type of revolutionary and that our Party needs a name reflecting, not what we were yesterday, but what we are today and what we will be tomorrow.

The Central Committee has decided, Fidel Castro announced, to rename the Party the Communist Party of Cuba and in this way to reflect the development of the Party, the growth of the revo-

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*Name of the yacht from which Fidel Castro and his associates landed in Cuba on December 2, 1956. The group went into the Sierra Maestra mountains to initiate the movement which was to culminate in the victory of the revolution.

lutionary consciousness of its membership, and the aims of the revolution.

That is a most appropriate name, as we told our comrades of the Central Committee yesterday, the speaker went on to say. For centuries the term "communist" has been an object of slander and vicious attack. Throughout history there have been communists, people holding communist views, people cherishing the idea of a way of life differing from that of the society in which they were born.

All the exploiters, all the members of the privileged classes, have always hated the term "communist" as if it had connoted a crime. They have all anathematized it. This is why, when Marx and Engels wrote their *Communist Manifesto* initiating a new revolutionary theory, a scientific interpretation of human society and history, they declared: "A spectre is haunting Europe, the spectre of communism." The fact is that the privileged classes dreaded the idea as if it had really been a spectre.

The privileged classes have in all historical epochs dreaded new ideas. The reactionary classes have always used every means at their command to anathematize and slander new ideas. But all the paper and other means at their disposal are powerless to defame communist ideas, to kill in people the desire to establish a society in which no man will exploit another and every man will be a real brother of everyone else. They cannot destroy the longing for a society in which all people really will have equal rights, a society in which this principle will be something more than a clause of the Constitution, as in the case of bourgeois constitutions.

Man's age-long dream, which today has become a real possibility, the dream of a society without exploiters and exploited, rouses the hatred and anger of all the exploiters.

The imperialists speak of a communist government, as if this definition could insult us, as if it were an insult. The term "communist" is not an insult but an honor to us. It symbolizes the hopes and aspirations of a substantial proportion of mankind, and hundreds of millions of people are working and fighting in its name.

We are following a road leading to communist society.

Missing from our Central Committee is a man to whom maximum credit is due and who has every quality making him eligible for membership of this body. But this man is not among the members of our Central Committee. Our enemies have contrived to weave a web of slander around this fact.

Fidel Castro proceeded to read a letter of April 1 last, addressed to him by Ernesto Guevara. It announces the writer's decision to leave Cuba in order to continue taking part in the revolutionary movement in one of the countries of the world.

Let this letter, Fidel Castro said, serve as an expression of the sentiments, of the emotions and the purity of heart that a revolutionary can have, for those who talk about revolutionaries and imagine them to be cold and unfeeling and heartless.

An entirely new epoch is beginning in the history of our country, Fidel Castro continued, with a new form of society, a new form of leadership — leadership by one party, the party of the working people, uniting the best of the working people, a party formed with the full participation of the masses, so that it may rightly and truthfully say it is the vanguard of all the working people, the spokesman of the working people in our working-class and revolutionary democracy. This form of government will be a thousand times more democratic than bourgeois democracy, because we will introduce an administrative and political order guaranteeing constant participation in the solution of all problems at all levels by society, by the masses, through appropriate organizations, through the Party. We will promote this new system as only the revolution can do it, and will foster people's social consciousness and habits accordingly. Nor will we and our people stop until we have attained our ultimate goals.

This is a very important step, one of the most important in the history of our country. It means that the historic moment has come when the forces of cohesion have defeated the forces of dispersion and division in our ranks. It means that the historic moment has come when the whole revolutionary people have rallied close together, when the sense of duty has begun to outweigh everything else, when the collective spirit has defeated all individualism, when the interests of the country have won the great final victory over all the interests of individuals or groups of individuals. It means that a higher stage of unification and organization has been reached on the basis of the most up-to-date, most scientific, most revolutionary and humane political concept.

Ours is the first independent country on this continent, to say nothing of the fact that, according to the imperialist government of the United States, ours is the only country of this kind. For while the House of Representatives has proclaimed that the USA is entitled to intervene in any country in order to stave off the danger of a communist revolution, in our country a communist revolution has already come to power.

We have made great progress but will make even greater progress in the next few years as we realize the potentialities of our people, the vast forces we have brought into being and organized and have been using effectively. This is the task of our Party.

We will gain a tremendous advantage. We will advance to the future at a dizzy pace, with a party which will have to provide leadership and keep abreast of developments on every front, for

our Party must be present on every front and must study every problem. It is for this purpose that we have formed commissions and will form more. Our Party will study and thoroughly analyze every single problem in order to work out an orientation on that basis — the best and most correct orientation.

I have said that we would pave the way to communism and attain communism. We are as certain of this as of the progress we have made so far. At this historical juncture, amidst the manifold difficulties in evidence all over the world, in the face of a powerful enemy, in the face of the sad fact that the ranks of the world revolutionary movement are divided, our policy will be one of the closest unity, the policy of a small but free and independent people.

Our Party will educate the masses and its own membership. Mark that well: *our* Party. No party but ours and its Central Committee.

The right to educate and lead the revolutionary masses is an inalienable right of our Party. And we will firmly uphold this right. In the ideological field also, it is our Party that will say whatever has to be said.

We know well where our enemy is and who is our sole and real enemy. We know this only too well. We had to fight this enemy against heavy odds, and we needed the solidarity and assistance of many to fight him. We need resources and arms to defeat this enemy's policy of aggression, to continue resisting him.

In view of the multiformity of the present-day world, Fidel Castro said, of the vastly different circumstances and situations which have arisen in various countries that are at the most diverse stages of material, technological and cultural development, one cannot possibly expect us to treat Marxism as a religious dogma, a religious doctrine with its own Rome and Pope and Ecumenical Council.

It is a revolutionary and dialectical theory, not a religious doctrine. It is a guide to revolutionary action, not a dogma. To attempt reducing Marxism to a catechism would be un-Marxist.

Different situations necessarily breed a countless multitude of interpretations. Those who give correct interpretations may be called revolutionaries. Those who give correct interpretations and consistently carry them into practice will win. But those who make mistakes or whose revolutionary thinking is inconsistent will fail. They will be defeated and even swept away, for Marxism is not a piece of private property that can be entered in a register. It is a revolutionary theory created by a revolutionary and carried forward by other revolutionaries for the use of revolutionaries.

While it is true, Fidel Castro said, that parties may have dif-

ferences of opinion, disagreement on this or that issue or point, these are bound to be passing if they are honest. We will keep any difference with any party within dignified bounds, he said. We will be friends of those who can be friends, and will respect those who respect us.

These rules will always determine our free behaviour. And we will never ask anyone's permission to do this or that, to take this or that road, to be friends of a party or a people.

We know that these difficult problems are of a temporary, a passing nature. Difficulties pass while the peoples remain. Leaderships pass while revolutions remain. In our eyes, links between revolutionary parties and revolutionary peoples are not temporary but solid and final ones.

We will never attempt a split — a split between peoples, not individuals. We will adhere to this elementary principle because we know that this is a correct position and a just principle. And nothing can prevent us from devoting all our energies to the fight against imperialism, the enemy of all mankind. For we could never describe as accomplices of the imperialists those who have helped us defeat the imperialists.

We are striving not only for a communist society but a communist world in which all the countries will enjoy equal rights. We are striving for a communist world in which no country will have the right of veto, a communist world of the future that will not be a replica of the bourgeois world, which is rent by internal squabbles. We aspire to a free society, a society of free nations, in which all the peoples, big and small alike, will have equal rights.

We will uphold our point of view, our position, our line, in the same way as we have done so far, and will steadfastly carry them into effect. Nothing can divert us from course.

In the present world situation, Fidel Castro said in conclusion, in view of the complicated problems of today, it is no easy task to maintain this line, this unshakable criterion, this indestructible independence. But we will maintain them. Our revolution was not imported from anywhere, it is a genuine creation of our country. No one taught us how to accomplish the revolution and yet we accomplished it. No one will have to teach us how to continue the revolution but we will continue it. We have learned to make history and we will go on making it. Let there be no mistake on this.

We live in a complicated and dangerous world. We will be exposed to the dangers of the world but we will stay calm and dignified. Our destiny will be that of the other peoples. Ours will be the destiny of the world.

SPEECH BY WLADYSLAW GOMULKA*

This agricultural year is on the whole favorable. We still lack data for the entire republic but there is no doubt that the per hectare yields of grain, oil-bearing crops, flax, and fodder crops will be higher than in past years. The outlook for potatoes and sugar beet does not seem bad. The stock of pigs has been restored and is as great as 13.7 million head. The young stock has also increased. Despite a certain drop in the cow population, milk output has increased. There is an increase in the stock of sheep, and poultry farm output has been intensified.

We owe this year's good results in agriculture, not only to propitious weather conditions, but primarily to thoughtful farming and to the effort of the millions of peasants and agricultural workers, who are getting increasingly great and varied help from the people's state and socialist industry.

The results achieved this year should not, however, shut out the fact that our country has yet to solve its fodder and grain problem and that we still have to import large quantities of grain to meet the needs of our animal husbandry. Our main task in agriculture, then, remains to increase grain production so as to attain within the next five years the goal of fully satisfying the requirements of the country with fodder and grain of our own.

This objective tangibly affects the general character of our agricultural policy. In view of the situation, we do our best to help every agricultural production unit and so make it easier for our agriculture to accomplish its paramount task, that is, to solve the grain problem by its own resources.

HIGHER PURCHASE PRICES. MORE CONTRACTS

That accounts for the glad news we wish to give to the peasants and all else who are engaged in agriculture. The leaderships of the Polish United Workers' Party and the United People's Party (UPP) have found it necessary to make grain production more profitable. In line with their decision, the government has fixed higher purchase prices for grain grown this agricultural year by contract or otherwise.

The new purchase price of rye, barley and oats is 300 zlotys per 100 kg., which means an average increase of 70 zl. Contract wheat will be purchased at 400 zl. per 100 kg., or 20 zl. more

*Abridged from **Trybuna Ludu**, September 6, 1965. The speech was delivered at a harvest home meeting in Warsaw.

than before while non-contract wheat is to be purchased at 380 zl., or 50 zl. higher per 100 kg. than in the past.

Those peasants who have already sold their grain to the state at the lower prices in force so far will be paid compensation.

While raising grain purchase prices, we leave the retail prices of bread and other bakery products intact.

We are also introducing on a large scale contracts for rye, barley and oats, and extending wheat contracts. This economic year we plan to purchase by contract rye from 250,000 hectares, barley from 100,000 hectares, oats from 20,000 hectares and wheat from 350,000 hectares. We will entitle the suppliers of contract grain to buy 130 kg. of mineral fertilizer per hectare of contract wheat or barley, and 100 kg. of fertilizer per hectare of contract rye or oats.

Furthermore, suppliers will enjoy the privilege of purchasing select seed and obtaining a loan to buy seed, fertilizer and pesticides and to pay for the use of tractors and other farm machines. Besides, suppliers of contract grain from the crop of 1966 and later years will be entitled to purchase 50 kg. of mixed feed to every 100 kg. of grain they supply.

The increase in grain purchase prices extends to grain delivered on an obligatory basis. In this case, the new grain prices will be raised from 25 to 35 zlotys per 100 kg. and will amount to 185 zl. for rye, 235 zl. for wheat, 165 zl. for barley and as much for oats.

The difference between the new prices for products delivered on an obligatory basis and the prices of products purchased by the state on the free market will subsequently be contributed by the state to the Agricultural Development Fund (ADF).

Higher grain purchase prices will not entail appropriate increases in the prices of mixed feed, sold by the state. The price increase for mixed feeds will be substantially lower than in the case of grain. This will increase state spending on mixed feeds. We are striving to keep animal husbandry profitable. The new mixed feed prices have been so set as to make stock-farming truly profitable. For example, the price of 100 kg. of the mixed feed most in demand, which so far has been 35 zlotys more expensive than rye, will be cheaper by 15 zl.

The new ratio of grain and mixed feed prices is designed to stimulate use of industrial mixed feeds in place of feed grain. This will enable the peasants to freely use other feeds for expanding animal husbandry and to increase their incomes.

More grain contracts, the new grain purchase prices and the new mixed feed prices meet the interests of every category of farm. Large farms will have a greater incentive than before to intensify grain production. Farms employing little manpower,

which so far have been unable to sign contracts for the production of labor-intensive crops, will now be able to benefit particularly by grain crop contracts. This will also provide ample opportunities of increasing the yields of grain and other crops on economically feeble farms growing chiefly grain crops, primarily rye. Increased grain output, in its turn, will enable us steadily to improve the supply of mixed feeds to small farms which engage chiefly in animal husbandry and mostly use purchased feeds.

THE AIM IS TO INTENSIFY AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

The increase in grain purchase prices is a logical development in our policy of helping agriculture economically. The new prices will be more in keeping with those of other farm products, which have also been raised, and this, for its part, will greatly stimulate intensified grain production.

Considering this year's crop yield, we expect that the new, more favorable purchase prices of grain will enable us to purchase 900,000 tons more from the peasant farms on the free market than last year. As a result, the incomes of the rural population will exceed 900 m. zlotys. Deducting the expenditures that the increase in feed prices will entail, the total will exceed 520 m. zl. at the same time the Agricultural Development Fund will grow by an additional 350 m. zl. a year. Greater incomes will enable the peasants to purchase more means of production, machines, implements and building materials, with the result that more opportunities will be created for extending the production base of agriculture.

Intensified crop-farming, particularly grain-growing, is indispensable if we are to increase the productivity of animal husbandry and stabilize the stock of pigs. The growth of the pig population achieved this year, the greatest ever, should be maintained and steadily promoted as the feed resources grow. The state will continue to help pig-breeders through contract purchases of the pig farms' production. It will offer advantageous prices for produce in live weight and will supply mixed feeds.

The high yield of hay and other fodder crops affords most favorable conditions for increasing livestock population and productivity.

The cattle population has grown to 9,950,000 head this year, which is 14.4 per cent more than five years ago. Beef purchases have gone up from 419,000 to 665,000 tons in five years. Accordingly, the peasants' incomes have grown from 3,900 to 5,900 zlotys.

One of the major tasks that will face agriculture in the next year is to increase the livestock population by not less than

350,000 to 400,000 head and to raise milk yields. It is a matter of credit for the peasants of every village to raise as many calves as they can and to slaughter less.

The state will support the peasants' effort to build up adequate feed stocks. Year after year we are increasing the scale of land reclamation and supplying more and more loans, building materials for silos, hay driers and other implements.

We call on the peasants to make full use of these growing opportunities of this year's increased feed stocks to expand animal husbandry and increase milk production.

AGRICULTURAL POOLS FOSTER PROGRESS

Agricultural techniques must be steadily improved if crop-farming and animal husbandry are to be intensified. Agricultural pools can contribute a good deal to the fulfilment of this task by individual peasant farms.

As promoters of progress, the pools are coping with their role more and more successfully as they acquire more resources, experience and competent personnel. They have been set up in almost every village. Thanks to the Agricultural Development Fund, their combined production funds now add up to 11,000 m. zlotys. They have about 43,000 tractors and hundreds of thousands of other farm machines at their disposal and steadily improve their use.

The pools have pioneered mechanized production on individual peasant farms. With support from the state and direct help from machine stations and experts, they have done much organizing work to introduce the use of tractors and other machines. They have taken an important step in this direction, but it is the first so far.

Tractor deliveries to the countryside will increase substantially in the next few years. Tractors and other farm machines should be properly used where medium and large farms predominate, in the rural areas which are short of manpower and draught animals and tractors and have appreciable potentialities for promoting agriculture.

Experience shows that tractors and other machines are used to the best advantage where the well-functioning pools have succeeded, on their own or in collaboration with neighboring pools, in bringing together a large number of agricultural machines and entrusted their use to properly trained operators. This suggested the idea of setting up inter-pool farm machine stations, a measure recommended by the recent joint resolution of the CC, PUWP and the General Committee of the UPP.

The organization of smoothly functioning inter-pool machine

stations should be the common concern of agricultural pools and state machine stations, as well as of all farm machines.

GROWING ROLE OF THE STATE FARM

The role of the state farms as centers of efficient farming and suppliers of increasing quantities of agricultural produce is growing from year to year. The state farms supply select seed and pedigree livestock to the whole of our agriculture. In terms of the value of marketable grain and animal output per hectare, they achieve better results than the average of our agriculture. The new remuneration system and bonus fund introduced two years ago have become effective levers in utilizing production reserves in the state sector of agriculture.

Increasing grain output is a cardinal task of the state farms. Last year they delivered over 900,000 tons of grain to the state. They should deliver not less than 1,050,000 tons this year and 1,500,000 tons annually in later years.

As well as producing grain, the state farms should rapidly increase milk and beef production. They have all they need to increase the supply of milk from the present 850 million litres to 1,240,000 million litres and of beef from 110,000 to 160,000 tons, in the coming years.

In line with its agricultural program, the state in 1966 envisages increasing deliveries of mineral fertilizers by 13.8 per cent, lime by 15 per cent and pesticides by 26 per cent. Agriculture will be provided with more than 23,000 tractors and many thousands of other machines and implements. State investments will go up by 1,000 m. zlotys, that is, will almost reach 16,000 m. zl. It is planned to allocate 4,100 m. zl. out of the ADF for further mechanization.

State loans will run to 19,800 m. zl., including more than 5,000 m. zl. in investment loans.

Substantial sums will be appropriated for the state farms and production cooperatives.

Proper use of all these funds and mechanical facilities will hasten the growth of agricultural production, the solution of the grain problem, and the intensification of agriculture as a whole. It depends primarily on the peasants and agricultural experts themselves whether these tasks will be fulfilled.

Now that harvesting is over, the peasants and other agricultural workers should concentrate on autumn sowing, threshing, the harvesting of root crops, and preparations for the winter. The important task is to sow in time. Despite considerable difficulties due to delays in harvesting, we must not lag in sowing winter crops or

leave anything unfinished. This is the only way to ensure a good crop next year, the finest year of our new five-year plan.

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Our every initiative, our policy, and all our plans for economic development and progress are inseparably linked with the effort to safeguard Poland's security and world peace. Our fraternal friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries form the unshakable foundation of our policy. We also promote, and intend to continue promoting, friendly cooperation and mutually beneficial economic and cultural relations with countries having a different social system. The visit which Comrade Cyrankiewicz, the Polish Premier, will pay to France at President de Gaulle's invitation in a few days is in keeping with our general line. Poland and France have interests in common that do not belong only to the past, when our peoples fought against German imperialist aggression. The two countries' points of view coincide or come close together on a number of important and pressing problems of European peace and other international matters. We expect the visit to be of mutual advantage and to contribute to Polish-French friendship.

SPEECH* BY JANOS KADAR

FIRST SECRETARY OF THE CC, HSWP, AT CONSTITUTION DAY CELEBRATIONS IN BEKESCSABA

Today we are celebrating our Republic's Constitution Day. The law of our life is labor, and our society is a society of labor. But, while working, it is useful and necessary to have a break and celebrate what deserves to be celebrated. Today we are celebrating also the 20th anniversary of our freedom, won as a result of the struggle of generations by the Hungarian people and thanks to the great sacrifice made by our Soviet brothers. On this day we think with respect and gratitude of the Soviet soldiers who fell in our land fighting for the freedom of the people, the Hungarian people included. We think with fraternal love of our friend and ally, the Soviet people, of their Communist Party and government.

We are celebrating the anniversary of the establishment of people's power, which we owe to many centuries of hard struggle. We are celebrating the anniversary of the establishment of our socialist system in which we can take pride because our people, who won freedom with the help of the Soviet Army, also fought valiantly and swept away the regime of exploitation, destroyed all its vestiges and laid the foundation of socialism, a system free from exploitation.

We are celebrating the anniversary of our free and independent state, for, together with freedom for the people, won after centuries of oppression, we also won national independence.

Comrades, all our main achievements are recorded in our Constitution. Its most characteristic feature, that of our socialist system and people's power, is that our society is a society of labor, that no one in our country can live at the expense of exploitation. Our people took hold of the means of production, the factories and land and everything needed for production. And all that we create by our labor belongs to the people and serves the advance of the country

Our Constitution says that every one has the right to work, but at the same time work is a duty. It is our desire and demand that every able-bodied person work.

In the 20 years since liberation the Hungarian people have advanced very far and scored big successes. *Our industrial output*

*Abridged from **Népszabadsgág**, August 23, 1965.

has grown sixfold compared with 1938, and agricultural production is almost one-third higher than before the war.

Everyone who remembers the plight of our people knows that besides hunger, misery and humiliation there was the outrageous practice preventing the most gifted sons and daughters of our people from finding application for their endowments, as their parents could not afford to give them an education. In the light of this one can appreciate our successes in the field of secondary and higher education.

In the past, hundreds of thousands of our working people starved and wore rags, having no decent clothes to put on even on holidays. The working man was compelled to go from place to place in search of scarce jobs. Peasant small-holders lived under constant threat of ruin and auctioning of their belongings. Bailiffs were frequently visitors in their homes.

Today, people have work—and decent remuneration. Our people enjoy free maintenance in disability and old age, paid vacations, and many other benefits. Another thing that goes to our credit is that our people read newspapers and have the radio, that television is developing rapidly in our country.

Summing up, I want to say that one must work, that work is duly paid for, and that our people are quite well off.

Passing through a village on the way here yesterday I saw about 30 women queuing for meat. It was not a gratifying sight, of course. Meat supply in our country falls short of demand yet.

But when I think of Constitution Day, of the 20th anniversary of our system, it occurs to me that 25 years ago these 30 peasant women would not have queued up for meat—and not because there was plenty of meat or because they did not need it, but for other reasons.

At present annual meat consumption in our country is 50.2 kg. per person. In this respect we figure rather prominently among the 126 independent states, more prominently than we did in the Tokyo Olympics. Such is the truth.

Among the many achievements of our people, in addition to better living conditions and cultural services, it is very important and valuable that the dignity of the working man is respected and that our people as a whole enjoy respect in the world.

Our people owe these achievements to the freedom won by us and in equal measure to the guidance provided by the Party, to its correct political work, its genuinely community policy. we owe them to those who gave their lives for our freedom, who waged a hard struggle for the happy future of our people, and to those veteran fighters whom we see among us and whom we respect and pay tribute to. We are proud that we have become Communists with a rich experience of struggle and we realize that we owe this

to those who taught us and led us onto the road of struggle. We owe our achievements to the working people, for the truth is that whereas a correct policy is shaped by the Party, this policy cannot be translated into reality unless the working people accept it as their own and carry it out by their labor.

The worker-peasant alliance has a social purport. Initially it was needed for crushing the old fascist semi-feudal, capitalist system; now it serves the cause of building a socialist society. Accord of the two great classes of working people and alliance between them constitute the political bedrock of our state, and all other strata of our people are grouped around them, with the working class in the lead.

Our policy is aimed at achieving such national unity as would facilitate the achievement of complete socialism. Under Horthy, the red-white-and-green flag was in the hands of the masters, whose state it symbolized, and our banner was red. Today we say that we should march forward carrying the red banner in one hand and the national flag in another. We proclaim: unity of the nation for building socialist society! It is today that the red-white-and-green flag is in good hands, for it is carried by the working people and not by the bourgeoisie. So let us take pride in both building socialism and upholding the communist world outlook, and in being Hungarians and carrying the red-white-and-green flag.

Such is our policy. We are defending and strengthening people's power, and we shall build complete socialism.

We have, of course, critics as well, both inside and especially outside the country. This is understandable.

Some people say that we are conservative, for in the age of cybernetics and the atom we follow Marx. We can say in reply that some people said Marx was obsolete three years after he had started writing his work. However, a hundred years have passed since then, and Marx's idea—communism—has been carried into reality in a large part of the world: first the Soviet Union emerged, then a socialist world system was formed. Let bourgeois authors write that Marx's ideas are obsolete—this will not detract from the truth that in the near future these ideas will be the world's dominant ideas and socialist and communist construction will be under way everywhere.

We also have critics from the left, who say that we are not radical enough, that we are guilty of flabbiness and liberalism. It is easy to talk about liberalism, of course; if leftist phrases helped there would be no need to work at all. But they do not help: the building of socialist society requires a correct policy, conviction, physical labor and the labor of scientists and engineers, it requires planning. We need all this to carry our ideas into life.

Some people accuse us of not acting energetically enough. This

is a matter of approach. We consider that what has already been achieved is good: the vast majority of the people—and not only old, convinced Communists—accept the socialist goal, identify themselves more and more with the new social system, maintain regular normal contact with Communists and cooperate with them. What would we have achieved if there had been several hundred thousand highly radical Communists in the country but the rest of the people would have opposed Communist ideas? What would have such radicalism given us?

That is why we consider that since our tried and tested policy is yielding good results, we should go on pursuing it and defend it against both rightists and adventurist-minded leftists.

Replying to those who accuse us of flabbiness and liberalism, I say that persuasion is our chief weapon in championing our ideas.

Ideas cannot be popularized with a stick. The stick can help to suppress people, but not to uphold an idea and win over the masses. You have to talk to people, to argue with them and persuade them. When there is no need for this, why bang your fist on the table, why shout and frighten people away, pushing into the enemy's fold those who are not hostile to us? There is a limit to everything, of course. This limit comes when somebody raises a hand against our system. Then it is time for people's power to act.

One should begin with words, for persuasion is our strongest weapon. But we should also have in reserve the power of our people's state, and not stand on ceremony but use it when the good word does not help. But the good word has a tremendous advantage. Lenin taught us that if we apply on administrative measures to people acting against us, that is, send them to prison instead of exposing them before the people, this will be of little use.

Instances occur in our country of people being put behind the bars for committing unlawful deeds and acting against our system. This, too, is a manifestation of equality. Some people in the West voice concern over the arrest of clergymen. But we did not arrest clergymen for being clergymen; in recent months several persons were arrested who in the past happened to be monks or priests. We have equality: any person guilty of sedition or conspiring against our system is taken into custody and proceedings are instituted against him, no matter whether he is a monk or something else.

We have convinced Communists, people with a socialist mentality. They are the absolute majority. There is also a small number of anti-Communists. But there are many people who cannot be classed either as Communists or anti-Communists.

Some people did not understand why, speaking at a Patriotic People's Front meeting, I paraphrased the motto "He who is not

with us is against us" and said that those who were not against us were with us. Let me explain what I meant.

When an armed clash, a struggle takes place, quite different laws apply, of course, but in normal conditions, in peacetime, under socialism, we can very well say that those who do not conspire against us and do not engage in subversion, are with us, not against us. Such people also work—in an office, a factory, an agricultural enterprise—and every morning go there and work and, no matter whether they like it or not, actually take part in the building of socialism, for it is being built by the whole of society. It was in this sense that I said that those who were not against us were with us. And this is correct. The present situation should not be underestimated.

One should not underestimate the fact that the vast majority of the people follow their heart's command and accept the Party's policy and methods as their own. For the issue is decided not only by what we uphold, but also by how we do this. Hence the importance of the methods by which the Party carries through its policy. We apply democratic methods with respect to every honest working man, keeping in reserve coercive methods for those who are dishonest. It must be that way. That is precisely how we work and promote development in our economy, culture and all other fields.

A report on the results of the fulfilment of the national economic plan for the first half of the years was published, accompanied by the government's assessment of these results. The figures are not bad, they testify to successful fulfilment of the decisions of the December Plennary Meeting on economic matters. The increase in industrial output was 6 per cent and in labor productivity 5 per cent. The most important thing is that we achieved 85 per cent of the increase in production through higher labor productivity and not by resorting to additional manpower.

We continue to work in the spirit of these decisions, and with the same enthusiasm. I ask everyone to remember that this is the last half-year of our five-year plan. The better we utilize the existing possibilities, the better our plan will be fulfilled.

No denying we have problems, difficulties and obstacles which influence different people in different ways. Difficulties depress sceptics but impel bold people to act still more boldly. There have always been difficulties, and we have always had to cudgel our brains over them just as we have had to work. Difficulties should be tackled boldly, and if we do fight, if we work all-out and act reasonably, we shall surmount them.

Some difficulties are of an historical origin. For instance, we had only 20 years to do away with our age-old backwardness. We have also had to cope with additional difficulties caused by the foot-

and-mouth epidemic and the strong flood that spring-long rains brought.

When a misfortune comes some people whimper and wring their hands: O Lord, what will become of us? This is not the way we should react. We should say that communism will be built even if the heavens split. If we adopt this attitude, we shall cope with any difficulties. If, on the contrary, every difficulty is approached with the "what-will-now-happen" mood, there will be nothing but fear.

Remember how things stood in the spring: it was raining day and night, and the mazie wouldn't rise. But when the sun reappeared, at last, the maize quickly straightened out, and now it grows well. The wheat and barley are also doing finely. Our cattle has recovered, on the whole, after a grave epidemic of the foot- and mouth disease, and now we are working to complete successfully our annual and five-year plans.

The weather was bad for field jobs; everything would get stuck and skid about, and we are still in arrears in this respect. Despite all the difficulties, however, we are making progress. It should be said: hats off to the working people of the villages, because whenever the weather was just bearable both young and old people worked in the fields of state farms and cooperatives, often sitting it out right there waiting for a spell of better weather. And they completed most of the field operations.

At present harvesting is under way throughout the country. It is particularly hard and complicated this year. As of today, more than 90 per cent of the grain has been taken in. About 4 per cent was destroyed by subterranean waters and floods. Total grain output will be probably higher than planned, and we are likely to fulfil the plan for grain production, after all. The crop of maize also promises to be good, and if the autumn is dry the situation with maize will be normal as well. That is why I say that if we work concertedly we shall overcome the difficulties; otherwise, the difficulties will overcome us.

Of course we should work still better. Today a number of new issues have appeared on the order of the day. We have gone over to a higher stage of development and should run the economy still more ably, improve and develop the policy of the Party and strengthen the Party's links with the masses. The preparation for the next Party congress provides the Békéscsaba people, the residents of the entire Békés region as well as the Central Committee of our Party with highly favorable possibilities for analyzing our experience and the results we have attained, and deciding what is to be done to improve our work.

The CC unswervingly performs its leading and guiding role. We invariably strive to work jointly with the masses. Experience

shows that clear, responsible guidance provided by the Party is indispensable for progress, for improving our life. If we follow this guidance, if we remain loyal to our Marxist principles, to the principles of work in close unity with the masses, with the working class, the peasants and the intelligentsia, if we do not slur over our mistakes and do not belittle our achievements, then just as we have scored big successes in the past years, so shall our people win new victories in socialist construction in the years to come.

The Party relies upon the masses of workers, peasants and intellectuals, on the strength of the entire people. On the international plane, we have allies in the Soviet Union, the other socialist countries and all the peoples fighting against imperialism. We are firmly convinced that the united forces of the socialist and all other anti-imperialist countries are superior to the forces of imperialism and that it is precisely these forces that will lead mankind along the road of progress. These forces are invincible. No matter what actions the imperialists may undertake, no matter where they launch an offensive, they are bound to be defeated in the end. Mankind's history has reached a stage where we can say that the imperialists' time is gone. From now on, world socialism and the popular forces fighting against the colonial system are the decisive factor of history.

PROMOTE THE ECONOMIC AND DEFENSIVE CAPACITY OF NORTH VIETNAM*

Le Duan

FIRST SECRETARY OF THE CC,
PARTY OF WORKING PEOPLE OF VIETNAM

The task facing North Vietnam today is to carry on production while repelling aggression, to win the war imposed by the U.S. imperialists on North Vietnam while rendering the greatest possible assistance to the revolution in South Vietnam. The devastating war which the U.S. imperialists are waging against North Vietnam, using air and naval forces, is a component of the "special war" strategy in South Vietnam. It is also a stage in their preparations for extending local war to the whole of our country. This is why our people must fight to win in the North as well as in the South. To foil all of the aggressor's military plans it is important to coordinate the war effort of the armed forces and the people in both parts of the country, with the South as the *greater war front* and the North as the *greater home front.*

The home front is the decisive factor in any war. It must have a powerful economic and defense potential and large reserves enabling it fully to provide the war front with food, arms, ammunition, manpower and material.

The North must rally all its forces to beat off the destructive air and naval attacks of the enemy and to strengthen its defenses. We need a *strong people's army* composed of a standing army, local troop formations, home guards and self-defense units.

Our standing army has all three services. What we now need above all else is a strong ground force equipped with more or less up-to-date weapons, as well as strong home guard, self-defense and local military units that are well-trained politically and are adequately armed. We must train several million home guards as a minimum.

Should the enemy march his ground troops against the North, our standing army, and millions of home guards operating as guer-

*Abridged from **Nian Dan**, September 8, 1965. The speech was delivered In July.

rillas would check him and strike back. This force has been tested in South Vietnam during the last few years, and earlier it proved its worth in the nine years of the war of resistance against the French colonialists.

In the present war, we must safeguard and promote public security, hold our own against the aggressor's psychological war, promptly expose and punish spies, saboteurs and other counter-revolutionaries engaging in subversion, expose and foil attempts at reviving counter-revolutionary organizations in our inland regions, particularly in those where various religious sects are active and where the enemy is carrying on subversion.

To turn the mountain regions into defense strongholds and to reinforce them economically, it is particularly important to foster the unity of the Vietnamese and the national minorities. We must educate them all in the spirit of friendship and unity, of respect for one another's customs and traditions, of mutual assistance and joint progress. We should help our compatriots of every nationality realize that the policy of the Party and the government is aimed at enabling the mountain regions to catch up with the low-lands, to achieve economic prosperity and bring happiness to their population, and at providing genuine economic and political equality to all the nationalities, in both rights and obligations. To promote their own interests and those of the whole country, our compatriots in the mountain regions should cooperate with their brothers living in the lowlands in building socialism, maintaining law and order and repelling the U.S. aggressor. We must strengthen our cooperatives and production teams in the mountain regions and find ways of advancing agriculture, and of improving and stabilizing the standard of living. The state should render timely assistance to areas experiencing serious difficulties.

We must rouse the masses by bringing back to their minds the severe trials that fell to their lot in the past and helping them appreciate the progress made in ten years of peaceful construction. This will inspire them with hatred for the U.S. imperialists and their agents and prompt them to march firmly on, to step up emulation in production and staunchly to defend their homes.

In strengthening the defenses of our country, we must draw mainly on our own resources. We need a powerful economy that can meet the exigencies of war. We must press forward the development of agriculture and industry, expand transport and communications, organize distribution judiciously and make optimum use of our manpower and material resources to establish a war-time economy.

Agriculture must produce grain and other products to enable us to supply the armed forces as well as to set up food stocks in case the war is dragged out. We must use every means of increasing

the yields of every crop by the intensive method. Specifically, we should strive for a five-ton yield of rice per hectare on large areas, first and foremost in the principal rice-growing regions. We must step up stock-farming and stimulate the collection and storing of fertilizers, the sowing of green fertilizers, the improvement of soil and the use of more perfect implements and facilities, especially means of transport, as well as plant selection and the evolvement of new crop varieties.

Tens of thousands of people have been called up since the war broke out. Further tens of thousands are engaged in transport and other strategic fields. We must, therefore, normalize the provision of the non-agricultural spheres of production with labor. On the other hand, the countryside must allocate a sizeable labor force for other fields while expanding agricultural production and so increasing the food supply. All this creates a tense situation as regards labor power.

To help the agricultural cooperatives to increase production through intensive farming, the Central Committee has found it necessary to supply each cooperative holding from 100 to 200 hectares of arable land (or less in the case of the mountain regions) with engines of 10 to 20 HP and so to enable them to use mechanical facilities on a small scale, such as irrigation pumps, winnowing-fans, hulling mills, simple feed-making machines, etc. These will provide the cooperatives with an initial technical base, which we must set up by using the possibilities of our industry and the aid of fraternal countries. They will be a first step towards consolidating the cooperatives and increasing the scale of mechanized farming. They require appropriate investments by the state.

In industry, we must continue to build the material and technical base for socialism. We will build certain small enterprises in sheltered and defended areas to meet production and war needs. In recent years we have built a number of enterprises under central jurisdiction, but we have done little to set up a local industry. Now we have set out to promote local industry, equip the enterprises in operation with machinery and build new local-industry establishments, and transfer certain enterprises under central control to local bodies. The purpose of these measures is to enable industry to supply the needs of agriculture more promptly and effectively.

Establishing a local industry will make for closer links between industry and agriculture and help us in setting up a powerful local economy (industry and agriculture) in every province and every district and so affording them greater opportunities to satisfy their own demands.

In this way we will solve the problem of distributing the home front services, which is of the utmost importance at this stage of

the war. This line of action will be in keeping also with our subsequent development, for to develop local industry means distributing production potentialities judiciously all over the country, balancing industry and agriculture in each area, guaranteeing effective cooperation of the industries under central and local control, and creating a copious market for centrally-controlled industry. In developing the economy along these lines, we must lay the material and technical groundwork for intensified socialist construction after the war.

The ravages inflicted by the enemy has made the operation of our transport difficult. Indeed, this is inevitable in war time. But the difficulties we are experiencing today are not insurmountable, nor will they be even if they grow worse. The Central Committee has decided on radical measures to resolve these dffiiculties. We have considerably reinforced our transport system.

In step with increasing production on an intensive basis, we must exercise strict economy in the use of everything.

In the production sphere, we must save raw and other materials, use equipment carefully, make people in charge of public property increasingly aware of their responsibility, and combat wastefulness and corruption. We must persuade the leading cadre of the armed forces and the mass of the people to approach difficulties intelligently, save on everything and restrict consumption in order to use most of our resources for the fight against the aggressor and for the salvation of the country. The agricultural cooperatives should save food grain and other products and see to it that every family, every cooperative and the state as a whole have substantial food stocks and steadily build them up against the eventuality of unforeseen difficulties, such as may be caused by natural calamities or by enemy actions.

We must make optimum use of the labor power in the cooperatives and other production units in order to release as many people as possible for the war effort.

In the sphere of distribution, we must organize rationing in respect of the leading cadre, the servicemen and the population in such a way as to distribute our limited supply of consumer goods more wisely. We must make an earnest effort to set up a socialist market in the countryside, and must assume control of the sources of the more important commodities, especially food, by expanding and strengthening the consumer cooperatives. We must also expand trade between town and countryside and between rural areas.

To carry out the decisions of the CC of our Party and step up production and the fight against aggression, we must, first of all, reinforce our Party organizations and committees at all levels. We must ensure that they are well aware of the situation and their tasks, that they take proper stock of our potentialities and

firmly believe in the strength of the people, and then no difficulties will be too great for us.

I stress this because our people have always shown unexampled courage. Comrades from Ha Tinh Province say that before the war certain districts were considered to be lagging, they had weak Party organizations, the cooperative movement was making poor headway and production was stagnant. But after the very first American air raids the Party organizations in those districts became active, the people rose to defeat the enemy, and production began to look up. In other words, past shortcomings in production were evidently not due to lack of revolutionary enthusiasm on the part of Party members and the masses but to inadequate help from higher up.

The sacred war we are waging is an excellent opportunity to be used in educating our people. The barbarous actions of the U.S. imperialists foster the patriotism of our countrymen and rouse intense hatred for the enemy. The gallant fight which the people of South Vietnam are carrying on day after day inspires the people of the North to acts of bravery to save the country. The bravery of Nguyen van Troi, Le Do and Tran van Dang* stirred the hearts of millions of young men and women, of compatriots, of servicemen in the North, and added to their revolutionary fervor in the fight against the enemy.

All this redoubles the revolutionary spirit and creative energy of our people, whom we must rally for an unprecedented production and war effort.

The situation demands that every Party committee revise its methods and adopt a new style of work. All the provinces, regions and districts should be equal to this situation. They should exercise initiative, in particular by supplying their own needs, finding ways and means of forming local armed forces and militia units, and defeating the enemy wherever he may come from. They should expand production. Agriculture must develop, not decline, if the armed forces and the civilian population are to be adequately provided with food and the enemy defeated.

This calls for rallying the people, using to this end their determination to resist U.S. aggression. The Party committees should set up permanent centers where the people can democratically discuss the pressing tasks of the cooperatives. It is essential that the provincial Party committees should have accurate information of the state of affairs everywhere, that they should take correct decisions and enlist the assistance of the people in carrying them

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*Heroes of the South Vietnamese people's war of liberation against the U.S. imperialist aggressor and the Saigon puppet regime. They gave their lives for the freedom and independence of their country—Ed.

out. This is the only way to guarantee steady progress in production.

Regional Party committees should directly guide agricultural production at local level, organize a movement for the efficient operation of the cooperatives, and control the execution of the big tasks set before them by the provinces. They should fully control the districts and cooperatives. All of their staff members, with the exception of two or three persons taken up with general matters, should be distributed among the districts. Each should be responsible for two or three districts and should guide their work on the spot.

The production conferences held by regional committees should be specific and should concern themselves with tasks ahead, the time set for their fulfilment, problems of material and technical supply, etc. As soon as they have taken decisions the participants should go to the cooperatives in their charge, discuss everything with the membership and join them in carrying out the decisions.

Each regional committee member should know well the situation in the districts he is responsible for: the arable area, manpower resources, climate, industries, material and technical facilities, achievements and shortcomings, the state of the Party and other mass organizations and of the cooperatives, and the cooperative boards. In short, he should be familiar with the means and conditions of production in the district and know its people, and should be able to account for good or poor headway in production.

The socialist revolution in the North is to bring about revolutionary changes in production, technology, ideology and culture.

In directing agricultural production, we should always bear in mind the necessity for accomplishing all these tasks. They are inseparable from one another and must be carried out in the cooperatives simultaneously. The Party cadre in charge of agriculture should have a clear idea of the principles and methods of strengthening the cooperatives and improving socialist relations of production in the countryside. They should be versed in agricultural science and technology and work hard to rally the people for a technical revolution in the countryside. They should educate the masses and ensure that every member of a cooperative approaches ideological and political issues from the standpoint of the proletarian world outlook, and should raise their cultural standard.

Every regional committee member should be well aware of the meaning of the nation's revolutionary tasks, particularly the technical revolution in the countryside.

The war against the aggressor is governed by laws of its own. So is production. The laws of production, the economic laws, are objective in character and we must know how to use them. We

must study methods of guiding economic devlopment and accomplish the technical revolution in the countryside step by step.

The primary task is to intensify ideological work, that is, to inspire every member of the Party, the Working Youth League or the cooperative to fight to victory and therefore to devote all his spiritual and physical energy to the achievement of important results in agriculture and contribute in this way to victory over the U.S. imperialist aggressor.

The regional committees should go deeper into agricultural problems if they are to help the provincial leadership.

The provincial committees should also concern themselves with agriculture and help set up a local industry and develop transport and communications. They need a close-knit apparatus to guide these two main fields of activity. At the moment the important thing is to establish a close link between industry and agriculture, and use to the full all the opportunities industry has to supply the needs of agriculture.

Now as in the future, every province should have a developed local industry. This is why the provincial committees must study the requirements and potentialities of economic development in the areas concerned and know the land, manpower, and raw material resources in order to distribute and use labor power purposefully in exploiting the land and natural resources. This is how the local economy should be promoted.

We do our planning at thre levels: central, provincial, and enterprise (factory or cooperative).

Provincial plans should reflect the line of the center, on the one hand, and the requirements and possibilities of local economic development, on the other. They should be closely coordinated with the state plan and with the plans of enterprises and cooperatives. Central and provincial bodies must therefore coordinate their actions. The central department should maintain proper relations with the provinces, for which they should provide favorable conditions.

For lack of organizational guarantees and because of incorrect working methods there still are many shortcomings in the execution of decisions and plans. On the other hand, various branches and departments show parochialism because of the ideological and political immaturity and the individualism of their leading personnel.

In this time of war, we must discard peace-time methods and practices as speedily as possible. We must revise and amend all the regulations and directives that do not meet war-time requirements, and must concentrate all the power in the hands of the Party CC, the government, and the provincial Party and administrative committee if we want the policies and plans adopted by

the CC and the government to be rightly understood and promptly carried into effect.

We must eliminate red tape with a firm hand. Provinces and ministries, provincial administrative committees and the Standing Committee of the Government Council should put their relations on a broader and permanent basis, discuss current problems jointly and more thoroughly and solve them more quickly. Their activities should be inspired by an awarness of responsibility to the people and by a sense of comradeship in a common cause. This is the substance of socialist cooperation between the central and provincial bodies, between the various branches. Of course, the various departments, the Party and administrative committees of different ranks should retain all their functions and powers. But there can be no "ranks" when it comes to work: the central departments should regard the work going on at local level as a concern of theirs, just as the local bodies should regard the work being done by the center as their own work. The upper and lower "ranks" alike must work to save the country. Individualism and parochial approach must be ruled out; they must not injure the supreme interests of the nation.

Collective leadership should be the rule at any level. We can exact personal responsibility and implement our policies provided collective leadership and personal responsibility do not clash, outstanding questions are discussed democratically and collective leadership prevails. The greater one's sense of personal responsibility, the more effective collective leadership. Collectivism is the important thing, for only the collective body can foresee everything while the individual is likely to overlook something. Hence patriarchal attitudes and arbitrary methods are out of the question in Party committees at any level.

To further the revolutionary movement in production, we should make the policies of the Party a program for the everyday revolutionary activity of the masses.

There is no room in ideological work for generalities and abstract talk, for this work should be directed toward reaching definite production targets, and should help the masses understand their current production tasks so that they can carry them out properly.

Strengthening the Party organizations of production units should be part of our effort to promote industrial production. By the same token, we should strengthen the rural Party organizations if we want to intensify agricultural production and improve the operation of the cooperatives. Strengthening the Party organizations is the decisive factor for improving production. They should see to it that every one of their members stands firm on a proletarian position and that every factory worker and every member of the

cooperative appreciates this position. They should ensure correct implementation of the Party line, with the membership as the chief motive force in production and in the fight against the aggressor.

Ideological work should always be coordinated with organizing work. Its aim is to organize and to promote organization. Organizing work, in turn, ensures the existence and steady expansion of ideological work. The members of every organization have specific duties assigned them by the organization and adhere to the discipline of the organization, that is, steel themselves ideologically in line with the requirements and objectives of the organization. This is why educational and organizing work should be closely coordinated. Greater use should be made of non-Party activists and mass organizations, particularly the Working Youth League, to exercise control over the management of the economy, production and distribution, encourage criticism and self-criticism, create a truly democratic atmosphere in Party organizations, industrial establish a flexible system of genuine control.

Ideological work is unthinkable without organization at work. They must be carried on concurrently, so as to contribute to each other and to achieve ideological and political unity and unity of action of the Party.

In shaping its policies, our Party takes into account the situation and revolutionary practice in our country, with due regard to Marxist-Leninist principles. Its strategy is conditioned by responsibility for the destiny of the people and is designed to promote the common revolutionary cause of the world proletariat. This is what we call ideological independence. Experience shows that our Party can creatively apply Marxism-Leninism in the specific conditions of our country provided it is ideologically autonomous. Every member of the Party cadre and the Party rank and file should be independent in their thinking. This is the only way for them to appreciate the policy of the Party CC, safeguard themselves against deviations and vacillation and carry out the policy of the CC, correctly, submitting consciously to Party discipine.

The situation is changing steadily as the war against the aggressor continues. The nearer our victory, the more cruel and treacherous our enemy. The revolution will yet encounter many difficulties that may occasion ideological instability and indecision in one form or another. Party discipline bars arbitrary actions by both the cadre and the rank and file. In war time, it must be more rigid than ever.

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The Working Youth League and Women's Federation have initiated a youth movement under the slogan "Three Alerts" and a

women's movement under the motto "Three Responsibilities." These are important revolutionary movements.

The youth movements holds a special place in the history of our revolution. Our Party came into being and took shape on the basis of the Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth Association. This means that at that stage in history young people were the first to spark off the revolutionary movement in our country. Our youth were the main force in the war of Resistance. Today the youth of South Vietnam are in the forefront of political and armed struggle.

The working class of our country was small in number. That is why, when North Vietnam took the road to socialism, the ranks of our working class were swelled mostly by young people.

It will be seen that our youth have always played an important role. They are the vanguard in socialist construction, and they will be the vanguard also in communist construction. In leading the revolution, our Party must have the support of the workers, peasants and other working people. At the same time it should take great care to use the forces of youth.

Young people are a group of the population that more than any other group cherishes ideals, is ready to make sacrifices and has a greater urge for innovation. Party committees and oragnizations should properly assess the revolutionary potential of young people. The Working Youth League, which educates, organizes and rallies young people, should become the strongest assistant of the Party in all revolutionary work.

In addition to educating the younger generation, the League accomplishes the tasks set before it by the Party. Young people in industry and agriculture should help fulfil all the tasks assigned by the Party committees to the enterprises or cooperatives concerned.

The common task of youth at this stage is to carry on production and fight against aggression.

In the sphere of production, the League should put forward well-defined practical tasks. Young people should learn to operate new machines and be in the lead of the technological revolution, for the League is not merely a political organization but has members with a thorough knowledge of industry and agriculture. The League should direct the day-to-day production effort of young people. Its committees should include servicemen and home guards.

The League should steadily expand its organizations by bringing most of the young working people into it, so as to educate youth through its organizations and foster their progress. Of course, we need certain rules of admission into the League, but they should not be too rigid. On the other hand the League should not increase its membership by lowering its efficiency. The point is for it to do more organized and educational work among the youth.

To educate young people means moulding new people and inspiring them with lofty ideals and with selfless devotion to the revolutionary cause. Our young men and women may well pattern their lives and struggles on those of Nguyen van Troi. It is essential that our youth should have a proletarian world outlook, that they should take the road of the proletariat of their own accord and consciously serve the proletarian cause. Young workers are part of the working class and should regard adult workers as their elder brothers, and service in the cause of the working class as their ideal. The League organizations in industry should closely coordinate their activities with those of the trade unions.

The women of the North of our country have always done important work, particularly in the countryside. Now that there is a war on, they must shoulder a much heavier burden.

Our women are famed for their bravery. We are proud of our mothers, wives and sisters. We have most favorable conditions for transforming the Three Responsibilities movement into a powerful mass movement. The task is to deal with the numerous problems facing women, such as those of food, housing, bringing up children, protecting the health of mother and child, and providing favorable conditions for women to work and study.

To encourage the revolutionary effort of women, we need more nurseries, kindergartens, playgrounds, medical centers, hospitals, maternity homes, baths, laundries and public dining rooms. This is essential if women are to apply themselves wholly to the jobs given them. And it is important for remedying the present shortage of labor power.

In industry and agriculture, women today must take the place of many men who have gone to the front. We must therefore organize courses to train women for the jobs of chairman of cooperative, accountant, team leader, must teach them to farm, and operate farm machines. In industry also, we must allocate time for the occupational training of women, so that they can replace some of the men in production and management. Women's labor should be used wisely, with due regard to their abilities, mostly in such fields as education, public health, trade, the service industry, and public administration.

Our rural labor force today is made up mostly of women. Next year also, industrial development will require a considerable male labor force. In agriculture, however, women will still constitute the bulk of the labor force. This is why we should take better care of the health of peasant women. On the other hand, we should make work easier for women by manufacturing lighter types of agricultural implements and machines.

The agencies and departments in charge of public health and education, and the trade unions should discuss and settle all the

above problems in collaboration with organizations of the Women's Federation. As regards the establishment of nurseries, kindergartens, playgrounds, medical centers and maternity homes, school education, and the settlement of marriage and family problems and other specific matters, they should be the common responsibility of government offices, enterprises, cooperatives and trade unions. But women's organizations should put forward relevant proposals and organize women to carry out the measures decided on.

In short, the Three Responsibilities movement should promote the emancipation of women. Today women enjoy the same political rights as men. But we must do much more, by carrying out a series of social measures, to release women from the more difficult educational and household duties, and do all we can to enable women to contribute more to the fight against U.S. aggression and to the salvation of the country.

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The revolution in South Vietnam and the struggle of the whole people against U.S. aggression, for the salvation of the country, is entering the decisive stage. We have already won a number of outstanding victories in this struggle. But the U.S. imperialists and their flunkeys still cling to South Vietnam and persist in their devastating war against North Vietnam. They have yet to be defeated, for they have not abandoned their aggressive designs. The fight against American aggression in either part of the country will, therefore, go on for a long time, and will come up against many difficulties. But we are increasingly confident of the victory of our just cause.

The policy of our Party is correct. Our people's resolve to defeat the aggressor and build an independent, united and prosperous Vietnam is unshakable. Never before have the heroic traditions and creative energies of our people manifested themselves as forcefully as they do in this war. The movement in support of Vietnam has never been as widespread and powerful as now, either in the world or, specifically, in the United States. The more the U.S. imperialists expand their war of aggression, the more they will isolate themselves from the peoples of the world and the more crushing will be their defeat.

We must realize the policy of our Central Committee and transform the resolve of the Party into the resolve of the armed forces and the people as a whole to devote all their energies to production and to the fight to safeguard our socialist gains, make North Vietnam a bulwark of struggle against U.S. aggression, for the salvation of the country, and support with might and main the

sacred war of resistance which our South Vietnamese compatriots are carrying on.

Let the whole Party and the whole people march united on and on, doing their utmost in production and in struggle.

We are certain to defeat the U.S. aggressor.

We will win.

FRATERNAL PARTIES CONDEMN AGGRESSION IN VIETNAM

AGAINST U.S. AGGRESSION, FOR PEACE IN VIETNAM
Resolution* of the CC, FCP

The Central Committee of the French Communist Party approves the report presented by Comrade Raymond Guyot and the talks held by the FCP delegation with the delegation of the Party of Working People of Vietnam which stayed in France at the invitation of the FCP.

The war against the Vietnamese people, who are fighting for their freedom and unity, reveals the aggressive nature of U.S. policy, which may spark off a world nuclear war.

In the present international situation, the struggle against U.S. intervention in Vietnam holds a central place in the peoples' effort to promote peace and achieve national independence. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and the anti-imperialist and peace-loving forces of every country are carrying forward a broad movement for international solidarity with the Vietnamese people. The working class and the people of France, linked with the Vietnamese people by a long-standing tradition of joint struggles against imperialism and colonialism, are taking an active part in this solidarity movement.

The recent visit to France by the PWPV delegation was an event of tremendous importance.

It enabled large sections of French opinion the better to understand the conditions in which the Vietnamese people are fighting, and thereby helped to extend the French people's fight against U.S. aggression, for peace in Vietnam.

The working class and the peace forces of France expressed to the PWPV their complete solidarity with the Vietnamese people in its struggle for independence and peace.

The consolidation of friendly relations, and the reaffirmation of the mutual conference existing between the PWPV and the FCP further the fighting solidarity of the world Communist and working-class movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Following the PWPV delegation's visit, at a time when the U.S. imperialists are stepping up their barbaric actions in South Viet-

*L'Humanité, Sept. 29, 1965.

nam and against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, our people must launch a country-wide struggle to ensure respect for the inalienable right of the Vietnamese people to the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of their country—a right solemnly acknowledged by the Geneva agreements of 1954.

The following measures are indispensable if this right is to be respected:

An immediate end to U.S. aggression in Vietnam; withdrawal of the American troops of their satellites from South Vietnam; abolition of the U.S. bases in South Vietnam; immediate discontinuance of the bombings of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and other acts of aggression against the DRV; the right of the South Vietnamese people to settle their affairs without foreign interference; granting to the whole people of Vietnam the right to decide the question of peaceful reunification of their country without interference from outside.

Recognition of these fundamental principles will provide favorable conditions for the peaceful solution of the Vietnamese problem.

The FCP will steadfastly support the liberation struggle of its Vietnamese brothers, so that development may follow this course. It will continue to advocate recognition of the DRV by the French government, and the development of relations between our two countries in every sphere. The FCP will continue its struggle for the abolition of foreign military bases in every country, primarily the U.S. bases in France.

The French Communists will stint no effort to expand the people's protest movement against U.S. aggression in Vietnam, for the implementation of the decisions of the World Congress for Peace, National Independence and General Disarmament held in Helsinki. They will fight to ensure that all men and women who cherish peace realize that they must, like every people, take an active part, in one form or another, in the struggle against U.S. aggression, of which the Vietnamese people are a victim.

The Vietnamese people's victory will be a victory for all the anti-imperialist and peace-loving forces of the world.

Central Committee
of the French Communist Party
Drancy, October 24, 1965.

"NO" TO U.S. ESCALATION IN VIETNAM
Resolution* of the Political Bureau, CP of Belgium

Ever since it began, U.S. escalation in Vietnam has been increasing the danger of a world nuclear conflict. By now condemnation of the Johnson government's criminal enterprise has become all but superfluous.

In our country, no one would dare any longer to praise in public a military and political operation whose absurdity, cruelty and futility leap to the eye.

The peoples of North and South Vietnam pay dearly for the greed of America's financial oligarchy and its refusal to renounce the fabulous profits it makes from the war industry.

The peoples of the world are at one with those of South and North Vietnam.

No one can view with equanimity the suffering of the civilian population, of thousands of innocent children.

Besides, the peoples' right to decide their own fate is patently violated by the United States in Vietnam. The contempt of international law that is displayed so brazenly cannot but arouse universal concern and reprehension. It nullifies the U.S. government's bland and hypocritical declarations about its professed desire to end the conflict.

The Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Belgium considers that all these facts warrant full support for the five fundamental conditions put forward by President Ho Chi Minh last April as a basis for eventual negotiations.`

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But one cannot leave things at that.

The security of Belgium, as well as that of other countries, is imperilled by the U.S. policy.

The link between the terroristic activity of the Marines and the risk of a new world war is evident. To begin with, no one can deny it.

Furthermore, the policy of strength, when pursued with impunity, becomes a contagious disease. A distressing indication of this is the Kashmir conflict, to which others might be added unless guarded against.

These elements of the world situation are extremely serious already. But Belgium is in a special position which aggravates them still more as far as she is concerned.

Our country is a member of NATO. Its affiliation to the Atlantic

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Le Drapeau Rouge, Sept. 15, 1965.

pact ties it to the United States and makes it co-responsible for U.S. actions.

Thus, through NATO, Belgium contributes to the maintenance of the risk of a world nuclear conflict that would destroy her.

This situation should have claimed the attention of the Belgian government and prompted it to act.

But Belgium keeps silent and passive—an attitude tantamount to tacit complicity.

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Nothing could be more urgent today than to end this state of affairs.

A vast popular protest movement can and should be launched to prevail on Parliament to force the government into signifying its condemnation of the U.S. policy of escalation.

The democratic organizations of the working people, youth, women, and peace supporters can make this movement effective enough. They can also increase material aid to the Vietnamese population which is under terroristic attack from the U.S. forces.

The PB, CPB has already called on all the Party organizations to take part in the sale of protest cards to be sent to the Belgian Premier—an action organized by the Belgian Peace Union. It has urged them to stick posters, hold lectures, meetings and other public demonstrations, and collect funds. Above all else, it has recommended them to enlist as many donors as possible, in support of the initiative of a group of progressive doctors.

The Political Bureau calls on the Party organizations and members to redouble their effort, in common with all democrats and peace supporters, so as to ensure that the watchword "Let the Belgian government say *No* to U.S. escalation in Vietnam!"

This would still be only a first step toward more important action, but this first step has to be taken because it can be taken at once.

Political Bureau, Communist Party of Belgium.

COMMUNIQUE*
By the Delegations of the PWPV and FCP

A delegation of the Party of Working People of Vietnam, composed of Comrades Le Duc Tho, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC, Nguyen Van Tran, Secretary of the CC,

*L'Humanité, September 20, 1965.

Tran Quang Huy, member of the CC, and Nguyen Than Le, Assistant Editor-in-Chief of *Nian Dan*, central organ of the Party, stayed in France from August 25 to September 17, 1965, at the invitation of the French Communist Party.

In Paris, the Paris region and the provinces, the delegation had numerous meetings with members of the CC and organizations of the FCP, as well as with spokesmen for various social organizations.

The delegation met with working people of the capital, Le Havre, Dunkirk, Marseille, Lyons and several other cities at mass meetings and friendly receptions. It visited factories and cultural institutions and attended the *Humanité* festival.

Everywhere Communists, workers and intellectuals expressed their warm sympathy and fighting solidarity with the working class and the people of Vietnam. Socialists, Christians, and democrats of various trends often joined up with the Communists in expressing their friendly sentiments.

The stay of the PWPV delegation contributed to the militancy of the French people's fight against the U.S. imperialist aggression in Vietnam, which has become a focal issue of the action of all the peoples in defense of world peace.

The PWPV delegation had deep-going discussions with the FCP delegation, composed of Comrades Waldeck Rochet, Secretary General of the Party, Georges Marchais and Raymond Guyot, members of the Political Bureau, and Jacques Denis and Léo Figueres, members of the Central Committee.

The discussions, held in an atmosphere of mutual understanding and confidence, confirmed the profound fraternity of the two parties based on the experience of decades of common struggles against imperialism and colonialism.

The FCP delegation voiced its great admiration for the courageous struggle the Vietnamese people are waging in both the South and the North of their country against the barbarous aggression of the U.S. imperialists, for national salvation. It feels certain that the Vietnamese people, led by the PWPV, which is headed by Ho Chi Minh, a very good friend of the French people, will make further progress in socialist construction in the North and in the reunification of their country. The FCP and the French people see the Vietnamese people's every gain as their own.

The FCP delegation gave a summary of the numerous actions taking place in France in support of the peoples of South Vietnam and the DRV and aimed at helping the Vietnamese people to defeat the American aggressor.

The FCP condemns the so-called peace talks proposed by Johnson as spurious, and reaffirms its full agreement with the four-points stated by the DRV government and the five points put for-

ward by the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. These points fully express the legitimate demands of the Vietnamese people, which the Helsinki World Congress for Peace, National Independence and General Disarmament, adopted as its own.

The Vietnamese people's fundamental right to the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of their country were solemnly recognized by the Geneva agreements of 1954 and should be respected.

These sacred rights should express themselves specifically in the following:

—immediate discontinuance of the U.S. aggression in Vietnam;

—immediate withdrawal of the troops of the United States and its satellites from South Vietnam;

—abolition of the U.S. bases in South Vietnam;

—immediate discontinuance of the bombings and other acts of aggression against the DRV;

—the right of the people of South Vietnam to settle their own affairs without foreign interference;

—freedom for the Vietnamese people to decide without foreign interference on the question of peaceful reunification of their country.

Recognition of these fundamental principles would make possible the peaceful solution of the Vietnamese problems in favorable conditions.

On behalf of the Vietnamese people, the PWPV delegation expressed sincere gratitude to the FCP, the French working class, the sons and daughters of the French people, who courageously supported the Vietnamese people's liberation struggle against colonial oppression in the past and fully support their sacred fight against U.S. aggression, for the salvation of the country, today.

It expressed the desire that the friendly relations and cooperation between the French Republic and the DRV should grow in various fields for the good of the two peoples and world peace.

The delegation wished the FCP and the French people success in their actions in defense of genuine democracy, social progress, the independence and security of France, and world peace. The PWPV and the Vietnamese people fully support the French people's fight and regard every success achieved by them in this fight as their own.

The two delegations confirmed their common desire to promote the friendly relations between the PWPV and the FCP. The two parties wish to contribute thereby to the fighting solidarity of the international working-class and Communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. This solidarity is more necessary than ever in the common fight

against the imperialists, who are headed by the U.S. imperialists, for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

On behalf of the delegation of the French Communist Party
WALDECK ROCHET

On behalf of the delegation of the Party of Working People of Vietnam
LE DUC THO

COMMUNIQUE*
On the Stay of the NLFSV Delegation in Bulgaria

On the invitation of the National Council of the Patriotic Front (NCPF), a delegation of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam (NLFSV) stayed in the People's Republic of Bulgaria from September 3 to 13, 1965. The delegation was composed of Dang Huang Minch, head of the delegation, member of the CC, NLFSV, and Mat Thi Tru, representative of the South Vietnamese Committee of Solidarity with Asian and African Countries (CSAAC).

The delegation had discussions with a NCPF delegation led by Encho Staikov, Chairman of the NCPF, member of the PB, CC of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

It visited a number of towns and villages and met active members of the Patriotic Front, Party and mass organizations, and numerous working people. It acquainted itself with the Bulgarian people's fight against fascism and capitalism and with their progress in peaceful construction.

The visitors were received by Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the CC, BCP, Chairman of the Council of Ministers, who gave them a friendly interview. The delegation also talked with leading workers of the CSAAC, Central Council of Trade Unions, CC of Fighters Against Fascism and Capitalism, Committee of Bulgarian Women, and CC of the Dimitrov Communist Youth League.

The participants in the discussions dealt with problems arising from the U.S. imperialists' war of aggression against the South Vietnamese people.

The two sides emphatically condemn that criminal war and unanimously note that the U.S. imperialists alone are to blame for the gross violation of the Geneva agreements of 1954.

The Bulgarian people are outraged by the disgraceful aggression of the U.S. imperialists, who, faced with defeat from the South Vietnamese patriots, are implementing a policy of escalation, carrying the war into DRV territory, barbarously bombing villages,

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*Rabotnichesko Delo, Sept. 14, 1965.

hospitals and schools, killing civilians—women, old people and children—using napalm bombs and poison gas. By their policy in Vietnam they outstrip their Hitlerite predecessors. The aggressor's decision to send another 50,000 U.S. troops to Vietnam and grant the Saigon puppet regime a new loan of $1,700 thousands is outrageous. The infamous war against the Vietnamese people fully exposes the aggressor's lies about peace and a peaceful settlement in Vietnam.

The two delegations consider that the war against the Vietnamese people is linked with the imperialist policy of maintaining colonialism and enslaving the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The expanding aggression against the South Vietnamese people and the attempt to involve the allies of U.S. imperialism in the war gravely endanger peace in Southeast Asia and the rest of the world.

The Patriotic Front and the whole Bulgarian people resolutely support the Vietnamese people. They insist that the U.S. troops be immediately withdrawn from South Vietnam, interference in the internal affairs of Indochina be stopped and the South Vietnamese people be enabled to decide on their system and the road of their development as they see fit.

The Bulgarian people fully approve of and support the declaration of the Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria regarding the U.S. acts of aggression in South Vietnam. They fully support the Vietnamese people's courageous fight for liberation, national independence and unification of their country, a fight which contributes in large measure to the people's common struggle against imperialism and colonial slavery, for national independence, for peace in Southeast Asia and the rest of the world.

The Patriotic Front fully agrees with the position of the BCP and the People's Government and holds that the NLFSV really is the only lawful spokesman of the South Vietnamese people. It fully identifies itself with the NLFSV declaration of March 22, 1965, and the declaration of the DRV Government of April 8, 1965. No decision on South Vietnam can be taken without the decisive say of the NLF.

The Patriotic Front and the Bulgarian people as a whole consider it their internationalist duty—as the declaration of the Bulgarian Government points out — to render all-round moral and material assistance to South Vietnam and to support it in every way, so as to help safeguard the security and independence of Vietnam. Should the DRV Government and the NLFSV so desire, the Bulgarian people are ready to send volunteers, who would fight against the aggressor shoulder to shoulder with their Vietnamese brothers.

On behalf of the South Vietnamese people, the NLFSV delega-

tion expresses deep gratitude to the BCP, the Bulgarian Government, the Patriotic Front and the whole Bulgarian people for their increasing assistance and support to the South Vietnamese people against the U.S. aggressor. This valuable support is evidence of the Bulgarian people's profound internationalism and fraternal solidarity. It is a source of inspiration to the South Vietnamese people in their just war.

The NLFSV delegation is gratified by the important progress the Bulgarian people have made toward a happy life and the prosperity of their country. It is grateful for the hearty welcome it was given in Bulgaria and for the appreciation of the just fight which the South Vietnamese people are carrying on to free themselves from the chains of imperialism.

The NLFSV delegation hails the Bulgarian people's readiness to open in Bulgaria a permanent mission of the Front, which would help expand and strengthen the relations between the two fraternal peoples.

The two delegations hold that the visit paid by the NLFSV representatives to Bulgaria and the cordial and fraternal talks that have been taking place will greatly stimulate cooperation and strengthen the solidarity of the two organizations, of the Bulgarian and Vietnamese peoples, in their fight against imperialism and U.S. aggression, for the triumph of justice, democracy, social progress, national independence and world peace.

WE SUPPORT THE COURAGEOUS STRUGGLE OF THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE

Excerpt* from Speech by Wladyslaw Gomulka

Poland is a socialist country, a member of the great commonwealth of socialist nations. We abide by the principle of peaceful coexistence with every capitalist country. The only alternative to coexistence is a nuclear war that would wipe out civilization. President Johnson knows this full well. Yet it is a fact that the United States has for months been bombing villages and towns, burning the modest property of peasants, destroying the crops, factories, schools, hospitals, bridges and roads, and killing the defenceless population of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, a member of the socialist world community. The Polish people are deeply angered by this U.S. aggression. They support the Vietnamese people, who for twenty years have been battling with

*Delivered at a harvest home meeting in Warsaw. Published in Trybuna Ludu, Sept. 6, 1965.

colonialists and invaders, defending their freedom and national independence.

Increasingly strong troop units of the U.S. invaders are waging a dirty war against the national liberation movement in South Vietnam, whose population refuses to recognize the government of America's Saigon puppets.

An aggressor who begins a war never knows how far it may go or how it will end. No one knows at what stage the U.S. policy of stepping up the war in Vietnam might pass the limit beyond which it would develop into a world-wide conflagration.

We fully support the courageous struggle of the Vietnamese people for their freedom and independence and their right to shape their own fortunes, and condemn the brutal U.S. aggression in Vietnam, an act endangering world peace. Today, 26 years after the German imperialists unleashed World War II, we address to the U.S. President a message of peace inspired by friendship for the American people. We call on him:

—immediately to stop the piratial raids on the DRV;

—to withdraw the U.S. troops from South Vietnam;

—to carry out the Geneva agreements;

—to respect the will and sovereignty of the Vietnamese people and their right to the peaceful reunification of their country;

—to accept the proposal of the DRV Government as a basis for negotiations aimed at achieving political settlement.

ON SOLIDARITY WITH THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE*

In the opinion of the CC and the government, which I fully share, the conditions in which we have to act on the international arena give rise to no doubts. The international situation is complicated, and it has been somewhat aggravated of late. World reaction has launched an offensive, and the United States, its leader, has committed a series of aggressive acts.

The U.S. aggression in Vietnam is particularly brazen and outrageous. Ninety thousand U.S. soldiers have already been sent to South Vietnam, whose population is subjected to terror and violence. The Americans are carrying out bombing raids on North Vietnam, the DRV.

The position of our Party and government on this issue is clear. We denounce the aggressive action of the United States most resolutely and categorically. It is our principled viewpoint and con-

*From the speech of Janos Kádár, First Secretary of the CC, HSWP, at Constitution Day celebrations in Békéscsaba. **Népszabadság,** August 23, 1965.

viction that neither the U.S. nor any other country has the right to interfere in the internal affairs of another country, that it is necessary to liquidate, destroy the colonial system and its latest form, neo-colonialism. We consider that the states should live in peace and be independent, and we therefore condemn any armed provocation and aggression.

We voice solidarity with the entire Vietnamese people—both the population of South Vietnam and the North Vietnamese.

The policy of aggression stems from the inherent laws and nature of imperialism and capitalism, for the imperialists are incapable of giving mankind anything but oppression and war. When the imperialists had the opportunity, they imposed two world wars on mankind. Their science is how to, extract gold from the blood of the peoples.

The U.S. press states bluntly that the military build-up and intensified intervention in Vietnam are bringing fat profits to U.S. big business. No pains are taken to conceal the fact that in the first six months of this year 20 biggest U.S. companies pocketed $2,500 million in profits. We have every ground to say that the capitalist, imperialist science is how to extract gold from the blood and tears of the peoples. And it should be no surprise to the imperialists that ultimately the peoples grow sick of their science, rise in struggle, and destroy their rule. World history and the experience of class struggle show that although the peoples have to suffer much and live under a protracted rule of imperialism, which often scores temporary victories, it is the peoples who win in the end.

As for us, socialist countries and other progressive countries and peoples, our duty is to help the Vietnamese people in their struggle. By defending their land our Vietnamese brothers are fighting for our freedom and independence as well, and it is our moral duty to help them. We are and will go on rendering assistance to them. I can inform you that our fighting Vietnamese brothers have been getting from the socialist world all the support they asked for, and that they will continue to receive it. The most important assistance (this, too, should be mentioned here), as in any such struggle over the last decades, is provided by the Soviet Union, but all the socialist countries, ours included, should honestly contribute their own bit, which we are doing. As far as our forces and possibilities permit, we are giving and will continue to give assistance to our fighting brothers in Vietnam.

We consider that socialism is a world-wide movement, that the cause of peace is the cause of all mankind, and that socialism and peace are inseparable. The place of all those who are devoted to the cause of socialism and peace is always where socialism, national independence and peace have to be safeguarded. Our task is to fight everywhere and untiringly against imperialist aggression

and colonialism, and one of the aims of our policy is to prevent a new world war. Socialism and Communism have become the decisive force of human history and must therefore bear decisively on mankind's most important problems. In present-day conditions mankind is vitally interested in preventing a new world war, and this is why all who are sincerely devoted to communism are also devoted to the cause of peace. The interests of socialist construction also demand peace. It is our duty to avert a world war.

If somebody has to be argued with on whether this is correct, we should argue calmly, pointing out that we do not want to build communism through destroying the old world, at the price of hundreds of millions of lives. Our ideas are so powerful that in the present international conditions they can triumph all over the world.

The basic interests of the socialist countries and those of the newly-free countries vis-à-vis imperialism coincide. Our views are not completely identical, for countries differ in the levels of their development, which has its distinctive features in each country. We may differ in views, but it is vitally important for all of us to oppose imperialism in a united front. This is especially important in the present situation, above all as regards the struggle in Vietnam, which is the most complex and gravest international problem of our time.

STATEMENT* BY THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE CC, CP OF AUSTRIA

The United States is pouring more troops into South Vietnam and employing ever more barbaric methods of warfare there. It boasts that its aircraft laden with high-explosive and incendiary bombs carry out daily hundreds of raids on peaceful towns and villages in the liberated areas of South Vietnam and in North Vietnam. The "conventional" equipment of its paratroopers and marines includes a chemical weapon innocently called "tear gas" which, on the strength of the general sanction issued by U.S. Defense Department, is used indiscriminately against both armed and unarmed people. Untold suffering is caused to the Vietnamese people, who are fighting for nothing else but the same rights that were accorded to the Austrian people ten years ago: withdrawal of occupation troops, complete freedom, independence and neutrality.

Therefore no Austrian loving peace and freedom can remain

*Volkstimme, October 13, 1965.

indifferent to the horrors of the ravaging war which he had experienced himself and which cannot be erased from his memory. Use of gas in warfare is prohibited by an international convention. Only the fascists dared to use it—Mussolini in Abyssinia and Hitler in Oswiecim. But even they did not venture to employ gas during World War II hostilities. Today the U.S. imperialists resort to this barbaric means in the war against the Vietnamese people fighting for their right to independence recognized in the Geneva Agreements back in 1954!

The Communist Party of Austria calls upon all Austrians holding democratic views and recognizing the principles of international law to voice indignation at the predatory war the Americans are waging in Vietnam. The Communists urge all champions of peace to step up their efforts in the worldwide struggle for the termination of the war in Vietnam through ensuring universal peace in conditions of freedom. It appeals to Dr. Kreisky, the head of the Austrian delegation to the current UN General Assembly, that he demand an immediate end to the air raids on North Vietnam and to the employment of barbaric methods of warfare in South Vietnam, with a view to creating the elementary prerequisites for talks on peace in Vietnam.

JOINT SOVIET-MALI COMMUNIQUE*

Mobido Keita, Secretary-General of the Sudanese Union-RDA party paid an official friendly visit to the Soviet Union from October 4 through 10, 1965, at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

During his stay in the Soviet Union talks were held, the participants in which included:

from Soviet side—L. I. Brezhnev, First Secretary of the CC, CPSU; A. N. Kosygin, member of the CC, CPSU Presidium and Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; A. I. Mikoyan, member of the CC, CPSU Presidium and President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet; B. N. Ponomaryov, Secretary of the CC, CPSU; V. V. Kuznetsov, First Deputy Foreign Minister; S. A. Skachkov, alternate member of the CC, CPSU and Chairman of the State Committee of the USSR Council of Ministers for Foreign Economic Relations; M. R. Kuzmin, First Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade; Y. A. Malik, Deputy Foreign Minister; I. A. Melnik, Ambassador of the USSR to the Mali Republic;

from the Mali side—Mobido Keita, Secretary-General of the Sudanese Union-RDA, President and Chairman of the Government of the Mali Republic; Idrissa Diara, Political Secretary of the party; Maderia Keita, Secretary of the National Political Bureau of the party and Minister of Justice; Ousman Ba, Secretary of the National Political Bureau of the Party and Minister-Delegate for Foreign Affairs; Mamadou Aw, Minister of Public Works, Communications and Power; Famadi Sissoko, deputy to the National Assembly, General Secretary of the National Union of Mali Working People; Djibrilla Maiga, Ambassador of the Mali Republic to the USSR; Mamadou Talla, the President's technical adviser on foreign affairs, information and the press.

In the course of the talks, which proceeded in an atmosphere of complete frankness and friendship, questions were discussed of the further development of fraternal relations and consolidation of contacts between the CPSU and the Sudanese Union-RDA, and opinions were exchanged on topical international problems.

I

The sides informed each other about the economic and social development of their countries and shared plans for the future. They put on record the great importance of the socio-economic reforms being carried out in Mali—the establishment of a state sector in industry, agriculture and commerce, introduction of new

*Pravda, October 12, 1965.

social and labor legislation, and so on. The experience of democratic changes in Mali, which conform to the concrete conditions of the country and are aimed at promoting development towards socialism, is a major contribution to the struggle of the peoples who have embarked on socialist construction, and to the struggle for the genuine political and economic independence of the African and other countries which have freed thmselves from the colonial yoke, for their continued advance along the road of national renaissance and social progress.

The sides discussed questions of Soviet-Mali relations. They noted with satisfaction the successful development of cooperation between the two countries in the economic, technical, cultural and educational fields on the basis of friendship, mutual respect for sovereignty, and non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

Both sides attach great importance to the maintenance and further development and consolidation of contacts between the leaders of the USSR and the Mali Republic, between government, public and other organizations of the two countries. In the opinion of the sides, such contacts make for still better cooperation between their countries and stronger friendship between the Soviet and Mali peoples.

The Mali side highly appreciates the Soviet Union's assistance, which greatly contributes to strengthening the national independence of the Mali Republic and to advancing the national industry, agriculture and education.

Both sides reaffirmed the mutual striving for and interest in the continued development of economic, technical and cultural cooperation, and discussed and outlined appropriate measures to be taken for the purpose.

II

Some problems of the present international situation which are of common interest were also discussed during the talks. The sides noted with gratification the identity of views of the USSR and the Mali Republic on many important international issues and the readiness to collaborate in the fight against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, for peace and the national independence and social progress of all nations.

Both sides again declared their determination to uphold in international relations the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, international cooperation, respect for the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of states, noninterference in internal affairs, and settlement of all disputes by peaceful means. They confirm their striving to do everything to

maintain these principles in the interests of peace and the security of the peoples.

Both sides resolutely support the efforts of the nonaligned nations to ease the world tension and strengthen international cooperation. They note the community of their views in regard to Afro-Asian solidarity and consider that the peoples of Asia and Africa are making a big positive contribution to the fight against colonialism and imperialism, to the preservation of peace.

The sides hope that the Second Afro-Asian Conference will be conducive to still closer unity of the forces fighting against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, for world peace and friendship among nations.

The Soviet Union and the Mali Republic denounce the imperialist armed intervention in South Vietnam and aggressive actions against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and voice their solidarity with the valiant struggle of the Vietnamese people. They vigorously support the demand that the bombing raids on the DRV and the intervention in South Vietnam be stopped immediately. The sides consider that the Vietnamese question can be settled on the basis of implementation of the Geneva agreements of 1954 on Indochina and withdrawal of all foreign troops from South Vietnam.

Both sides welcome the ceasefire between India and Pakistan, achieved through the efforts of all peace-loving states. The Soviet Union and the Mali Republic hope that the ceasefire will mark an important step towards a lasting peace in that area and a peaceful settlement of the disputed issues between India and Pakistan.

Both sides carefully examined the problems of the national-liberation struggle at the present stage. They most emphatically denounce colonialism and neo-colonialism in any form. The Soviet Union and the Mali Republic express full solidarity with the peoples and countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America heroically fighting against colonialism and imperialism, for national liberation, independence and social progress. The Soviet Union and the Mali Republic are firmly resolved to continue rendering every assistance and support to the peoples fighting to put an end to colonial oppression.

The Soviet Union and the Mali Republic exchanged views on the situation in the Congo (Leopoldville). The sides voiced their solidarity with the Congolese people, who are enduring great suffering as a result of the imperialists' interference in the internal affairs of the Congo and non-compliance with the decisions of the Organization of African Unity demanding an end to this interference, the expulsion of the mercenaries and the establishment of peace and national unity.

The Soviet Union emphasized the great importance of the Organization of African Unity and wished it success in its activities

aimed at securing the solution of Africa's problems by the Africans themselves, in the interests of the peoples of Africa, against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

The Soviet Union and the Mali Republic noted the importance of ensuring equal international cooperation in the economic and commerical fields and removing all discrimination.

The Soviet Union and the Mali Republic reaffirm their support of the United Nations Organization and express determination to resist effiectively any attempts to utilize the UN in the interests of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. They regard the normalization of the work of the UN General Assembly, achieved thanks to the firm and consistent stand of the socialist and non-aligned member-states of the UN, as a positive phenomenon. The sides declare their readiness to continue to help in strengthening the UN and enhancing its effectiveness on the basis of strict observance of the UN Charter by all the member-states of this Organization.

The Mali side supports the Soviet Union's proposal in the General Assembly on the impermissibility of interference in the internal affairs of states and on safeguarding their sovereignty and independence. In the present situation, when the imperialist states are committing acts of aggression against the freedom and independence of sovereign states and interfering in their internal affairs, the UN should take effective measures to uphold the independence and sovereignty of all states.

Both sides consider that taking effective measures to prevent nuclear proliferation is an urgent problem inseparably linked with the maintenance of universal security and peace. They are in favor of an international treaty to close all outlets for the spread of nuclear weapons—both direct and indirect, international military alliances included.

Both sides come out resolutely for the immediate restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the UN.

The Soviet Union and the Mali Republic declare that an agreement on the problems of general and complete disarmament would be decisive for strengthening world peace and would release colossal means for the needs of the economic and cultural development of all states, including the young independent states of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The Soviet Union and the Mali Republic noted the positive role of the Moscow treaty of 1963 banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water; they express themselves in favor of spreading this treaty to underground tests. The stand for the liquidation of foreign war bases and withdrawal of all troops from foreign territories, the setting up of atom-free zones, and other measures to help restrict the arms race. The sides attach particular importance to an earliest

possible agreement on banning the use of nuclear weapons and destroying all their stockpiles. The Soviet Union unreservedly supports the demand of the Mali Republic and other African states for strict observance by all states of the United Nations' decision on making Africa a nuclear-free zone.

Having in mind the need for unhampered progress in the disarmament issue, the Soviet Union and the Mali Republic favor convening in 1966 a world conference on disarmament with the participation of all states.

The sides consider utterly abnormal the situation in the center of Europe, where, twenty years after the end of World War II, the vestiges of the war have not been eliminated yet and no aggreement has been reached on German peaceful settlement. As a result, the situation in the heart of Europe remains strained, which threatens peace in Europe and the world over.

The sides consider that German peaceful settlement can and must be achieved with due regard to the fact that there exist two German states.

III

The leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Sudanese Union-RDA exchanged views on questions of development and consolidation of cooperation between the two parties.

Both sides expressed full satisfaction over the development of comradely relations between the CPSU and the Sudanese Union-RDA, which has been facilitated by the exchange of party delegations and the promotion of different forms of friendly relations and contacts between the two parties.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union salutes the Sudanese Union-RDA, which has become the organizer of all the national forces of the Mali people in the struggle for the socio-economic transformation of the country, for the building of socialism, and wishes it success in advancing the country along the road of national renaissance and social progress.

The Sudanese Union-RDA salutes the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the organizer of the world's first socialist state, the inspirer and leader of the Soviet people in the great history-making effort to build communism in the USSR.

The CPSU and the Sudanese Union-RDA believe that broader inter-party contacts, mutual acquaintance with methods of government and party work and exchange of information will make for greater cooperation between the parties.

The leaders of the CPSU and the Sudanese Union-RDA note that the development of Soviet-Mali inter-party relations has a reliable basis in the joint struggle of both countries and their peoples for

the triumph of the ideas of scientific socialism, against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism; further consolidation of these relations in the spirit of friendship and mutual confidence fully conforms to the national interests of the peoples of the Soviet Union and the Mali Republic, to the interests of all the revolutionary forces of our time.

Both sides expressed confidence that the friendly visit of Modibo Keita, Secretary-General of the Sudanese Union-RDA, to the Soviet Union and the frank and extensive exchange of opinions between the leaders of the two parties and states will be instrumental in the further all-round consolidation of friendship, cooperation and mutual understanding between the USSR and the Mali Republic and will contribute to the struggle of the peoples for national independence, social progress and peace.

Mobido Keita, Secretary-General of the Sudanese Union-RDA and President and Chairman of the Government of the Mali Republic, invited L. I. Brezhnev, First Secretary of the CC, CPSU, A. N. Kosygin, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and A. I. Mikoyan, President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, to come to the Mali Republic on an official visit. The invitation was accepted with gratitude.

ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

SEPTEMBER-OCTOBER 1965

Sept. 3-11. A Party and government delegation from the Socialist Republic of Rumania, led by Nicolae Ceausescu, General Secretary of the CC, RCP, paid an official visit to the Soviet Union at the invitation of the CC CPSU and the Council of Ministers of the USSR.

Sept. 3-14. A Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party delegation, led by Zoltan Komoscin, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC HSWP, stayed in France at the invitation of the CC FCP.

Sept. 4-5. The CC CP of Belgium met in plenary session. The main report was presented by Ernest Burnelle, Chairman of the CPB.

The plenum discussed the political situation in connection with the Sixteenth Congress of the CPB, to be held at the end of October.

Sept. 6-15. A Party and government delegation from the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, led by Antonin Novotny, First Secretary of the CC, CPC, President of the Republic, paid an official visit to the Soviet Union at the invitation of the CC, CPSU, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, and the Soviet government.

Sept. 11-12. L. Brezhnev, First Secretary of the CC CPSU, stayed in the Polish People's Republic at the invitation of Wladyslaw Gomulka, First Secretary of the CC, PUWP. W. Gomulka and L. Brezhnev had friendly talks about ways of furthering cooperation between the PPR and the USSR, and between the PUWP and the CPSU. They also discussed a wide range of international questions.

Sept. 11-12. The CC, CP of Argentina held a plenary meeting. It discussed a report on the activities of the Party since the CC plenum of March 27 last. It also discussed the position and struggle of the Argentine people and the international situation.

Sept. 13-18. A Party and government delegation from the Socialist Republic of Rumania, led by Nicolae Ceausecu, General Secretary of the CC, RCP, paid an official visit to the People's Republic of Bulgaria at the invitation of the CC BCP and the government of the PRB.

Sept. 17-28. A Party and government delegation from the German Democratic Republic, led by Walter Ulbricht, First Secretary of the CC, SUPG, Chairman of the State Council of the GDR, stayed in the Soviet Union at the invitation of the CC, CPSU, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, and the Soviet government.

Sept. 21. *L'Humanité* published a joint communique of the CC FCP and a delegation from the Communist Party of Finland, led by Taisto Sinisalo, member of the Political Bureau of the CC CP of Finland, invited to France by the CC of the French Communist Party.

Sept. 22-27. Josip Broz Tito, President of the SFRY, General Secretary of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia paid an official visit to Bulgaria at the invitation of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the PRB and the CC, BCP.

Sept. 23. Leading functionaries of the Italian Communist Party and the Communist Party of the U.S.A. completed a series of talks in New York.

Sept. 23-24. The CC of the French Communist Party discussed and passed resolutions on the policy of the Party in connection with the coming Presidential elections (report by Waldeck Rochet), the economic and social position of the working people, and the struggle to uphold their demands (report by Georges Marchais), and on the situation in Vietnam and the struggle for peace (report by Raymond Guyot).

Sept. 24. M. Suslov, member of the Presidium and Secretary of the CC, CPSU, and B. Ponomaryov, Secretary of the CC, CPSU, received a delegation from the Supreme Revolutionary Council of the Congo (Leopoldville), led by Gaston Soumialot, during its stay in the Soviet Union.

Sept. 24. Alexandru Draghici, member of the Standing Presidium and Secretary of the CC, Rumanian Communist Party, and Paul Niculescu-Mizil, member of the Executive Committee and Secretary of the CC, RCP, received Friedl Furnberg, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC, CP of Austria, and R. Richter, member of the CC, CPA.

Sept. 25-26. The CC of the Communist Party of Norway discussed the results of the general election in Norway and the current tasks of the Party.

Sept. 25-Oct. 7. A delegation from the Rumanian Communist Party, led by Alexandru Draghici, member of the Standing Presidium and Secretary of the CC, RCP, stayed in France at the invitation of the FCP.

Sept. 27-29. A plenary meeting of the CC, CPSU, adopted the following resolutions:

(1) Measures to Improve Industrial Management and Planning and the Economic Stimulation of Industry (report by A. Kosygin).

(2) On the Convention of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU (report by L. Brezhnev).

Sept. 27-Oct. 2. A Party and government delegation from the Hungarian People's Republic, led by Janos Kadar, First Secretary of the CC, HSWP, paid a friendly visit to the Mongolian People's

Republic at the invitation of the Central Committee of the MPRP and the government of the MPR.

Sept. 27-Oct. 8. A CC, FCP delegation, led by Ronald Leroy, member of the Poltical Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party, stayed in the Hungarian People's Republic at the invitation of the CC, HSWP.

End of September. The CC of the Sudanese Communist Party discussed preparations for the Fourth Congress of the SCP, set for April 1966. It approved a statement condemning the activity of the Moslem Brotherhood, a religious organization, in the UAR.

Oct. 2. The National Leadership of the United Party of the Socialist Revolution of Cuba passed a decision establishing the Central Committee of the Party, the Political Bureau, the Secretariat, and CC commissions. The Central Committee of the UPSRC at its first meeting resolved to rename the Party the Communist Party of Cuba.

Oct. 2. The Communist Party of Uruguay observed its forty-fifth anniversary.

Oct. 2-3. The Communist Party of Finland met in plenary session. It heard a report by Ville Pessi, General Secretary of the CC CPF. It passed a resolution on the political situation at home and abroad. It also discussed preparations for the coming general election and examined the CC report to be presented to the coming 14th Congress of the FCP.

Oct. 4. A scientific conference devoted to the thirtieth anniversary of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern was held in Moscow.

Oct. 4-10. Modibo Keita, General Secretary of the Sudanese Union RDA party, President and Chairman of the Government of the Republic of Mali, was on an official visit in the Soviet Union at the invitation of the CC, CPSU.

Oct. 7-15. A HSWP delegation led by Jeno Fock, member of the Political Bureau of the CC, HSWP, Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic, visited the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. It held talks with a PWPV delegation led by Le Duan, First Secretary of the CC.

Oct. 8. L. Brezhnev, First Secretary of the CC, CPSU, M. Suslov, member of the Presidium and Secretary of the CC, CPSU, and B. Ponomaryov, Secretary of the CC CPSU, received at the CC, CPSU Franz Muhri, Chairman of the CP of Austria.

Oct. 10. The Italian Communist Party published a manifesto condemning the U.S. imperialist action in Vietnam.

Oct. 10-17. The Communist Party of Chile held its 13th Congress. The CC report was presented by Louis Corvalan, General Secretary of the CC Central Committee.

Oct. 11. The Dominican Communist Party called on all demo-

crats and all the national organizations of the country to set up a united front "against U.S. imperialism, the chief enemy of our people."

Oct. 14-15. A scientific conference devoted to the 13th anniversary of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern took place in Prague.

Oct. 15-17. L. Brezhnev, First Secretary of the CC, CPSU, visited Czechoslovakia at the invitation of Antonin Novotny, First Secretary of the CC, CPC.

Oct. 16. A plenary meeting of the Executive of the SUPG of West Berlin resolved to hold the First Congress of the SUPG of West Berlin on February 12-13, 1966.

Mid-October. An enlarged plenum of the National Committee of the Communist Party of Canada approved the Communist platform for the general election set for November 8.

Oct. 16. In Helsinki, the CC of the Communist Party of Finland discussed "Marxist Theory of the State, and Finland's Road to Socialism," a document prepared by a special commission.

Oct. 17. The British and South African Communist parties published in London a communique on their mutual talks.

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OF COMINTERN

—P. N. Ponomaryov
—V. Koucky

48TH ANNIVERSARY
GREAT OCTOBER REVOLUTION

—D. S. Polyansky

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INTERNATIONAL MEETING DEVOTED TO 30th ANNIVERSARY OF THE SEVENTH CONGRESS OF THE COMINTERN*

IDEAS TESTED BY HISTORY

An international meeting sponsored by the CC of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia jointly with the jounal *World Marxist Review* opened in the Prague offices of *WMR* on October 21 to celebrate the 30th anniversary of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International. The prominent representatives of 39 Communist and Workers' parties of all continents who attended the meeting included many participants in the historic congress, which was held in 1935, among them Comrades Khaled Bagdash, General Secretary of the Syrian Communist Party, Helena Berg, Franz Dahlem and Karl Mewis, members of the CC SUPG, Jakub Demir, First Secretary of the Communist Party of Turkey, Jacques Duclos, member of the Political Bureau of the French Communist Party, Dolores Ibarruri, Chairman of the Communist Party of Spain, Johann Koplenig, Honorary Chairman of the Communist Party of Austria, Boris Ponomaryov, Secretary of the CC, CPSU, Pavel Reiman, director of the Institute of the History of the CP of Czechoslovakia, and Encho Staikov, member of the Political Bureau of the Bulgarian Communist Party.**

Opening the meeting, CC, CPC Secretary Vladimir Koucky said that the purpose of the meeting was to have a comradely exchange of opinions on the subject "The Historical Results of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern and Our Time," discuss the role the congress played in developing Marxist-Leninist ideology, and appraise its significance for uniting the anti-fascist forces in the fight for peace, democracy, national and social liberation and the further development of the world revolutionary movement.

Comrade Koucky went on to characterize the changes that have

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*Rude Pravo, October 22, 23 and 24, 1965.

**The following parties were represented: CP of Austria, CP of Argentina, Bulgarian CP, CP of Bolivia, CP of Brazil, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Guatemalan Party of Labour, Socialist Unity Party of Germany, CP of Honduras, CP of Greece, CP of Denmark, CP of India, Jordanian CP, Iraqi CP, People's Party of Iran, CP of Spain, Italian CP, Progressive Party of Cypriot Working People, CP of Colombia, Party of the People's Vanguard of Costa Rica, Lebanese CP, Mexican CP, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, Peruvian CP, Polish United Workers' Party, CP of Salvador, Syrian CP, CP of the Soviet Union, CP of the USA, Tunisian CP, CP of Turkey, CP of Finland, French CP, CP of Ceylon, CP of Czechoslovakia, CP of Chile, CP of Sweden, CP of South Africa,

taken place in the world in the past 30 years, above all the emergence of the world community of socialist countries, the victorious development of the struggle for national liberation, and the new scope gained by the world revolutionary and working-class movement. Problems which the congress discussed constantly advance to the foreground, Comrade Koucky said further on. These are problems of the struggle against imperialist war, of organic connection between the struggle for socialism and the struggle for democracy, of allies of the working class, and of the variety of forms of transition from capitalism to socialism.

The congress carried forward the struggle the Communist International launched in Lenin's time. Underlying its decisions is a demand of paramount importance which is by no means mechanical and formal — the demand for the unity of the world Communist movement which is not something established once and for all but presents a continuous process in the course of which particular care should be taken to ensure that our movement as a whole and its individual contingents should always measure up to the tasks of our time.

B. N. Ponomaryov, Secretary of the CC CPSU, was the first to take the floor. He spoke about the historic significance of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern for the world today — the most eloquent proof of the correctness of its line and ideas.*

Johann Koplenig, Honorary Chairman of the Communist Party of Austria, noted the importance of the congress for the struggle of the Austrian Communists and of the emphasis it laid on the connection between the struggle for democracy and the struggle for socialism for the present-day conditions in Austria.

Comrade Bagdash, General Secretary of the Syrian Communist Party, spoke about the impression made upon him, a young Communist then, by the congress, which helped the revolutionary movement in the developing countries to specify the tasks of the movement and above all to rally all progressive forces in the common struggle against imperialism.

Ib Noerland of the Communist Party of Denmark stressed that the Communist parties are developing and acting on the basis of the unity of aims and ideology and that therefore any success of an individual party demonstrates and consolidates the successes of the movement as a whole. Each party bears a certain share of responsibility for the development of the movement, he said.

Comrade Abdul-samad Kambakhsh, member of the Political Bureau of the People's Party of Iran, told the participants in the meeting about the Iranian people's struggle for freedom, about the political and practical activities of the Iranian patriots to build a

*B. N. Ponomaryov's report follows.—Ed.

united anti-imperialist front of the broadest sections of the people which would help win national independence.

Comrade Jacques Duclos, member of the Political Bureau of the French Communist Party, touched upon some aspects of the struggle of the French Communists for a popular front, stressing its importance in the present conditions. Speaking about the lessons of the joint fight against fascism, Comrade Duclos said that fascism made no distinction between Communists and Socialists, and that working-class unity is essential both in the struggle against fascism and in the struggle against monopoly rule. We shall go on working to unite all democrats against one-man rule in France, Duclos declared.

Comrade J. Ledwohn, member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Germany, spoke about the main aspects of the class struggle in West Germany and about the leadership the CPG is giving to the fight against Bonn's aggressive plans. He paid great attention to the role of the trade union.

F. Nassar, First Secretary of the Jordanian Communist Party, devoted his contribution to the role of the working class is playing in the national-liberation movement in the developing countries.

Rodolfo Ghioldi, member of the CC Executive of the Communist Party of Argentina, said that the support of the socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union facilitates the anti-imperialist struggle of the working class of the Latin American countries, and that the revolutionary example of Cuba serves as a moral stimulus to the millions of the working people of the continent.

The last speaker on the first day of the meeting was Jorge Montes, member of the CC of the Communist Party of Chile. He agreed that the international Communist discussion that took place thirty years ago was of history-making significance. A broad popular anti-fascist front was formed prior to the Second World War in Chile as well, he said. During the new rise of the struggle for unity and democracy in 1958-64, the progressive forces drew upon the experience gained in the prewar years.

REPRESENTATIVES OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES IN THE PRAGUE CASTLE

On October 22 participants in the meeting were received by Comrade Antonin Novotny, First Secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. The reception was attended by members of the Presidium and secretaries of the CC.

In the evening the guests, who included Comrades Duclos, Ponomaryov, Ghioldi, Koplenig, Staikov, Bagdash, Demir and Dolores Ibarruri, were invited to the Prague Castle for a friendly talk with

representatives of our Party — members of the CC Presidium Jaromir Dolansky, Zdenek Fierlinger, Jiri Hendrych, Drahomir Kolder, Joseph Lenart, Boguslav Lastovicka and Antonin Novotny, alternate member of the CC Presidium Antonin Kapek, secretaries of the CC Vladimir Koucky, Frantisek Penc and Lubomir Strougal, and chairman of the Central Auditing Commission Pavel Hron.

Greeting the guests, Antonin Novotny expressed satisfaction that so many representatives of fraternal parties were taking part in the meeting devoted to the 30th anniversary of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern. This testified to the importance of the congress, to the fact that its ideas had spread all over the world. I think, Comrade Novotny said, that there are no differences in appraising the significance of the congress. Many of us remember the '30s, the onset of fascism and the work of the congress, which stressed the need for a broad popular front of struggle against fascism and war. The decisions of the congress, fundamental for the development of the working-class movement, have proved highly fruitful.

The world Communist movement is strong today, Novotny said. In many countries Communists have become the leading force, which confirms the progressive nature and correctness of the ideas of the Seventh Congress. Comrade Novotny paid tribute to the memory of those who initiated and organized the congress and contributed much to its work.

Comrade Novotny proposed a toast to the mobilizing ideas with which the Seventh Congress enriched our movement, to the unbreakable unity of the world Communist movement, to the triumph of socialism, to victory in the fight to liquidate wars, colonialism and imperialism, to the constant growth and consolidation of our movement, to the growth of the ranks and influence of the Communist parties, to the successful activity of all the Communist parties in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism.

The talk proceeded in a very cordial atmosphere. Many important problems of our movement were discussed, and those who had taken part in the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, among them Comrade Novotny, who had been a member of the Czechoslovak delegation, shared their reminiscences of the work of that historic forum.

★ ★ ★

The first to take the floor at the October 22 session, Comrade Deszo Nemes, member of the Political Bureau of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, said that the Seventh Congress of the Communist International had helped the Hungarian Communists to work out a new strategy which oriented the party on the tasks

of direct struggle for democracy. He also noted the importance of the liberation of Hungary by the Soviet Army for the further development of the country. Comrade Nemes described the progress made by Hungary in the postwar years, but he noted that Rakosci's sectarian policies had done great harm to the Hungarian working class.

Comrade Gastone Gensini, director of the Italian Communist Party School, said that a discussion on the Seventh Congress of the Comintern could not be academic but should be of great political significance, for the conclusions and slogans of the congress were highly valuable for the working-class movement now as well. He mentioned the theoretical contribution of Antonio Gramsci, who developed new ideas on the preparation of the revolution, and the ideological testament of Palmiro Togliatti. Togliatti's analysis of the main problems of the present-day world is for the Italian Communists a guide to action in their fight for the democratization of Italian society. Comrade Gensini also stressed the importance of the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU for the world Communist movement and pointed to its connection with the Seventh Congress of the Comintern.

Comrade Franz Dahlem, member of the CC of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, spoke about the complexity of development of the German working-class movement and about the response Dimitrov's speeches at the Leipzig trial and at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern had evoked among the German working people. He noted that the Seventh Congress had facilitated the elaboration of the united popular front line in Germany. He also referred to the revanchist aggressive plans of the West German imperialists who are bent on annexing the German Democratic Republic and whom he described as a potential danger to world peace.

Comrade Witold Jarosinski, Secretary of the CC of the Polish United Workers' Party, said that even after the tragic dissolution of their party by the Comintern the Polish Communists had continued their struggle and worked out the concept of the broad anti-Hitler popular front which later on led the fight against the invaders. He also spoke about the unity established between the Polish Communists and Socialists, which, along with other measures, enhanced the prestige of the working class among the masses. In conclusion Comrade Jarosinski emphasized the need for the unity of the world Communist movement and pointed to the 20th Congress of the CPSU as a model of scientific analysis of world problems.

Comrade Dolores Ibarruri, Chairman of the Communist Party of Spain, noted that, among other things, the Seventh Congress had concerned itself with restoring Leninist method of work and ensuring a realistic appraisal of the contemporary situation. Many

ideas of the congress have not lost topicality, she said. But they should not be applied to our reality mechanically, because the conditions of work of the Communist parties have changed. Comrade Dolores Ibarruri went on to speak about the work of the Spanish Communists to build a broad popular front and praised Georgi Dimitrov's contribution to the elaboration of the line of the Seventh Congress. After recalling the fascist coup in Spain and the powerful movement of solidarity, which had manifested itself vividly in the participation of international brigades in the war in Spain, she described the current struggle of the CPS against the Franco regime.

Comrade Ezekias Papaioannu, General Secretary of the Progressive Party of the Cypriot Working People (AKEL), spoke about the activities of his party and about the historic importance of the emergence of the Cypriot state for the Cypriots, and also for the struggle against imperialism. He said that world imperialism remains the chief enemy of the Cypriot people and that the task at present is to ensure the political and economic independence of Cyprus. Comrade Papaioannu went on to share the experience AKEL has gained in the fight against dogmatism and sectarianism, whose manifestation in our movement is very dangerous, for dogmatism and sectarianism isolate the party from the masses.

Comrade Enchò Staikov, member of the Political Bureau of the Bulgarian Communist Party, recalled the history of the Fatherland Front in Bulgaria and the role Georgi Dimitrov had played in shaping the line of the Comintern and of the Bulgarian Communist Party. He noted that the 20th Congress of the CPSU and the Moscow meetings of 1957 and 1960 had given an appraisal of the new international situation and set important tasks before the Communists of all the world, above all the task of struggle to prevent war. He said that the Seventh Congress of the Comintern had highly appreciated the role of the Soviet Union in the struggle of the peoples for peace, socialism, democracy and national freedom, and that this role had grown still more since.

The importance of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern for the African people's fight for freedom was stressed in the speech of the representative of the Communists of South Africa. He declared, on their behalf, that the terroristic regime of apartheid could only be overthrown through armed struggle. Formerly, he said, the oppressed nations had one socialist country to look to; now they have fourteen. This inspires us with fresh strength in our struggle. We stand on the side of the heroic Vietnamese people, and we shall support them in their fight for a just cause. In conclusion the representative of the South African Communists stressed the need for the unity of the Communist movement in its struggle against world imperialism.

The last contribution at the October 22 session was by Comrade Ramon Amaya Amador, member of the CC of the Communist Party of Honduras. He said that now, thirty years after the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, sectarianism and dogmatism were again bourgeoning in some Communist parties, which showed that these parties had failed to draw conclusions from the lessons of the Seventh Congress. The strategy and tactics worked out by that congress, he continued, are of vast importance for the national-liberation struggle. In conclusion Comrade Amador told the meeting participants about the tasks of Communists in the Latin American countries.

THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT — EMBODIMENT OF THE UNITY OF THE WORLD REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS

Arnoldo Meirelis of the Communist Party of Brazil was the first to speak at the morning session on October 23. He described the Brazilian Communists' efforts to build a broad patriotic front for the purpose of establishing a government capable of restoring democratic freedoms, restricting the influence of foreign capital and pursuing an independent policy. These efforts have not brought the desired result, he said. The front is not broad and united enough yet, for we have not waged a consistent struggle against sectarianism.

Then the floor was taken by Comrade Koucky,* followed by Comrade Acosta, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Peru, who spoke about the guerrilla war being waged in some regions of Peru. This war has been caused by the appalling social and economic conditions of the peasantry, he said. The Communist Party supports the guerrilla movement, although the Peruvian Communists do not consider that there is a revolutionary situation in the country. But the revolutionary crisis is deepening, and the punitive operations against the guerrillas, directed by U.S. instructors, are aggravating it.

Comrade Inkeri Lehtinen, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of Finland, analyzed the experience of the struggle for a broad popular front in Finland and described Comrade Kuusinen's role in preparing the Seventh Congress of the Comintern. She noted that the anti-fascist struggle in Finland had not been successful because of sabotage on the part of the Social Democrats, who had invariably refused to act jointly with the Communists. A definite role had also been played by the sectarians in the Party, which till 1944 was compelled to work underground. In conclusion Comrade Inkeri Lehtinen proposed that a meeting similar to the present one be organized to discuss problems of the youth.

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*Vladimir Koucky's report follows.—**Ed.**

Comrade Claude Lightfoot from the Communist Party U.S.A. shared reminiscences of the work of the Seventh Congress, in which he had taken part, and said how greatly he had been impressed with the Congress' keynote: "Learn from the masses!" He voiced solidarity with the heroic struggle of the people of South Vietnam and warned against forgetting that the working class is the pivotal revolutionary force in the world today. He refuted the assertion that the American people had not taken part in the fight against fascism and expressed confidence that now as well the American people would find the strength to come out against the imperialists of their own country.

Cereviyn Davagsuren, delegate from the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, devoted his speech to the peculiarities of the Mongolian road to socialism—practical realization of Lenin's thesis on the possibility for underdeveloped countries to by-pass the capitalist stage. Our Party, like the entire world revolutionary movement, fully supports the heroic Vietnamese people in their just struggle against the U.S. invaders, he said.

Speaking on behalf of the Communist Party of Greece, Comrade Dimitris Lakkas mentioned the Comintern's assistance to the Greek Communists in the struggle against the fascist and militarist clique which restored the monarchy in Greece in the mid-thirties, and described the development of the situation in the Party following World War II.

Comrade Gerardo Unsueta, member of the Presidium of the Mexican Communist Party, acquainted the meeting with the history and activities of his Party. He said that the Communist program of building a broad popular front called for alliance with the peasantry and for rallying the trade unions, whose activities he reviewed in the concluding part of his speech.

Comrade Zaki Hairi, member of the CC of the Iraqi Communist Party, stressed that our movement can be strengthened only when there is criticism and self-criticism. The Iraqi Communists, he said, will never renounce their world outlook and will never give up their independent proletarian organization, which must not be dissolved in the nationalist mass. Proletarian internationalism commands us to display solidarity with the Vietnamese people, and also to overcome the differences in our movement. Therefore our Party supports the conclusions of the Moscow Meeting of nineteen parties and unreservedly subscribes to the appeal for convening, at a suitable date, an enlarged consultative conference of the Communist and Workers' parties.

The first speaker at the afternoon session was Mohamed Harmel, a Tunisian Communist leader. He emphasized the need for the Communists to unite with the other progressive forces in the struggle for the development of the country. Comrade Roberto

Soria Romeroa, member of the CC of the Communist Party of Bolivia, who spoke next, dealt with the policy of setting up a united anti-imperialist front to overthrow the rule of military juntas. The working people see the correctness of our policy, he declared.

Comrade S. G. Sardesai, member of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India, said that the Seventh Congress of the Comintern had had a tremendous impact on the national-liberation struggle in his country. He went on to state the attitude of the Indian Communists to the Congress Party, to its policy, to some measures taken by the Indian government, and to the current Indo-Pakistani conflict.

The representative of the Lebanese Communist Party pointed to the importance of the thesis on the state of national democracy, formulated by the Moscow Meeting of 1960, for the activities of the Lebanese Communists. Comrade Lars Gunnar Ohman, who represented the Communist Party of Sweden, described the situation in his country and the complex tasks facing the Swedish Communists. Comrade Jakub Demir, First Secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of Turkey, gave an historical outline of his country's development and described the tasks the Turkish Communists were carrying out in the fight for the rights of the working people.

The meeting participants were greeted by Comrade Mendis, member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Ceylon.

Comrade Abdul Samad Kambakhsh of the People's Party of Iran, who took the floor for a second time, was the last speaker.

The results of the discussion were summed up by Y. P. Frantsov, Chief Editor of *World Marxist Review*. He noted the fruitfulness of international Communist meetings to discuss important aspects and problems of the theory and history of the world Communist movement. Experience shows that such discussions promote the great cause of strengthening Communist unity and the spirit of proletarian internationalism.

We believe, Comrade Frantsov went on to say, that the meeting has demonstrated the desire of all its participants to discuss in common important topical problems and exchange the experience of the many-sided activities of Marxist-Leninist parties. This should be encouraged. Thirty years after the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, the participants in our meeting, loyal to the traditions of the Seventh Congress, the traditions of our world Communist movement, have declared for joint action against the war danger, against imperialist aggression, for common efforts to curb the war-mongers. They have voiced solidarity with the heroic Vietnamese people fighting against U.S. imperialism. The world Communist movement is an embodiment of the objective unity of

the world revolutionary process, which imparts still greater strength to it.

In conclusion Comrade Frantsov expressed the hope that the exchange of experience at the meeting — experience the Marxist-Leninist parties gained in the 30 years since the Seventh Congress of the Comintern—would serve the common struggle of the world Communist movement against imperialism and war, for rallying broad masses of the working people under the banner of peace, democracy and socialism.

FOR UNITY IN THE COMMUNIST RANKS, FOR INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY*

B. N. PONOMARYOV

The Seventh Congress of the Comintern was a landmark in the history of the world Communist movement. It contributed immensely to the development and upsurge of the movement and enriched Marxist-Leninist theory, strategy and tactics in the struggle for the vital interests of the working class and the people and, above all, in the struggle against fascism and world war. The decisions of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern were a natural stage in the development of the world Communist movement and of its struggle against Right opportunism and "Left" doctrinarianism.

The march of history has shown that the line charted by the Seventh Congress was correct and scientifically grounded. It helped to concentrate the forces of the working class and the people on the chief objectives in the struggle for social progress.

Even more favorable conditions have been created today for a successful struggle for socialism on a world scale. The socialist front has expanded. One-third of mankind is already living under the socialist banner. The Soviet Union, the world's first socialist country, has arrived at the stage of communist construction. The socialist system consisting of 14 states, forms today the mainstay of the world revolutionary progress.

The revolutionary movement has spread throughout the world. The working class of the developed capitalist countries is unfolding a vigorous struggle against the monopolies and their reactionary policy. The destruction of the colonial system was a heavy blow at imperialism. More than 60 new sovereign states have emerged and

*Pravda, Oct. 23, 1965.

some of them proclaimed it their purpose to effect the transition to socialism.

The ways and means of leading the masses up to revolution have become more varied. Thereby conditions are being created for a further offensive by the forces of national liberation, democracy, peace and socialism against the positions held by imperialism.

The historic significance of the Seventh Congress lies above all in the fact that it charted a clear-cut strategic plan and flexible tactics for the Communist parties to follow in their struggle against the fascist offensive and the threat of a new world war, and that it outlined the ways and means of rallying all the anti-fascist and anti-imperialist forces for this purpose.

The principal way of discharging this task was to create a united front of the working-class movement (united workers' front), a national front (united popular and anti-colonial, anti-imperialist front), and to unite all the anti-fascist forces on a world scale.

The Congress declared that the Soviet Union was the main force capable of repulsing fascism and preventing an imperialist war. It proclaimed defense of the first socialist country as the prime international duty of all Communist contingents.

In marking the 30th anniversary of the Seventh Comintern Congress, we lay special stress on the militant orientation of its decisions against wars unleashed by imperialism and against the system which begets them. The Congress resolutely posed the question of the need for a new approach to the problem of the working class and war. "Gone is the time," Georgi Dimitrov said, "when the working class did not take part independently and actively in settling such vital issues as that of war."

To this day we Marxist-Leninists do not associate the prospect of man's advance towards socialism with world wars. On the contrary, the struggle for the ultimate goals of the working-class movement has always been linked up with the struggle against imperialist wars. But while opposing the imperialist policy of suppressing revolutionary, liberation movements, the Communists have supported and will always support wars in defense of socialist gains, just national-liberation wars, and people's uprisings against imperialist oppression.

Although the world is now quite different from what it was 30 years ago, and the alignment of world forces has changed radically, the ideas expressed at the Congress against the threat of a world war hold true to this day.

The reactionary imperialist circles which engendered fascism are today, too, the chief aggressive force, the source of war danger. The threat of war emanates primarily from U.S. imperialism.

The warning against underestimating the war threat is extremely urgent today.

At present the danger of so-called local wars is no less serious than in the past. That is why a rebuff to the aggressor in Vietnam is a fundamental issue in the defense of world peace and the security of the peoples. This issue concerns everybody. The Soviet Union, true to its internationalist duty, is rendering the heroic Vietnamese people every possible assistance.

There is an incomparably greater possibility of averting world war today than three decades ago. But in order to turn this enormous possibility into reality there must be, as was emphasized at the world Communist forums, unflagging political and organizational activity aimed at uniting all peace-loving forces, all the opponents of imperialism, and their vigorous efforts on a global scale. Those who today hinder the unity of the peace-loving forces shoulder, together with the imperialists, the gravest responsibility before history.

The Seventh Congress thoroughly substantiated the idea of unity of the anti-imperialist, democratic forces which underlay all its political decisions. Reviving and further developing Lenin's propositions on the united workers' front, the Congress pointed out that its mainspring must be unity of action among all anti-fascist forces, and primarily between Communists and Social Democrats, in the struggle against reaction and the threat of world war, for the interests of the working class.

The course of events has shown how fruitful the ideas of the Seventh Congress were.

We are convinced that there is every ground to believe that in the present-day situation the unity of the working-class movement will not only create the necessary barrier to any intrigues and provocations by imperialist reaction but will also enable the working class to attain its socialist ideals.

The Seventh Congress, which generalized the experience of the Communist parties, drew the conclusion that while the alliance of the working class and peasantry remains as important as ever the scope of alliance of the working class in the developed capitalist countries is expanding. It advanced the idea of a popular front. It can justly be said that the Communist parties of the developed capitalist countries acted upon the tried and tested ideas of the Sevents Congress when they put forward the slogan of an anti-monopoly coalition.

Close attention to the national-liberation movement has always been a fine Communist tradition.

Lenin created a comprehensive teaching on the character and role of the national-liberation movement in the epoch of imperialism and socialist revolution. Acting upon this teaching and bringing it up to date to suit the conditions of the new epoch, the CPSU

has always displayed the greatest concern for the national-liberation movement and has rendered it political and material support.

The Communists are sincere and staunch fighters against imperialism, for the national independence of their countries and peoples, for the socialist cause. And it is perfectly obvious that one cannot speak of socialist construction, cannot embark one's country on socialist development and yet take an anti-Communist stand and fight the Communist parties. Practice shows that the greatest progress in the construction of the new society is made where all the revolutionary forces are in alliance and cooperate fruitfully.

In accordance with the new tasks set by the Comintern to the Communist movement, the Seventh Congress outlined the ways and means of improving the work of the Communist parties. The Congress ideas of lasting significance are:

—selfless devotion to the Marxist-Leninist teaching and its revolutionary ideals, and intolerance of all varieties of opportunism, revisionism, dogmatism and nationalism;

—uncompromising struggle by the Communists against imperialism;

—correct alignment by the Communist parties of their national and international tasks;

—independence of Communist parties in handling all international matters and in working out their strategy and tactics;

—ways of strengthening the bonds with the working class, the masses, the trade unions and the women's, youth and other organizations;

—ability to advance at every given moment the most effective slogans understandable to the masses and capable of rallying them to the struggle.

The Congress decision prepared the Communist movement ideologically and politically for the clashes with fascism, for the struggle to advance the socialist cause.

At the time of the Second World War the Communists proved to be the most tenacious fighters and made the biggest contribution to the victory.

The irreconcilable struggle of the Communists against racialism and chauvinism was an important factor in securing victory in the fight against fascism.

The Seventh Congress counterposed to the racialist misanthropic concepts of fascism the principle of combining the genuine national interests of the working people with their international interests.

The differences in the conditions in which the Communist parties are operating today have grown still greater, and the scope of the national tasks facing them has increased. But the national tasks could never over-ride the need for international Communist unity.

In our time, and this, we believe, is the common opinion of Marxist-Leninists, unrelenting struggle by the Communist movement against all signs of nationalism is an important condition for consolidating the united world-wide anti-imperialist front, the militant alliance of all the three great movements of our time — the socialist system, the working-class movement and the national-liberation movement.

Today the prime criterion of internationalism is the attitude towards the socialist system, the greatest gain of the international proletariat at the present stage and the citadel of all the revolutionary forces of our time. So is active struggle for the vital interests of world socialism, the attitude towards, and support of, the national-liberation movement and the struggle of the working class in the capitalist countries.

The ideas of proletarian internationalism are becoming ever more widespread in the largest mass movements of modern times. In these circumstances, it is extremely important to unite and coordinate the actions of all the forces of socialism and of all liberation movements.

The unity of the international Communist movement has always been a condition for ensuring the solidarity of other revolutionary forces. Naturally, the strengthening of the unity of Communist ranks is the cardinal concern of Marxist-Leninists.

The 1957 and 1960 Communist meetings formulated the principles of relations between Communist parties and their international solidarity in present conditions. The course of events showed the importance of these principles for the world Communist movement.

The unity of the international Communist movement today implies unanimity in what is important and basic, namely, readiness for unity of action even when there are differences on various theoretical and political issues.

The CPSU considers that unity in the ranks of the world army of communism is needed more than ever before today when imperialism is adding to international tension by conducting aggressive operations in various parts of the world, waging a barbarous war against Vietnam, carrying out acts of intervention in the Congo and the Dominican Republic, proclaiming interference in the internal affairs of Latin American countries as its official policy, continuing its provocations against free Cuba, stepping up its preparations for a world war and unfolding a frenzied anti-communist campaign. Joint action against the aggressive acts of imperialism is the urgent international duty of each Communist party.

The Communist movement is developing in struggle with various opportunist trends, primarily in struggle against revisionism and dogmatism.

Reared by Lenin in a spirit of irreconcilability to opportunism, the CPSU is waging a steadfast struggle against revisionism in all its manifestations, against dogmatism and sectarianism.

In the field of foreign policy our Party takes a realistic view of the world situation and safeguards the interests of the socialist community, the national-liberation movement and the working-class movement accordingly, in true Leninist fashion.

The Communist parties that hold the correct, Marxist-Leninist standpoint are working perserveringly to secure unity of action of the Communist movement and cohesion of its ranks.

The CPSU is well aware of the serious nature of the difficulties existing in the world Communist movement and is doing everything to overcome them on the principled Marxist-Leninist foundation. In the present-day conditions, we believe that closer unity is to be achieved above all by concerted practical actions of Communists, by coordinating their international policies for the struggle against imperialism. Bilateral and multilateral meetings and talks between fraternal parties are highly important. The CPSU and other Marxist-Leninist parties believe that thoroughly prepared world forums can be helpful in overcoming the differences and cementing the Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

The CPSU steadily follows a policy of overcoming the differences, mounting joint actions in the struggle for the common objectives, and making the most of bilateral and multilateral contacts with a view to consolidating all the Communist parties.

In its resolution "On the Results of the Consultative Meeting of Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties," the Plenary Meeting of the CC CPSU in March stressed: "The CPSU will continue steadfastly to pursue the Leninist line laid down in its Program and in the Declaration and Statement of the Moscow meetings, firmly upholding the principles of Marxist-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and working together with the other Communist parties to unite all the socialist countries, all the Marxist-Leninist parties, all the revolutionary forces of our time, in the fight against imperialism and colonialism, for national liberation, peace, democracy and socialism."

The plenary meetings of the CC, CPSU in the past year — in October and November 1964 and in March and September 1965 — are of fundamental importance. Boldly and firmly, the Party eliminated all obstacles to correct, Leninist methods of shaping and implementing its policy. The work we have done and the development of Soviet society confirm that these measures were correct and timely.

Having critically reviewed all the scientifically unjustified methods of economic management that failed to pass the test of practice, the CC, CPSU is consistently pursuing a policy of mak-

ing more ample and more effective use of material incentives in the development of socialist production and raising the people's standard of living. Our Party is improving the methods of Party leadership in the ideological sphere to meet the needs of the present stage of development of Soviet society with the object of enhancing the communist consciousness of the people in every way.

In the field of foreign policy the Soviet Union is doing its utmost to strengthen friendship with the socialist countries and develop relations with the young national states, and is consistently working to implement the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social system. The policy of peaceful coexistence presupposes a determined and timely rebuff to the aggressive imperialist forces headed by the United States.

Our Party firmly follows the policy of consolidating the socialist community on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism. The CC, CPSU has taken all possible steps to normalize relations with the Communist Party of China. But, as the world Communist movement knows, the measures taken by us have produced no positive results.

The 30 years that have passed since the Seventh Congress have seen events of immense importance. The material foundation of the world revolutionary forces — the socialist system — has immeasurably expanded and grown stronger. The international army of Communists has increased more than tenfold and is now nearly 50,000,000 strong. All this redoubles faith in the victory of the great cause of Marx, Engels and Lenin, and adds to the Communist parties' and their supporters' ideological conviction that the Marxist-Leninist theory is correct.

The CPSU together with other Marxist-Leninist parties is carrying aloft the banner of solidarity of the international army of Communists on principles of Marxism-Leninism.

In assessing the long road that has been traversed by the revolutionary movement, we declore with unshakable confidence that communism is sure to win the final victory.

COMBINING THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM WITH THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY*

Conclusions of the Seventh Congress in the Policy of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia

VLADIMIR KOUCKY
Secretary, CC, CPC

Comrades, the crisis of bourgeois democracy, the direct offensive of fascism, and the increased war danger in the mid-thirties confronted the international working-class movement more sharply than ever with the problem of the relationship between the struggle for democracy and the struggle for socialism.

It remains a lasting achievement of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International that in that grave period the Congress showed determination and the ability to develop the tactics of the working-class movement, which helped in effectively solving problems of the further build-up of a broad anti-fascist front and, in defining, in connection with it, the concept of "new democracy." Wilhelm Pieck described this as strategy and tactics "uniting the working people for defense against fascism and war, and so making it possible to go over from defense against fascism to struggle for socialism."

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY AND THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM

This approach was vastly important to Czechoslovakia because Czechoslovakia was already a state with highly developed democratic forms of social and political life, if in a bourgeois sense. Besides, the Czechoslovak Republic in the '30s was encircled by Hitler fascism. Needless to say, all this had a share in the molding of the Czechoslovak people's political thinking, the more so as their deep-rooted democratic sentiments and their sense of freedom and justice stemmed from the age-long democratic traditions of a people who for centuries had been an object of brutal national and social oppression.

The profound dilemma of the further development of our society could be resolved only through a policy combining the struggle for democracy and socialism in an organic, and not merely a propagandistic or "tactical" whole, as indicated by the program of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, and by the CPC program

*Rude Pravo, October 24, 1963

proceeding from it. Our Party worked on this program step by step when preparations for the Congress were under way, at the Congress itself and at the Seventh Congress of the CPC in 1936, and carried it forward in defending the republic against fascism.

Our Party's policy in defense of democracy implied, not preservation of the status quo or of the features of bourgeois democracy which served, first of all, to disguise and dress up the power of finance capital, but Jacobinic revolutionary defense of the democratic liberties of the people, the republican forms of the state, national freedom, a deepening of the content of democracy, elimination of reactionary curbs on it, its full development, and making it really people's democracy.

IN THE INTEREST OF SOCIETY AND THE NATION

It was in the interest of the nation as a whole to achieve far greater democracy for the people, to democratize society. To launch a broad democratic anti-fascist movement, to establish what Klement Gottwald called a "popular front of labor, freedom and peace," as the antithesis of the far-flung fascist movement meant lending it an active and dynamic character, making it a movement that would strive both to improve the living conditions of the working people and to ensure that they played a new role in society.

The Right-wing Social Democrats regarded the anti-fascist movement as a temporary defensive movement leaving the status quo intact.

They did not realize that this movement had to become the vehicle of an anti-fascist and hence an anti-monopoly *offensive*, the vehicle of a thoroughly democratic structural reshaping of social relations. It was aimed at isolating the fascist and reactionary forces and at disrupting the potential mass base of fascism. It was directed against the reactionary and fascist forces in the political and administrative machinery, and toward ridding it of corrupt elements and democratizing it. It had to effect progressive change in the entire government and coalition system from below, under democratic pressure and on the basis of the movement and action of popular forces. The fight of the revolutionary forces for democracy was aimed at winning more rights, more far-reaching fundamental rights, and freedom for the people, their social actions and their revolutionary organizations.

The essence of this new line was described and the ways of implementing it in Czechoslovak conditions specified at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern by Klement Gottwald, who said: "We want this republic, which today is ruled by the bourgeoisie, to

become a republic ruled by the working people. . . . But if this *petty-bourgeois democratic* republic is menaced by bloody fascism, it must *defend* this republic against fascism." He then stressed that the republic itself must enable its citizens to defend it. It must let the working people's organizations operate freely, must give freedom to the nations. It must not pursue the workers or imprison Communists. "By doing that," Comrade Gottwald added, "it makes its own defense impossible."

We all know the reasons why the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia could not fully realize its objectives in the brief period between the Seventh Congress of the Comintern and the Munich events in 1938. The growing resolve of the people to take a firm stand against the aggressive pressure of Hitler fascism—a stand of which the CPC was the inspirer and consistent proponent—failed in the end to counteract the Munich conspiracy of international reaction assisted by the Rights at home.

Hitler fascism abolished national sovereignty, the republican form of the state, and democratic liberties. After Munich a sizeable section of Czechoslovak society was gripped by deep scepticism resulting from disillusionment with bourgeois democracy. On the other hand, there was a craving to renovate democratic rights—not on the lines of the earlier bourgeois democracy, but of a democracy that could defeat reaction and fascism. The people's effort to renovate democracy merged with the struggle for their national existence and their statehood.

Being the only consistent defenders of democracy and the republic, the Communists subsequently carried forward the strategy they had adopted, which was intimately linked with the platform of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern. This enabled the Party in the conditions of occupation and the national-liberation struggle to make people well aware of the need to prevent a mere return to the pre-Munich state of affairs and to renovate Czechoslovak democracy by putting it on a consistently popular basis. And when the country had been overrun the Party led a broad national democratic front encompassing the most diverse segments of the population, which contributed actively to the development of the national-liberation struggle.

The line of the Seventh Congress and, above all, the Congress conclusions about new democracy were a source of inspiration to our Party also after May 1945, when our Party purposefully guided the working people toward a vigorous effort to carry forward people's democracy. The position of the Party—a position based on deep-going democratic traditions and on the tragic lessons of Munich and the occupation period, as well as on unity, political consciousness and national pride, which had developed in victorious national-liberation battles against the Nazi invaders

—placed bourgeois reaction on the defensive and foiled its attempts to restore capitalism.

HISTORIC SIGNIFICANCE OF THE FEBRUARY EVENTS

The consistently democratic policy of the Party was so successful and advanced so irresistibly toward winning the support of the majority of the nation for its program at the next elections that the reactionaries finally tried to force a turn in developments. They hoped that their obstructive policy would lead to the failure of democracy and impose a bureaucratic government with whose aid it could strip the Communists of political power in the state and gradually nullify the rights and gains achieved by the people through the previous development of the revolution. In that situation it was particularly important for the Communists that they were the force which had brought about a completely democratic, constitutional and parliamentary settlement of the crisis provoked by reaction in February 1948.

February 1948 was a consistently democratic solution of complicated political problems in a country whose people had enforced their will, a will in perfect harmony with the principles of the Constitution approved by the overwhelming majority of Parliament, elected as early as 1946. Any bourgeois democratic government might well have envied us such a parliamentary majority. Thus the question was not of an anti-democratic revolution, and still less of a coup, but of a deep-going and consistent expression of the working people's will for the further democratic and at the same time socialist development of their country. Therefore, the February events in Czechoslovakia furnished a convincing historical proof of the vitality and discernment of the strategic concept of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern.

The people's victory over reaction in February 1948 provided conditions for the complete realization of socialist ideals as a result of the mass democratic movement, and became the point of departure for the solution of the most challenging problems of the socialist reshaping of society. And while it is true that socialist construction in subsequent years was accompanied by a number of adverse developments and by violations of democratic principles, that could not lead to the undoing of the essence of revolutionary democracy.

The deep-rooted democratic traditions of our Party, its prestige and its connection with the people created a broad basis for the people's activity, which made it possible to accomplish further tasks in building socialism. It is unquestionable that many distinctive features of our country, which were due to its past economic, political, social and cultural development and which the Party took

into account and used when putting the Seventh Congress line into concrete terms, necessarily had their effect also at the stage of socialist construction. What I mean is, among other things, such facts as 20 years of developed parliamentary democracy, the existence of a mass legal Communist Party, a numerically strong and battle-hardened working class, which for a decade had vigorously exercised its political influence also on the countryside, the Left orientation of most of our men of culture, and our people's traditional friendship for the Soviet people, to say nothing of the appreciable economic progress made by the country. All this created most favorable conditions for socialist construction and the steady promotion of socialist democracy, especially after the 20th Congress of the CPSU. At the same time, however, it became particularly urgent to carry forward socialist democracy, and to increase the working people's share in economic management and in administration.

These facts were borne in mind by the 12th Congress of our Party and by the CC CPC in its recent decisions on measures to improve our economic management, which should enable the working people to participate extensively in management, and should make it possible to bring the interests of society as a whole and those of working collectives and individuals into greater harmony with one another.

POWERFUL IMPACT OF THE SEVENTH CONGRESS

The experience gained by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in steadfastly implementing the line of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern confirms the great vitality and powerful impact of the revolutionary strategy and tactics of the world Communist movement. Yet even today, that is, thirty years later, the conclusions of the Seventh Congress retain their validity—with modifications, of course—and project themselves into the strategic and tactical principles of the international working-class movement.

On the strength of our own revolutionary experience, we would like to express the conviction that the success of the Communist and revolutionary progressive movement in every country hinges directly on an upswing in the political activity of the working people in every sphere, such as can safeguard the real democratization of public life against reactionary attempts to restrict it. In the developing countries also, where the national-liberation movement has produced an anti-colonialist revolution, subsequent prospects will depend, as we see it, on the extent to which the existing anti-colonialist forces will lean on large sections of the people for support, faster democratic life, and enable the people's organizations to operate.

The experience of our entire movement confirms that establishing a broad democratic front against imperialism both in the developing countries and in the advanced capitalist countries is an indispensable condition for the struggle for the gradual socialist transformation of society. This is why we consider that unification of the democratic and anti-imperialist forces on an international scale is all the more imperative. It is just as imperative to discard the tendency to indulge in mutual attacks and suspicion, exclude this or that contingent of this front, or to set up one contingent against another, particularly when a joint fight against direct imperialist aggression, such as is taking place in Vietnam at present, is the order of the day.

The success of the Communist Party of every country is inseparable from the struggle of all the other fraternal parties and of the world Communist movement as a whole. It is conditional on the overcoming of a politically and nationally narrow approach to the problems in hand and on the consistent application of the principles of proletarian internationalism. The concerted effort of the socialist system, whose main force is the Soviet Union, the national-liberation movement and the working class of the capitalist countries, and joint struggle against capital, for national freedom, democracy and socialism are a great earnest of our international gains. In this, the decisions of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International set an inspiring example for us.

48th ANNIVERSARY OF THE GREAT OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

REPORT* BY D.S. POLYANSKY

Dear Comrades,

Ever since the Soviet state came into existence, the peoples of our country and the working people of the rest of the world have every year celebrated with particular enthusiasm their greatest holiday, the anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution.

Forty-eight years separate us from the days when the Communist Party, headed by Lenin, roused the workers and peasants of Russia to the victorious storming of capitalism. It was a mighty revolutionary tornado. It overthrew the system based on exploitation, and gave rise to a new type of state, the socialist state. To the peoples of multi-national Russia, and to all mankind, it marked the dawn of a new day and the beginning of a new chapter in history.

That great day is moving further and further away as time rolls on. But its history-making significance is becoming more and more obvious. Today the Soviet Union, a country of victorious socialism, stands as a mighty rock. Many other countries are following our example by building socialism. The national-liberation movement is completing the abolition of the colonial system of imperialism. The Communist and Workers' parties, the foremost contingents of the working people, are growing, and so are the numbers of active defenders of peace. The main trend and the features of the development of contemporary mankind are determined by the socialist world system and the peoples fighting against imperialist oppression, not by capitalism. They are determined by the international working class, by the forces fighting for the reorganization of society along socialist lines, not by the bourgeoisie.

Throughout this period the Soviet people have been working hard to increase the might of the country and improve life. Tremendous efforts were required to defend the country against its enemies. The 48th anniversary of the October Revolution is noteworthy primarily because this year an important period—seven years of economic development—is coming to an end and exten-

*Presented at anniversary meeting in the Kremlin, November 6, 1965. Published in Pravda on Nov. 7.

sive work has been started to carry out the major economic reforms planned by the Communist Party, to improve the style and the methods of guiding the country.

As they look back on the road travelled since the October Revolution, our Party and the Soviet people as a whole justly pride themselves on the fact that the cause of the revolution has been consolidated and carried forward, and that the historic task of being the first to build socialism has fallen to them. Our country has the privilege of pioneering the road to communism, the most perfect social system.

This encourages the Soviet people to work with still greater devotion, to strive for still greater achievement.

1. CREATIVE POWER OF THE IDEAS OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

According to a fine tradition, the Soviet people in celebrating the anniversary of the October Revolution sum up the work done. They analyze the political and economic results of their manifold activities. This enables them to see more clearly the creative power of the ideas of the October Revolution, and the prospects of further development. It convinces them still more of the correctness and greatness of the Leninist policy of thhe Communist Party.

It is well known that the implementation of Lenin's program of transforming backward Russia into a mighty industrial and collective-farm power, a country with high-standard culture, required enormous, indeed titanic effort by the people.

To win power in October 1917 was a formidable task, but to defend it against the home counter-revolutionaries and foreign invaders proved even more formidable. It was hard to maintain Soviet power, but it was no less hard to set up a powerful industry and reorganize agriculture in a country like Russia without economic aid from abroad and in the face of hostile encirclement. The Soviet people coped with these tasks. They made sacrifices and suffered privations to safeguard their country's independence and to lay a solid groundwork for increasing social wealth and improving life. The workers, peasants, and progressive intellectuals succeded in this because they followed the Communist Party, whose program of building socialism they had made their own. History has shown that the road chosen by our people under the leadership of their Party was the only correct one.

This year our country observed the twentieth anniversary of the victory over fascist Germany. The war was a grim test of the Soviet system. It required maximum effort, the greatest fortitude, and massive heroism on the part of the people. And the people,

who closed their ranks around the Communist Party, held out against the enemy and then defeated him. This achievement was possible not only because a reliable material and technical base for the country's defense was built during the years of socialist construction, but above all because the unity of the Party and the people, and heroism in battle and in labor had made the Soviet system invincible.

It took tremendous and selfless effort to heal the deep wounds of the war. The bourgeois economists who try to analyze the state of the Soviet economy keep on "forgetting" that the fascists destroyed more than 1,700 towns and industrial communities and over 70,000 villages in our country, looted and destroyed tens of thousands of industrial enterprises, collective farms and state farms, and wiped out millions of civilians. Despite these immense losses in lives and property, the Soviet people were able in a short space of time to restore everything that had been destroyed, to advance the economy, and to create the prerequisites for carrying out new major plans.

By the beginning of this year gross industrial output in the USSR was 56 times greater than in 1913 and output of the means of production has grown 130 times. In eleven pre-war years, 1930 to 1940, and the 20 post-war years, 1946 to 1965 (excepting the years of the Great Patriotic War), the average annual growth of industrial production in our country was 13.2 per cent. This is a very high figure for so long a period. In the United States, the average rate of growth of industrial output in the same period was a mere 2.7 per cent, or one-fifth of the Soviet rate.

In the past seven years the total volume of industrial production in the USSR has grown by 84 per cent instead of 80 per cent as planned. This year gross industrial production should add up to 229,000 million rubles. The plan targets had virtually been exceeded by November 1. This means that our industry is greeting the national holiday, the anniversary of the October Revolution, with a pre-schedule fulfilment of the Seven-Year Plan.

During the years of the Seven-Year Plan a number of large-scale industries have made tremendous progress. Steel output has increased by 66 per cent. The production of electricity and oil has more than doubled. Output of the engineering and chemical industries has expanded by almost 150 per cent and that of the light and food industries by 50 per cent.

This year our country will put out over 90 million tons of steel, 72 million tons of cement and 242 million tons of oil, and will increase power generation to 509,000 million kwh. At the present time our electric power stations supply more energy in one and a half days than was generated throughout 1913 in tsarist Russia.

Electric power consumption per industrial worker now exceeds the 1940 level amount by 250 per cent.

There is a considerable increase in the scale of capital construction. More than 5,500 large industrial enterprises were built and put in operation in the seven-year period. This year's economic investment is twice as great as in the first and second five-year plan periods put together. Such is the scope of our industrial effort.

Agriculture is a sphere to which the Party and the Government give constant attention. Lenin said that no economic development is possible without a solid agricultural base. The victory of the collective farm system transformed the countryside and considerably increased per-capita power consumption and labor productivity in the countryside. In pre-war years the Soviet countryside achieved notable progress. But the war dealt heavy blows at collective and state farm production, and a great deal of effort was required for a new upsurge in this vitally important branch of the economy.

Everyone knows the results of that effort. In 1950 the country's gross agricultural output reached pre-war indices and last year it was 80 per cent greater than in 1940. However, it should be admitted that in the recent period collective and state farm production has been developing unevenly. The sixties saw a fall in its rate of growth. This created serious difficulties for the fulfilment of Seven-Year Plan assignments. The main reasons were, as you know, mistakes in planning, financing and the system of agricultural credit, in the price policy, a subjective approach to management, and some others.

The Central Committee of the CPSU exposed all these shortcomings and mistakes and approved a broad and economically sound program for improving the operation of collective and state farms. It is still too early to speak of the results achieved under this program, for its fulfilment is expected to take a long time. But we can already judge the degree of effectiveness of the planned measures.

Despite the difficult weather conditions of this year, the collective farmers and state farm workers organized their work better than ever before. As a result, gross agricultural output, which may turn out to be two or three per cent lower than in 1964, when a large crop was raised, will, nevertheless, be better as a whole than in any previous year.

Due to drought in some areas, grain purchases will fall short of plan targets, However, the Central Committee of the Party and the Government have taken measures to ensure the normal supply of grain to the population and to meet the country's other requirements in grain products. It should be mentioned that this

year will see a substantial increase in the purchase of a number of valuable food crops, especially cereals: the quantities of buckwheat and rice already purchased are 50 per cent greater than last year.

It is also important to emphasize that the collective and state farms have approximately as much grain left for their internal needs as last year. They have stocked sufficient quantities of seed and are putting aside substantial quantities of produce to be issued to the personnel in payment of their work. In comparison with last year's stocks, they have increased by 50 per cent their stocks of concentrated feed for livestock.

Fair harvests of sugar beet, potatoes, vegetables and sun-flowers were grown this year. However, the greatest success has been achieved by the cotton-growers who have done a good job of work. As a result, the amount of cotton picked has reached a record high. The state purchasing plan for this valuable crop has been fulfilled and will be substantially exceeded.

There is a noticeable improvement in the state of animal husbandry. A characteristic of the development of this branch this year is that the growth in output and in state purchases of animal products on the collective and state farms has been accompanied by increases in the livestock population and in productivity. This made it possible to exceed the state plan for the purchase of milk, eggs and wool by November 1. In the first ten months of this year the state purchased 43.9 million tons of milk, or 7.2 million tons more than in the corresponding period of last year, 9,700 million eggs, or 2,100 million eggs more than in the previous period, and 364,000 tons of wool, or 21,000 tons more than in the corresponding period of 1964. Above-plan purchase of milk, eggs and wool is continuing. The average milk yield per cow on the collective and state farms increased by 295 kg over the whole of the country in the first nine months of this year. By November 1 the state had purchased 8.1 million tons of livestock and poultry (live weight), that is, one million tons, or 14 per cent, more than in the previous period.

There is now more livestock and poultry on the personal plots of the collective farmers and the factory and office workers. The sale of surplus animal products has increased everywhere, and prices in the collective farm markets have fallen.

All these facts show the effectiveness of the decisions of the CC CPSU and the growing initiative and activity of our farmers.

Among the main development indices of the socialist economy is the national income. In the past decade it has increased more than twofold, or by 490 per cent over the 1940 amount. This has led to a growth in the real incomes of the population. As compared with 1940, they will increase by 150 per cent for factory

and office workers (calculated per worker), and by almost 200 per cent for peasants. Increases in the people's cash incomes are an important index of the rise in the standard of living. This year these incomes will increase by more than 10 per cent over last year.

Consumer goods output is also growing. As compared with the pre-war period, the sale of foodstuffs has more than trebled, and in the seven-year period it has increased by more than half. Greater quantities of clothes, underwear, knitted goods, leather footwear, furniture, refrigerators, TV sets, watches and clocks, radio sets, bicycles, and many other manufactured goods are being sold.

The growth of the purchasing power of the population is promoted also by increased wages and salaries in public education, the health service, trade and the service industries. Pay rises involve 20 million factory and office workers.

Pay according to the work done is the Soviet people's main source of income. Besides, the public consumption funds are gaining in importance as another source. This is a new phenomenon, one typical of the socialist system. Last year these funds reached almost 37 billion rubles, and this year they will total 41 billion. This is about 400 rubles per working person.

These funds guarantee free education, as well as medical service, the maintenance of children in nurseries and kindergartens, holiday accomodations for working people, the payment of pensions and subsidies, and various other benefits. The state also spends large sums on housing construction. In the past decade almost half the country's population has moved into new homes or otherwise improved their housing conditions.

The growth of material production is accompanied by the growth of the spiritual wealth of our social system, and a new type of man—Soviet man—is coming into being. Our country has truly become an advanced power, a country with high cultural standards and first-rate science. Socialism has opened the road to knowledge, to outstanding achievements on earth and in outer space, for all the working people. At present there are approximately 70 million people studying in our country. And this is logical, too, for more than 75 per cent of the population, or 176 million people, belong to the generation born in Soviet times.

Our country has reared a many-million-strong army of Soviet intellectuals. They have risen from among the people and they see their great mission and patriotic duty in serving the people. Closely linked with reality, with the vast construction going on, they rightfully enjoy the recognition, love and esteem of the people. Soviet men and women are confident that our scientists, designers, writers, artists, journalists, radio, television, educa-

tional, health and cultural workers, and other intellectuals will continue worthily serving the great cause of our times.

Experience shows that all our successes are intimately bound up with the growth of the country's culture and with the communist education of the people. This is evident, in particular, from the vast movement for a communist attitude to labor, and from the growing numbers of innovators and inventors. The millions of communist shock-workers are among the foremost men and women of our days, who are firmly establishing the moral standards of thhe future society both in life and work. The Soviet people are justly proud of them and rejoice in their achievements.

The Soviet workers, collective farmers and intellectuals are confidently tackling the tasks set by the Communist Party. They are doing everything to ensure that the Soviet Union remains a beacon of international socialism and a model for the working people of the world.

PROMOTING THE ECONOMY AND THE STANDARD OF LIVING

The Communist Party, in implementing plans for the further strengthening of the Soviet Union, is making a special effort to bring about improvements in the style and the methods of Party and state leadership and to ensure that the economic laws of socialism are used properly to increase production and raise the standard of living.

The importance of the decisions adopted by the CC, CPSU in October and November 1964 lies, first and foremost, in the fact that they focussed the attention of the Party and the people on the task of examining every vital problem from a genuinely scientific standpoint, condemned subjectivist and voluntarist practices, and restored the Leninist principles of the structure of Party organizations. These decisions are of historical significance because they make it possible to implement more consistently the Party's policy of ensuring the victory of communism.

Bold and objective analysis of inner-Party problems attests the loyalty of the CPSU and its Central Committee to Lenin's teachings and the Leninist principles of leadership. The restoration of these principles has promoted the unity and militancy of the Party. The atmosphere created in public life and the style of work being introduced in our country allow full scope for the people's initiative and creative thought, and make it possible to use our country's immense resources and the potentialities of the socialist system more effectively.

The Party's economic policy, stated in the decisions of the CC, CPSU plenums last March and September, and in L. Brezhnev's

and A. Kosygin's reports to those plenums, is particularly fit to meet the pressing requirements of economic development.

It is a question not merely of routine changes, but of a deep-going and comprehensive economic reform shifting the stress in industrial and agricultural management to methods that are more workable politically and economically and fully accord with the nature of our society.

The main purpose of the measures decided on is to ensure a skilful combination of centralized planned management with extensive initiative at local, in particular republic, level, and proper application of the principle of material incentives in production. Today it is particularly important to take the operation of the economic laws of socialism into careful account, to work out plans on a strictly scientific basis, and to achieve the right balance in the development of the various branches of socially useful production, above all between industry and agriculture.

Industry is the foundation of the socialist economy. On it depend improvements in the people's standard of living and the growth of the country's defense capacity. Its all-round development is a paramount condition for the successful construction of the material and technical base for communism. The measures devised by the CC, CPSU last September are aimed at accomplishing this important task.

The adoption of the branch principle of management will enable us to follow a uniform technical policy and to raise the efficiency of every economic branch. The ministries to be set up anew will operate in conditions in which cost-accounting methods and economic incentives will play an increasing role and the enterprises will be granted greater economic powers and allowed more initiative. The ministries concerned must ensure the overall development of industry and properly combine centralized guidance according to branch with inter-branch territorial coordination.

Today we consider it of exceptional importance to improve management and planning and to provide greater economic incentives in production. Above all else, they will bring about a rise in the productivity of social labor.

The new forms of management, which give the staffs of enterprises extensive rights, will place each enterprise in a position in which its activities will be appraised by its actual contribution to the nation's wealth. This will create the most favorable opportunities for improving and developing production and for making it more profitable.

To increase the rate of development of our economy and the effectiveness of social production is a fundamental problem today. At present the annual increment in production funds by itself exceeds the total production fund of old Russia in 1913. Hence the

tremendous importance of rational organization of the operation of every enterprise. Suffice it to say that if the economic efficiency of fixed production assets is increased by only one kopek per ruble, the country's national income will increase by more than 3 billion rubles. This would be enough to build over 500,000 modern flats.

The rate of industrial progress depends increasingly on technical progress. Reality calls for closer and stronger unity between science and production, for joint research and the joint introduction of modern achievements of science and engineering into the national economy. This is why problems of the scientific organization of labor and production management are of prime importance today. We can and should set an even pace in production everywhere and make more judicious use of industry's gigantic opportunities and reserves.

Improvement of the quality of output is very important. This is not only an economic problem but also a major social problem affecting the interests of all working people. To promote quality means something more than spending materials and funds reasonably. Everyone must realize that by striving for high quality he is furthering the interests of all Soviet people, and his own personal interests. To turn out poor-quality goods means not only injuring production but showing lack of respect for oneself and one's workmates. Every working person should consider it his honorable patriotic duty to guarantee the high quality of all Soviet goods — both these consumed at home and those that go abroad. To make our goods equal in standard to the world's best is a great and noble task we must and no doubt will accomplish.

Our Party and the Soviet people as a whole are today capable of solving any problem, however difficult. We can and should organize work in such a way as to ensure that every industrial production branch or unit serves the people better and promote their standard of living, and that the building up of the material and technical base for Communism makes good progress.

The material and technical base of communism does not consist of a powerful industry alone. It includes a well-developed and highly productive agriculture. The economic purpose of the March decisions of the CC, CPSU is to afford greater incentives to the collective farmers and state farm workers, and so to bring about a steep rise in agricultural production.

This is the primary aim of the measures to render greater material, technical and financial assistance to the countryside, establish a stable purchase plan for vegetable and animal products, and fix economically sound prices for these products. The collective and state farms have been enabled to operate according to plan, with the result that they are now run more efficiently. They have

greater confidence in their strength and are more concerned with rapidly developing evey branch of production then ever before.

As you know, it is planned to invest 21 billion rubles in agriculture in the next five years, including 41 billion rubles in budget appropriations, or as much as was spent for this purpose in nineteen postwar years. The important thing today is to achieve a higher rate of growth in agricultural production, and to develop the collective and state fams according to actual requirements, with due regard to reality. It is a nation-wide task to eliminate the discrepancy between today's output and the increased demand.

We must increase and improve the material and technical equipment of the collective and state farms, in particular by making extensive use of electricity, and organize all the operations efficiently. We must introduce a scientifically sound system of agriculture everywhere, increase output of mineral fertilizers, and step up reclamation and irrigation.

We must do a very great deal to the industrial base of agriculture. Along with production capacities, we must build cultural and service establishments on a large scale. The time has come to considerably improve the planning of collective and state farm centers, with a view to providing all our villages with amenities.

The problem of harmonizing public and personal interests on the collective farm should receive the closest attention. Lately we have solved problems of major importance for the countryside: we have introduced pensioning for the collective farmers, removed unwarranted curbs on farming on personal plots and rendered substantial assistance to economically weak collective fams. There are other major tasks ahead: we must improve the crediting and financing of collective farms, the distribution of incomes, and the remuneration system. More and more people propose drawing on the experience of numerous collective farms to introduce guaranteed remuneration on every farm. These proposals should be carefully studied.

Today we have everything necessary for the collective farms to advance to prosperity at a quickening pace. The Party and the Government are confident that this task will be accomplished through the joint efforts of the workers, collective farmers, and intellectuals.

At every stage in the development of our country the Communist Party relies on the experience and initiative of the people as it advances new tasks. Today success depends largely on the training and the proper selection and placing of people. The country has a millions-strong army of specialists. The proficiency of workers and collective farmers has increased considerably. This is an enormous force, and we must use it competently.

Nowadays the executive and specialist need not only will power

but sound economic knowledge. They must do their job more wisely than ever, must see the future in the right perspective and organize things in such a way as to give scope to the creative initiative of every staff member and the staff as a whole, so as to ensure proper fulfilment of the task set.

The new system of economic management provides most favorable conditions for creative effort and for emulation. It affords greater economic stimuli for labor, interlinks the material interests of the individual and those of the entire personnel of the enterprise.

Our ill-wishers abroad claim that we are compelled to "whip up" our economy by means of "private interest" and such categories as cost accounting, profit, prime costs and prices, and that ideological incentives in the Soviet Union are being relegated to the background. That is not true. Such claims betray the inability or unwillingness to see the profound interrelation between material and moral incentives brought into being by social ownership of the means of production.

Bourgeois ideologists are accustomed to see in man nothing but greed and money-grabbing. They assume that nothing is of greater value to man than personal enrichment. But that is all mere fiction. Life shows that socialist production brings out people's spiritual generosity, the beauty of their thoughts, and their earnest desire to devote all their strength and knowledge to the common cause. It is the duty of the Party and Komsomol organizations, the government bodies and the trade unions steadily to foster these excellent moral qualities of man, increase communist consciousness, and offer him greatr moral incentives for labor, to provide every opportunity for the creative endeavor of the people.

The March and September decisions of the CC, CPSU open up splendid prospects for the national economy and for every Soviet citizen. At present we are completing guideliness for the new five-year economic development plan of the USSR for 1966-70. This plan should become an important stage in our country's progress.

A higher rate of economic development and a higher standard of living resulting from it are the main economic and political targets of the new five-year plan. During the five-year period we plan to develop heavy industry still more, primarily its key branches — the power, metallurgical, chemical, fuel, engineering and instrument-making industries. We also plan to overcome the lag in agricultural production, quicken the growth of industries producing consumer goods, raise the productivity of social labor, increase the national income by an appreciable margin, and strengthen the country's defenses.

These are no easy tasks. They involve the elimination of serious

shortcomings and the removal of many an obstacle in our way. Be that as it may, the Soviet people have a vital stake in carrying out these tasks.

The five-year plan directives will be discussed at the next, the 23rd Congress of the CPSU. The Party is advancing to its Congress closely united, full of energy and creative strength, and inseparably linked with the people. Its policy is illuminated by the light of Marxist-Leninist theory and is unanimously supported by all the working men and women of our country. This is the most reliable guarantee of the feasibility of the proposed measures and plans.

Preparations for the congress are under way in the country. The best way to greet this outstanding event fittingly is vigorously to carry out the decisions of the Central Committee of the Party, to advance steadily to new victories.

III. FOR SOCIAL PROGRESS AND PEACE AMONG THE NATIONS

In blazing the trail to communist society, the Soviet people regard the construction of this society as their internationalist task meeting the interests of the socialist world system, the international proletariat, and all progressive mankind. The creative effort of our people increases their contribution to the struggle of all the revolutionary forces of today and strengthens the influence of socialism on international developments.

At no other period of human history has the liberation struggle of the peoples developed on so vast a scale or at so tempestuous a speed. This is the most convincing evidence of the tremendous appeal of the ideas of the October Revolution, of the great ideas of Marxism-Leninism.

The great revolutionary process of transition from capitalism to socialism on an international scale, initiated in October 1917, is gathering momentum before our eyes. Marching with us to the common goal are peoples of a number of other countries of the socialist world system. From year to year they are making economic and cultural progress and strengthening their international positions.

The economic competition and political struggle between the two world systems — the socialist and the capitalist — the sharp class conflicts in the capitalist countries, and the extending front of the national-liberation movement are various stages and forms of one and the same struggle in which the outdated system of exploitation and oppression is falling apart and the cause of socialism and people's freedom is asserting itself.

Due to its profound internal superiority over capitalism, socialism does not need the revolutionary struggle in any part of the world to be stimulated from without. Our Party has always opposed the "export of revolution," as well as the export of counter-revolution. "Of course," Lenin said, "there are people who believe that revolution can break out in a foreign country to order, by agreement. These people are either madmen or provocateurs."

It is up to the peoples themselves, and to them alone, to choose the social system which they consider to suit them. And there is no doubt that they will sooner or later make the final choice in favor of socialism all over the globe.

Today the Soviet people can say with pride that ever since the Soviet state came into existence our Party and our people have been marching in the front ranks of the fighters for social progress and peace among the nations. In October 1917, the Soviet state proclaimed a policy whch was the first to direct the revolutionary struggle and the struggle for peace into a single channel. This fundamental policy was initiated by the great Lenin, and it remains sacred and inviolable for us.

The imperialists are trying to check the advance of the working people to socialism, to weaken, to stifle the liberation struggle of the peoples, to set up new hotbeds of war. The modern bourgeoisie has money and state power, armed forces and a propaganda machine with age-long experience in deceiving the working people. But it lacks ideas that could give people wings and rouse them to great deeds.

Capitalism has discredited itself. It has become a society without prospects. Meanwhile, socialism is confidently winning the hearts of more millions of people. It has long ceased to be a purely scientific forecast — it lives and is translated into more and more realities. It is in this sense that the example of our country has promoted and will continue to promote historical development. We have been and will continue to be a reliable bulwark of the revolutionary movement, for it brings all the peoples a happy and free life — peace, democracy and socialism.

As they are losing ground and cannot solve the burning problems agitating mankind, the imperialists resort to extreme measures in order to preserve their domination. Of late, this attempt to raise a barrier at any cost to the social renovation of the world has aggravated the international situation and the war danger.

In Asia, the anti-popular, predatory policy of imperialism has manifested itself most vividly in the U.S. war of aggression against the Vietnamese people. The United States is subjecting the towns and villages of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam to barbarous

bombings. It has raised the strength of its troops in South Vietnam to almost 150,000, and intends to increase it still more. The aggressors do not balk at using napalm and chemical weapons.

The Soviet people admire the courage of the Vietnamese patriots and identify themselves with their heroic struggle against the modern barbarians. The Soviet Union has been rendering full political support and the necessary economic and military assistance to fraternal Vietnam, and will continue to do so. Other socialist countries are also doing what they can to help Vietnam. The number of actions in defense of fighting Vietnam is growing all over the world. The American militarists have not succeeded in breaking the Vietnamese people and never will. The time is not far off when the U.S. troops will have to stop thinking of victory so as to concentrate on getting out of the quagmire of this war, which is a disgrace to them, and on getting back home. The people of Vietnam will become masters of their homeland and achieve the unification of their country.

In Latin America, U.S. imperialism is extending the policy of intervention to almost the entire continent. Blackmail, threats and subversion against socialist Cuba have not stopped. The U.S. armed forces have marched into the Dominican Republic without declaring war. The U.S. leaders are trying to usurp the right to overthrow by force of arms any government that does not suit them. This impudent claim has already evoked a tempest of indignation in Latin America, where the struggle against the domination of the American monopolies and the reactionary regimes is expanding.

The imperialists are trying to prevent the growth of the liberation movement in Africa also. Open intervention and interference in the affairs of the Congo, economic and political support for the Portuguese colonialists and South African racialists, and the hatching of conspiracies against the lawful governments of the African states that have chosen independent development are only some of the criminal actions of the imperialists on the African continent. But the solidarity of the peoples of the young African states is growing stronger. And it is safe to say that foreign domination in Africa is coming to an end.

The U.S. imperialists and their partners in military blocs are laying dangerous plans in Europe. Twenty years have passed since the last shots of World War II were fired on the European continent. But tensions linger, with important issues still unsettled. The absence of a durable system of European security clearly benefits the forces of aggression and revenge. West Germany, backed by the USA is continuing its militarist policy. It grants full protection to war criminals and revenge-seekers. Progressive people and organizations are persecuted there. West Germany openly and

officially insists on recarving the political map of Europe as it lays claim to foreign territories.

Instead of recognizing the actual situation and setting out to cooperate and develop good-neighborly relations with the other German state — the German Democratic Republic — the government of the FRG is pursuing a policy of enmity and hatred with regard to the GDR, although it ought to have satisfied itself of the complete hopelessness and fruitlessness of that policy long ago.

A sort of special bilateral military alliance has lately been taking shape between the USA and the FRG within the Atlantic bloc. This is evident from the projects aimed at giving the Bundeswehr access to nuclear weapons, from the preparation of measures to implement a "frontline" strategy, and from other plans spearheaded against the socialist gains of the peoples of Central and South-Eastern Europe, against the policy of strengthening peace and international security.

The militarists' intrigues in Europe are seriously endangering peace. It should be clear that if West Germany is brought in one form or another within reach of nuclear weapons, the socialist states will not remain indifferent. They will take appropriate measures to strengthen their collective defenses. The revanchist gentlemen and their protectors should give serious thought to this. Nor should they ignore the lessons of history. In the Soviet Army, these lessons are expressed in the forcefully laconic comment: "Hitler wanted to take Moscow but had to give up Berlin instead."

It is still possible to bar the Bundeswehr's way to nuclear weapons, to curb the revanchists and set up a lasting system of European security. A prime requisite for this is to remove the survivals of World War II and to effect a peaceful settlement in Germany. Anyone who really wants to end the dangerous situation prevailing on the European continent must admit that such a settlement fully retains its validity as the fundamental problem of European security.

The Soviet Union and the other European socialist countries have repeatedly expressed, and again express, their readiness to contribute to the settlement of all European problems and to promote general European cooperation for a lasting peace. All the peoples of Europe have long been looking forward to this cooperation.

Developments during the past year have shown again that U.S. imperialism is the mainstay and the strike force of international reaction. It is doing the job of a world policeman, of a strangler and hangman of the progressive forces. But in view of the present balance of world forces, the policy of "strength" which the Amer-

ican imperialists are still banking on, stands even less chance of success than before. The attempt to check by force of arms the process of social and national liberation is clearly hopeless.

The actions of American imperialism are aggravating the internal contradictions in the imperialist camp. This can be judged by the aggravation of differences within the Atlantic bloc, by the deep crisis affecting the CENTO and SEATO military blocs, by the growing ferment in the Organization of American States. A number of countries aligned with these blocs are now trying to conduct an independent policy, refusing to associate themselves with the military gambles of the American imperialists.

The aggressive policy of American imperialism is arousing growing discontent and protest in the most diverse socio-political circles in many countries. Those who back and advocate this policy find themselves under growing criticism. These sentiments were convincingly expressed by Bertrand Russell, the British philosopher and public figure. Only a short while ago he characterized the actions of Britain as "previous imperialist policy." Naturally, such a policy leaves its imprint on the nature of our relations with Britain.

The peoples can and must make imperialists renounce their criminal schemes against mankind. This calls for joint action by the socialist countries, the working class of the capitalist countries, the national-liberation movement, and all peace-loving forces. The dangerous intrigues of the imperialists and the growing activity of the aggressors must be countered by the growing unity and activity of all the peoples.

Our foreign policy is clear. It consists in safeguarding the peaceful labor of the Soviet people, strengthening the socialist world system, developing friendly relations with the independent countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, supporting the liberation struggle of the peoples, striving for the implementation of the principles of the peaceful coexistence of countries with different socio-political systems, and preserving and promoting peace on earth. In this respect, the year 1965 is highly indicative. The USSR has taken a series of steps to consolidate its international position and strengthen the unity of the anti-imperialist front.

Worthy of note is, first of all, the great amount of work carried out together with other fraternal countries to strengthen the unity of the forces of the socialist world system. Economic and scientific cooperation within the framework of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid has increased. Contacts between the leaders of the socialist countries have become closer. The treaty relations between the Soviet Union, on the one hand, and the German Democratic Republic, Mongolia, Poland and Czechoslovakia, on the other, have been carried forward. Economic and political ties

with Bulgaria, Hungary, Cuba, Rumania and Yugoslavia are expanding. The mutual effort to build up cooperation between our country and the Korean People's Democratic Republic and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam are bearing fruit. Of great importance are the steps taken to ensure the development of political and military cooperation of the fraternal countries within the framework of the Warsaw Treaty Organization.

We are striving to improve relations, to settle differences and promote friendship with the People's Republic of China. We have done everything in our power to this end, and now progress in the relations between the Soviet Union and China, between the Communist parties of the Soviet Union and China, depends on the Chinese leaders.

Friendly relations between the USSR and the newly-free countries have been considerably strengthened during the past year. Cooperation between the Soviet Union and the United Arab Republic, Ghana, Guinea, Mali, the Congo (Brazzaville), Burma and other countries which have embarked on social change is rising to a new and higher plane. In addition to the expansion of economic ties, the development of cultural exchanges, and the coordination of diplomatic moves, there is progress in contacts between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the national democratic parties which are in power in those countries.

Friendly relations are developing between the Soviet Union and the Algerian People's Democratic Republic. Our country is ready to continue promoting Soviet-Algerian cooperation and fully to support the heroic Algerian people in their struggle to consolidate their political and economic independence and to further their country's social progress.

The Soviet Union intends to continue strengthening its all-round cooperation with Indonesia. Our people have always thought highly of its anti-imperialist policy. We consider that every people should themselves choose the ways and forms of their social and national development.

However, the Soviet people cannot but be alarmed by the fact that in some countries maintaining good relations with us an anti-communist campaign is being pressed forward, and progressive leaders are being arrested and imprisoned. We do not conceal our conviction that social progress cannot be guaranteed anywhere, in any country, under the banner of anti-communism.

In the past year we have taken new steps which helped to strengthen friendship with Afghanistan and India, develop contacts with the Scandinavian countries, improve relations with Iran, Pakistan and Turkey, and bring about favorable changes in our relations with France and Japan.

As the Soviet Union has repeatedly stated, we sincerely wish to

see all issues between our neighbors, India and Pakistan, settled on a peaceful basis and the dangerous hotbed of the Indian-Pakistani conflict fully stamped out. It is our deep conviction that the enemies of India and Pakistan want to take advange of the aggravation of this conflict, whereas its elimination would serve the interests of the peoples of the two countries and their social progress.

The Soviet Union has declared time and again that there are also opportunities for better relations between our country and the United States. But the U.S. war of aggression against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam is an obstacle to that. Another major obstacle to our business contacts is Washington's policy aimed at giving the Bundeswehr access to nuclear weapons. If the ruling circles of the United States really desire normal relations with the Soviet Union, as they have declared more than once, they should prove this with deeds, first of all by rejecting the policy of aggression and military interference in the affairs of other states and peoples.

We believe that a turn for the better in international relations can be achieved even in the present conditions. Indeed, this is the aim of the proposals for preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons submitted by the Soviet Union to the 20th Session of the UN General Assembly. International tension should be eased primarily by removing the hotbeds of war danger and by stopping the arms race.

It goes without saying that in the present situation, with aggressive circles trying to undermine the foundations of the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems, the Soviet Union will maintain the greatest vigilance and unremittingly build up its defense potential. Let those who are fond of provocation know that our glorious Armed Forces are always on guard. We now have all that is necessary to deliver a crushing rebuff to any aggressor.

The CC, CPSU, which constantly strives to increase the might of the country, has during the past year made fresh efforts for the unity of the socialist countries and the world Communist movement as a whole. Joint action in the struggle for common goals, against imperialism, is the surest way of surmounting all differences, especially today. It implies exchanges of experience and the coordination of steps taken on the international scene. Accordingly, the CC, CPSU has in the past year held meetings and exchanged views with Party and government delegations from 12 socialist countries and with delegations from the fraternal parties of 50 capitalist countries. We have advocated, and continue to advocate, the further development of bilateral and multilateral

ties between the fraternal parties, and unity on a Marxist-Leninist basis.

Naturally, such unity will not come automatically. The task is complicated and difficult. The solidarity of the Communists of all countries is constantly tested by reality, by actual deeds. A deep sense of international responsibility for our common goals, for the destiny of the Communist movement, is indispensable if we want to strengthen unity.

Marching under the banner of proletarian internationalism, the Communist movement has become the most influential political force of modern times. The Communists and other progressive people of the world are convinced that, under this banner, victory in the competition between the two systems will go to communism, the new social system which is bringing a radiant and happy life to the whole of mankind.

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Comrades, the Soviet people have travelled a long and glorious path. Our socialist society dates its chronicles from October 1917. The 50th anniversary of this great revolution is drawing near. It is an honorable duty of all the working people of our country to greet this outstanding date with new great achievements.

Our country has all that it needs for this. We have a powerful economy that has now been given new opportunities for rapid growth. We have what is more important than anything else for further achievement — unity of the Party and the people, the solidarity of all the nations and nationalities of the Soviet state. We have numerous loyal allies and reliable friends throughout the world. Our goals are illumined by the immortal ideas of Marxism-Leninism. All progressive humanity looks to the Soviet Union as a beacon of the new society. And it is our duty to strengthen and develop our society, the Soviet socialist state, to improve life, to move onwards to the triumph of communism.

Long live the Soviet people!

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union!

Long live the indestructible unity of the Party and the people!

Glory to the Great October Revolution, which opened the way to peace and friendship among the nations, the way to communism!

MAJOR PROBLEMS TO BE ANALYZED BY THE CONGRESS

REPORT* TO THE 13th NATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHILE BY LUIS CORVALAN

The Communists' struggle under the regime of President Frei is one of the focal issues we have to analyze.

The Christian Democrats (CDS) aim to save capitalism in Chile, to block the people's revolution and prevent the advent of socialism. It is singular that they should be trying to achieve this, not in the old reactionary way, but by using modern methods and a modern phraseology, laying special emphasis on work among the people, rejuvenating the antiquated structure of the country, and improving to a degree the position of certain segments of the population.

It has been obvious ever since the criminal attack on the Dominican Republic that the U.S. imperialists are determined to resort to armed intervention in any part of Latin America.

Imperialism has served notice to all of us. The cynical decision adopted by the House of Representatives has revealed its designs. Tomorrow Chile, Uruguay, Bolivia, Venezuela and other fraternal nations may become victims of brutal aggression, of crimes as horrible and suffering as great as are falling to the lot of the heroic Vietnamese people today.

Defeating imperialist plans of aggression is becoming the supreme, the paramount task.

The struggle for revolutionary change and people's power is merging with the struggle against U.S. intervention, for sovereignty, self-determination and peace.

This is, therefore, the second important question on which our Congress will have to concentrate.

We Chilean Communists declare that it is our irrevocable resolve to devote all our energies to the establishment of the broadest patriotic front against the policy of intervention pursued by the imperialists and their gorilla agents.

At the 12th Congress of our Party we set ourselves the task of uniting and mobilizing the people with a view to winning political power for them.

To take a decisive step in this direction, we planned to use the

*Abridged.

1964 presidential elections. It was a real opportunity. And if our plan did not materialize, this was chiefly because we did not adequately strengthen the positions of the proletariat, and hence its capacity to rally the majority of the people through a dynamic, militant policy on a broad basis.

The battle we gave led millions of Chileans to take a stand, and had an international echo. It was the greatest political battle ever fought in Chile by the people. The positions of imperialism and the oligarchy were seriously threatened. The Rights had to retreat. To rescue their privileges, the reactionaries put their differences aside for the time being. They had to accept a way out they did not entirely approve of. Forty per cent of the citizens declared for a revolutionary solution. The decidedly anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic program and orientation of Salvador Allende* had an impact even on the opposing camp. The idea of change took root in the minds of the majority of the population. The result was a new balance of forces making it possible to achieve some progress, to stimulate the pursuit of an independent foreign policy, and greatly to advance the popular movement for fundamental changes. The battle is continuing on a higher plane, on ground that is more fertile from the point of view of change.

The strength and reserves mustered by FRAP are a solid and powerful basis on which to continue fighting for the revolution and people's government. Our primary and principal task is to build up and expand this strength.

The Communist policy is to unite the majority of the population, and all the anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic classes and social strata around the working class and the alliance of the workers and peasants. It is aimed at bringing about the formation of a government having these very qualities. We believe that proper understanding between Socialists and Communists is the cornerstone of this broad movement and of the government it would lead to.

The whole of Chile's experience suggests the necessity for establishing a popular national government in which the working class would play the leading role on the basis of the understanding I have mentioned.

This is not a dogmatic formulation but the truth. In the United Arab Republic and other countries, the national bourgeoisie has shown a certain degree of revolutionary capacity in the struggle for independence and progress. But here in Chile, a country controlled by the Radicals yesterday and by the CDs today, it shows that while "balking" from time to time, it generally compromises

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*Candidate of FRAP (Revolutionary Front of Popular Action), an alliance comprising the Communist, Socialist and National Democratic parties and various progressive organizations.

with the imperialists and the oligarchy and surrenders to them. As for the working class, it has by virtue of its social character always stood for fighting unrelentingly against these enemies.

Chile needs to put all its resources in operation, to make full use of its internal and external possibilities. It should set up a real heavy industry, process its raw materials, create a chemical industry using coal, saltpetre and oil, and develop light industry and those other industries that would enable it to dispense with imports and save foreign exchange. It should exploit its land and its long and rich coastal region judiciously.

We are deeply convinced that grave maladies require strong remedies and that the causes of backwardness should be combated with ruthless firmness. We cannot make progress with imperialism on top, with foreign and national monopolies at our side, or at the price of conciliation with the latifundists, and this is what the Christian Democratic government does.

Only the final liberation of the country from imperialism, the nationalization of copper and other riches held by the imperialists, the complete abolition of the latifundium and private monopolies will enable us to set about solving our fundamental problems.

This is the point of departure. When these goals have been reached it will be necessary to set course for socialism. Only socialism will enable us to achieve the highest rate of economic development, to advance at an adequate pace, substantially increase the national income and ensure its speedy and equitable redistribution. Only socialism can today allow full scope for the productive forces and ensure that the mass of the people takes part in building a modern and prosperous country.

The indisputable and impressive achievements of the Soviet Union, which has become the world's second industrial power and the vanguard of human progress, is supplemented by the example of other socialist countries.

Cuba's example is the nearest both chronologically and geographically. Despite economic aggression, the blockade set up by the U.S. imperialists and the sabotage organized by the CIA, Cuba has solved the problems of unemployment and inflation and done away with illiteracy. It has replaced its import of chicken, eggs, pork and other footstuffs by home production. It has begun to export beef, greatly expanded its fishing industry and achieved a higher rate of economic development than Latin America as a whole. The Cuban people are better off than the Chileans. They have taken a road leading them to a steady growth of incomes. They owe that to socialism, to a genuine revolution.

Imperialism is trying to check our people's advance to emancipation. The Johnson Doctrine is based on the troglodytic idea that the U.S. imperialists' economic and political intrests come

first. Accordingly, the American imperialists say they will not allow another Cuba in Latin America. But, much as this may displease them, there *will* be another Cuba and a third—as many as there are Latin American countries. In accordance with their national characteristics, by methods and in forms corresponding to their respective realities, all the Latin American peoples will follow Cuba's example.

Imperialism is still strong enough to strike a blow here and there and to score an occasional success. But it is not invincible—its position is shaky. More and more people are opposing its designs even in the United States, insisting on a different attitude to Latin America and the peoples in general.

In the struggle we rely on the support of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, on the solidarity of the non-aligned countries of Asia and Africa, on the peoples of the whole world. Besides, not a few capitalist countries of Europe are against the policy of intervention.

The trends of development shows that imperialism is losing ground. Historically, it is retreating, if not without striking back. This is why its aggressiveness is prompted above all else by despair, such as grips a cornered beast which senses that it cannot escape death.

It is socialism and not capitalism that is the decisive factor in human progress.

The conflicting factors that helped to bring the Christian Democratic government into being have persisted during its eleven months in office, with the reactionary trends clearly predominating. As a result, the government has very little to its credit.

This situation is obvious to all and is giving rise to increasing and legitimate popular discontent, causing concern among the CDs themselves.

Because of its class limitations, the CD government does not propose to solve the fundamental problems of national reorganization, without which the people's needs cannot be met. This is not to say, however, that the people should merely stand by, settling for whatever the government itself may be able to do and leaving everything to its initiative. The people should redouble their effort in fighting for their demands and for change. Every gain wrested by them will be a foothold enabling them to continue their advance, to push developments in a direction more and more in keeping with the interests of the people and the overall interests of the nation.

Anyone who wants to make a correct appraisal of the present situation and the outlook for the future should consider not only the class limitations of the CD government and its links with the imperialists and the Right, but a number of other factors.

Factor One. Vast sections of the population are rallying to the revolutionary banner raised aloft by the Chilean proletariat. Specifically, the overwhelming majority of the people recognizes the need of an agrarian reform.

The working class visibly influences the nation's policy and is in a position to make its influence decisive. FRAP is a real potential force having ample opportunities for changing the situation in favor of the people.

Factor Two. People want everything that can be done today to be done now. They do not want that which can be done today to be put off till tomorrow. They do not want any opportunity of making at least some social progress to be missed. They do not want to go from election to election and from government to government without achieving all that can be achieved. Still less do they want the situation to deteriorate.

Factor Three. The CDP is a party of more than one class. In it and among those who have voted for it there is a large body of people who would like to "give it a push," whose orientation is anti-Right and some of whom lean to the left.

Factor Four. Although the Frei government's stand on copper and other matters is pro-American, some aspects of its foreign policy clash with U.S. policy. This contradiction will tend to grow if the country succeeds in maintaining and promoting an independent foreign policy, which is what it wishes.

Factor Five. While the CD government and the Right agree on many issues, there are certain antagonisms between the CDs and the oligarchy.

Adding to these factors those that we have already analyzed—that is, the balance of internal and external forces, which is favorable to social progress, and the imperative need for change arising from the structural crisis and from present and future requirements—we come to the conclusion that there are real opportunities to defeat imperialism and the Right on some issues, isolate and weaken the reactionary groups which have so far set the tune in the government and the CDP leadership, and thus open up still more favorable prospects for our people's fight for their vital rights and for real change.

The first and most important blow should be struck in order to foil imperialist and reactionary maneuvers and to break the grip of the more reactionary sections of U.S. monopoly capital and its gorilla agents.

The Pentagon, the CIA and the wild men of the State Department—that invisible government which prevailed on Kennedy to intervene in the Dominican Republic — are out to divide and defeat the popular movement, to crush our people's struggle, foment anti-Communist hysteria, end the democratic regime, make

all independent action by the Chilean government impossible, and bar the country's way to a revolutionary government.

The Camelot Plan is only part of this vast conspiracy against Chile. The Brazilian and Argentine gorillas' acts of provocation are another part of the conspiracy. The hypocritical and sarcastic statements made by Leitao da Cunha, the Brazilian Prime Minister, to the effect that he wishes President Frei better luck than fell to Goulart's lot, express something more than a personal sentiment — they reflect the aspirations of his Pentagon and CIA masters.

Current among the U.S. militarists and the high command of the armed forces of other countries of the continent is the theory that geographical frontiers should be subordinate to political boundaries. This theory underlies the monstrous decision of the U.S. House of Representatives, saying the United States and the other American states have a right to unilateral armed intervention in any part of the continent. It accounts for the plan to form a continental army and for the extremely dangerous agreement between the Argentine and Brazilian general staffs to coordinate their actions against so-called "Communist infiltration of the hemisphere."

In view of this fact, we stress the imperative need to unite against imperialist intervention the largest possible sections of the nation, the biggest patriotic forces, all who are in favor of the right to self-determination, of non-intervention, and respect for international law standards.

Our people's cause is closely linked with that of the other Latin American peoples, and above all with Cuba's right to continue building socialism. This is why the tasks arising from continental solidarity should have pride of place.

Our cause is linked also with the glorious struggle of the Vietnamese people. As in our country, the issue there is the right to self-determination. In Vietnam the imperialists are applying their theory that geographical frontiers should be subordinate to political boundaries and are, moreover, keeping up the greatest threat to world peace.

The struggle for the liberation of the oppressed peoples and for their right to self-determination is linking up more and more with the active defense of world peace. The success of every national-liberation movement is inseparable from the struggle for peaceful coexistence, against the imperialist policy of intervention.

The Communist Party of Chile has declared for unity of action of all the Communist and Workers' parties of the world to maintain peace, combat the U.S. imperialist policy of aggression and promote international solidarity. Unity of action must be achieved despite the differences existing in the world Communist movement.

We regret that the leaders of the Communist Party of China persist in ignoring the need to join efforts against the common enemy.

We would like them to renounce so erroneous and harmful an attitude as early as possible.

Instead of establishing comradely and friendly relations with our Party, the leadership of the CP of China has begun to recruit, for its own political ends, a small group of opportunists, adventurers and grafters expelled from the Party at various dates. As a result, the relations between the Communist parties of China and Chile are as good as severed. In the interest of the common cause, we declare that we are willing to resume them on the very same day when the CP of China will have shown that as far as our Party is concerned, it respects the standards of relations between Communist parties, which are and should be relations of mutual respect, equality, and non-interference in each other's affairs.

At the same time we reaffirm our allegiance to the struggle for Marxist-Leninist principles, against dogmatism and revisionism.

We express the best feelings of friendship for the people and Communist Party of China.

Joint action against the common enemy, respect for the standards I have mentioned, and fraternal discussion of differences will lead to the complete restoration of world Communist unity, which is so necessary to the peoples of the world.

To foster this unity, we have taken part in various bilateral meetings and in the conference of 22 Latin American parties. We subscribe to the conclusions of the Conference of 19 Parties held in Moscow last March. It decided, among other things, to work for the convening of a consultative meeting of all the Communist and Workers' parties. We think such a meeting should be the culmination of a series of actions conducive to unity, and should be held when the conditions for achieving unity are really ripe.

Today the policy of U.S. imperialism affects the interests and contradicts the democratic and national sentiments of so vast a cross-section of the population that the working class has a better opportunity than ever to unite and mobilize the overwhelming majority of the people.

The democratic demands, and the struggle for peace, national sovereignty and civil liberties are in the focus of the activity of the working class in every capitalist country, including those where socialism is no longer a distant objective. It is safe to say that the road to socialism lies through the struggle for demands of this nature, because this struggle is the concrete method by which the proletariat is building up its strength and isolating its main enemies.

This applies to our country also. We therefore stress the decisive importance of raising the struggle for peace, self-determination, national sovereignty and international solidarity to as high a plane as possible.

Naturally, it is essential to fuse this struggle with the struggle of all the working people for their specific everyday demands and general interests.

What the government has done so far is very little indeed. Not that we want to deny everything or to paint it black. But what the government has done, what may be regarded as positive, and what, incidentally, has had our support or has been achieved thanks to the effort of the Left rather than that of the government—such as the levelling up of peasant incomes and the property tax—is clearly inadequate and constitutes no revolution in any part of the country.

The steps which the government tends to take are not aimed at real change and seem in the main to be prompted by the narrow and short-sighted concepts of the International Monetary Fund and the traditional policy of constantly indebting the country to foreign banks.

On the other hand, the opportunities provided by the resumption of relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are not being used. We are convinced that Sr. Frei does not want to use them or that his government is under strong pressure. The re-establishment of these relations contributed to the prestige of Chile and its present government, both at home and abroad. They are an important factor for friendship among the peoples and for peace. But there is no putting up with the fact that Chile does not derive from them the economic benefits they offer.

We must consider yet another basic idea guiding the activity of the government. I mean the intention to freeze the economic position of industrial, professional and office workers. The industrial workers' plight is particularly grave because, in addition to the freezing of their already low wages, they are denied, in the interest of the employers, any benefits from increased productivity.

It follows that the working people, above all the proletariat, have no choice but to fight for their demands and rights, and for a new policy for the country, no choice but unity of action.

United action can set the whole people in motion—the working men and women who voted for Salvador Allende and those who voted for Sr. Frei. The people should be on one side and the reactionaries on the other. It is therefore essential to pave the way for unity of action of all the popular and progressive forces opposing or backing the government against the reactionaries in the government or the opposition. In other words, it is possible to advance to the unity of action of FRAP, the National Democratic

Party and the anti-Right CDs and Radicals against imperialism and the oligarchy, against the most reactionary group of Right-wing Conservatives, Liberals, Radicals and CDs.

This is an essential aspect of our policy.

The reactionary, pro-imperialist and anti-Communist groups in the government and in the CDP are manifestly bent on causing confusion, which explains why they are trying hard to represent the Communists and Socialists as conniving at the Right wing of the opposition. Besides, there are those who dare to accuse us of seeking conciliation with the government.

Reality gives the lie to these speculations. It shows that our policy has been and will be to fight the reactionaries in and outside the government, to oppose and criticize the general orientation of the ruling party, to promote the activity and initiative of the working people, supporting whatever may benefit them and combating unrelentingly all that injures their interests. This policy is in the interest of the people and we are going to carry it on.

Our policy of unity of action of all the popular and progressive forces opposing or backing the government is, first of all, joint action by the working people for their demands, in defense of their gains and rights, for social progress, freedom, peace, and national sovereignty. This policy is being carried on in many places, and should be carried on everywhere, for it is in the interest of the people.

Joint action by all the anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic forces can and should become an insurmountable barrier to whatever contradicts the interests of the nation and the people. Through it we can and should bring the people new gains, achieve all that can be achieved at the moment in various fields of the struggle, and so extend the prospects of the revolution.

Our policy of united action invariably proceeds from the fundamental idea that working-class unity and struggle, Socialist-Communist understanding, and the unity and reinforcement of FRAP are the important thing. We believe this policy to be a means of rallying more and more forces around the proletariat and the Communist and Socialist parties.

Allow me to stress that we attach, and will continue to attach, the greatest importance to an understanding between these two parties.

Socialists and Communists alike are entitled to independent activity, to an effort to increase their influence on the people. There is no reason why this activity should undermine unity if it is conducted in an atmosphere of revolutionary and fraternal emulation and of consideration and respect for the other point of view. If we proceed in this manner we will not only strengthen

both parties but will also promote the unity of the working class and the people. It goes without saying that we must at the same time step up joint actions and share leadership on major issues, that is, solve in common the more important specific problems of the popular movement.

The struggle for popular unity poses, and is bound to pose, certain problems. From time to time there occur misunderstandings and other difficulties. The important thing is to deal with them, to work for the spirit of fraternity in either party and seek increasing mutual understanding.

To fulfil its historical mission, the working class must become the focus of unity and the motor of revolutionary change. To this end it must resolutely support and promote the organization and struggle of the peasants and the demands of various segments of the population, and carry on a patriotic, anti-imperialist anti-feudal and anti-monopoly policy.

The bulk of the proletariat and the politically more advanced sections of the people know that the CDP provides no solution. However, we cannot say as much of those other sections of the people which entered public life by voting for the CDs. They must gain it as early as possible, to prevent them from lapsing into indifference or despair, from serving as a base for political gambling or for another bourgeois alternative, and to ensure that they realize the necessity for a revolutionary government as soon as possible, it must win their confidence through a militant and broad policy and through joint action by all the popular forces.

More, the struggle against U.S. imperialist plans of intervention and other vital issues necessitates and will necessitate joint action by diverse socio-political groups holding similar views.

Past experience, which shows that this kind of policy helped bourgeois parties and politicians in some measure to gain popular support, should be taken into account. But this cannot lead us to a sectarian attitude. There will be no reason to fear this, provided the Communist and Socialist parties, in pursuing their broad policy, maintain a firm, independent and critical orientation and emphasize work among the people.

In other words, it is only through joint action for popular demands, against imperialism and reaction, for progress and freedom, that the forces can really, forging a patriotic alliance of the majority of the nation around the working class, and an alliance of the workers and peasants, giving rise to an irresistible social movement capable of sweeping away all obstacles and embarking Chile on independent development.

Besides, we must not rule out or underestimate the possibility that new trends patently opposing imperialism and the oligarchy,

and even striving for socialism, will march shoulder to shoulder with FRAP.

The increasing contradictions between the majority of the nation and imperialism, contradictions inside the bourgeoisie itself and the tendency of large sections of the middle strata, including those of the bourgeois type, to regard socialism as the more just system, all show that in the social struggle going on FRAP may be joined by groups of which we cannot expect this at the moment and whose contribution to the Chilean revolution would be invaluable.

Social processes do not follow ready-made patterns, and the important thing is for these processes to take place, not that there should be patterns.

In this sphere, the Cuban revolution has broken many patterns and shown that forces which at the early stage of the revolution adhere in some measure to bourgeois ideology may choose socialism later on.

The Program of our Party defines the content of the Chilean revolution and indicates the strategic objectives and the tasks corresponding to a whole period of history. Revolutionary parties do not revise their programs until they have attained these objectives, accomplished their fundamental tasks, or discovered — as sometimes happens — that they had misinterpreted the situation. Neither is the case in our country. This is why our Program and the general line of the Party are still valid.

This means that now as in the past our main blow is aimed at imperialism and the oligarchy. The reason for this is not only that the structural changes which are the order of the day are anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic in character but that, in our time, the paramount task of the revolutionaries and the peoples is to frustrate the political schemes of the imperialists and their hangers-on.

In these circumstances, the shift that has occurred in the balance of forces, and the assumption of power by the CDs call for new general tactics and a correct tactical solution of each particular problem.

In the great historical dispute between capitalism and socialism, the CDs side with the capitalists. But their specific attitude toward imperialism is two-fold. On the one hand, it is conciliation, collaboration and defeatism, as in the case of the agreements on copper. On the other, it is criticism, opposition and independence, as in the case of the Dominican Republic.

We therefore oppose the general pro-imperialist orientation of the CD government. However, bearing in mind its contradictory aspects and remembering that in some cases its policy is critical and independent of imperialism, we do not attack it indiscriminately but proceed according to the steps it actually takes.

The implementation of this line involves two dangers: the Right and the Left deviation, the danger of drifting into class cooperation or into sectarianism. The experience gained by our Party and the day-by-day elaboration of the Party's tactical line in keeping with principle and in the light of practical results will enable us to avoid these dangers.

It is typical of the CDs that they seek popular support in order to defeat us. This compels them to meet some of the people's demands, to take up some of our slogans, and even to make partial use of our terminology.

We must counter our opponents' orientation toward the people and their work among them with our Party's orientation and work, which we must improve very considerably. This is a great task. It is the heart of the matter.

In the conditions I have described, the salient feature of our effort to prevent the people from backing bourgeois policies is that we must carry on this effort by means of the tactics of united action and ideological struggle against the CDs, who work among the people, unity of action to jointly promote social demands and, at the same, ideological struggle against the CD's reformist concepts and anti-Communist practices.

Ever since our Party came into being we have worked to organize the working people. We should continue our effort in this sense, taking the initiative. We will not oppose any initiative coming from others. Since our principle is to be where the people are, we participate and will participate in every popular organization even if its orientation at the moment is not revolutionary. But we combat and will go on combating attempts to split the movement, against the tendency to form parallel organizations and set up exclusive political groups.

In line with this principle, which is clearly in the interest of the people, we consider that the United Center of Working People should unite all the industrial, professional and office workers and all the peasants, that is, all the working people, and give each trend its share in the various leading bodies according to democratic procedure.

In the Catholic Church, which has a following of 500 million, there is a powerful trend refusing to stay away from processes renovating society. This phenomenon is due either to pressure from the people, whom the Church influences and is influenced by, or to the desire of the Church to retain its ascendancy in the society of tomorrow. It is understandable. Once Fidel Castro said that the Catholic Church first opposed the slave society and then collaborated with it, that it first opposed and then backed feudalism, that later on it resisted capitalism, only to become one of its mainstays afterwords, and that if it now opposes socialism it

will have to end by at least accepting it. This effort to fit into the new era is evident from John XXIII's *Pacem in Terris.*

This development, which involves also Chilean Catholics, vastly increases the opportunities for joint action by millions of Chileans. In our Party there are believers who accept our Program and our Rules. We have not a few Communists and numeous sympathizers who are Catholic or Protestant believers. We Communists are willing to march with the Catholics. We have said more than once that as long as the Church keeps out of political controversies we firmly propose to do all in our power to ensure that there are relations of mutual respect between the Church and the evolutionary government to be established by the Chilean people in the future.

The people fight, and unite for action, irrespective of their religious beliefs or political ideas. The Communist Party, rejecting sectarianism, takes and should take part in all battles.

Unquestionably, the enemies of our people, primarily the U.S. imperialists and their Creole agents, will continue to raise obstacles to the struggle for progress and national independence. They are ready to do their worst, as we have stressed before. But it is just as unquestionable that our people can resist and defeat them.

A substantial number of the bourgeois elements aspiring in some measure to progress for the country are gripped with fear. They cannot bring themselves to take the bull by the horns, and so they compromise.

Had O'Higgins and other champions of independence comported themselves like that, who knows how much longer Chile would have had to live under colonial tyranny.

The Communist Party urges an end to timid and conciliating policies.

We say to the Frei government that its bounden duty is to counter properly the offensive of the most rabid imperialists and their gorilla stooges. The slightest weakness may have grave consequences for the nation.

Uruguay has set us an example. When its government was informed that the general staffs of Argentina and Brazil envisaged the possibility of intervention against that country, it forbade the Uruguayan Navy to join its Argentine counterpart in naval maneuvers.

It is this kind of resolute and specific steps that the Chilean government should have taken in the past and should take in the future.

A different policy, an accommodating stance, merely encourages the imperialist aggressor and the gorillas.

Chile should stop being a component of the American military set-up.

We serve warning against the danger which further participation in Pentagon strategy represents.

In raising these issues, we do not expect Chile to join any other military bloc. We merely want Chile to pursue a completely independent policy on this and on other matters.

At the same time we want our country to seek agreement with all the Latin American nations, or at least between neighboring countries, with a view to stopping the arms race. This would benefit the economies of our nations and the standard of living of our peoples.

This, then, is the Communist position on the issue.

In the light of these facts, the role of the working class — the only class with the revolutionary capacity to develop the national-liberation struggle consistently and to the end — is gaining in importance. Only the working class can lead the patriotic movement, rally the majority of the people, inspire all the progressive groups with faith, and lend a revolutionary character to the independent development of the nation.

That is why unity, organization and struggle of the Chilean proletariat are decisive. And that is why we are resolved to stress the need of unity, extension of the United Center of Working People, increasing mutual understanding between Socialists and Communists, and reinforcement of FRAP.

The threat of a coup and imperialist intervention can be staved off.

We can resist the enemy and build a new country.

The working class and the people of Chile can enforce their will.

The people are all-powerful if they unite for action and begin to act.

If united, the Chilean people already can score new gains, make some headway and muster the forces needed for the revolution.

We are advancing, and will continue to advance, guided by our doctrine, the doctrine of Marx, Engels and Lenin, and taking inspiration from the example of Recabarren and Lafferte, Fonseca and Galo Gonzalez.

We can and must overcome the difficulties ahead.

The political consciousness attained by our people, the many social gains they have, the class awareness of the bulk of the proletariat, and the desire of large sections of the people for change are largely a fruit of our activity over half a century.

Thanks to this struggle and to the struggle waged by our allies and by progressive men, women and young people in the past and present, the general conditions for a revolutionary solution that will open the door to a better tomorrow are maturing in Chile.

RESOLUTION* OF THE 13th CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHILE

Following the discussion the delegates to the 13th National Congress of the Communist Party of Chile decided to address the working class, the people and all the democratic forces with an appeal to fulfil a sacred patriotic duty by doing everything to carry into reality the profound striving for change expressed by the vast majority of the Chileans.

The congress unanimously approved and supported the report of Comrade Luis Corvalan stating the position of the Communists. This report is put up for discuscussion by our people.

The congress has taken place at a time when the conditions of the struggle between the forces coming out for social progress and those who oppose it are changing. The Chilean people grow increasingly aware of the imperative need for deep-going changes in the economic, social and political structure of the country to eliminate backwardness and the misery of the masses. These changes are specified in the Program of our Party and outlined in the common program of the Popular Action Front, whose strength is growing from day to day. A popular government is needed to fully effect these changes and initiate development towards socialism.

IMPERIALISM THREATENS CHILEAN FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE

U.S. imperalism, which has a close ally in the finance and landed oligarchy, is the chief enemy of any positive change.

No advance towards revolutionary reconstruction of society can be made through conciliation with this enemy. These progressive reforms can be realized only as a result of resolute struggle against imperialism and the oligarchy.

The freedom, independence and very existence of Chile, just as of other Latin American countries, are threatened by U.S. imperialism, which engages in criminal subversion inspires the establishment of terroristic tyrannies, and has already announced its decision to interfere by force in the affairs of any of our peoples under the pretext of combating communism—just as the Nazis used to do. Consequently, to flout imperialism's aggressive designs is the chief task, a task for all patriots.

It is the duty of all the democratic forces to unite to avert the danger hanging over Chile and tirelessly defend public freedoms and national sovereignty. The popular parties should be in the van of this fight, employing all suitable forms of struggle and

*El Siglo, October 19, 1965.

never failing to come out in support of the peoples fighting against imperialism.

We Chilean Communists are glad and proud that our congress is attended by fraternal delegations of many Communist parties. They all stressed in their speeches that imperialism is the chief enemy of mankind.

TO FIGHT FOR PEACE IS OUR SACRED DUTY INSEPARABLE FROM THE TASKS OF NATIONAL LIBERATION

The working class rightfully prides itself on the fact that the forces determining the trend of world development are headed by the socialist camp. The Soviet Union's successes in communist construction are an invaluable help to all the forces fighting against imperialism, for liberation. From the rostrum of our congress representatives of the fraternal parties of the socialist camp told us about the signal successes their countries have achieved bearing out the superiority of the socialist system. The shining example of the Cuban Revolution inspires the peoples of Latin America.

The Communist Party of Chile again voices concern over the problem of the unity of the world Communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, and declares that it will support any efforts aimed at securing unity of action of all the revolutionary detachments engaged in the struggle against the common enemy.

One of he characteristic features of the present international situation is that U.S. imperialism is pursuing a desperately aggressive policy and committing all sorts of crimes, such as the colonial war against the valiant people of Vietnam.

We Chillean Communists reaffirm active defense of world peace as our sacred duty. The struggle for peace is inseparable from the struggle for the liberation of the oppressed peoples, for the right of every country to self-determination, for democratic rights.

To resist the threat of imperialism, we urge all Chilean patriots to unite with all the fraternal peoples of the continent.

INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY DECISIVE

In our time tremendous importance attaches to the international duties of Communists and all progressives. We Chilean Communists voice our most resolute solidarity with the fraternal peoples of North and South Vietnam. Vigilance is needed in the face of the threats against the Cuban Revolution. We should manifest in most diverse forms our support of the heroic struggle of the patriots of Guatemala, Venezuela, Colombia, Peru and other countries and organize protest actions against the crimes perpetrated in these

countries. We are ready to support anti-Franco Spain and all the democrats combating dictatorships in Latin America and other parts of the world.

RALLY THE PEOPLE AND ALL PROGRESSIVE FORCES AROUND THE WORKING CLASS, AROUND A COMMUNIST-SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

We stand for the unity of action of all progressives in the struggle for the changes the vast majority of the nation wants. To isolate and defeat imperialism and the oligarchy, it is necessary to achieve the unity of action of the people, of all progressive forces both in opposition and in the government—against all reactionary forces, whether in opposition or in the government.

This policy should be based on consolidation of the Popular Action Front and on Socialist-Communist unity.

The congress noted with satisfaction that considerable progress has been made in achieving mutual understanding between the two parties and that, despite certain misunderstandings and differences in the approach, what unites us outweighs that which disunites us. We shall apply every effort to strengthen this alliance, and we think that the Socialist Party will do the same.

The keynote of discussion at the progress was that the working class is the rallying center and the driving force of revolutionary change. To be able to play this decisive role, the working class should everywhere act in support of any demand presented by the different classes or groups of the people, directing their struggle against the chief enemies. This calls, above all, for improving the organization and enhancing the militancy of the working class, safeguarding trade union unity, strengthening the United Center of the Working People, organizing the unorganized, amplifying the objectives of the struggle, and linking up partial demands with the solution of the general problems of the nation. Many delegates spoke about growing unemployment and pauperization, as a result of which many families of working people live in misery and many are starving. Exploitation is being intensified, assuming most diverse forms. Hence the need to redouble the efforts to mobilize the masses, combat indifference to politics, strive for more effective solidarity over every labor conflict and set up a single national trade union in every branch of the economy.

A MILITANT WORKER-PEASANT ALLIANCE INDISPENSABLE FOR SECURING AGRARIAN REFORM

The magnitude of peasants' action is growing. More and more petitions containing demands are being presented. The agricultural

workers are defending their organizations with increasing vigour. The struggle for the land is mounting. The delegate from Valle del Choapa told the congress how the peasants of that region had stubbornly fought for, and received, the land and about the Agrarian Reform Corporation's recognition of their right to farm this land collectively under the direction of their own organizations. This experience rouses the interest of all peasants, who want to follow this example throughout the country, with due regard to the peculiarities of every region, and thus to prove that a deep-going agrarian reform will help solve the food problem in Chile and raise the standard of living of the rural population.

To secure such an agrarian reform, the landowners' resistance should be countered with a broad and united movement of the peasant masses. This would conform to the interests of the urban working people and all those insisting on change. To build a worker-peasant alliance is a top-priority task today.

IMPORTANT ROLE OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS AND WOMEN

Next to the workers' demands for higher wages come the demands for better medical care, construction of schools and houses, town improvement, better services, and so on.

The neighborhood juntas, residents' committees, tenants' associations, mothers' centers and homeless families' committees are gaining in strength and waging a resolute struggle in which workers' families act jointly with families of other working people. Realization of their demands, especially the demand for more houses and better amenities, brooks no delay, and there is a possibility of making progress in this direction. There is a trend to set up large community organizations. We Communists stand for pooling these movements together, for imparting a mass democratic character to them, for establishing, on their basis, of a single organization in every community, for coordinating and stepping up their actions.

Of great importance for the growth of mass organizations and of their struggle is the participation of women, who act very energetically, conscientiously and dynamically. It is necessary to establish contacts with the primary organizations of mothers' centers, unite these organizations without any discrimination, set up such centers where they do not exist, draw all housewives into them, and secure increasingly broader participation of women in the activities of the trade unions and the United Center of the Working People.

TO HELP THE YOUTH MOVEMENT IS A TASK FOR ALL

To help the youth movement is a task of not only the Young Communists but of all Communists and the entire popular movement.

Along with the general national tasks and the need to educate the young people in the spirit of the struggle for peace, freedom and socialism, we should advance demands concerning the young people themselves, in the first place the demand for the right to education and a profession, the right to work and to equal wages. A high sense of responsibility has been displayed by the students in their sustained effort to secure broader opportunities to engage in sport, art and other cultural pursuits, to secure better medical sevices, construction of academic premises, and improved study plans. The younger generation presents a sector with great potentialities to develop a powerful patriotic front of struggle against imperialism and reaction. The next national congress of the Young Communists of Chile must give a fresh impetus to this movement.

USE THE DISCONTENT OF THE MIDDLE STRATA TO BOLSTER THE CAUSE OF THE LEFT

The broadest strata of the nation are interested in doing away with imperialism. Consistent with its policy of conciliation with the North American monopolies, the Demochristian government is shifting the consequences of the economic crisis onto the shoulders of the working class and also the middle strata. A deep discontent has already surged within these strata, and we must not allow this discontent to bring them into the arms of the Right. It is ncessary to direct the discontent of the middle strata against the real enemies of the people by combining their demands with those of the popular movement and winning them over to its side.

The congress highly appreciates the active part the finest Chilean intellectuals take in the struggle of the masses. At the same time the congress points out that increasingly broader and active participation of the intelligentsia will greatly facilitate the ideological struggle, the work to foster a truly patriotic and revolutionary consciousness in the masses.

NO BARRIER BETWEEN US AND THE CATHOLICS AND OTHER BELIEVERS

The concerted organized struggle of the proletariat and the people, of all the anti-imperialist forces of the Chilean nation can and must change the course of events and direct them along the road of progress. The country is at a crucial juncture. Those who pin-

ned their hopes on the present government are beginning to show discontent. Solution of problems is put off. Moreover, these problems are growing, that of food supply, is assuming alarming proportions. By and large, the government of the Christian Democrats continues the old policy of conciliation with imperialism. Energetic intervention by the people, struggle for their vital demands, for reforms that are long overdue, for genuine change is needed to break this deadlock. To this end the Communists advocate stronger Communist-Socialist alliance, the unity of the Popular Action Front, the rallying of all the anti-imperialist sections of the people. We have already declared our readiness to fight in the midst of the masses, to march side by side with the Catholics and Protestants. The main line of demarcation should be drawn between those who side with the imperialists and reactionaries and those who stand for Chile, for progress.

LENINIST PARTY OF THE MASSES, PARTY OF ACTION AND FLEXIBLE TACTICS

To cope with these tasks successfully, we intend to ensure the most vigorous quantitative and qualitative growth of our Party, the Leninist Party of the masses and action. The purpose of the changes in the Party Rules adopted by the congress is to make our organization, in keeping with the Leninist principles of the revolutionary party of the working class, more flexible and better adapted to changing conditions. The congress has demonstrated the political maturity of our Party, its firm ideological unity, its profound sense of conscious discipline, its unity round the political line approved by the congress. All this is the result of our Party's fidelity to the interests of the working class and people of Chile, to the principles of proletarian internationalism bequeathed us by Recarbarren.

Concluding the work of the National Congress of our Party, we delegates want to express our firm determination to march along the road of revolution, identifying ourselves more and more with the struggle of the masses for the ultimate conquest of national independence, for socialism and communism.

RESOLUTION* OF THE CC, FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY, ON PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

The Central Committee of the French Communist Party unanimously approves the report of the Political Bureau presented by Waldeck Rochet, General Secretary of the Party.

It is for seven years now that the government of capitalist monopolies has been pursuing, with the support of the reactionaries, Pinay's Independence and the MRP, the most reactionary economic and social policy France has ever known in the past twenty years. The one-man rule has attacked all forms of the democratic life of the nation. It has speeded up the armaments drive.

On December 24, 1963, following the announcement of forthcoming presidential elections, the French Communist Party stated its attitude declaring that "to eliminate the authoritarian regime and establish genuine democracy, all the democratic parties, Communist and Socialist in the first place, should unite around a common program and fight jointly for its triumph and implementation." The FCP stressed that this agreement of all the democratic forces without exception was "the chief task bearing upon the decision concerning the future presidential elections, which are merely a stage and a means to achieve an end."

Ever since the Communist Party has been tirelessly advancing proposals aimed at securing agreement.

The desire for unity and alliance has increased among all the republicans. The attempts to revive pernicious alliances of the reactionaries and some Left forces have fallen through.

A new situation has developed.

In a public statement of his political views, Francois Mitterand, candidate for the post of President of the Republic, reaffirmed that he is opposed to the present regime, just as he has been since 1958. He came out for a revision of the Gaullist constitution, for the abolition of the clauses consecrating one-man rule, for the government's accountability to parliament, and for public and individual freedoms, in particular trade union freedoms and the right to strike. He objected to the use of television for propaganda purposes. The presidential candidate criticized the "Europe of monopolies and technocrats" and declared against force de frappe, for the policy of peaceful coexistence, for the signing of the Mos-

*L'Humanité, September 24, 1964.

cow test-ban treaty, against the treaty of alliance with the German revenge-seekers, for the settlement of the German problem through the conclusion of a peace treaty, and for a revision of the NATO treaty. He expressed himself for democratic planning, against the "unjust distribution of the fruits of labor," for the secular school, and for priority to public education.

Publicly replying at his press conference on September 21, to the September 20 letter from the General Secretary of the French Communist Party, he took a stand for an alliance of all the democratic forces without exception against one-man rule and for democracy.

This position on the basic issues coincides with many points in the recommendations and proposals made by our Party long ago and addressed again on September 8 to all the democratic organizations and parties with a view to having an exchange of opinions to work out a common minimum program.

The Central Committee decided that the French Communist Party would campaign for the candidate of the democratic alliance, François Mitterrand.

A concerted and massive vote for François Mitterrand by the Communists, Socialists and other democrats will deal a new and powerful blow at monopoly rule. The workers and peasants, all the working people of town and countryside hit by the one-man rule policy, all the French concerned with France's real grandeur in conditions of democracy, peace and independence, will be able to express in common their aspirations and their common interests.

Unity during the presidential elections will be conducive to the further development of working-class unity and of the alliance of the democratic forces with the aim of working out a common program, the basis of the broad unity needed to defeat on-man rule.

At different stages of their struggle the working class, all the democratic forces of France have been able to find forms of united action most suited to the situation. The same is true for today.

Pursuing a bold unitary policy, the Communist Party has contributed to the success of the forces of democratic opposition and to the development of the struggle. It was active in creating conditions for the nomination of a common presidential candidate of the democratic forces.

Developing its policy on the problems of the day, specifically its program adopted by the 17th Congress, giving answers to questions agitating the French people, the Communist Party will devote all its energies to the presidential election campaign, an important stage of the struggle for new democracy, for a policy of social progress, democracy and peace.

September 23, 1965.

LESSONS OF THE GENERAL ELECTION AND THE TASKS OF THE WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT UNDER THE BOURGEOIS REGIME

STATEMENT* BY THE CC, CPN

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Norway, which met on September 25-26, 1965, unanimously adopted a statement on the lessons of the general election and the tasks of the Party in the present conditions:

Although most of the voters at this year's general election supported the working-class movement, the election resulted in seating a considerable bourgeois majority in the Storting.

Today everyone asks himself why the working-class movement suffered this reverse. We think this was due, first and foremost, to the following reasons:

1. The main reason was that the policy of the Norwegian Labor Party (NLP) went a long way losing the features distinguishing it fundamentally from bourgeois policy. This is particularly evident from the fact that young voters no longer regard NLP policy as promising enough.

2. The NLP government showed indecision on a number of issues, inability to plan, and lack of respect for the Storting. Many miscalculations could have been avoided had the ruling party taken far-reaching steps beforehand to extend democracy and make it more dynamic, from the higher organs of power down to the enterprises.

3. The fact that the bourgeois parties in 1963 were enabled to form a government gave them a tactical advantage which played a major role in this year's elections. In 1963 they demonstrated their ability to cooperate, form a government by joint effort, and so advance a realistic alternative to the NLP government. They were also enabled to step forward with a general political declaration acceptable to large segments of the population without, however, taking any specific political measures. This provided them with a vantage point for success in 1965.

4. The overall defeat of the working-class movement was due lastly, to the fact that the labor parties did not counter the co-

*Friheten, Sept. 27, 1965.

operation of the bourgeoisie with a coordinated effort of their own, which was what the CPN proposed. Such an effort would have yielded far greater results than the election data show. It would have contributed to the working-class movement an element of renovation and consolidation putting it in an offensive position before the elections.

As for the loss of votes by our Party, there is reason to believe that causes whose impact has been felt over a long period still operate. Besides, the reverse was due to causes inherent in the present situation.

The political atmosphere at the elections seemed favorable to our Party. All indications were of widespread sympathy and goodwill for our position, and our participation in the radio and TV discussion met with approval. It seems, however, that many have not yet got rid of the negative notion about our Party which has been impressed on their minds for years.

One of the tasks of our Party is to spread factual and truthful information about the situation in the socialist countries, but above all we must explain *our* position as a sovereign party appraising every situation freely on its own. Our Program says how the CPN envisions Norway's road to socialism.

The outcome of the elections was undoubtedly influenced by many factors. As regards the voters representing the working-class movement, many of them would appear to have been decisively influenced by two different points of view:

1. It was necessary to ensure that power remained in the hands of a NLP government.
2. It was necessary to pave the way primarily for a new policy in the working-class movement.

We must deal with these circumstances in some detail.

The CPN held that the political and organizational split in the Norwegian working-class movement is fraught with many dangers. As long as the split between parties persists it is essential to carry on work between them in the common interest, with a view to limiting the harmful consequences of the split. In other words, it is essential to cooperate on as vast a scale as possible.

This is why the CPN before the elections called on the NLP and the Socialist People's Party (SPP) for cooperation, striving to win a labor majority in the Storting. The difficult position of the working-class movement on the eve of the elections, when the bourgeois parties engaged in large-scale cooperation, had a telling effect on the election campaign of the CPN.

The Central Committee of the Party, its Congress and its local organizations tried through appeals and direct initiatives to bring about cooperation, so as to preserve the labor majority in the Storting. But all its attempts were turned down by the two other

labor parties, which, despite the obvious danger which the split in the working-class movement presented, and contrary to the common interest, continued inter-party strife inside the working-class movement during the election campaign.

The CPN, which sincerely tried to achieve cooperation and unity of action in the working-class movement, must state that it found itself in a position which was used against it by both the NLP and the SPP (Socialist People's Party).

The Party sees the unsatisfactory results of the elections as a challenge. It is resolved to overcome the factors which played an adverse role. Today the Party is concentrating on the tasks that will face the working-class movement in the next few years, with society led by a bourgeois government.

Developments cannot be turned back. The great opportunities opening up before the nations can be preserved and used for the good of people only by the forces which are striving to abolish class society, bring about an equitable distribution of the material wealth created through production, and make people's rule a reality in every walk of society's life.

This implies:

1. Waging an effective political struggle against all attempts to rob the working-class movement of its gains, and stepping up its effort to muster the forces on the basis of a constructive policy, with a clear-cut socialist perspective.

2. Rallying the mighty forces of the trade union movement to fight effectively for the workers' economic and democratic demands.

3. Establishing a popular majority in support of the demand that Norway withdraw from NATO and adopt a neutral position.

The CPN intends to proceed firmly and consistently as a motive power of such a policy. We are convinced that development in subsequent years will stress the significance of the fact that Norway's working people have a strong Communist Party on which they can lean for support.

F. MUHRI ON TALKS WITH CPSU LEADERS

VOLKSSTIME INTERVIEWS* CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AUSTRIA

Q. With whom did you have talks?

A. On October 8 I had talks with Comrades Brezhnev, First Secretary of the CC, Suslov, Member of the Presidium and Secretary of the CC, and Ponomaryov, Secretary of the CC and head of the Foreign Relations Department of the CC, CPSU. I also had an opportunity of meeting with other leading comrades, discussing various problems with them and obtaining whatever information we wanted. The atmosphere was invariably cordial and friendly, the comrades willing to provide full and frank information.

Q. The joint communique says that both sides re-emphasized the importance of strict respect for the Austrian State Treaty and Austrian neutrality. Were any questions touched upon in this connection?

A. Of course they were. I satisfied myself that neutral Austria is highly respected by the Soviet comrades and that great importance is attached to Austria's independence.

It is asserted in Austria sometimes that Moscow has changed its attitude to Austria's possible contacts with the EEC. I should like to warn against this self-delusion. The Soviet Union holds, as before, that Austria's customs or economic alliance or any other form of "interlocking" with the EEC would be incompatible with neutrality and a violation of the State Treaty, which prohibits any economic alliance or other — direct or indirect — connection with Germany. In the opinion of the Soviet side, the return of the German property which was in its time transferred to the Austrian Republic also runs counter to the State Treaty provisions. What is involved here is the foundations of independence, and is also pointed out in the communique, where strict respect for the State Treaty and neutrality is defined as "the basis of the peaceful, democratic and independent development of the Austrian Republic."

Q. The communique mentions that problems of the world Communist movement in the present international situation were discussed. What problems were there?

A. The attention was centred, of course, on some topical problems. It is the Soviet Union's unchanged view that the struggle for peace is its principal foreign policy line. At present the im-

*Volksstimme, October 14, 1965.

perialists are trying to set up new hotbeds of local conflicts and wars which threaten to develop into a world war. Therefore all efforts should be aimed at frustrating the imperialists' schemes.

Q. The Soviet Union is upbraided for not giving sufficient assistance to Vietnam. Was it possible to learn something about this assistance?

A. After the visit to Moscow, my impression is that the Soviet comrades are talking little about their help to Vietnam but doing very much. Vietnam is receiving exceptionally great assistance, both economic and military. Military assistance is being rendered gratuitously and exactly in accordance with the wishes and plans of the Vietnamese comrades themselves. They get what they ask for, including the most up-to-date defensive weapons. This assistance is having ever greater effect, which will go on increasing as Vietnamese personnel is trained. Incidentally, the best judges of this are the American themselves, whose losses are growing. I also familiarized myself with documents in which leading Vietnamese comrades express gratitude, appreciation and satisfaction in connection with Soviet assistance in all fields. The Soviet Union's promise to send volunteers should the Vietnamese comrades find this expedient and express such a wish, also remains in force.

Q. What trend reveals itself in the disagreements with the Chinese comrades?

A. I learned, with regret, that the CPSU's constant efforts to put what unites the parties before that which disunites them are rejected by the Chinese comrades out of hand. China has even turned down the proposal on China and the Soviet Union, together with North Vietnam, North Korea and the other socialist countries, acting jointly against U.S. aggression in Vietnam. Anti-Soviet attacks in the Chinese press and through other public media have grown sharper and wilder than ever before, and, regrettably, even the worst has to be feared.

In the Soviet comrades I found full understanding of the standpoint of the CPA, which is that resumption of open polemic in the form in which it was conducted before would bring no good. We also agree that the present moment is not favorable for convening an international conference of our world movement. Likewise, it is our common view that such forms of contact are needed as bilateral and multilateral talks between parties, regional conferences, and so on, in order to broaden fraternal inter-party relations and step up the joint fight against imperialism.

Q. How is the situation in the Soviet Union appraised by the Soviet comrades themselves?

A. The measures taken at the last three plenary meetings of the CC are beginning to bear fruit. Although crops have suffered

— in some places because of excessive precipitation and in others because of drought — a record harvest of cotton is chalked up and the annual plan for the purchase of milk was fulfilled as early as October. Supply on collective-farm markets has improved, resulting in prices dropping by an average of 17 per cent. Letting the collective farms themselves decide what to grow, and where, is yielding favorable results, and so is the fact that losses due to inclement weather are taken into account when purchases are made. In industry, the seven-year plan will be somewhat overfulfilled. The economic reforms that were adopted recently will be effected gradually, without haste and hustle, till the end of 1967. As to the long-range plans till 1980 (providing for a six-fold increase in industrial output), they are regarded as generally feasible. The situation is different in agriculture, where sights are no longer set on a 3.5-fold increase but on doubling production; this, too, will suffice to meet the demands of the growing domestic consumption and export.

Speaking generally, the new style of work is characterized by a scientific approach, the absence of haste and hustle, careful collective discussion and verification by experience, businesslike decisions without ambitious exaggerations and going into extremes. The same is true for the attitude towards the question of Stalin, towards the resolution of June 1956 in which Stalin's merits and demerits were stated objectively, without exaggeration in either direction.

Q. Some newspapers spoke of a "summons to get an order," and one Tyrolian newspaper even mentioned "instructions in connection with the forthcoming elections to the National Council."

A. All of this is nonsense, of course, which is explained — if these are not malicious inventions — by the failure to understand the nature of relations between our two parties. Our fraternity and friendship are based on a tradition of almost fifty years' standing. During the meetings in Moscow both sides expressed, naturally, the wish to go on maintaining and strengthening friendship and fraternal relations. This wish was put on record in our joint communique. I shall reiterate the proposition that "the traditional fraternal relations between the CPSU and the CPA rest on the principles of proletarian internationalism, mutual respect for the independence and equality of each party." We held identical views on this question as well, and therefore we included it into the communique. Both sides wish this development to continue in the future as well.

NATIONAL HOLIDAY*

JOHANN KOPLENIG, HONORARY CHAIRMAN,
COMMUNIST PARTY OF AUSTRIA

It happened on the night of April 12, 1938. Hitler Germany's troops marched into Austria, robbed our country of its independence, and incorporated the Austrian people in the "Great German Reich." That night the Central Committee of the Communist Party launched an appeal to the Austrian people which in that bitter hour in the life of our country, when it seemed as if Austria had gone out of existence for ever, conveyed a message of firm confidence that Austria would be re-established as a free, democratic and independent state.

What made us trust and, indeed, feel certain at that time that Austria would regain its independence? It would be wrong to claim today that we Communists foresaw the whole trend of events at that early date. However, it was clear to us even then that fascism was a terrible but not a durable power. We had seen the Austrian people's determination and national consciousnesss growing as the threat of aggression against Austria by Hitler Germany increased, while the objective difficulties created by Austria's anti-democratic regime hampered the free development of the nation's democratic will for defense. The idea of Austria's national sovereignty, championed above all by the Austrian Communists, including Comrade Alfred Klahr, who died a martyr's death fighting against Hitler tyranny, had taken hold of the minds of the people.

In that, as well as in the Austrian workers' traditions of freedom which had manifested itself so vividly in the fighting on February 12, 1934, we saw the elements which gave us the confidence that we expressed in our appeal of April 12, 1938.

In the end our confidence proved well-grounded. Numerous Austians, including many Communists, sacrificed or risked their lives fighting for the idea of the restoration of a free, democratic and independent Austria, contained in our appeal. They were part of the militant anti-fascist community of European peoples. They found powerful allies in the anti-Hitler coalition during World War II and, lastly, in the Allied armies of liberation, primarily the Soviet Army, which defeated Nazi tyranny and paved the way for the resurgence of Austrian independence.

We Communists welcomed the fact that there was established,

*Volksstimme, October 26, 1965,

if belatedly, a national holiday which is to become forever a day of national consciousness and allegiance to the Austrian nation, a day on which to commemorate our foremost fighters and our martyrs. This day is also to see clear signs of the determination to adhere strictly to overlasting neutrality, which has put the independence of our country on a solid international foundation. It is in this sense that we wish to join all Austrians in celebrating this national holiday.

SUPREME INTERNATIONALIST DUTY OF THE SOCIALIST COUNTRY*

There are important developments under way in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. These countries are doing much to improve economic management in order to raise the efficacy of their economic system and quicken their advance to socialism and communism. Their peoples see this effort as their primary internationalist duty to the working people of the world.

The nature of the present period, whose main content is the transition from capitalism to communism, determines the internationalist duties of every contingent of the revolutionary movement. The peoples of the socialist countries, and the working men and women of the capitalist world, the new national states and the countries striving for liberation from colonialism are fighting shoulder to shoulder to attain the great goal of abolishing capitalism and ensuring the construction of socialist and communist society.

In the struggle, each major contingent of the revolutionary movement solves primarily its own distinctive problems. In the socialist countries it is only the working people of these countries that can build socialism and communism—with revolutionary support from the masses of the whole world. In the principal capitalist countries, it is only the working people of these countries that can abolish the rule of the bourgeoisie—with the active assistance of all the other revolutionary forces. And in the new national states, it is primarily their peoples that can do away with every form of colonialism and neocolonialism and advance the nation's economy and culture. This struggle is supported by other contingents of the revolutionary movement.

The supreme internationalist duty of each revolutionary contingent in its own sphere of activity is to accomplish as effectively as possible the tasks that fall to its share in the common struggle against imperialism, for peace and democracy, for national liberation, for socialism and communism, while at the same time helping other contingents. No contingent of the revolutionary movement should isolate itself, withholding help to other revolutionary forces.

As to the socialist countries, they obviously cannot pursue their domestic and foreign policy without considering whether it helps or harms those fighting against imperialism outside the socialist

*Pravda, Oct. 27, 1965.

world. "We are against . . . national seclusion," Lenin wrote. "We are internationalists."

On the other hand, the socialist countries cannot replace other contingents of the liberation struggle as regards the solution of revolutionary problems. They cannot replace the peoples of the newly-established national states as regards the solution of problems of the national-liberation movement, any more than they can replace the working class and other working people of the capitalist countries in the struggle to overthrow capitalism. For this would mean imposing one's will on other peoples, which is alien to Marxism-Leninism. It might provoke a world nuclear war with its dire consequences for all the peoples. It would mean that the socialist countries, far from carrying out their internationalist duties toward the working people of the world, would be causing irreparable damage to the cause of social and national emancipation of the peoples of other countries and to the world revolutionary process as a whole.

The people of the socialist countries concentrate on socialist and communist construction in *their* countries. They regard this as a decisive condition for rendering increasing assistance to other contingents of the liberation struggle and as their main contribution to the world revolutionary movement.

The issue of the most expedient combination of the national and international tasks of a country in which the working class has come to power is not new. It confronted our Party immediately after the victory of the October Revolution. The "Left Communists," and later the Trotskyites saw the internationalist duty of the Soviet people, not in building socialism in our country, but in starting what they called a "revolutionary war" against world capitalism. But the Communist Party rejected this disastrous plan. Lenin emphasized that from October 1917 on, the Soviet socialist republic was the most important gain of the world revolutionary struggle. The paramount duty of every true revolutionary was to defend the Soviet Republic against enemies, to strengthen and develop it. Today this applies, naturally, to revolutionary liberation movements of our time.

The working people of the socialist countries, by building the new society and acquiring new historical experience—experience of the socialist way of life—advance the revolutionary process along its decisive line. They pave the way into the future for the whole of mankind and establish a vast bridgehead for the advance of the new socio-economic formation.

Contrary to the pessimistic forecasts of defeatists concerning the outlook for socialist construction in the USSR and the progress of the world revolution, the Fourteenth Conference of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) in 1925 stressed that a "respite"

providing conditions for peaceful construction should under no circumstances be regarded as something "outside" the revolutionary process, as a fleeting deviation from the general course of the revolution. "The proletariat of the USSR," a Conference resolution said, "should under the guidance of the RCP courageously and resolutely carry on socialist construction *now*, remembering that our revolution is part of the world revolution and that our success in building up a socialist economy will in itself constitute a most important factor forthe growth of the world proletarian revolution."

This battle was proved correct by subsequent events, particularly by the Second World War. It was the Soviet Union, where socialism had triumphed, that played the decisive role in destroying the main seats of imperialist reaction and in saving mankind from fascist slavery. It was the first socialist country of the world that proved capable of rendering the most effective assistance to many peoples in Europe and Asia in freeing themselves from capitalist oppression and in developing along socialist lines.

Present-day capitalism has great economic power which it uses to maintain its political rule. The imperialist countries have lost their hold on most of their one-time colonies, but they take advantage of the latter's economic backwardness to exploit them brutally. They use their considerable military power against the progressive forces, first of all against the socialist countries and the peoples fighting for national liberation. Lastly, imperialism holds large sections of the people in the capitalist countries under its ideological sway.

This implies that it takes more than imprecations to do away with capitalism, and more than phrases, however revolutionary, to win the people's support for socialism and to muster an army of active fighters against capitalism.

It is essential that every contingent of the revolutionary movement should steadily step up its efforts, that each of them should use all its opportunities to fight the common enemy, imperialism, and that they should all draw closer together in the common struggle. Furthermore, to achieve real success every anti-imperialist contingent must continually build up its strength and increase its might.

It is of special importance for the socialist countries to develop their economy as rapidly as possible in order to surpass the capitalist countries in material production, the decisive sphere of social life. This will enable them both to strengthen their defenses and to tie down the forces of imperialism and prevent the export of counter-revolution. It will also set a graphic example and furnish convincing proof of the superiority of socialism over capitalism.

By building socialism and communism, the socialist countries are making a most important and decisive contribution to the world liberation movement. This determines their vanguard role in the revolutionary struggles of today.

In the past the center of the world revolutionary movement shifted from one country to another. This was due to the rise and fall of the revolutionary wave in the countries concerned — the upsurge and decline of the Chartist movement in Britain, the revolution of 1848 in France and then in Germany as well, the victory and defeat of the Paris Commune.

In Russia, which at the turn of the century became the vanguard of the world liberation movement, both the bourgeois democratic and the socialist revolution achieved victory and socialism was built. This made our country the stable center of the world revolutionary movement. After the Second World War socialist revolutions triumphed in a number of other countries of Europe and Asia which together with the Soviet Union formed a powerful socialist community. Later the socialist revolution won in Cuba. Today the socialist community is the center of the world revolutionary movement.

The center of the world revolutionary movement is a social concept. At present it comprises the peoples of different continents, nationalities and races who are building socialism and communism, the highest socio-economic formation.

When we say that the socialist countries represent the center of the revolutionary movement, and that the main contradiction of modern times is the contradition between the world of imperialism and the socialist countries, we by no means minimize the immense importance of the national-liberation movement and the contribution of the working people of the capitalist countries to the revolutionary process. We merely state an objective fact by designating the highest social system of modern times as the center of the revolutionary movement. This also means that we are not shirking the great responsibility which history has placed on the socialist countries nor shifting on to the shoulders of others our share of decisive participation in the world-wide liberation struggle.

The question of the center of the world revolutionary movement and of the main contradiction of modern times is of tremendous historical importance. It cannot be decided through abstract reasoning but requires an analysis of facts. And the facts speak for themselves.

Who bears the brunt of the struggle against imperialism? Who ties down its main forces? The socialist countries do, first of all the strongest of them, the Soviet Union.

The imperialists themselves do not delude themselves as to whence the main danger to the capitalist system emanates. What

they fear most of all is Soviet progress in communist construction. They therefore spearhead their hostile sections primarily against the Soviet Union.

The socialist countries, each of which carries out its internationalist duties in its particular field, are battling with imperialism as they uphold the common cause of the socialist world community and the whole of progressive mankind. The German Democratic Republic, for example, is in the forefront of the struggle against West German revanchism, Cuba is fighting against American imperialism in the Western Hemisphere, and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam is courageously repulsing the attacks of the U.S. war machine. Other socialist countries are also making an important contribution to the common struggle against imperialism.

By waging a sustained struggle against imperialism, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries support the actions of the other contingents of the revolutionary movement. But there is far more than that to the socialist countries' participation in the revolutionary struggle. Surely there has been no major revolutionary movement that has not enjoyed full support from the socialist countries, first of all the Soviet Union.

Despite the slander of the enemies of the Soviet Union, the peoples fighting against imperialism know very well the clear-cut and unambiguous anti-imperialist stand of our country.

President Sekou Touré of the Guinean Republic sid: "We have always thought highly of your aid to the Guinean Republic and many other countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America fighting for national independence against imperialism. Above all, we appreciate your aid from the standpoint of the countries fighting for the ideals of national sovereignty, freedom and complete liberation."

Everywhere the fighters against imperialism are well aware that the Soviet people, who are building up the economic and military power of their country, deliver the most telling revolutionary blows to imperialism and are the staunchest ally of all the revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces.

Only the socialist countries can and do render disinterested, fraternal aid to the newly-free countries. Their rapid economic development, and their achievements in socialist and communist construction are an earnest of this aid being increased.

Aid to the developing countries is not given out of surplus funds but out of funds and materials which the socialist countries themselves need and could very well use. This is real internationalism, and anyone who tries to discredit this aid insults the noblest sentiments of the people in the socialist countries.

It will be remembered that in the early years of Soviet power some people in our country proposed that all the resources at the disposal of the state be distributed equally, that a sort of country-

wide levelling be introduced. This would have undermined the economy of the developed Soviet republics without any tangible benefit to the backward republics. The Party therefore rejected the proposal and adopted a policy providing for rapid economic and cultural progress in the developed republics and still more rapid progress in the lagging republics. Whereas industrial production in the USSR as a whole increased dozens of times over compared with the prerevolutionary volume, in many of the formerly backward republics it increased almost one-hundred-fold. This showed that formerly oppressed peoples can overcome their backwardness while the developed nations continued to advance steadily and rapidly.

This experience is instructive. The only correct and fruitful relations inside the socialist community, as well as between the socialist countries and the countries that have freed themselves from colonial tyranny, can be established not by introducing a sort of international levelling that would discredit socialism without radically improving the situation in other countries, but the steady advance of every country and assistance from the developed socialist countries to the backward, so that they can develop as fast as possible.

From the ideological point of view, world socialism, which determines the character of the epoch, influences the social content and ideals of the national-liberation struggle. As they translate these ideals into concrete economic, political and cultural achievements, into national and social freedom, the socialist countries are gaining in prestige among the people of one-time colonies. This makes for the moral and political isolation of the advocates of capitalism and prompts the peoples of the former colonies to choose the non-capitalist path of development.

Every revolutionary would like to end capitalism as speedily as possible. It is indispensable, however, that the working class and other working people of the capitalist countries themselves should come to desire the same.

Revolutionary consciousness comes to working people primarily as a result of their protest against exploitation. It grows in class struggle against oppression and increases with the sharpening of the internal contradictions of the capitalist countries. At the same time it is directly dependent upon the successes of the socialist countries. Nor is this surprising. For many decades bourgeois propaganda has alleged that socialism is a system which suppresses individual freedom and initiative, sacrifices man's material well-being to the state and to production for production's sake, etc. It would be wrong to deny that considerable numbers of people in the West are still in thrall to these notions, which can be refuted only by practical arguments. That is why the measures which the

Communist parties of the socialist countries take to achieve economic efficiency, raise the living and cultural standards of the people and promote socialist democracy have immense revolutionizing significance. Conversely, every shortcoming, to say nothing of distortions in these fields, are widely used by bourgeois propaganda to confuse the working people and indoctrinate them against socialism.

The socialist countries' policy of building socialism and communism, far from handicapping the revolutionary initiative of the working people of the capitalist countries, is its most effective stimulant.

It is no easy task for the socialist countries to gain superiority over the capitalist countries in material production, because the latter have age-long experience in industrial and technical development. Nevertheless, this task is being steadily accomplished. The "economic challenge" of socialism to capitalism is becoming stronger and stronger. Compared with the pre-war volume, industrial production has increased by roughly 800 per cent in the socialist world, and by a mere 220 per cent in the capitalist world. It will take the socialist countries a certain period of time to outstrip the capitalist countries and begin to produce more than half the world's output. But even our political opponents are forced to acknowledge that this prospect is becoming more and more evident.

The goal of the Soviet people, who have built and consolidated socialism, is communism. The existence of imperialism cannot stop communist construction in the USSR, any more than it could prevent the victory of socialism in our country earlier. This is all the more so because there now exists a socialist world system successfully countering imperialist schemes. As socialism in the Soviet Union was built against the wishes of the imperialists, so communism will be built in our country against similar wishes.

The Communist parties and the people of the socialist countries realize that the successful construction of socialism and communism in their countries is the best way of doing their internationalist duty to the working people of the world. They are therefore stepping up their effort to achieve real economic and cultural progress. They know that socialist and communist construction is an extremely complex and difficult job. It requires time, hard work by the whole people, and highly competent leadership by the Communist parties.

The indisputable conclusion to be drawn from the many years of development in the socialist countries is that economic development must not be let to drift and that objective economic laws must always be taken into consideration and must determine practical policies.

The September 1965 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee de-

cided on cardinal measures designed to improve economic management. These measures are now being carried into practice. Similar work is under way in many other socialist countries. Better managerial methods conforming with a higher level of the socialist countries' economic development will provide new prospects for the growth of the productive forces and for more efficient social production.

In building socialism and communism, the socialist countries draw primarily on their own internal possibilities. At the same time, however, they are concerned with strengthening the socialist world system as a whole and with paving the way for more extensive mutually advantageous cooperation, which benefits them all.

Fostering the cooperation of socialist countries is a matter of immense international significance. Bourgeois propaganda takes advantage of certain differences among the socialist countries to attack a fundamental Marxist thesis which says that as class antagonisms inside nations disappear hostile relations between the nations will disappear also. The ideologists of reaction argue that socialism does not eliminate hostility among nations. But reality refutes this slander. The multinational Soviet Union is a living embodiment of the friendship of peoples. Durable friendship has also been established among the peoples of the socialist countries. Overcoming the existing differences, which are in no way inherent in socialism, will constitute another proof of the advantages of socialist social relations. Every socialist country should strive to consolidate the socialist community.

The imperialists hope that the progressive forces will exhaust one another in internecine strife. To frustrate this hope and not to play into the reactionaries' hands, genuine revolutionaries, even if they differ among themselves, should let no one divert them from their main task—the struggle against imperialism.

Today, when U.S. imperialism has committed a series of acts of outright and wanton aggression and is waging a dirty war against Vietnam, menacing world peace, the duty of every socialist country and every contingent of the revolutionary movement is to join their actions with those of all the other progressive forces in order to rebuff imperialism, maintain peace, and defend the just cause of the Vietnamese people and of all the other peoples striving for freedom.

In our time, the struggle against imperialism and imperialist aggression is the touchstone of the sincerity of a revolutionary. The Communists and the working people of every country judge the loyalty of a party to Marxism-Leninism primarily by what that party does and how it repulses the forces of imperialist reaction and aggression.

As far as the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is concerned,

it is doing everything to promote the unity of the socialist countries and the world Communist movement. The Soviet Union is expanding closer economic cooperation with other socialist countries on the basis of genuine equality and mutual support. Building up the defense potential of the USSR and the socialist community as a whole is a matter of special concern for the Soviet Government. The Soviet Government strictly adheres to the principle of equality of socialist states. The CPSU educates the Soviet people in the spirit of friendship with every socialist nation, with all the nations of the world.

Our Party abides by the appeal of the March 1965 Consultative Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties to discontinue open polemics in the world Communist movement. It regards the achievement of unity of this movement on Marxist-Leninist principles as one of its major internationalist tasks. The CPSU and other Marxist-Leninist parties concentrate on what unites, not disunites, them.

In calling for unity of action despite differences, our Party proposes that time and reality should decide how correct the various points of views are. Only those who are uncertain as to the correctness of their concepts can fear the test of time, the more so since joint struggle against imperialism and for the construction of socialism and communism should objectively help eliminate differences and develop common points of view.

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The socialist countries' policy of building socialism and communism has been tested by 20 years post-war practice. Their achievements in socialist and communist construction prove this policy correct. Also, the great revolutionary changes that have occurred in the world over the past 20 years are due in vast measure to the influence of the socialist system, which is becoming a decisive factor in present-day world development. Further progress in socialist and communist construction in the socialist countries will create even more favorable conditions for all the revolutionary contingents of our time, for their rallying in a powerful and victorious anti-imperialist union, for the struggle of the working people of all countries to abolish the outdated capitalist system and bring about the victory of world socialism.

ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

(OCTOBER-NOVEMBER 1965)

October 11-22. A delegation of Party functionaries headed by K. Skala, deputy head of the heavy industry department of the CC of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, visited the Soviet Union on the invitation of the CC, CPSU.

October 11-25. A delegation of the Rumanian Communist Party headed by P. Niculescu-Mizil, member of the Executive Committee and Secretary of the CC, RCP, visited Italy as guests of the CC, ICP and met with ICP General Secretary Luigi Longo and other Party leaders.

October 12-22. The CC of the Bulgarian Communist Party played host to a delegation of the Italian Communist Party headed by Arturo Colombi, member of the ICP leadership.

October 16-17. The draft Rules and topical political problems were discussed by the Board of the Communist Party of Sweden at a plenary meeting held in Nykjoping.

October 17. A conference of Party activists who had distinquished themselves in the card-changing and Party-building campaign was held in the CC, ICP offices in Rome. The conference was addressed by General Secretary Luigi Longo. Emmanuele Macaluso, member of the ICP leadership, reported that at present the Party has a membership of 1,615,296.

October 20. The newspaper *Pravda* published a message of greetings to the Sixth Congress of the Portuguese Communist Party, which reads, in part: "The CC CPSU and all Soviet Communists express warm solidarity with the valiant struggle of their Portuguese brothers and wholeheartedly wish them great success in the fight for the cause of the working class and all working people of Portugal, for the earliest liberation of the country from the yoke of the fascist dictatorship, for the establishment of a democratic system, for peace and socialism, for the triumph of the great ideas of Marxism-Leninism all over the world."

October 20. A. A. Gromyko, member of the CC, CPSU and Foreign Minister of the USSR, who was on a visit to Cuba, met with members of the Political Bureau of the CC of the Communist Party of Cuba to discuss questions of mutual interest. Fidel Castro, First Secretary of the CC, CPC, President Osvaldo Dorticos Torrado, and

other Party and Government leaders took part in the meeting, which passed in an atmosphere of sincere friendship.

October 20-November 1. A delegation of CPSU functionaries led by A. V. Georgiyev, member of the CC and First Secretary of the Altai Territorial Committee of the CPSU, visited the Mongolian People's Republic on the invitation of the CC of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party.

October 21-23. Representatives of 39 Communist and Workers' parties took part in an international meeting devoted to the 30th anniversary of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern. Sponsored by the CC of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia jointly with *World Marxist Review*, theoretical and information journal of Communist and Workers' parties, the meeting was held in the Prague offices of *WMR*.

October 23. The Communist Party of the Netherlands had a conference in Amsterdam.

October 23-24. The Communist Party of Belgium held its 16th Congress. The report "Struggle against the Reactionary Policy of the Government and the Employers" was delivered by CPB Chairman Ernest Burnelle. The congress adopted a resolution on the report.

October 25-27. Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Bulgarian People's Republic and the BCP delegation visited Moscow on the invitation of the CC, CPSU.

October 25-30. The Polish Government played host to a delegation of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam headed by Chan Hoai Nam, member of the CC NLF. The delegation was received by Zenon Kliszko, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC of the Polish United Workers' Party. It also had talks with E. Szyr, Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers. The talks passed in an atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding.

October 26-30. ICP General Secretary Longo reported to a joint meeting of the CC and the Central Control Committee of the ICP on the draft theses for the 11th Congress of the Italian Communist Party, the first point of the meeting's agenda.

October 27-November 5. Gheorghe Apostol, member of the Executive Committee and of the Permanent Presidium of the CC of the Rumanian Communist Party and First Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Socialist Republic of Rumania, paid an official visit to the Korean People's Democratic Republic on the invitation of the KPDR Government.

October 28. A delegation of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party headed by Jeno Fock, member of the Political Bureau of the CC HWSP and Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the

Hungarian People's Republic, left Pyongyang after a visit to the Korean People's Democratic Republic as a guest of the CC of the Korean Party of Labor.

October 28. *Granma,* central organ of the Communist Party of Cuba, reported that O. Cienfuegos, Chairman of the Foreign Policy Commission of the CC CPC, had received Aarons and Thomas, representatives of the CC of the Communist Party of Australia, and exchanged with them information about the work of their parties and opinions on the present international situation.

October 28-November 4. A delegation of the Swiss Party of Labor headed by Edgar Voog, General Secretary of the Party, visited Hungary on the invitation of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

October 29. *De Waarheid,* central organ of the Communist Party of the Netherlands, published the new anti-imperialist program of the CPN, "Unite in an Anti-Monopoly Front."

October 29-30. A meeting between leaders of the CPSU and the Polish United Workers' Party took place in the Byelorussian SSR. The CPSU was represented by L. I. Brezhnev, First Secretary of the CC, K. T. Mazurov, member of the Presidium of the CC and First Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, Y. V. Andropov, Secretary of the CC, and V. N. Novikov, member of the CC and Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; the PUWP, by W. Gomulka, First Secretary of the CC, J. Cyrankiewicz, member of the Political Bureau of the CC and Chairman of the PPR Council of Ministers, Z. Kliszko, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC, and S. Jedrychowski, a member of the Political Bureau of the CC and Chairman of the Planning Commission of the PPR Council of Ministers.

The CPSU and PUWP leaders exchanged information about socialist and communist construction in their countries and views on the further development of economic and political relations between the Soviet Union and the Polish People's Republic, and discussed major problems of the present situation in Europe and other regions of the world, and questions of the world Communist and working-class movement.

October 30. The Australian working people celebrated the 45th anniversary of the Communist Party of Australia.

October 31. *La Voz de Mexico,* central organ of the Mexican Communist Party, reported on the 4th conference of representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties of Mexico, Guatemala, Salvador, Honduras, Costa Rica and Panama. After discussing problems of mutual interest and working out a common line of action, the conference adopted a communique and a resolution on the problem of the economic integration of Central America.

November 1. Khaled Bagdash, General Secretary of the CC of

the Syrian Communist Party, was received by H. Matern, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. During the talks, which proceeded in a comradely atmosphere, questions of mutual interest were discussed.

November 3. The CC of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia had a plenary meeting to discuss the work of the central bodies in connection with the improvement of the system of planned economic management. The report was delivered by First Secretary of the CC Antonin Novotny.

The meeting adopted a resolution on changing the content, methods and forms of work of the central management bodies and of their structure.

November 3-4. The political situation in the country was discussed and a corresponding resolution adopted at a plenary meeting of the CC of the Communist Party of Austria.

November 5-7. The Communist Party of Denmark held its 22nd Congress. The report of the CC was delivered by CPD Chairman Knud Jespersen. The congress adopted a resolution on the report and the political manifesto "New Roads for Denmark."

November 6. L. I. Brezhnev, First Secretary of the CC CPSU, had a friendly, cordial talk with Raul Castro Ruz, member of the Political Bureau of the CC, Secretary of the ICC of the Communist Party of Cuba, Deputy Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Government and Minister of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of the Republic of Cuba.

November 6. L. I. Brezhnev, member of the CC CPSU Presidium A. P. Kirilenko and CC, CPSU Secretary B. N. Ponomaryov received the Chilean parliamentary delegation, representatives of Popular Action Front Parties Senator A. Rodriguez (Socialist Party) and Senator V. Teitelboim (Communist Party) and also Socialist deputies R. Silva and E. Osorio.

The talk passed in a cordial comradely atmosphere.

November 6. A meeting to celebrate the 48th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution was held in Moscow. It was attended by the heads of the delegations of the socialist countries and fraternal parties.

The report was delivered by D. S. Polyansky, member of the CC CPSU Presidium and First Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

NEWSBRIEFS

The first issue of *Unidad* (Unity), information bulletin of the CC of the Peruvian Communist Party, appeared in Lima. It contains reports on the recent plenary meeting of the CC PCP.

In October *Combat*, the newspaper of the Quebec organization of the Communist Party of Canada, published the program of the organization.

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Scinteia and other newspapers printed the resolution of the Executive Committee of the Rumanian Communist Party on writing the history of the RCP. An outline history of the Party will be printed in 1966, following which work will be started on the fundamental "History of the Rumanian Communist Party," to be concluded towards the end of 1967.

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Addressing the conference of the secretaries of the departmental federations of the French Communist Party, FCP General Secretary Waldeck Rochet analyzed the political situation in the country in connection with the forthcoming Presidential elections and laid guidelines for the Party's election campaign.

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According to the organizational department of the CC of the Polish United Workers' Party, as of September 30, 1965 the PUWP had a membership of 1,748,049, including 229,340 candidate members.

Among the new 130,423 candidate members who were admitted in the first nine months of this year, 39 per cent are young people below 25 years of age; 26 per cent are women. Workers make up 46.8 per cent, peasants, 15.9 per cent and office employees, 31.3 per cent.

In the same period 27,081 members and candidate members dropped out of the Party.

The number of Party branches has also increased. At present the Party has 65,925 primary organizations (an increase of 807), 11,976 shop organizations (555) and 4,468 territorial groups. There are 4,704 *gromada* committees, working in 89.8 per cent of the *gromadas* in the country.

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Great interest was roused among the Italian public by a book of Lenin's selected works put out by the Editori Riuniti publishing house. The book contains 111 works by the great revolutionary. Public debates devoted to this occasion have begun in the big-

gest bookshops. Discussions are also to be organized in Communist Party sections, cultural societies and people's clubs. The publishers' note says they sought "to make Lenin's works accessible to all true democrats."

Concluding its first Communist Press Month, the Communist Party of Argentina printed 100,000 copies of *Nuestra Palabra*, devoted to the 48th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

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In 1963 and 1964 the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia admitted over 66,000 new members. Fifty-seven per cent of them are workers in industry and agriculture. In the first half of this year 25,852 people joined the Party as candidate members. Most of them are young people aged below 26. Young industrial workers account for more than 42 per cent of total membership.

At present the CPC has almost 1,700,000 members and candidate members.

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