INFORMATION

# bulletin

86
87

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*Included in this issue*

CONCERNING EVENTS
IN CHINA

Pravda Editorial

COMMUNIST-SOCIALIST
DIALOGUE

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# information bulletin-86-87

*contents*


**FOR A STABLE PEACE ECONOMY FOR THE GOOD OF THE PEOPLE**
Communist Party of Germany **5**

**THE SOCIALIST CONSTITUENT CONGRESS**
Interview with Enrico Berlinguer **11**

**COMMUNIST-SOCIALIST DIALOGUE**
Document of the CC, FCP **14**

**STATEMENT**
Of the CC of the Communist Party of Brazil **19**

**A RESOUNDING VICTORY**
Article in **Mundo Obrero** **21**

**SPEECH OF ZENON KLISZKO**
Member of PB and Secretary of CC, PUWP at Congress of Polish Culture **24**

**RESOLUTION**
Of the 9th Congress of Bulgarian Communist Party **29**

**CONCERNING THE EVENTS IN CHINA**
**Pravda** editorial, Nov. 27, 1966 **47**

**JOINT STATEMENT**
Of Communists of Colombia and Mexico **59**



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# FOR A STABLE PEACE ECONOMY FOR THE GOOD OF THE PEOPLE*

The economy of the Federal Republic of Germany has made considerable progress in the 20 post-war years. The industry, skill and hard work of millions of factory and office workers, peasants, engineers, scientists and handicraftsmen have brought into being a tremendous economic power which, if properly used, could guarantee the people secure jobs, ample incomes, adequate pensions and social services, and steady social and cultural advancement.

The pay rises won by the trade unions are whittled down through irresponsible increases in prices, rents and other charges. Tens of thousands of workers in the mining industry, are threatened with dismissal. Numerous bankruptcies and closures testify to the mounting insecurity of small and medium enterprises. The *Laender*, cities and communes lack funds to build the schools, hospitals and transport facilities they need.

Who is to blame for this development? The government puts the blame on popular consumption, the "immoderation" of the working people and their unions, and allegedly excessive spending by the cities and communes.

But the reverse is the case. The blame rests with the government and those who control it, the big industrialists and bankers. It rests with a policy which subordinates the economy to the bid of a small group of multi-millionaires for military powers — a bid jeopardizing peace — and to its selfish profit-hunting.

The economy has to be stabilized, but this must not come about at the working people's expense. This is why all democratic forces should emphatically reject the Stabilization Law proposed by the government.

The Communist Party of Germany proposes the immediate adoption of the following measures to stabilize the economy and the mark and to provide full employment and adequate purchasing power:

1. Cutting military spending by at least 5,000 million marks, reducing military service from 18 to 12 months, and stopping the purchase of arms in the United States, which has to be paid for in valuable foreign exchange and, moreover, helps to finance the dirty war in Vietnam.

2. Taking drastic steps against all price increases, ending all increases in prices, tariffs and rents decreed by the government,

*Abridged from CPG document.

levying higher taxes on the incomes and property of millionaires and major corporations, and blocking all outflow of capital.

3. Solving the urgent problems of public education and health and of the planning of transport and housing through a democratic financial reform giving the *Laender* and communes a bigger share of the tax revenue, and refraining from any curtailment of the financial authority and constitutional powers of the *Laender* and communes.

4. Raising the people's purchasing capacity by meeting the trade unions' demands for higher wages, salaries and pensions as an important factor stimulating economic activity.

The economy can be stabilized only if the present policy, which most fatally directs the nation's economic resources and capacities toward armaments and war preparations, is changed. A stable peace economy calls for a consistent policy of peace. It calls for for the renunciation of atomic weapons in any form, the prevention of all emergency legislation, and readiness to come to terms and normalize relations with the GDR.

## II

## PRINCIPLES OF A DEMOCRATIC ECONOMIC POLICY

As a party steadfastly adhering to its socialist objective, the CPG is convinced that the social, economic and cultural problems now facing the Federal Republic can be solved in final form only under a socialist system. But this road cannot be taken until the majority of the people declares for it of its own free will. Our socialist goal by no means rules out reforms or partial solutions. Indeed, the CPG sees its task today in submitting to the working people of the Federal Republic such constructive proposals as are in order at present and will make it possible to achieve real democratic and social progress.

The CPG is striving for a flourishing national economy. It advocates scientific and technological progress. It wants all important economic decisions to be taken democratically, through co-management by the people.

A democratic economic policy must assure:

—full employment;

—a steady optimum growth of the economy;

—stable prices and currency;

—an expanding foreign trade;

—the steady social and cultural advancement of the people.

We consider that to democratize the economy means restricting the super-power of the big capitalist concerns and giving the working people and their organizations a say in management and deci-

sion-making at all economic levels, from the work place and the enterprise to the leading government bodies.

## III

## NECESSARY COMPONENTS OF A DEMOCRATIC ECONOMIC POLICY

1. If the Federal Republic is to put these principles into effect, its economy must be freed from the burden of reckless armaments and the big capitalist concerns' unchecked drive for power and gain.

It is an urgent need to cut military spending and renounce the manufacture of and participation in the control of atomic weapons in any form. The capacities which so far have been used for the manufacture of armaments must be methodically reconverted to peace-time production, without any disadvantage to the employees. It is necessary to prevent, or secure the repeal of, emergency laws and other laws granting extraordinary powers — laws that cut deep into economic life, tend to put the economy on a military footing, militarize public life, and contribute to financial ruin.

2. In order to stabilize the mark, it is necessary, as well as cutting military expenditures, steadily to do away with the big concerns' price *diktat* and indirect price fixing and to establish price control. All measures of the Federal government making for higher prices should be blocked. The cartels and syndicates should be placed under strict public control.

3. Incomes and property must be distributed more equitably in line with trade union proposals. An active policy on wages increasing the share of wages and salaries in the social product at the expense of the profits of the big owners should play a decisive part in this.

4. A radical revision of the tax system and the entire financial policy is indispensable for meeting the needs of the population more effectively, above all as regards public education, health, housing, and transport planning.

All the tax laws must be simplified. There is a need for a democratic financial reform increasing the share of the *Laender* and communes in the total tax revenue. Furthermore, it is an urgent necessity to strengthen the communes financially, since they have to bear the brunt of spending for social and cultural purposes.

5. A highly productive agriculture is indispensable to an effective national economy, to meeting the requirements of the population. Peasant farms must be protected against discrimination arising from EEC policies and imperilling their existence.

6. The existence of the urban middle strata, handicraftsmen and

small traders must be safeguarded. To increase their economic autonomy and the productivity of their enterprises, it is necessary to grant them easy tax and credit terms and subsidies.

7. To improve the living conditions of the working population, it is very important to supply it with adequate housing at socially justifiable rents.

8. The entire transport network — road building, the railways, local transport, waterways and airways — must be expanded and modernized, so as to meet the requirements of a modern economy.

9. The Federal Republic, a highly industrialized country, needs close economic relations with all countries irrespective of their social systems.

10. The dangerous domination of foreign capital and influence in the economy, the sale of production capacities, and the subordination of key economic positions to US corporations must be blocked or ended. Foreign capital, the import of capital and the transfer of profits must be controlled by law, and the nation's economic interests must be safeguarded.

11. Trade between the two German states must be built up and freed from all discrimination. It should be given a sound basis through a trade agreement between the two governments. A joint economic commission and other agencies in charge of special economic spheres could introduce a realistic policy on trade, finance and payments and in the many other spheres of economic relations. This would promote a rapprochement and cooperation between the two German states.

12. The relations with the developing countries should be prompted by the spirit of genuine partnership.

## IV

## WAYS OF DEMOCRATIZING THE ECONOMY

### 1. Co-management

Co-management means decisive participation by the working class and its unions in the guidance and management of the enterprises, as well as of economic bodies outside the enterprises. Employees must have a say in shaping and maintaining living and working conditions and in solving problems raised by technological progress.

Co-management implies exerting influence on investment, on manufacturing and working methods, the distribution of profit, the scope of social services, and all other matters affecting the interests of factory and office workers, technicians and scientists. Last but not least, it implies the availability of complete information on the economic standing of the enterprises.

Co-management requires unhampered activity by the trade unions, and political and trade union freedom of opinion for the employees in the enterprises and managements. Factory and office workers, as well as spokesmen of their unions must be represented on the boards and other control bodies of the enterprises.

### 2. Planning

A democratic economic policy must look ahead and plan. Democratic planning provides for limiting the influence of big capital, and for the working class and other working people and their organizations seeking decisive influence on government and economic affairs. They must have a say in shaping the guidelines of the economic policy and in drafting laws, and must be represented on experts' commissions and other bodies.

A scientifically balanced economy is a necessary condition for further economic progress and greater social security.

Present and future structural problems can be solved only through democratic planning. This is the only way to spare hundreds of thousands of workers the bitter lot of the unemployed, a downgrading of skills, and social degradation.

Democratic planning must be aimed at furthering science and education.

### 3. Public Property

With a view to curbing the economic domination of the big concerns and hence exercising real control over economic power, it is necessary to make the key industries and enterprises dominating the economy and the market public property, or to put the greater part of joint-stock capital under public control. This applies, first and foremost, to the big banks, the atomic industry, the major chemical, oil and electric concerns, and to the iron and steel and the coal industries. Nationalization under democratic direction and management of the enterprises concerned is the most effective form of public property. Compensation should be paid according to the provisions of the Fundamental Law. Small shareholders may, if they so wish, retain their shares and fully exercise their rights also in the enterprises made the property of the people.

The return of public property to private owners, which merely increases the power of the big concerns and shareholders, should be prevented. Exemplary co-management should become the law in the publicly owned enteprises.

The joint and judicious utilization of property already held by trade unions, consumer or housing cooperatives, peasant and handi-

craftsmen's associations can go a long way toward strengthening the position of the democratic, anti-monopoly forces in the economy.

★ ★ ★

We Communists call on all trade union members and functionaries, in the Social-Democratic Party group in the Bundestag and in the organizations of that party to oppose the anti-labor plans of the government. We propose to all of them: let us jointly use the strength of the labor organizations to bring about a democratic and social economic policy, full-fledged co-management by the working people, and the satisfaction of the justified social and economic demands put forward by the trade unions in their actions and their basic program.

# THE SOCIALIST CONSTITUENT CONGRESS

## INTERVIEW* WITH ENRICO BERLINGUER, MEMBER, PB, ICP

**Q.** What are your impressions of the closing stages of the merger of the Italian Socialist Party (ISP) and the Italian Social-Democratic Party (ISDP)?

**A.** The two congresses — those of the ISP and the ISDP — as well as the constituent congress have shown that even at the closing stage of the merger, as at all the previous stages, the ideological and political theses of the ISDP definitely prevailed over those of the ISP. It is rather significant in this respect that the ISDP Congress did not even think it necessary to open a discussion. It confined itself to a vacuous speech by Tanassi and to the statement made by Paolo Rossi, who with boastful satisfaction and even disdainfully put on record the ISP shift to the position upheld by the Social Democrats ever since the Palazzo Barbarini** split.

The ISP Congress was addressed the day before by Nenni, who most frankly took a stand for the traditional ideas of Atlanticism, anti-communism and participation in the government at all costs, ideas maintained by the Social Democrats in past years and throughout the period of unification of the two parties. One cannot help recalling with indignation once again that Nenni went as far as to put the heroic patriots of Vietnam and the criminal U.S. aggressor on the same footing. Besides, the anti-Communist tenor of his address occasionally seemed to be prompted by the vicious anti-communism which he himself had severely condemned in the past.

**Q.** Nevertheless, there was a discussion at the congress.

**A.** Yes, and as long as it lasted it was not lacking in interest and in a liveliness that bespoke the perplexity, anxiety and puzzlement with which many ISP members accepted the merger with the ISDP. What I mean here is not just the minorities or the frankly critical and deeply distrustful and sceptical views expressed by many of their spokesmen. Many statements by even those who spoke for the majority, including De Martino's report, actually reflected sentiments, intentions and even political positions greatly differing from those of the Social-Democratic leaders and Nenni. The very atmosphere of the congress, and indeed of the constituent congress, cannot be said to have at all been attuned to the form

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*l'Unità, Nov. 2, 1966.

**The building in Rome in which the ISP split in 1947, with the Right wing subsequently forming the ISPD.—**Ed.**

and content which the final acts of the merger had been expected to have. It has already been pointed out, for example, that most delegates approved every attack on the Christian Democratic Party and its power system and that, on the other hand, the delegates' reaction to the attempts to generate an atmosphere of crude anti-communism was cool.

The ISP demonstrated to the last that for all the important ideological and political concessions of recent years, it had remained something different from the Social-Democratic Party and had still been linked in many respects to its ideas and its traditions of struggle. And this proves that had there been a real democratic discusson and an effective confrontation of opinions, with the whole membership actively participating, things would probably have taken a very different turn.

**Q.** So you think there was no real discussion?

**A.** Exactly. And I don't mean the closing stages only. As a matter of fact, the process of unification lacked a democratic character throughout. The previous congress of the ISP, held about a year ago, ended by directing the Party leadership to promote an open and binding confrontation of views with the Social Democrats, so as to bring to light the actual degree of rapprochement and coincidence of the position concerned. But where and when did such a confrontation take place? To all appearances, it only took place in the parity committee which drafted the unification documents—a committee very narrow in composition and which never released any reports on the debates held at its meetings. The local organizations, section meetings, central committees and even the congresses of the two parties were merely invited to approve the documents submitted by the parity committee. This made it perfectly impossible for them to influence the decisions already adopted or to modify, if only in part, the lines of the documents submitted.

As regards the constituent congress, it was merely a celebration, that is, something quite different from a real confrontaton of experiences and different opinions. Those questions that were raised, nevertheless, at the ISP congress itself and that concerned important points of the policy and position of the new party (for example, those on participation in the government and on the attitude to the Christian Democrats) were left dangling.

In view of all this, it is really hard to see how the Socialist and Social-Democratic leaders can go on repeating, without the risk of sounding ridiculous, those foolish accusations of lack of internal democracy, meaning a party like ours, which has always called on its membership to discuss things as openly as possible, and which holds its congresses in such a way as to enable everybody not only to speak and to disagree, but also to play a real part in shaping every aspect of the Party line.

**Q.** You spoke of political questions left unanswered. Does that mean that the new party is emerging on the scene without a political line?

**A.** No. The new party, as I have said, is appearing on the scene with a Social-Democratic type of political line, such as stems from the documents drafted by the parity committee and from Nenni's speeches. This line will not be the neutral channel which a spokesman of the ISP minority once spoke about. It is a fact, however, that the new party is emerging on the scene also as a formation justly called, and not by us alone, a "cumulus of contradictions." Contradictions between the line set and the orientation of a very large section of rank-and-file and leading Socialists. Contradictions with fundamental aspects of the Italian reality, which is distinquished by permanent social tensions, by acute problems whose solution brooks no delay, by large-scale democratic actions calling for a radical change in the whole of the present system of political relations based on the monopoly of the CDP, and by the existence of a militant and united force like our Party, a force that will become more and more active and dynamic.

Against this background, the facile euphoria of Nenni and Tanassi can hardly last long, for their propositions do not offer the new party any other prospect than that of playing in Italy much the same role as was played by the minor parties in the centrist period. But the groups and forces that don't seem to have reconciled themselves to making the new party a mere prop of the Christian-Democratic regime are bound to react to this prospect.

**Q.** In that case we may expect an explosion of internal contradictions in the new party?

**A.** No, that is not the main point. The main point is to develop our initiative in the country so as to provide democratic solutions to the problems of the working people, to rally, with a view to achieving organizational unification as well, the parties and groups having a genuinely socialist orientation, in order to further the cooperation of all forces that can fight against CDP domination, for a different system of political relations, for reforms, for a foreign policy of democracy and peace. Only in this way, that is, by promoting the entire situation, the political consciousness, the unity and struggle of the entire working-class and democratic movement, can a positive influence be brought to bear also on the internal contradictions of the unified Social-Democratic party.

# COMMUNIST-SOCIALIST DIALOGUE

## DOCUMENT* OF THE CC, FCP

At the last stage of imperialism, that of state-monopoly capitalism, alliance of all the anti-monopoly forces of society becomes essential for democracy; socialism becomes a relatively near prospect and its building appears in new forms.

That is certainly why sociologists opposed to Marxism are tryng to prove that the socialist revolution has no meaning in the highly developed capitalist countries, that scientific socialism is valid only as a method of industrializing economically backward countries, and that at a certain level of economic and technological development socialist ideas lose their meaning, and the working class is no longer able to play the decisive role nationally and internationally.

### GROWTH OF THE WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT IN THE CAPITALIST COUNTRIES

To be sure, this growth is not uniform: as a result of the unevenness of economic development of the capitalist countries and the differences in the political conditions and in the degree of development of workers' organizations, actions for democracy and for working people's demands develop unevenly and are characterized by a great variety of forms which do not detract from their importance but underscore their diversity.

The growing participation of African, Asian and Latin American exploited masses (which consist mostly of peasants) in the anti-imperialist struggle is certainly of immense value in itself, but this in no way diminishes the importance of the historical mission of the working class. On the contrary, this fact points to the decisive role of the working class in the drawing together and alliance, on a world scale, of the peasant masses and the international working class.

A study of events of the recent period shows clearly that one of the principal contradictions undermining capitalist society in our time lies in the very heart of the most industrialized capitalist countries. None of these countries can escape intense class struggles which set into motion thousands of working people of all categories. Suffice it to recall the recent social battles in Italy, Greece,

*Slightly abridged from **France Nouvelle**, October 26, 1966.

Japan, Spain, the Scandinavian countries, Belgium, the Federal Republic of Germany, Britain and the United States itself.

In France, we shall only mention the joint strike of May 17, 1966 in a number of industries. Realized on the basic of a broad alliance, this movement embraced millions of working people and was unprecedented for its strength since 1958, despite the exceptionally persistent government propaganda concerning the "uselessness" of the strike. The militancy and enthusiasm of the working people, especially the youth, were manifested in big street demonstrations in the principal cities of France. That strike dealt a hard blow at the talk about the "attenuation" of class struggle and the near prospect of "disappearance" of the proletariat—the talk dear to the heart of the "Left" Gaullists and some theoreticians divorced from social reality.

The truth is that, whatever the forms of the conflicts between labor and capital, these conflicts are growing in scope. There were about 14 million strikers in the whole of the capitalist world in 1956, whereas more than 50 million strikers have been registered annually in the course of the current decade. Moreover, there has been an increase in the number of big nationwide strikes testifying to a higher level of struggle and often to its political content.

In this connection, and contrary to assertions regarding the "dimming of working people's social consciousness," the fact should be stressed that a growing number of workers combine the struggle for their immediate economic demands with struggle for peace and democracy. Not long ago the leadership of the Japanese trade unions, supported by the Socialist Party of Japan, put forward the slogan of a general strike against the U.S. aggression in Vietnam. In many countries the struggle is mounting for the broadening of trade union rights. In West Germany, trade unions are fighting for a say in managing the economy; in Italy and France, for nationalization and democratic management of nationalized enter

The present strike movement in the Paris Metro is signi... in the sense that the workers fight for social progress, just as in the case of the strike of 250,000 American workers of General Motors, who protested against their slave-like condition in the enterprise and demanded respect for them as human beings.

Mention should also be made of the great importance of the prolonged strike of the Herstal women workers in Belgium who demanded "equal wages for equal work."

The fact that their motto had a bearing on a promise contained in the propaganda conducted by the "Little Europe" institutions leads to the conclusion that the equality of the working conditions of women and men is still a long way off in different countries. Just as it has not eliminated or attenuated—rather to the contrary —the contradictions between the exploiter and the exploited, the

Common Market has not removed the contradictions between the capitalist countries.

Life has confirmed the correctness of the Communists' warnings to this effect, and today even ardent supporters of the Common Market admit that it is dominated by, and profitable to, capitalist monopolies. The Common Market being an accomplished fact, the need arises for the working people of the six countries to unite in the struggle for common interests. Positive cooperation can be established between our parties, between the trade unions (real steps have already been made along this road) in order to struggle, in and outside European institutions, for a different policy which would take into consideration the interests of the working people in each country and the national interests.

Consequently, the working-class movement is a great force of our time. The working class, by virtue of its place in capitalist production which irreconcilably opposes it to the owners of the means of production, by virtue of its mass concentration within the system and of its high class consciousness, is the decisive factor for social change.

This approach to the role of the working class completely rules out any policy of class collaboration. Do our Socialist comrades agree with this analysis and with the obligations stemming therefore, which have little in common with the assertions regarding the positive influence of modern society?

## CONCENTRATION OF MONOPOLY POWER

The last twenty years have witnessed transformation of monopoly capitalism, along with unprecedentedly rapid concentration to be observed in the key economic sectors which can be illustrated by the recent mergers of Banque Nationale Commerćiale et Industrialle and Comptoir National d'Escompts de Paris in baking, Usinor and Lorraine-Escout in metallurgy and Ugine and Kuhlmann in chemicals. In 1965 it was estimated that 6.8 per cent of the French enterprises accounted for 85.2 per cent of production in the country.

At the same time we observe a fusion, a coalescence of giant monopolies with the bourgeois state, which increasingly tends to interfere in economic matters. It is trying to interpose its authority and regulate economic development; it creates complex economic mechanisms in order to coordinate the activity of the monopolies and the nationalized sector in favor of the former. The state and the monopolies are pooling their efforts and means to resist the competition of other capitalist states and step up the exploitation of the proletariat and all wage and salary earners at home.

The working masses are thus deprived of the benefits of scientific and technological progress. Since 1957 industrial production in

France has grown by 50 per cent and hourly labor productivity by 50 per cent, but the purchasing capacity of the working people has remained virtually the same; for some under-privileged categories it has actually decreased, and without the development of workers' struggles it would have dropped still lower. Moreover, the class approach to the taxation policy imposes upon the working population 85 per cent of the tax burden, whereas lower taxes for big capitalist companies reduce their share to 8 per cent.

The entire evolution of monopoly capitalism leads to a concentration of decision-making centers, to a crystallization of power in the hands of a few. It signifies the "strong state" and one-man power and the struggle of the state against any democratic, progressive, humanistic conception: the guiding principles of monopoly, of authoritarian centralism have been, in a sense, transferred to the state.

All this does not lead to a weakening of class differences and an abatement of class struggle. On the contrary, the fundamental contradiction of capitalism, that between the social character of production and the private form of appropriation, between labor and capital, is further aggravated.

This has been realized by the Socialist Party of Japan, a member of the Socialist International, which resolutely rejects opportunistic slogans opposed to class struggle in such a developed capitalist country as Japan.

And did not Comrade Guy Mollet, General Secretary of the French Socialist Party, reaffirm that deliverance from the spoliations of capitalist society lies in the disappearance of this society?

Do we agree in principle with this definition of state-monopoly capitalism and with the political consequences to which our own experience points? Do we agree to refuse to turn the working class into an auxiliary force of reaction, which is seeking, under the camouflage of "centrism," to perpetuate the domination of the finance oligarchy?

## THE WORKING CLASS — DECISIVE FORCE IN THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALISM

Here and there we hear the objection raised that the class structure of society is changing in our epoch. That is true. But these changes tend towards increasing polarization.

For instance, there were 1,300,000 wage workers in 1851 and 14,500,000 in 1962.

On the other hand, the number of artisan enterprises dropped from 2,250,000 in 1906 to 750,000 in 1956. In agriculture, there were were 3,467,000 farms in 1892 and only 1,899,000 in 1963, and 60,000 of them disappear annually today.

The structure of the mass of wage earners is changing. The share of those not directly engaged in production increases as more and more people go to work in the service industries. But by virtue of their position and sentiments they more openly break with the interests of the monopolies and draw nearer to the workers. Many intellectuals, teachers, engineers, specialists and technicians are becoming increasingly aware of their position as the exploited, keenly feel the general crisis of spiritual values and participate, on a constantly growing scale, in the class battles against the exploiters and on the side of the working class or together with it.

Thus the contradiction between labor and capital is supplemented by antagonism between the nation en masse and the handful of monopolists. The conflict between the majority of the population and the ruling group, whose regime is historically moribund, is only deepened.

The working class, which is most directly interested in the expropriation of big capital, is waging this struggle not only for its own sake, but for the good of society as a whole, and this is the basis on which it can find a common language with the other social strata which are not direct victims of the monopolists but are interested in their elimination.

The analysis of the classes and the role of the working class in present-day France evidently merits being deepened, elaborated and supplemented, but these basic ideas appear to be determining to us, if there is a striving to open up reliable prospects for a peaceful and democratic transition to socialism.

Thus a series of doctrinal expositions is terminated. They show clearly that the questions remain posed and the differences are still there, which is natural at this stage. The discussion is not closed.

Working-class unity is the key to profound democratic changes which can create conditions for a peaceful transition to socialism in our country.

The first stage on this road is liquidation of one-man power and establishment of genuine democracy. The joint struggle for this should not be subordinated to the settlement of ideological differences between our two parties. It in itself will create more favorable conditions for their solution. For the triumph of our socialist ideal demands unity of the working class.

The delegation of the French Communist Party:
*Victor Joannes,*
*Jacques Chambaz,*
*Jacques Denis.*

# STATEMENT

## OF THE CC OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF BRAZIL

The Communist Party of Brazil, which has been taking an active part in the common efforts to strengthen the unity of the world Communist movement, voices its concern over the present developments in China, where a systematic anti-Soviet campaign is being conducted. Our Party regards it as its duty to re-emphasize its solidarity with the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union, a tried and tested vanguard contingent of the world Communist movement.

The 11th plenary session of the CC, CPC adopted a resolution on the so-called "great proletarian cultural revolution" behind the smokescreen of which a political line was reaffirmed contradicting the Marxist-Leninist line worked out by the Communist and Workers' parties at the Moscow conferences of 1957 and 1960. The resolutions adopted at that session not only slanderously attack the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, but also signify the CPC leaders' actual rejection of the proposals of the CPSU, of other socialist countries for coordinated action in the struggle against U.S. imperialism and in support of the people of Vietnam.

Today, when the enemy is trying to take advantage of the disagreements in the world Communist movement for stepping up the aggression against the heroic Vietnamese people, for new threats against socialist Cuba and for attempts to stem by force of arms the struggle of the peoples for national liberation, against colonialism and neocolonialism, the Brazilian Communists, who are marching at the head of the democratic and patriotic forces, will do everything to intensify the struggle against the Castelo Branco dictatorship, a servant of U.S. imperialism, and will spare no effort to strengthen solidarity with the valiant peoples of South Vietnam and with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

Convinced that the struggle against imperialism and all reactionary forces demands more insistently than ever unity of all the contingents of the revolutionary and liberation movement, the Brazilian Communists will join the initiative and common efforts of the fraternal partes aimed at cementing the unity and cohesion of the world Communist movement on the basis of proletarian internationalism, Marxism-Leninism and the common line approved at the 1957 and 1960 conferences. The bonds between the Communist parties in the fight for world peace and against imperialism, the enemy of

all peoples, for social progress and the victory of communism the world over, are stronger than anything that can disunite them at present.

*Central Committee,*
*Communist Party of Brazil*
*October 15, 1966*

# A RESOUNDING VICTORY*

The first stage of the trade union elections has become a stormy plebiscite against the vertical unions, a condemnation of the last fascist political organization still retaining an appearance of reality. The Falange is already an unburied corpse. The Youth Front, Women's Section and University Spanish Union are no more than a memory. The vertical unions have now become a roof without a foundation. The new working-class movement has won the overwhelming majority of the posts of factory committee members and union organizers. The victory of the workers' commissions is so great as to be in itself an indication of the political exhaustion of the dictatorship. Even those who have abstained from voting have thereby voted against the vertical unions.

The magnitude of the victory of the workers' commissions surpasses the most optimistic forecasts. This victory is registered in both the major and the secondary indutrial centers of the country, in both the big and the medium and small enterprises, in such major and advanced industries as metallurgy and mining, in the textile, chemical, building, and printing and publishing industries and the transport system, which do not lag behind, among the employees of banks and insurance companies, and, to a notable degree, among technological and administrative personnel. This is a really powerful upsurge unexpectedly revealing the high degree of the class consciousness of the Spanish working people and the existence of a unity unprecedented in breadth and depth, on the one hand, and the gravity and acuteness of the national political crisis, on the other.

In the conditions prevailing in Spain today a development as important as this transcends the limits of labor, acquiring the significance of a proof of the imperative need to find a solution to the Spanish political problem. The municipal elections held on April 12, 1931, in a society that was less closed in spite of the age-long existence of the monarchic system, were the signal for political change. Far be it from us draw facile and oversimplified parallels. But these trade union elections have shown to anyone who does not deliberately shut his eyes that the dictatorship today is much more exhausted than the monarchy was at that time.

We must learn every useful lesson from so momentous a fact. Franco will never relinquish his power. But those groups of the scattered national movement** that still have influence in the seats of power and speak of "evolution," a "representative system" and

*Abridged from **Mundo Obrero**, October 1966.
**The Falange.—**Ed.**

respect for the Ecumenical Council" are compelled to search their conscience. Will they continue to maintain the rigid barrier of immobility which, if left as it is, could confront us with dramatic situations? Or will they bring themselves to use their positions as a means of facilitating progress toward a dramatic confrontation of the diverse political groups existing in Spain, without exception or monopoly?

The necessity for this test of conscience, for this decision, faces also various institutions which in the present situation hold decisive positions.

But it is above all the presence of the working class, united and organized as a powerful movement of workers' commissions and having precise aims (at a time when the spirit of protest is growing irresistibly in the countryside, among the students, in the Church and among the Catholics generally, and when in even the armed forces there is evidence of a positive attitude to democratic evolution) that makes it possible to ascertain what forces actually constitute the opposition.

There is no putting off any longer a meeting of those who propose to advance towards a democratic solution of the Spanish political problem. In Spain there are mighty forces, first of all the working class, that are already marching with firm step and are asking the waverers: "Are you coming or staying?"

The aim of the workers' commissions was not, as they made clear during the election campaign, to merely secure this or that post. They wanted to win new footholds in order to raise the fight for democratic, independent and unitary class trade unions to a much higher plane, to win the right to strike, to bring out an increase in minimum wages, to meet the threat of unemployment and resist dismissals, to uphold the rights of women and the youth, and so on. In other words, the elections are a stage of the struggle, not an end in itself.

The results achieved bring legitimate satisfaction to those who strove for them with so much perseverance and devotion. The working people now feel confident of their forces, their morale is high, and they take legitimate pride in the victory won over a regime of oppression. Many of those who did not believe an effective struggle was possible, and who were still under the impression of a terrible past, are regaining their confidence.

But we must not allow any vanity or sectarianism to narrow a battle front that, in fact, can and must be extended.

We believe that the differences which could have existed at the early stage of the elections must now disappear before the common aim, which is to carry forward the fight against the vertical unions. All working people, all Communists, Socialists, Catholics, Syndicalists, Left Falangists and, Traditionalists, as well as the

enormous mass of those who do not yet belong to any political trend, should strengthen the movement of the workers' commissions. We will now see thousands of new commissions spring up like mushrooms after a rain, as is only logical. The task of all, without exception or monopoly, is to ensure that the new working-class movement is even stronger, better organized and more effective.

We have common objectives, and necessity makes us unite in spite of all differences. Certain forces have for years concentrated on crusading against communism, thinking that this would make them the axis of any alternative to the Franco regime. Well, here are the results. We served warning more than once. And now we say to those who argue that they "cannot" join us because we are "too strong": "It is high time to realize that only by fighting like us and side by side with us can you also gain strength and prestige."

The example of a large segment of the Catholics should be instructive to them. This segment is not weakening — on the contrary. It is not weakening because it can fight with due regard to reality, along with the Communists, against the common enemy.

How should the struggle be carried on? The workers' commissions have already answered that: the new class trade unions must have a structure starting from the bottom and going upwards, from workers' meetings in the enterprises and communities to a national congress, through congresses in the provinces, regions and national areas, with delegates elected by democratic procedure.

At these meetings the working people should decide freely and democratically on the structure of their trade unions. The workers, needless to say, will accept no decision from above and no measure that they have not planned and decided on by themselves.

All political parties and groups must adhere to and support this position of the workers' commissions.

The fight for unitary class trade unions, for the rights of the working people, for their pressing economic demands, is merging today with the fight of vast social strata wronged by the Franco regime.

The near future should, as a matter of course, see closer relations between the new working-class movement, the peasant movement, the movement of students and intellectuals, the democratic and progressive trends in the Church and among the Catholics generally, and the movements of the national minorities and the political opposition parties. It is to be desired that this rapprochement should involve the armed forces. We must clear the ground for a peaceful abolition of the dictatorship at an early date. All these forces, if they take action as a unit, can sweep all obstacles out of the way to democratic freedoms.

# SPEECH* OF ZENON KLISZKO

## MEMBER OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU AND SECRETARY OF THE CC, PUWP, AT THE CONGRESS OF POLISH CULTURE

The changes in the cultural sphere that have taken place in our country are inseparable from the profound changes in our economic, political and social life. Socialist construction carried on by the Polish people and headed by the working class is organically linked with general progress in education and culture, with the formation of new relations between people, of a new mode of life, new morality and new customs.

Connection between the past and the future is of prime importance in the cultural field, especially if culture is understood, as the totality of the intellectual achievements of the people not only in literature and art, but also in science and education, technology, social ideology, national consciousness, morals, customs and habits.

In both its socio-political system and its culture People's Poland has inherited all the previous achievements of the people, all the progressive, revolutionary and creative achievements serving the cause of the people's well-being and national independence. Historical continuity in culture is not what it is in the sphere of material and socio-economic relations. The socio-economic system, productive forces and political system of a society undergo rapid and sometimes violent and revolutionary changes, especially in our time. In contrast to this, development of culture, as that of the entire spiritual life of the people, proceeds more slowly, sometimes in complex interaction of the elements of the past and the present, in struggle of the new against the old in social consciousness, in the interweaving of the age-old traditions and the newly-created values.

When taking over the cultural legacy of the past every class and every social stratum re-appraises it and accepts what is still living and constitutes a permanent element of national culture. Socialist culture could rise and develop not only because it became a possession of the people, but also because we fully utilized everything that was progressive in our tradition.

Different classes and social groups made their contributions to creating Polish culture, each of them advancing specific social and moral ideas and laying its imprint on art. In the nation's cultural

*Abridged from **Trybuna Ludu**, October 8, 1966.

tradition one can find elements and trends which emerged on the basis of conflicting class interests and which serve these interests. In every epoch a certain social group or class dominated the cultural field, and the value of all artistic elements making up the culture of a nation was determined from the viewpoint of the specific cultural interests and requirements of this group or class.

Our socialist culture, the culture of People's Poland, has not merely taken over the legacy of the past generations. Nor is it the result of automatic popularization of this legacy. It is developing in the process of critical appraisal and conscious selection of traditions and above all through the creation of new values conforming to the requirements of our time, to the spiritual needs of the people, who have embarked on the socialist remodeling of their country and their life.

Never in Polish history had it been possible to remove the class barriers separating the majority of society, the masses, from the entire wealth of national culture.

The change took place only in People's Poland.

Our culture, which the Nazi invaders sought to emasculate and destroy, revived and assumed a new form. It drew vital energy from the victorious anti-fascist struggle for the liberation of Poland, from the social revolution transforming the life of the Polish people, from the historical return of the people to the lands lying along the Oder, the Neisse and the Baltic Sea.

Characteristic for the development of the new, socialist Polish culture in the past two decades was harmonious combination of the progressive cultural tradition and modern achievements of literature and art and of scientific and technological progress. Cultural development is one of the most significant gains of People's Poland. The future of our culture is illumined by the ideological beacons of the social and political forces which have built the people's socialist state.

We want our culture to be permeated as fully as possible with the spirit of socialist humanism which champions the interests of man, his dignity and his striving for a full life and development of his abilities in keeping with the interests of society, and which at the same time combats reaction, imperialism and war threatening the freedom and very existence of man. We want our culture to help affirm lofty morals which demand respect for the common weal, human labor and talent, heroism and readiness for sacrifice in the struggle for a just cause, and which reject egoism, cynicism and disbelief in the aim of life and struggle.

Socialist culture is always open to genuine artistic values created in other countries, but it is closed to snobism and worship of the commercialized "mass culture" of big-business civilization. It is inspired by ardent patriotism which has nothing to do with nation-

alism, by solidarity with those who defend their independence, by fraternal friendship with the peoples with whom we are bound by bonds of common ideals of socialism and peace.

The new ideological content of socialist culture should conform to its universal nature and reflect the cardinal changes as a result of which culture has become a possession of the working people, the masters of the country who actively participate in cultural life and produce new cultural values.

This socialization of culture required time, hard effort, and daring. First conditions had to be created making it possible for the masses to join the cultural endeavor, namely, to wipe out illiteracy, raise the general level of education, enable the overwhelming majority of young people to acquire a higher qualification, and train, on a much bigger scale than before, cadres of the people's intelligentsia. It was necessary to restore Polish cultural life in the Reunited Lands and remove the painful legacy of the centuries of Germanization and national degeneration. No figures can adequately express the growth of spiritual and cultural requirements which began following the liberation of the working people from exploitation, oppression and misery and continued later on as a result of industrialization, the drawing of town and country closer together, mass migration from villages, and the universal rise of science, educational level and qualification. Such was the cardinal change the People's Poland accomplished in the cultural field.

Vast sums were allocated by the state for culture and education. In recent years annual allocations for these purposes exceeded 26 million zlotys. Every year 220 million books are borrowed from our public libraries. Hundreds of thousands of people take part in readers' competitions. About 400,000 people engage in amateur art activities. Every year the concert halls and theatres have 18 million visitors, and 14 million people visit art exhibitions. Such mass media of propagation of culture and science as the cinema, radio and television, have become part and parcel of our people's every day life.

It is true that the supply in this field, as in many others, does not meet the demand yet, that the striving for culture, especially among our young people, often gives rise to difficult problems which can be solved only gradually, by the combined effort of the state and the public.

We are fully aware of the importance of these requirements, but we shall be able to satisfy them only as we solve the entire complex of tasks of the country's development. The means necessary for expanding the base for culture and making it accessible to the entire society are created in the sphere of material production and depend on the amount of the national income. Therefore our biggest investment effort has to be aimed at the utmost development of

the productive forces, and our organizational effort, at raising to the utmost the effectiveness of the national economy.

The new five-year plan envisages a considerable increase in state expenditures on culture: from 11,800 million zlotys in the past five years to 17,800 million in 1966-70. Besides, about 3,000 million zlotys will be earmarked for investments in the cultural field and about 1,500 million will be spend on the expansion and modernization of the printing industry. Substantial allocations will also be made for the paper industry.

Modern Polish culture and, consequently, the social effectiveness of what we are doing to make it a possession of the whole society, will be judged above all by the socio-ideological and artistic values produced in the process of cultural creative work. And it depends only on you, on your talent and creative endeavor, on the attachment of your hearts and minds to the ideas of socialism, what works of art will be produced tomorrow, how they will enrich with truth and beauty the spiritual life of our working people, whether they will capture the imagination and stir emotions.

Each of you has before himself the whole people for his audience —something the artists of the past could not even dream about, and each of you should feel responsible for the ideological and artistic values which are to become a possession of the entire society and which will to one or another degree promote the spiritual growth, mould the mentality and form the habits and customs of millions of people and thereby exert substantial influence on the course of life. We trust that these will be socialist values conforming to the main direction of transformations under way in our society, to the spiritual requirements of the new consumer; we trust that they will stir deep emotions and bring joy to people and, owing to all this, valuably contribute to universal human culture.

We expect from you socially mature works expressing the truth and the wisdom of life. We want them to inspire belief in progress, stir noble emotions and teach people to live in accordance with the norms of the new society.

We are convinced that Polish literature and art will, true to their finest traditions, become an increasingly powerful source of the spiritual strength of our society in its effort to ensure that socialism —the system of social justice—blossoms out in our country, and that the Polish people make their contribution to the struggle of all mankind for the triumph of the cause of the freedom of the peoples over imperialist oppression and aggression, a contribution worthy of their dignity and in keeping with their possibilities.

Our Party, the spokesman of the interests of the Polish working people, the leading force of the national cause of socialist construction, values most that trend of creative work which continues the great traditions of Polish literature and art, its noble mission of

serving the emancipatory, patriotic and revolutionary aspirations of the people, and which at the same time shares the responsibility for building socialist Poland.

We regard this trend of creative work, which has already produced many outstanding works of literature and art, as being decisive in the struggle for the flourishing of our culture.

Our cultural policy guarantees our writers and art workers freedom of choice of subjects and forms of their creative work, freedom of expression of their subjective judgement. We only cannot agree with creative work being misused for the propagation of ideas hostile to socialism, or for political actions in the interests of the forces standing on the other, imperialist, side of the barricade and threatening the vital interests of the state and the people.

Works of everlasting value can be created, of course, only on the basis of a profound ideological and emotional identification of their author with the main, socialist direction of the life of the people, on the basis of intellectual participation in the present-day ideological and political struggle which is decisive for the destinies of Poland and mankind.

An ever bigger role in building modern Polish culture embracing all intellectual achievements of the people is played by those who promote scientific and technological progress. Their cultural mission is growing in importance. Therefore, our state has been and will go on supporting in every way the development of Polish scientific and technical thought, the extensive propagation of the achievements of this thought, the raising of the culture of labor and the technical culture of the entire society.

# RESOLUTION*

## OF THE NINTH CONGRESS OF THE BULGARIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

The Ninth Congress of the Bulargian Communist Party, after thoroughly discussing the report of the Central Committee presented by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the CC,BCP, unanimously approves the estimations, conclusions and tasks set out in the report.

Congress has a high opinion of the fruitful work carried out by the Central Committee of the Party in fulfilling the tasks set by the Eighth Party Congress, and unanimously approves the political line and the practical activity of the Central Committee in the interval between the Eighth and Ninth congresses of the BCP.

The entire activity of the Central Committee of the Party, the Party bodies and organizations during the period under review has been characterized by ideological consistency, initiative and efficiency in implementing the line of the April 1956 Plenum and the decisions of the Eighth Congress of the Party.

The April line has triumphed in every area of the country's life. It has in practice demonstrated its fundamental correctness, viability and fruitfulness.

Congress considers that the basic economic and political tasks that faced the Party and the people during the period under review have been successfully accomplished. As a result, our country has made tremendous economic and cultural progress, its international prestige has grown, and the moral and political unity of the people rallied around the Party and the people's government has been strengthened.

The great achievements of the Bulgarian people in socialist construction, the important advances made in improving social relations and educating the new man are a new vivid proof of the correctness of the Party line in socialist construction, new evidence of the strength of Marxist-Leninist theory, which the BCP creatively applies in the conditions prevailing in this country.

### I

The foreign policy of the Central Committee of the Party and the Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria in the years following the Eighth Congress has been marked by great activity

*Abridged from **Rabotnichesko Delo**, November 26, 1966.

and considerable results. In keeping with the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the Party and the government have been carrying on their activity in the international field in the conditions of the further development and consolidation of the world socialist system and its economic, political, scientific, technological and military power.

1. During the past period the world socialist system has become stronger still, its international prestige has increased and so has its influence on the destiny of mankind.

All-round cooperation among the socialist countries, and especially cooperation in the field of economy and mutual defense, is an important source of the strength and magnetism of the world socialist system. This cooperttion is developing on the basis of socialist internationalism and is characterized by fraternal friendship, mutual respect and mutual assistance.

The mighty economy of the Soviet Union, its scientific, technological and cultural advance have been a decisive factor for the steady development and consolidation of the world socialist system, for the enhancement of its influence and appeal.

The Bulgarian Communist Party and the Government unswervingly pursue the line of promoting friendship and extending cooperation between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the other socialist countries.

Economic, scientific and technological cooperation with the Soviet Union and the fraternal help that country constantly gives us to enable us the more quickly to solve the main problems of socialist industrialization and agricultural progress, to develop our country. Fraternal friendship and cooperation between Bulgaria and the USSR is now entering a new and higher stage of development. This stage is characterized by even closer links between our economy and culture and the economy and culture of the USSR.

The friendship and unity between Bulgaria and the Soviet Union are sacred and indestructible. They are the most cherished legacy bequeathed to the Party and the people by Georgi Dimitrov, and by the thousands of heroes who fell in the battle for freedom and socialism. The Bulgarian-Soviet alliance, a symbol of our freedom, independence and communist future, will be preserved by present and future Bulgarian generations as a most precious, a sacred national patrimony.

Our political, economic and cultural cooperation with the German Democratic Republic, People's Republic of Poland, Socialist Republic of Rumania, Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Republic of Cuba, Korean People's Democratic Republic, Hungarian People's Republic and Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia is increasing from year to year.

In recent years our Party and State, guided by their internation-

alist duty, have been giving, to the best of their ability, moral political, economic and military aid to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in its struggle against the barbarous aggression of the American imperialists.

The Bulgarian Communist Party considers it to be its supreme internationalist duty to consolidate and extend, as it has done so far, mutual relations and all-round cooperation among the socialist countries.

It will continue to dedicate all its energies, all its revolutionary experence and knowledge to the common cause—carrying out the great peaceful tasks of socialist construction, and turning the socialist community into an impregnable stronghold of peace and social progress.

2. The world capitalist system is continuing to develop in conditions of the further deepening of the general crisis of capitalism and the sharpening of its internal contradictions. There are growing signs of the instability of the capitalist economy. Contradictions among the partners in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and in the other economic, political and military alliances of the capitalist countries are deepening.

Capitalism is seeking an outlet through increased exploitation and a new onslaught on the interests of the working class. In many capitalist countries there is a wage freeze, the prices of consumer goods are rising, taxes are becoming heavier. The reactionary bourgeois regimes severely persecute the organizations of the revolutionary proletariat and imprison proletarian leaders. Parallel with the offensive against the working-class movement, the imperialist forces resort to counter-revolutionary coups, and rob the working people of their democratic rights and other gains.

The actions of imperialism, above all U.S. imperialism, have been more and more like those of an international oppressor of the national economies of the developing countries and of the weaker capitalist countries.

The increasingly uneven course of development in the capitalist world and the sharpening of its contradictions spell a grave danger to world peace. The rulers of the imperialist countries, first of all the USA, are rapidly militarizing their entire economy, and are following a policy of frenzied rearmament, piling up dangerous explosive material in the sphere of international relations. The present policy of the United States of America is an open menace to peace in Europe and to the security of the European peoples; this same policy has led to the war of aggression against the Vietnamese people—in another region of the world, Southeast Asia. The United States interferes in the home affairs of other countries, violating the sacred right of each nation to determine its own fate, resorting to colonial repression and armed intervention, organizing conspira-

cies in various countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and supporting everywhere the reactionary forces and venal regimes hated by the people.

The revolutionary forces and the peoples of the world should not slacken their vigilance for a moment. The danger of a thermonuclear world war is still there.

That is why the Bulgarian Communist Party considers it a prime task of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, together with the other socialist countries, to continuously build up and improve its defensive capacity so as to be able properly to fulfil its duty as a member of the Warsaw Treaty organization in defense of its freedom and of peace and socialism.

Bulgarian Communists are deeply convinced that the joint efforts of the peoples, of the democratic forces of all countries, progressive people throughout the world, and above all the combined forces of the peoples of the world socialist system, can check the aggressor and frustrate his warmongering plans. A supreme necessity today is to unite all anti-imperialist forces and movements in a single front to firmly resist imperialism and reaction, and to maintain peace and democracy, and the freedom and independence of the peoples.

3. The People's Republic of Bulgaria has consistently pursued, and will continue to pursue, a policy of peaceful coexistence with the capitalist countries. Economic, cultural and political relations between Bulgaria and many West European countries have expanded during the last few years. There are real possibilities for the further development of these relations. The fact that our socialist homeland is fast becoming a developed industrial country, which makes it an excellent trade partner, is of great importance to this favorable process.

The Central Committee of the Party and our Government pay great attention to the promotion of relations and cooperation between Bulgaria and the newly-free countries. Relations between the PRB and these countries are being built on the basis of mutual respect and equality.

Bulgaria has established, and is developing and strengthening relations of friendship and solidarity with almost all the developing and independent countries which have liberated themselves from colonialism. The relations between Bulgaria and the United Arab Republic, Algeria, Syria, Mali, Guinea, Tunisia, Ethiopia, Afghanistan, Burma and other countries are making particularly good progress.

Historical developments in the world show that in spite of the attempts of imperialism to take the offensive and regain its lost positions, in spite of its temporary successes in some countries and regions, the process of national liberation is developing and deepening, nor can it be stopped. The BCP and the whole of our people identify themselves with the peoples fighting against imperialism

and colonialism, for their freedom and independence, and consider it their internationalist duty to support them in every way.

A number of countries which have won their freedom after long years of struggle are carrying out profound social and economic changes directed towards restricting and expelling the foreign monopolies, towards consolidating their national economies and developing their countries along non-capitalist lines.

The situation in the Balkans, the promotion and preservation of peace in this part of the world have been a matter of prime concern to the CC, BCP and the People's Government.

The Bulgarian Communist Party and the Government of the PRB are promoting economic and cultural relations with all Balkan countries on the basis of equality, mutual benefit and non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

The extension and deepening of cooperation between Bulgaria and the Socialist Republic of Rumania and the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia, and improved relations with Greece and Turkey have a favorable effect on the general situation in the Balkans. Objective conditions have been created for the further development of mutually beneficial relations and business contacts among the Balkan countries, especially in the field of economy and culture.

Bulgaria condemns the interference of foreign forces in the home affairs of the Republic of Cyprus and considers that the problems of Cyprus should be solved by the Cypriots themselves.

The Bulgarian Communist Party and the Government of the PRB will continue to contribute towards cooperation among the Balkan peoples to ensure that the Balkan Peninsula and the area of the Black Sea and the Adriatic become a zone of peace and understanding.

The overall international activities of Bulgaria contribute towards lessening international tension, safeguarding world peace, furthering mutual understanding among nations, and solving controversial international problems in a peaceful, constructive way.

Bulgaria actively participates in the work of the United Nations and other international organizations. It will continue to do its best to contribute to the struggle against imperialist aggression and attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria will continue to march shoulder to shoulder with the great Soviet Union and the other socialist countries in the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

It is perfectly possible to curb the advocates of aggression and war now that the world socialist system is the main factor in developing the revolutionary process, and in defending peace and the national independence and freedom of the peoples provided

there is unity and solidarity among the revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces.

4. The unity of the international Communist and working-class movement is the decisive factor in rallying all revolutionary forces.

Congress regards with concern the difficulties and differences which have appeared in the ranks of the world Communist movement during the last few years and which benefit only the forces of world reaction. These differences have an adverse effect on the activity and fighting capacity of the world Communist movement and bring vacillation and disorganization into the ranks of other revolutionary forces of the world.

The Bulgarian Communist Party thinks highly of the consistent and principled activity of the leadership of the CPSU and other fraternal Parties aimed at restoring the unity of the international Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Congress approves the CC, BCP policy of promoting the unity of the international Communist movement and condemns the splitting activity of the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party.

Bulgarian Communists maintain that the struggle for unity in the Communist movement is the internationalist duty of every Communist party.

This unity can be strengthened on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, by consistently combating any deviations from the theory and principles of our revolutionary movement. To strengthen our unity, we must expose and fight present-day dogmatism, which really is nationalism and adventurism in the Communist movement and in international relations. For the sake of unity we must uphold the purity of our revolutionary teachings against all Leftist or Rightist deviations, and steadfastly defend the purity of the great communist ideal.

The Bulgarian Communist Party considers that the conditions for the convening of an international meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties are ripening.

Congress declares that the BCP will continue to work for the consolidation of the world Communist front in accordance with the general line of the international Communist movement laid down collectively by the Moscow meetings in 1957 and 1960. It will strengthen and develop its fraternal ties with the Leninist Communist Party of the Soviet Union, with all the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties of the world. It will work for closer friendship and cooperation between the Bulgarian people and all other peoples in the name of the triumph of peace and communism.

Congress hails and fully approves the foreign policy of the Central Committee of the BCP and the Government of the PRB, and supports the measures proposed in the report with a view to solv-

ing the major problems of world politics, promoting international security and preserving world peace.

## II

Congress notes with satisfaction that as a result of the correct leadership of the Central Committee, and thanks to the creative labor and energy of the working class, the cooperative peasants and the people's intelligentsia, the Fouth Five-Year Plan for the development of the country has been fulfilled. A new and important step has been taken towards building the material and technical base of socialism, raising the standard of living of the people, developing science and culture, and increasing the economic and defensive power of our country.

Total industrial production has increased by 74 per cent. The policy of giving priority to the development of the power, chemical, metallurgical and engineering industries — a policy decided on by the Eighth Party Congress — is being carried into practice.

Production of consumer goods has been steadily rising.

Sustained effort to utilize the achievements of science and technology, and to organize production on a scientific basis have led to a further increase of labor productivity and an improvement in the quality of goods.

Under the Fourth Five-Year Plan our agriculture has made further progress. Its production base has widened and become more solid. Average crop yields and average output of animal products have increased and become stable. Positive structural changes have taken place in agricultural production. Agriculture has become more intensive.

Greater concentration of capital investments has been achieved and industrialization in construction has continued with some success. Finance, material resources and labor power are being used more effectively.

During the period under review the technical reconstruction of transport and communications has gone on successfully.

A steady and increasing rate of development has been a characteristic of our socialist economy during the period under review, which once again shows the advantages of our economy over the capitalist mode of production. It is gratifying to point out that Bulgaria has doubled its production assets under the Fourth Five-Year Plan.

The progress and increased effectiveness of the economy have helped to strengthen the country financially, steadily increasing the stability of the Bulgarian lev.

During the period under review, a further rise in the living and cultural standards of the people was reached. Real incomes of the

population are on the increase, there is considerably more housing, and the consumption of foodstuffs and manufactured goods is growing.

We have registered new achievements in education, science and culture. Eight-year education is compulsory now. The school system has been considerably improved with due regard to the industry's demand for skilled workers and medium technical personnel. Higher education has also improved. Science, art and literature are ever more closely linked with the requirements of life.

1. Congress greatly appreciates the initiative of the Central Committee of the Party in working out the basic principles of the new system of economic management and in submitting them to the whole people for discussion. Congress fully approves the decision of the Central Committee to introduce a new system of economic management. This new system extends and will bring deep-going aspects of public life in our country; it brings and will bring deep-going changes into both the economic basis and the superstructure of our society.

The new system creates conditions and possibilities for fuller use of the advantages of socialism, making for a more rapid and effective growth of material production and for a further rise in the people's standard of living.

The application of the new system of economic management is an important task facing the Party and the government in the coming years. Congress therefore calls upon the Party, government, economic and public bodies and organizations, scientific institutions and labor collectives consistently to implement the principles of the new system, which is a result of creative analysis of our manifold experiences in socialist construction over many years. This system requires a correct combination of centralized leadership with extended powers of the state economic organizations and enterprises, and a fundamental improvement in planning by making maximum use of the economic laws of socialism. It calls for greater economic autonomy and initiative on the part of the production staffs, greater material incentives for them and increased responsibility for results achieved.

Along with this, Congress draws attention to the fact that under the new system the role of moral stimuli should not diminish but should steadily increase. Greater effort should be put into improving labor discipline, raising the social consciousness of the working people, and shaping a correct attitude towards labor and socialist property.

2. The new five-year plan for the development of the country between 1966 and 1970 is an important stage in the struggle to create the material and technical base of socialism in our country.

Congress fully approves the programs set out in the Report for

a new approach to our country's economic development stressing the paramount importance of a decisive increase in profitability and improvement of the quality of all material production.

Congress defines the main object of the Fifth Five-Year Plan as follows: *to continue building socialist society in the People's Republic of Bulgaria by further building its material and technical base perfecting socialist social relations, raising the socialist consciousness of the working people and improving the standard of living of the people.* By consistently applying the new system of management and by making extensive use of the achievements of modern science and technology, we should improve the branch structure of the national economy, modernize its branches, and raise labor productivity and the effectiveness of the economy with a view to better meeting the material and cultural needs of the people.

2. Congress considers that the Central Committee and the government should continue to focus their attention on the task of speedy industrialization of our country, giving priority to the development of heavy industry, and that on this basis the industries producing consumer goods should likewise be carried forward at a fast rate.

Congress sets the following tasks for the Fifth Five-Year Plan period:

—to increase the national income by about 50 per cent over the previous period and effect a further increase in the real incomes of the population in town and countryside;

—to speedily develop industry, above all those branches that are of particular importance for the further construction of the material and technical base of socialism, namely, the electric power industry, metallurgy, the chemical industry and, first and foremost, engineering. We must continue the effort to expand and modernize the light and food industries, provide the necessary reserve capacities, storage and refrigerating facilities, ensure more judicious use of farm produce, and increase the production of greater quantities and a wider range of consumer goods;

—substantially to increase agricultural output;

—promptly to apply the achievements of progressive science and technology in every production branch;

—to increase capital investments as compared with the period under review by firmly enforcing their correct distribution and efficient utilization; to expand and improve the material and technical base of designing and building with a view to supplying the needed quantity of the modern constructions and materials, to promote industrialization and mechanization, shorten the time limits for commissioning construction projects, improve the quality of building and assembly, and reduce building costs;

—further to modernize the means of transport and communication and to raise their technical standards;

—to take further measures for the judicious distribution of the productive forces on the territory of the century, combining the effort to advance the less industrialized areas with the effort to make the economic effect of capital investments as high as possible;

—to concentrate, specialize and coordinate industry and agriculture on the basis of scientific economic analysis, and according to the actual conditions in our economy and to the needs of the home and foreign markets;

—to increase the supply of raw and other materials by improving geological survey and tapping more mineral resources;

—to exercise even more rigid economy in the use of raw and other materials, strictly to adhere to plans and to finance and labor discipline;

—further to promote all-round economic, scientific and technological cooperation with the CMEA countries and the other socialist countries through planned development of the national economy, international socialist division of labor, and specialization and coordination of production. In this connection, a special effort should be made to establish the closest economic relations with the USSR;

—to strengthen economic links with the developing countries and expand trade with the capitalist countries on the basis of mutual benefit.

4. Congress attaches special importance to the further development and consolidation of agriculture and forestry.

An important task facing agriculture under the Fifth Five-Year Plan is further to stabilize the growth of output and substantially to increase its efficiency through the further intensification of production operations. During the five-year period it is necessary to solve the grain problem still more satisfactorily by consolidating and expanding the achieved yields per decare. Livestock-farming in the public sector must be made into a highly productive and profitable branch. All-round mechanization and chemicalization of productive operations should be introduced on a large scale, and work on land reclamation and irrigation should continue.

Afforestation should be continued and the productivity of forests increased. Greater attention should be paid to measures to reduce soil erosion and improve the water-protecting capacity of forests.

Timber should be used as thriftily as possible in every branch of the national economy, and the scale of its chemical mechanical processing should be increased.

5. Congress regards it as a prime task of the Party, government

economic and public bodies and organizations, and of the nation as a whole, for the next few years *speedily to apply the achievements of science and technology throughout the national economy and to adopt scientific methods in the organization of production, labor, and administrative activity.*

6. The fulfillment of the main task set by the Fifth Five-Year Plan is inseparable from the development of science, and from the expansion of fundamental and applied research.

To ensure the progress of our science, we must make still wider use of the best achievements of world science and technology, and especially those of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries. This, however, should under no circumstances lead us to underrate or disregard the possibilities of our own science or our scientific and technological intelligentsia.

In the social sciences scholars should concentrate above all on problems of economy, philosophy, sociology, law and history in the closest connection with the construction of socialist society that is going on.

It is necessary to provide every condition for bold creative activity on the part of our scientific workers, to establish an atmosphere favorable to extensive and unfettered exchanges of opinion, experimenting, and open confrontations of different points of view — with due regard to the need of scientific objectivity and adherence to the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

7. Congress draws particular attention to the important role of foreign trade in the further rapid development of our socialist economy. The all-round and complex development of the national trade will bring about a considerable expansion of foreign trade. It is necessary steadily to improve the pattern of exports, so as to increase its economic effectiveness. Ministries and enterprises, cooperative farms and state farms producing export goods should supply the envisaged quantities of products according to schedule and in conformity with the requirements of the international market as to their quality.

8. The principal goal of Party policy is continuously to improve the living standard of the working people. Congress finds that the material and technical base of the national economy and its further development in the period from 1966 to 1970 make it possible to increase the real incomes of the factory and office workers in the coming period.

The main concern of the policy of the Party on labor remuneration should be to heighten the stimulating role of wages and salaries and the cash incomes of the cooperative peasants, to establish pay and income proportions that would ensure a steady uptrend in labor productivity, better quality of output, higher skills, the mastering of new techniques, and the effective utilization of

available economic reserves.

We must continue to devote special attention to the price policy, which is of decisive importance to economic progress and the standard of living.

Congress regards the expansion of housing construction in the towns and of cultural and communal services in the country as a cardinal task.

Special care should be taken to improve planning and construction in our countryside, so that the major task of gradually levelling up living conditions in town and country may be accomplished more successfully.

In view of the growth of the productive forces and the increase in labor productivity to be achieved during the five-year period, Congress considers it possible to have a program worked out for the gradual reduction of working hours.

9. The development of the socialist state has continued over the past few years in step with the country's overall economic and cultural progress. The profound social class changes in our society have made it possible to promote socialist democracy in every sphere of life. More and more markedly, the socialist state is developing not only as a political but also as an economic and cultural organization of society.

Congress instructs the Central Committee of the Party to continue the work of drafting the new Constitution of the People's Republic of Bulgaria reflecting the profound changes which have taken place in every sphere of life in our country, a Constitution which will provide the necessary legal basis for the further advance of the country to socialism and communism.

10. The Party thinks very highly of the activity of its true ally, the Bulgarian Agrarian Union, whose members are actively participating in socialist construction shoulder to shoulder with the Communists.

11. The Party regards the construction of socialism, and the fulfilment of economic and political tasks as being most closely linked with the task of strengthening the defenses of our State. It therefore considers that it is a particularly important task continuously to improve the combat and political training of our men and officers, to supply the People's Army with up-to-date equipment and weapons, and steadily to raise the combat preparedness of the armed forces of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

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The Bulgarian Communist Party holds its Ninth Congress as a party solidly united under the banner of Marxism-Leninism, honorably fulfilling its mission as a vanguard of the working class, a

universally recognized leader of our people, and a militant contingent of the world Communist movement. Since the Eighth Congress, its life and activity have led to a new triumph for the policy of the April 1956 Plenum of the CC BCP and brilliantly confirmed the general law that the leading role of the Party must steadily grow if socialist construction is to be carried out successfully.

1. Congress fully approves the activity of the Central Committee and of the whole Party in fulfilling the decisions of the Eighth Party Congress. The Central Committee has been working as a mature collective leadership, as a solidly united leading body of the Party and the nation. The guiding principles of its work have been scientific approach, efficiency, creative discussion, careful consideration of the suggestions of the public in solving problems, constant concern for cadres, and a sustained effort to improve the style and methods of organizing, ideological and political work. In every field of socialist construction, Party leadership is becoming more competent and more efficient.

Congress points out as a noteworthy aspect of the work of the Central Committee of the Party its creative and profound approach to the solution of the problems of our social, political and economic development. The clearest example of this was the working out of the new system of economic management.

The decisions of the May 1964 Plenum of the CC, BCP were also of great importance in enhancing the leading role of the Party, decisively improving political leadership, ensuring strict application of the Leninist principles and standards of Party life, and doing away with cliches and formalism in the work of the Party bodies and organizations.

2. Congress considers it necessary to continue steadfastly to raise the role of the Party committees and organizations as leading political bodies, to promote the scientific character of Party activity and inner-Party democracy.

—Party committees and organizations should never forget that they are political bodies which must ensure by political means the correct implementation of Party policy by the respective government, economic and cultural institutions and organizations. They should reinforce them with well-trained personnel and provide for their further training and education, and exercise control over these institutions and organizations, and insist that they solve their problems themselves and bear the responsibility for their activity. They should carry on extensive ideological, political and organizing work among the working people to educate them in a Communist spirit and to ensure that Party decisions are properly fulfilled.

—In Party leadership, scientific approach is of the greatest importance. The profound and objective analysis of reality by the

Central Committee of the Party and by Party committees and organizations is the most important prerequisite for directing all social processes on scientific lines. Party cadres and leading bodies should therefore study specifically the manifestations and peculiarities of the objective laws of socialist development, use the conclusions of science and the results of sociological studies, and draw on the social sciences more extensively in their work.

Under the new system, it is more necessary than ever to adhere to the principle of collective leadership. Above all and everywhere there must be an atmosphere of tolerance and respect for the opinions and suggestions of members of the collective, an atmosphere of earnest and constructive discussion of problems. Those elected to collective bodies should be politically mature and highly competent men and women respected by the people. Strict measures should be taken against leaders who try to impose their views and unilateral decisions, stifle criticism and violate Party standards and laws. It is very important not only to strengthen collective leadership, but also to raise the personal responsibility of the members of each collective as regards their tasks and the implementation of Party policy.

3. Congress stresses the important role communal Party committees have to play in improving the management of agriculture Although they are comparatively new bodies, they have successfully passed muster, and have gained prestige and recognition. It is necessary to promote collectivism and competence in their work and to ensure unified political leadership in the different villages in every commune.

4. Congress notes with satisfaction that the initiative and influence of the Party branches, those basic units of the Party, are steadily growing.

To promote inner-Party democracy, we must also steadily tighten inner-Party discipline, which is the conscious discipline of people sharing the same views and having common revolutionary aims and tasks, people deeply aware of the historical role of the Party. It is a supreme obligation of every Party branch and every Party member to ensure strict discipline and unity of action in carrying out Party decisions.

5. Congress notes that during the period under review the Leninist principles of selecting, promoting and educating personnel have been followed.

The fast growth of the productive forces, rapid progress in science and technology, the necessity for providing scientific guidance of economic and cultural development, and the complexity of the international situation make it imperative to improve work with personnel, to bring this work into line with new requirements.

Congress stresses the need to carry forward the policy of rally-

ing and making skilful and judicious use of the forces of the different generations, and of placing cadres in the service of the Party and the people. Still greater attention should be paid to promoting women to leading posts.

6. One of the major tasks of the Party is further to extend and strengthen its links with the masses, which is a necessary principle in the work of every Leninist party.

Congress notes with satisfaction that for twenty-five years now the Fatherland Front, our largest public and political organization, has been doing a great deal to strengthen the social and political unity of the people and to rally them behind the Bulgarian Communist Party and its policy.

The Party greatly appreciates the work of the Bulgarian trade unions in solving the problems of socialist construction.

The important tasks set by the Fifth Five-Year Plan and the introduction of the new system of economic management require that the trade unions should concentrate on extending and enriching the forms and methods of socialist emulation and the movement for communist labor, step up their effort for achieving higher labor productivity, for introducing scientific organization of labor and production, for strengthening labor and production discipline. The study and large-scale utilization of positive experience in production should be a major task of the trade unions. They should work still more efficiently to enhance the political and class consciousness of the working people, and to improve their cultural and technological training. It is also important that they should constantly protect the legitimate rights of the working people.

Congress notes that the Dimitrov Young Communist League (DYCL) is increasingly proving itself to be the Party's reliable assistant and militant reserve.

The Bulgarian Communist Party has always devoted special attention and care to work among young people. As a party of progress and revolution, it sees the future of the country in the youth and considers the proper training and communist education of the younger generation to be of extreme importance.

The main task of the DYCL should continue to be education of the rising generation in a communist spirit and the shaping of a sound, Marxist-Leninist outlook among young men and women. The DYCL should impart to the youth an uncompromising attitude to bourgeois ideology and bourgeois morals. It should work even harder to ensure that our young people are healthy, sober-minded and buoyant. Under the guidance of the Party the activities of the DYCL should be organized in such a way that in close cooperation with family, school and society it may foster a sense of devotion to the cause of socialism in the youth, and a feeling of dignity and

pride as citizens of socialist Bulgaria, a readiness to defend their Homeland and take an active part in the struggle of progressive world youth for peace and against imperialism.

7. Congress points to the important positive results of the work done by the Central Committee since the Eighth Congress to improve leadership on the ideological front, rally ideological workers and the intelligentsia behind the Party, reorganize Party propaganda and agitation, and promote the press, radio and television.

A prime task of all Party bodies and all Communists is to raise the standard of ideological and political work among the people. Their paramount concern should be to heighten the political consciousness of the working people, to inspire them with a communist attitude to labor, to work for the formation of the new type of man — the builder of communism.

In the present situation it is particularly important to improve the education of the people in patriotism and internationalism, to enhance their love of the Homeland and the Party, and their respect for the revolutionary traditions and glorious feats in which our history abounds. We must combat nihilism and a scornful attitude towards all that is Bulgaria's own, must keep up and foster the feeling of national dignity in every Bulgarian citizen's heart. We should continue to educate the people, and especially the rising generation, to love the Soviet Union and to trust it without reservations, to respect and take a friendly view of the other socialist countries, to identify themselves with and fraternally support all the peoples fighting against imperialism, for peace and social progress.

All ideological work should contribute to the fulfilment of the Five-Year Plan, to the creative study of the nature of the new economic system, and to the solution of the problems of socialist construction. It should clarify these problems, sum up the experience gained, and draw proper conclusions for our future development. It is an important task of the Party to uphold the purity of Marxism-Leninism, combat bourgeois ideology, expose adventurism, sectarianism, dogmatism and revisionism, and heighten the revolutionary vigilance of the people against the subversive activities of imperialism and world reaction.

Every deviation from the class positions of Marxist-Leninist ideology, and every manifestation of "objectivism" or subjectivism inevitably leads to a distortion of facts and realities and to concessions to bourgeois ideology.

8. Congress considers it exceedingly important steadily to improve the Marxist-Leninist education of Party members and to strengthen their ideological training. While preserving and applying all that is positive in the Party propaganda of previous years, the Party should continue to introduce necessary changes into the

form and content of Party education, to make it more systematic, consistent and fruitful, and to utilize the latest methods and means of ideological and political training of Party members.

To make Marxism-Leninism the ideology of the entire people, all Party education and propaganda should be organized on the basis of the latest achievements of our revolutionary theory.

9. Congress instructs the Party organizations steadily to improve the political work among the people. All major problems of Party policy and the home and international situation should be explained promptly and thoroughly, and the urgent and unsolved problems of our time must not be overlooked.

10. The years following the Eighth Party Congress are characterized by a new, considerable upsurge in socialist literature and art. The policy of rallying the intelligentsia behind the policy of the Party is yielding fruit.

Congress expects our writers and artists to contribute new works of great talent to the treasury of our national culture. These works should reflect the struggles of the Bulgarian people against national and social oppression, the profound changes which have taken place in the life of our country, the optimism and strength of the people building socialism. Literature and the arts should be imbued with profound socialist humanism and should reflect the policy and activity of the Party for the prosperity of our country, for the working people's welfare and happiness. They should oppose all that hampers our socialist development. The innovating spirit of socialist realism should inspire artists and cultural workers generally to devote all their talents and imagination to the people, who create the entire wealth of the country.

At the same time it is necessary steadfastly to combat manifestations of uncritical imitation of certain decadent bourgeois trends in art, pessimism and scepticism towards our socialist reality, the substitution of abstract, virtually bourgeois humanism and cosmopolitanism for socialist humanism.

The Party encourages the greatest variety in artistic style and approach. But creative quests cannot be successful unless based on the principles of socialist realism. The task is to create a truly modern and innovating socialist art that will have its effect on all progressives, including fair-minded creative people in the bourgeois world.

The free discussion of the problems of artistic creation and the theory of art on the basis of our Marxist-Leninist ideology is an important factor in steadily promoting culture and the arts.

An important and pressing task of the Party and government bodies, the Fatherland Front, the Young Communist League, the libraries, and all ideological institutions is to use the favorable conditions that have been created for raising cultural activity as

a whole to a much higher plane.

11. During the period under review the press, radio, television and book-publishing have made a substantial contribution to the mobilization of the working people for the accomplishment of economic and political tasks, and to the proper education of the people.

The main task of the press is correctly and convincingly to elucidate Party policy, to show the people's devoted labor in its entire breadth and depth, the building of the new life, and promptly to supply information on events in our country and abroad.

Important tasks face radio and television, which are increasingly becoming part of the working people's everyday life. This means that those engaged in this sphere of activity should steadily improve programs, seek new, more effective ways and means of bringing the Party's message to the people, and popularize the achievements of our own culture and the culture of the world.

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The Ninth Congress is deeply convinced that the Bulgarian Communist Party, loyal to its revolutionary traditions, enriched by the historic experience of socialist construction and armed with the victorious Marxist-Leninist teachings, will launch active political and organizing work for the fulfilment of the Congress decisions, that it will rally and organize all working people under its banner more closely than ever and will confidently lead them in the struggle for the complete victory of socialism and communism in our country, for peace and friendship among nations the world over.

# CONCERNING THE EVENTS IN CHINA*

The events in China cause growing concern in the world Communist movement, in the socialist countries, among the progressives throughout the world. Reports on what is happening in China, as well as on the reaction of the world Communist movement to the decisions of the 11th plenary meeting of the CC, CPC, which approved the so-called "cultural revolution" started on Mao Tse-tung's instructions, and the "Red Guard" movement, have been and are being published in the press.

Not long ago the CPSU Central Committee published a statement giving an appraisal of these decisions. The events in China after the 11th plenary meeting of the CC, CPC make it necessary to revert to this matter again.

This article does not touch upon the domestic issues of China dealt with in the decisions of the meeting. As to the foreign-policy aspects of these decisions, there is every reason to say that the plenary meeting has officially corroborated the great-power anti-Leninist course of Mao Tse-tung and his group aimed against the unity of the socialist countries and of the entire world Communist movement.

The CC, CPC meeting proclaimed struggle against "three enemies" — "imperialism, world reaction and modern revisionism" as the main aim of the PRC's foreign policy. It is evident further from the text that imperialism was mentioned there only for the sake of appearance. Under the guise of struggle against "revisionists" all fire is concentrated on the CPSU and the Soviet Union, whose "rout" is declared a prerequisite of struggle against imperialism. Simultaneously with this a line is openly pursued aimed at splitting the international Communist and the entire liberation movement. The decisions of the plenary meeting abound in concoctions about our Party and its Central Committee which are insulting to the Soviet people.

In its documents the world Communist movement highly appraises our Party's policy and stresses that the Soviet Union is shouldering the brunt of the struggle against imperialism, that the Soviet people have scored historic victories of socialism and is successfully building communist society, rendering tremendous support to all revolutionary forces in the world. But contrary to truth it is slanderously alleged in the decisions of the CC, CPC meeting that the CPSU's line "is one of safeguarding imperialist

*Pravda editorial, November 27, 1966.

and colonialist domination in the capitalist world and restoring capitalism in the socialist world."

The CPSU, the Soviet state are the mainstay of the peoples in their resistance to the expansion of U.S. imperialism, and the imperialists spearheaded their struggle and their aggressive plans, against the Soviet Union, but the authors of the Chinese documents go so far as to allege that our Party is "uniting with U.S.-led imperialism and the reactionaries of various countries and forming a new 'Holy Alliance' against communism, the people, revolution and China."

The CPC leaders need all these absurd concoctions about the struggle against "modern revisionism" only to declare, the CPSU and the Soviet Union "enemy number one" against which they intend "to struggle through to the end."

While concentrating fire on the CPSU and the Soviet Union, the CPC leaders do not conceal their hostile attitude to the Communist parties of other socialist countries adhering to the common line of the world Communist movement. They classify as "modern revisionists" the overwhelming majority of Communist parties of the socialist countries and Communist and Workers' parties of the whole world.

The forces that took the upper hand at the 11th plenary meeting openly declare the CPC's renunciation of the general line of the world Communist movement and an intensified struggle against all Communist parties consistently implementing this line in their activities. As distinct from the previous documents of the Communist Party of China, which at least paid lip-service to the 1957 Declaration and 1960 Statement, the decisions of the 11th plenary meeting do not even mention these documents. It is stated outright in them that "the 'Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement' advanced by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on June 14th, 1963 is a programmatic document." This document, worked out under Mao Tse-tung's supervision, the nine editorials in the newspaper *Jenminjihpao* and the magazine *Hungchi* about the Open Letter of the CPSU Central Committee, the article "On the March Conference in Moscow" and other articles quite unabashedly replace the line of the world Communist movement with the special course of Mao Tse-tung and his entourage.

Contrary to the genuine interests of the struggle against U.S. imperialism in Vietnam, the CPC leaders reject all proposals by Communist and Workers' parties aimed at strengthening international solidarity in defense of the Vietnamese people, in defense of the cause of revolution in the whole world. It is stressed in the decisions of the plenary meeting that any "united action" with the

CPSU and the other Communist parties which came out for unity of action "is impossible."

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union considers it to be a sacred cause to strengthen the unity of the world Communist movement, to enhance its international influence. The Marxist-Leninist parties the world over highly appraised the CPSU's efforts aimed at overcoming the difficulties that appeared lately in the Communist movement, at rallying it on the principled basis of Marxism-Leninism. But the authors of the resolution of the CC, CPC meeting permit themselves slanderous concoctions about the CPSU and state point-blank that for the USSR there is no place in a united front.

The plenary meeting approved the Chinese leaders' campaign against the CPSU and other fraternal parties and declared that it would be continued. Thereby the anti-Soviet line, the line aimed at splitting the world Communist ranks, at undermining the international solidarity of the working class is elevated to the level of official policy.

Maoism is now advanced in China as the official ideology underlying the entire policy of the Party and the country. "The intensive study of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's works," a special section of the decision of the 11th plenary meeting says, "by the whole Party and the whole nation is an important event of historic significance."

The arrogant attempt of the Chinese leaders to proclaim Mao Tse-tung's views as the acme of Marxism-Leninism and to impose them on the world Communist movement cannot but evoke a legitimate protest by the Communists the world over.

Mao Tse-tung's closest associate, Defense Minister Lin Piao declared that "Chairman Mao is much higher than Marx, Engels, Lenin . . . ," and that his ideas are "Marxism-Leninism at the highest level." Lin Piao contended further that the study of the classics of Marxism-Leninism should consist of 99 per cent in learning the writings of Mao Tse-tung. In actual fact, the "mastering of theory" as such is reduced to studying "Chairman Mao's works."

Formerly Mao Tse-tung used to camouflage outwardly his personal participation in the struggle against the CPSU and the other Marxist-Leninist parties. Now, however, it is stressed that the anti-Leninist and anti-Soviet course has been worked out by Mao Tse-tung and the leaders in his retinue. The entire essence of the present Chinese anti-Soviet course is stated in concentrated form in the message of greetings to the 5th Congress of the Albanian Party of Labor signed by Mao Tse-Tung.

Thus, the decisions of the 11th plenary meeting of the CPC Central Committee, which outwardly are devoted to questions of the so-called "cultural revolution," actually involve cardinal problems

of the CPC's policy in the international arena, the socialist community and the word Communist movement.

The Chinese press does not conceal that the idea of its organizers, is that the "cultural revolution" should spread beyond the confines of the country. "The cultural revolution," *Jenminhjihpao* writes, is "a big cause involving the destinies of the Chinese people and, in a broader sense, the destinies of the peoples of the whole world."

The events in China really do concern not only that country but also the entire world socialism, all Communists — but not in the way Peking thinks. The fact that the entire policy of the CPC Central Committee is quite openly directed against the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, against the Soviet Union, against the CPSU and other Communist parties, against the international unity of the ranks of the Communist movement and the political line worked out by it, cannot but evoke legitimate alarm.

Communist and Workers' parties have lately found it necessary to make statements on the present policy of the CPC leadership. These statements contained a thorough criticism of the policy aimed against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, the policy hindering the pooling of forces for a collective repulsion of the imperialist aggression in Vietnam. Fraternal parties the world over have come to the conclusion that what is happening in China under the guise of a cultural revolution runs counter to Marxism-Leninism, damages the cause of socialism and can only discredit the ideas of scientific communism.

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It must be stressed that the CPC leaders are stubbornly seeking to aggravate relations with the Soviet Union, despite the tireless efforts of the CPSU and the Soviet government to normalize relations with the CPC and People's China. Our Party has displayed maximum patience, a profound and sincere desire to overcome the existing difficulties and differences and to strengthen unity of action with the Communist Party of China and the cohesion of the entire Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and the principles of proletarian internationalism.

Our Party's principled stand with respect to the People's Republic of China and the Communist Party of China is well known. This stand is aimed at strengthening the unity and cohesion of the CPSU and the CPC, the USSR and China, the friendship and cooperation of the Soviet and Chinese peoples. The CPSU regards the Chinese revolution as an important component of the world revolutionary process and strives to facilitate its successes in every way. Since the establishment of the People's Republic of China the Soviet Union constantly helped in building a new life

in China, in strengthening its position in the international arena. The line of the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet government in the field of Soviet-Chinese relations accords with the interests not only of our two parties and countries but of the entire socialist community and the international Communist movement.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has invariably exerted efforts to strengthen cohesion with the Communist Party of China, to find ways and means of overcoming the difficulties that have arisen. Our Party's efforts became especially sustained and consistent after the October plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee. For more than two years our Party has refrained from polemics, although anti-Soviet propaganda in China has not stopped for a single day or a single hour.

Immediately after the October plenary meeting of its Central Committee our Party advanced a broad program of normalizing Soviet-Chinese relations. But this program was rejected by the CPC leaders. Another step aimed at improving the relations between the two parties and countries was taken by our side during the Soviet delegation's meeting with the Chinese leadership in Peking in February 1963. But this meeting too was not crowned with success. The participants in the Consultative Meeting of 19 parties in March 1965 put forward an important proposal to carry out, despite the existing differences, joint actions in support of the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression. This idea was supported by the overwhelming majority of Communist and Workers' parties but the leading group of the CPC Central Committee took vehement issue with it.

On November 28, 1965, the CC CPSU sent a letter to the CC CPC which also contained a proposal to improve Soviet-Chinese relations. The CC CPC turned down this proposal as well. The Chinese leaders refused to send a delegation to the 23rd Congress of the CPSU. Despite this, our Party declared at the Congress that it was ready at any time to examine again the existing differences jointly with the CPC leadership in order to find ways of overcoming them on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism. The CPC Central Committee ignored the constructive proposals of our Party's Congress and attacked its decisions.

A systematic anti-Soviet indoctrination of the population of China is now conducted on an unprecedented scale. Hostile demonstrations of the "Red Guards" near the Soviet Embassy in Peking and sallies against Soviet people coming to China have become a system.

The Chinese leaders are trying to spread their anti-Soviet activities to the territory of our country. Dozens of radio stations are beaming unceasing hostile slanderous propaganda at the Soviet Union.

Steady curtailment of economic, scientific and technical cooperation with the Soviet Union is a practical result of the CPC leadership's anti-Soviet line. Trade has now become the only form of economic contacts between our countries. The Soviet Union's share in the PRC's foreign trade dropped from 50 per cent in 1959 to 15 per cent in 1965. At the same time the PRC's trade turnover with capitalist countries is growing from year to year. Soviet-Chinese cultural contacts have been reduced to a bare minimum as a result of the CPC leadership's hostile attitude.

Such are the facts. They irrefutably prove that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, its Central Committee have done everything possible to achieve a strengthening of the unity and cohesion of the CPSU and the CPC on the principled basis of Marxism-Leninism, and a normalization of relations between the USSR and China. The leadership of the Communist Party of China bears full responsibility for the failure to achieve success in this.

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The Soviet press has informed the public more than once about the underlying precepts and aims of China's present foreign policy. They are manifested with particular clarity in the question of support for the Vietnamese people. The U.S. intervention in South Vietnam and aggression against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam aggravate international tensions and jeopardize peace not only in Southeast Asia but also in the whole world.

The CPSU and the other fraternal parties believe that unity of action of the socialist states is essential for rendering effective support to the Vietnamese people in their struggle for freedom and independence. At its 23rd Congress our Party again called upon the Communists of all countries to rally their ranks closer in the face of the growing aggressive acts of imperialism. Other fraternal parties took steps aimed at strengthening the unity of the socialist countries in repelling U.S. aggression. In November 1965 the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party came out with an important initiative for coordinating the socialist countries' aid to the DRV, and suggested to fraternal parties that a summit conference on this question be convened. However, our proposals as well as the proposals of the Polish United Workers' Party and of the other fraternal parties were turned down by the CPC leadership.

The aid to the Vietnamese people would have been immeasurably more effective had there been unity of action of the entire mighty socialist community. But instead of marching in a united front with all the socialist countries in the struggle against the U.S. aggressors the CPC leaders persist in their splitting policy.

The Chinese leadership is trying hard to smear the effective support and aid rendered by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries to the Vietnamese people. Calling for a "dissociation" from the CPSU and the other fraternal parties, the Chinese leaders demand, in effect, that the peoples waging a just struggle for national independence should renounce the aid of the Soviet Union and other socialist states and follow instructions from Peking.

The question arises: With whom, then, does the Chinese leadership, which is paying lip-service to the need for "the broadest possible international united front" of struggle against U.S. imperialism want to unite if it rejects all proposals for join action with those forces which are bearing the brunt of the struggle against imperialism? All this actually facilitates the escalation of the U.S. aggression against the people in Vietnam.

The duplicity of the policy of the Chinese leaders is increasingly showing itself in the international arena. On the one hand, they are trying to impose on the fraternal parties a course that would lead to a continuous aggravation of the international situation and ultimately to war, allegedly in the name of world revolution. On the other hand, the Peking leaders pursue a line that would enable them to keep aloof from the struggle against imperialism.

While alleging that all contacts of the Soviet Union with the United States are a "collusion" with imperialism, the Chinese leaders at the same time do not miss a chance to develop relations with capitalist countries, including the United States. As reported by the Japanese Kyodo Tsushin Agency, the PRC Minister of Foreign Affairs Chen Yi stated in a conversation with representatives of the Japanese Liberal-Democratic Party that in Warsaw Peking maintains contacts with Washington and "does not necessarily rule out the idea of talks with the United States." This is not the first time that Chen Yi makes statements of this kind. It is indicative that the Western press constantly stresses that the noisy campaign against the United States conducted by Peking is a purely verbal "escalation." At the same time this press persistently elaborates on the subject of tensions on the Soviet-Chinese border in connection with China's territorial claims.

It is not surprising that the bourgeois press now circulates reports about China's tacit agreement with the United States and the other capitalist countries for whom China's present policy is suitable.

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Many important events have occurred in the international arena since the announcement by the CPC Central Committee of its special platform. Life has more than once put to the test the correct-

ness of the line worked out by the world Communist movement at the Moscow Conference in 1957 and 1960. The present course of the Chinese leaders has also been tested in practice. There can be no two opinions about the results of this test.

The entire course of international development in recent years has confirmed with new force the profound validity, realism and effectiveness of the line of Marxist-Leninist parties coming out for peace, national freedom, democracy and socialism. The socialist countries which take guidance from Marxist-Leninism in their development, which endeavor to ensure all-round economic progress, consolidation of their defense potential and consistent application of the Leninist principles of running the economy, have scored big successes. This is an irrefutable fact. At the same time the policy based on Mao Tse-tung's concepts has led to grave setbacks in the PRC's economy. Suffice it to say that as a result of this policy China's industrial and agricultural output has sharply dropped and is only now attaining the level of 1957-58.

The Communist and Workers' parties which are waging an actual struggle against imperialism have succeeded in further rallying their ranks, strengthening their alliance with all the peace-loving forces and raising even higher the prestige of socialism. They are rendering effective and active aid to the heroic Vietnamese people in their just struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression. They come out in a single front for the strengthening of European security and repulse the intrigues of U.S. and West German imperialism. The countries of socialism adhering to the line of the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement have rallied still closer with the national-liberation movement, helping it attain new successes.

As for the Chinese leaders, they have launched an unprecedented splitting campaign against the international Communist movement, actually hampering the struggle of the forces of the anti-imperialist front.

Following the principle "the end justifies the means," the CPC leaders have resorted to the most unsavoury methods of political struggle. They are feverishly recruiting followers. "The revolutionary peoples of the world have closely rallied behind Chairman Mao," they write in Peking. The facts show, however, that the vast majority of fraternal parties have resolutely rejected the present platform of the Chinese leaders.

The repeated calls of the CPC leaders for "organizational dissociation" from the Marxist-Leninist parties pursued the aim of creating a bloc of parties and groupings with the CPC at the head. But the further events develop, the more obvious it becomes that they have nobody to league together with in the Communist movement. The pro-China splinter groups echoing ideas alien to the working tions and to win positions in the working-class movement of their

class, were not destined to become in any way massive organizacountries. Conflicts have flared up lately in the splinter organizations and many of them are breaking up.

Equally unsuccessful were the Chinese leader's efforts to establish control over international democratic organizations—the World Council of Peace, the World Federation of Trade Unions, women's, youth and other organizations. Their attempts to turn these organizations into narrow and sectarian ones, to impose on them slogans and forms of activity entirely improper to them have met with failure.

The plans of the Chinese leadership with regard to the national-liberation movement have also failed. The big setbacks of Chinese policy in the national-liberation movement and of those leaders who blindly supported it, seriously alarmed the progressive forces in the young national states, in revolutionary-democratic parties, and helped them to see the danger of the course suggested by the Peking leaders. As a result of this, instead of the hegemony sought by the CPC leaders in countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, there is a sharp drop of China's prestige.

Taking into consideration the obvious fact that the leadership of the Communist Party of China is becoming increasingly isolated in the world Communist and liberation movement, Mao Tse-tung stated in the message of greetings to the Congress of the Albanian Party of Labor, as though challenging the entire socialist world: "We are not afraid of being in isolation." But this policy of isolating the PRC and the Communist Party of China shows particularly vividly the disregard for elementary requirements of proletarian internationalism. It also contradicts the interests of the Chinese people. Marxist-Leninists cannot wish for the isolation of any of the socialist countries, because this would lead to its separation from the socialist community and to disunity among the socialist countries.

The Chinese leaders' drive against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, their splitting activities in the Communist movement, the failure in domestic and foreign policy could not remain without consequences, and caused, as it is admitted by the Chinese press, growing discontent among the Party cadre, intellectuals, in the army and among the broad strata of the Chinese people.

In these conditions instead of taking into account the opinion of the Party rank and file and changing their erroneous course, Mao Tse-tung and his group persisted in their policy, going to the extremes. In Party activists, the cadres of the Party they saw the main obstacle on this road.

Mao Tse-tung and his entourage could not disregard the fact that, despite the anti-Soviet campaign of the past years, the Party cadres who had gone through the school of revolution, came to

realize more and more clearly how harmful the policy of a split with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries was for China itself. It was hard to deceive them with fabrications about the Soviet Union's "collusion" with the United States, about "restoration of capitalism" in our country. This is why Mao Tse-tung and his group chose the road of defamation and destruction of the Party cadres, the finest representatives of the working class and intelligentsia, using for this purpose a section of the students and pupils and the military and administrative apparatus.

Meeting with opposition of their course, Mao Tse-tung and his supporters did not stop at jeopardizing the leading role of the Party in the state. They want to turn the Communist Party from the organization of like-minded people, politically conscious and principled fighters for realization of the ideas of socialism, into an obedient, blind weapon to carry out the will of Mao Tse-tung. Those why try to fight for the principles of Marxism-Leninism, for the Leninist standards of inter-party life, are expelled from the Party.

What is taking place in China under the guise of "cultural revolution" actually has nothing to do with it. The cultural revolution is a highly important task for any country building socialism. It is also imperative for China, which still has millions of illiterate people, where an acute need for qualified scientific and technical personnel exists. The effort to raise the level of culture of the entire peopl, to educate cadres needed for the management of economy is a most important aspect of the ideological work of the Party. Lenin wrote: "We must take the entire culture that capitalism left behind and build socialism with it. We must take all its science, technology, knowledge and art. Without these we shall be unable to build Communist society." (*Works*, 5th Russ. Ed., Vol. 38, p. 55.) He repeated on more than one occasion that this work can be headed and crowned with success only by the Party as the most advanced and politically conscious section of society. As to the campaign now under way in China, both its contents and its methods run counter to the teachings of Lenin.

In the past months, many Party committees of provinces, cities, industrial enterprises and higher educational establishments as well as editorial boards of central and provincial papers and magazines were "reorganized" or dismissed. Party organizations are now often replaced by "working groups" or "committees of the cultural revolution." A great number of Party and state functionaries, workers in science, literature and art have been branded as "black bandits," "Right-wing elements" and "revisionists." And these labels are not only used to cover up the real meaning of the charges against them. As becomes evident from the Chinese press, what is involved here is above all the disagreement of many Communists

and workers in culture with the course pursued by Mao Tse-tung, a course whose grave consequences they realize full well.

It is noteworthy that people are subjected to repression for the slightest expression of friendly feelings towards the Soviet Union.

To present the purge campaign as a mass movement originating from below, the so-called "Red Guards"—the teenagers brought up in the atmosphere of unrestrained laudation of Mao Tse-tung, in the spirit of arbitrariness, nationalism and anti-Sovietism—were drawn into this campaign. Behind them actually stand the leaders of the army and of the state security organs.

The events in China are of a highly complex and contradictory nature. But it is evident already now that the nationalist, great-power course of Mao Tse-tung and his entourage gravely harms the people of China and jeopardizes many gains of the revolution in the country, that it has seriously damaged the unity of the entire Communist movement, the cause of the struggle against imperialism. This cannot but deeply grieve and alarm those who hailed the great Chinese Revolution, who regarded it as their foremost duty to help the Chinese people in their struggle against imperialism and in socialist construction, who always strove for unity and friendship with the Chinese Communists.

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China is a great country, and it stands to reason that a weakening of the positions of socialism in that country could affect the interests of the international revolutionary movement. Negative developments in China are used by bourgeois propaganda to discredit the ideas of socialism throughout the world. The adventurous actions of China in foreign policy are particularly dangerous. All this causes harm to the Chinese people themselves.

The interests of unity of all revolutionary forces in the struggle against imperialism demand that the nationalist, anti-Soviet policy and the attempts to distort Marxism-Leninism and replace it by the ideology and practice of Maoism be overcome.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is, on its part, fully determined to do everything to overcome the difficulties created by the policy of the CPC leadership in the Communist movement and in the socialist community. The CPSU just like other Communist and Workers' parties, is determined to uphold firmly the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

As the report of the Central Committee to the 23rd CPSU Congress pointed out, there is a good Marxist-Leninist platform for cementing the Communist ranks, namely, the general line worked out by the 1957 and 1960 Conferences of the fraternal parties. The Soviet people have a deep respect for the Chinese people, Chinese

Communists. We are in complete solidarity with the heroic Chinese people, who have a rich experience of revolutionary struggle.

As true internationalists, we treasure the gains of the Chinese Revolution. We are firmly convinced that our parties, our peoples, will eventually stand together in the fight for the great common cause of revolution.

The world Communist movement has been more than once faced with serious tests. It is strong and viable enough to uphold the great banner of Marxism-Leninism in the name of new victories of communism.

# JOINT STATEMENT*

## OF COMMUNISTS OF COLOMBIA AND MEXICO

From October 25 through 31 the Executive Committee of the CC of the Communist Party of Colombia played host to a delegation of the Central Committee of the Mexican Communist Party. There took place a fruitful exchange of information and opinions on the activities of the two parties and the political conditions in which they work.

The delegations were headed, respectively, by Comrade Gilberto Vieira, General Secretary of the CC, CPC, and Comrade Arnoldo Martinez Verdugo, First Secretary of the CC, MCP.

The meeting demonstated the strength of fraternal bonds between the two Parties and identity of their views on international issues, specifically the situation in Latin America. The complete community of their views on international issues, specifically the situation in Latin America. The complete community of their views regarding the problems facing the world Communist movement and the methods of solving them, was revealed during the talks.

The talks proceeded in the spirit of the conference of the Latin American Communist parties held in Havana at the end of 1964, whose conclusions were reaffirmed by both parties. The delegations also agreed that the work aimed at implementing the decisions of that conference should be continued.

In conclusion the representatives of the two parties decided to issue the following statement:

The Colombian and Mexican Communists have come to the conclusion that growth of the anti-imperialist, democratic and popular struggle is the principle feature of the situation in their countries, just as in all countries of Latin America. Class battles are growing in intensity, and the revolutionary forces which show the masses the road of radical change as the only road to freedom from misery and exploitation, are developing and gaining in strength.

The working class, the peasantry, the students and the revolutionary intelligentsia are the principal forces of this process. Finding forms of organization of these strata for mass revolutionary activity is today a top-priority task for the Communist parties, a task which demands greater flexibility and courage for combining all forms of struggle and singling out those of them which are dictated by the concrete situation.

*Abridged from **Voz Proletaria**, November 3, 1965.

Seeking to prevent the organization of the masses and suppress their resolute political actions, U.S. imperialism, which plays the role of the gendarme of world monopoly capital, is making new encroachments on the freedom and independence of our peoples and trying to step up oppression and exploitation.

Relying on military cliques and local oligarchies, it curtails democratic freedoms, implants terroristic regimes and is bent on suppressing the revolutionary struggle of the masses.

U.S. imperialism and its agents employ every means to prevent the Latin American peoples from delivering themselves from dependence and backwardness imposed on them. The Alliance for Progress is one of the instruments which imperialism, aided by the local big bourgeoisie uses in the effort to divert our peoples from the road of social, anti-imperialist and democratic revolution and to camouflage its aim, which is to increase the dependence of our national economy behind the smokescreen of some kind of philanthropic aid from U.S. monopolies.

In the present conditions the Communist Party of Colombia and the Mexican Communist Party consider it necessary to stress the importance of solidarity and close unity of action of the Communist parties as well as the revolutionary forces and organizations of Latin America. The Tricontinental Conference held in Havana last January was an important step in this direction.

Both parties are convinced that the solidarity and unity of action of the Communist parties can be best developed on the principled basis established by common agreement at the conference of the Latin American Communities parties. The underlying principle of this solidarity is mutual respect and recognition of the independence of every party in what concerns its right to decide in its country the question of the tactics to be followed by the national revolutionary forces in keeping with the concrete conditions in which the revolutionary process develops. The above-mentioned conference pointed out that "the unity of each party is a necessary condition for the further development of the revolutionary process in the country concerned." Any factional activity, whatever its character and origin, should be rebuffed.

We understand solidarity as support by all parties of the struggle of each Communist party in its country, as defense of revolutionaries and democrats against attacks and encroachments on the part of imperialism and reaction. We understand solidarity as effective aid in the pursuit of the established line and in achieving victory through actions planned on a nationwide scale. We understand unity of action as joint agreed activities in the struggle against the common enemy—imperialism and domestic reaction.

Defense of the Cuban revolution occupies an important place in the solidarity actions of the Communist parties and all anti-imperialist forces of the continent. The Communist Party of Colombia and the Mexican Communist Party resolves to do their utmost to extend and strengthen the solidarity of the Mexican and Colombian peoples with the Cuban revolution and the revolutionary government of Cuba. They reaffirm their pledge to render all assistance and support which the Communist Party and the revolutionary government of Cuba may need in defending their glorious revolution. They reaffirm their determination to contribute in every way to the defense of the Cuban revolution against the intrigues and aggressive actions of imperialism and its agents.

Having discussed the international situation, the national leadership of the Communist Party of Colombia and representatives of the Central Committee of the Mexican Communist Party voiced their concern over the growing intensity of the aggressive actions of U.S. imperialism against the people of Vietnam and the decisions the U.S. rulers and their puppets adopted in Manila, decisions aimed at continuing the war, the build-up of the forces of invasion in South Vietnam and stepping up the air raids on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

Intensification of the U.S. aggression testifies only to the desperation of the U.S. leaders over their military and political failure versus the indomitable struggle of the Vietnamese people. But the intensification of the war imposes new obligations on our parties and all democratic, anti-imperialist and peace-loving forces.

The Communists of Colombia and Mexico reaffirm their determination to expand and step up the struggle for peace in Vietnam; to support the organization of broad movements against the imperialist aggression under the motto "Yankee, get out of Vietnam!"; to inform our peoples about the heroic selfless struggle of the Vietnamese patriots and about the crimes committed by the U.S. invaders; to promote all actions of protest against the U.S. aggression and the collection of medicines for the Vietnamese freedom-fighters and the embattled people.

Both parties hail the military and political victories of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam and the all-round assistance of the patriotic war of the Vietnamese people is receiving from the socialist countries and first and foremost the Soviet Union. This assistance is an expression of the internationalism of the socialist countries, and it shows that imperialism cannot attack with impunity peoples fighting for their freedom.

Both parties consider that the prevailing conditions demand a higher sense of responsibility of all the Communist parties. Above all increasing importance attaches to joint actions to repeal the attacks of imperialism. Splitting activities stimulate the aggressive

ness of the enemies of the freedom, independence and social progress of the peoples.

Grave responsibility devolves in this respect on the leaders of the Communist Party of China, whose splitting activities have of late reached inconceivable limits. At the 11th plenary session of their Central Committee the Chinese leaders elevated the anti-Soviet line and aggressive actions against the world Communist movement to the level of official policy. The resolution of this session contains the direct calumnies against the people and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Under the pretext of accomplishing a "great cultural revolution" which makes Communists appear as enemies of the traditions and cultural heritage of the peoples, the Chinese leaders have launched a campaign against all vestiges of democracy in the Communist Party and Chinese society. While harping on their support of the Vietnamese people's struggle, in reality they impede military assistance to them from other socialist countries and reject all Soviet proposals for unity of action against the aggressor.

The Colombian and Mexican Communists are working actively for the unity of the world Communist movement. Fully in keeping with the decisions of the conference of the Latin American Communist parties, they regard this unity as "the chief guarantee of the success of our struggle against imperialism." They resolutely protest against the new obstacles the Chinese leaders are putting in the way to this unity, and condemn the expansion of their disruptive activities.

Both parties will promote fresh efforts to strengthen the unity of the world Communist movement. They consider it necessary to go on applying the forms of achieving rapprochement and cohesion worked out on the basis of the experience of the Marxist-Leninist parties: exchange of experience, the holding of bilateral and regional meetings, not excluding a world conference of the Communist and Workers' parties.

Next year the revolutionary working-class movement, all the peoples fighting for liberation and consistently democratic forces will celebrate the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, which ushered in the epoch of the triumph of socialism in all countries, the epoch of the liquidation of capitalism, the last system based on exploitation.

The celebration of this historical event by our parties will help raise the ideological and political level of Communists, broaden their understanding of the revolutionary international role of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and educate them in the spirit of proletarian internationalism.

This should also help deepen and consolidate the Colombian and Mexican Communists' awareness of the international character of

the Communist movement, the need for its unity, and the responsibility of every party member for the preservation of this unity.

As the experience of both parties shows, there does not exist today a class or social group whose actions would carry greater weight in the revolutionary movement than the action of the working class; this class is vitally interested in cardinal changes; being the best-organized and most militant class, it is called upon to be in the van of the democratic revolution of national liberation.

On the other hand, the peasant movement in both countries has many splendid traditions of struggle to its credit and displays staunchness and fortitude, which makes it a force vastly important for the revolutionary actions that are the order of the day.

The scope and impact of revolutionary action in both countries depend on the firmness and development of the worker-peasant alliance. This alliance is the only mass force capable of attracting other strata of the population thus making them part of the great democratic and anti-imperialist front, the best weapon for securing the victory of the revolution.

The main role in building this alliance and unity is to be played by the Communist parties through which the conscious actions of the proletariat manifest themselves. They feel responsible for historical development and set themselves the tasks of preparing the revolution, the chief of them being to unite the masses and make them the decisive factor of social change. By virtue of their unbreakable unity with the exploited masses and with the cause of their social emancipation, and by virtue of their knowledge of the laws of society and revolutions which they owe to their scientific ideology, Communist parties are an indispensable part of the revolutionary movement of the peoples.

The Colombian and Mexican Communists reaffirm their belief that action by the masses will lead to the triumph of the democratic and anti-imperialist revolution in Colombia and Mexico and pave the way for the victory of socialism and communism.

*Communist Party of Colombia*
*Mexican Communist Party*
*Bogota, Colombia, October 31, 1966*

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# bulletin

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**9TH CONGRESS
HUNGARIAN SOCIALIST
WORKERS' PARTY**

**PLENUM OF
CC, CPSU**

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## contents


**MATERIALS OF 9th CONGRESS OF THE HUNGARIAN SOCIALIST WORKERS' PARTY**
Report of Janos Kadar, Resolution, Statement on Vietnam, Reply to Discussion 5

**RESOLUTION OF 10th CONGRESS OF CP OF JAPAN** 42

**EVENTS IN CHINA DISCREDIT IDEA OF COMMUNISM**
Report by V. Teitelboim, CC, CP of Chile 44

**ON THE 11th PLENUM OF CC, CPC**
Statement of Political Commission of CC, CP of El Salvador 50

**PLENUM OF CC, CPSU** 53



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# REPORT OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE

## PRESENTED BY COMRADE JANOS KADAR

### EXTRACTS

The Central Committee has followed with particular attention those international issues that are decisive from the point of view of the socialist construction in which the Hungarian people is engaged. Over the past four years the international situation has developed in a contradictory manner. The Congress is meeting in complicated international conditions. The complexity of the situation is indicated by such critical events, taking place during the period under review, as the Caribbean crisis, American aggression in the Dominican Republic, continued imperialist aggression against the Congolese people, reactionary terror in Indonesia, a right-wing coup in Ghana and other events, and the most acute immediate issue of the barbarous colonial war waged by the United States in Vietnam. The most important achievement of our Party's and Government's policy is that—in cooperation with our powerful allies and thwarting every imperialist attempt to undermine this cooperation—we have succeeded, in the context of complex international relations, in securing peace for our people and the conditions necessary for their constructive work.

In the world at large the basic contradiction now is, first of all, that between capitalism and socialism, i.e., between the international bourgeoisie and the international working class, secondly, between imperialism and the peoples fighting for the liquidation of the colonial system, and finally between the monopoly capitalist-militarist circles engaged in armament and making war plans, on the one hand, and the people struggling for peace on the other. World development is determined by the struggle between these forces.

Since the 8th Congress of our Party the forces of socialism and peace have continued to grow. The socialist countries have a decisive role to play among them.

Here are some characteristics of the long-range economic development of the socialist countries: between 1950 and 1965 production in the Soviet Union increased fourfold. During the same period production in the socialist countries rose by 510 per cent as com-

pared with 225 per cent in all the non-socialist states. Our growth rates compare favorably with those in the most developed countries, for while the annual growth of industrial output in the Common Market countries since 1950 amounted to 7.2 per cent, industrial production in the member states of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance rose by 10.9 per cent every year. The socialist countries account for 26 per cent of the world area, and in 1965 they turned out 38 per cent of the world's total industrial output.

As you can see, the economic and, naturally, military strength of the 14 states in the socialist world system did not only grow by absolute standards but also in comparison with those of the capitalist countries. These facts fully bear out the significant conclusion drawn at the 1957 and 1960 Moscow meetings that the socialist world system is becoming a decisive factor of social progress.

In assessing the international situation, this is the most important factor from the point of view of socialism and the cause of peace. However, we cannot keep silent about the fact that the lack of unity serves to divide the increased and invincible strength of the socialist world system and hampers its full realization. The present disruptive policy pursued by the Chinese leaders—whatever their intention may be—in effect props up the imperialists. The temporary disunity in the socialist camp has offered tactical opportunities to the imperialists, but this still cannot alter the fact that historically ours is the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism.

One of the major scenes of the world-wide struggle going on between the progressive and reactionary forces is laid in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Following the birth of the Soviet Union and then the socialist world system a force came into being on the earth which peoples suffering from colonial oppression could rely upon in starting their triumphant war of independence against imperialist subjugation. The imperialists made desperate efforts to defend their colonial empires, but without success, because the struggle of peoples who have risen to destroy the colonial system is irresistible. After the Second World War 60 new independent states replaced the former colonial territories. Fifty years ago 66 per cent of the world's population lived under imperialist colonial oppression in an area totalling 77 per cent of the earth's land surface, and today the "classic" colonies account for only 4 per cent, while their population amounts to a bare 1 per cent of the population of the world.

Significant changes are taking place in the capitalist world. Although the economic and military strength of the leading capitalist states has increased, the general crisis of capitalism has continued to deepen. As a result of uneven development in certain capitalist countries, the leading position of the United States in the imperial-

ist camp is weakening. Contradictions between some of the capitalist states have sharpened, and the military and political alliances under the U.S. leadership have been gripped by a profound political crisis.

The Baghdad Pact has fallen to pieces, and SEATO, this imperialist patchwork in the Far East, has weakened. In connection with the Cyprus crisis the conflicts between Greece and Turkey have revealed the weaknesses in the imperialists' Mediterranean military system. NATO's military system and in general the imperialist cold war front organized by the United States against the European socialist countries have begun to disintegrate. Certain capitalist states in Europe, including NATO members, begin to find it more useful to maintain normal relations and peaceful coexistence with the socialist countries than run the risks involved in subservience to America and its war plans.

Restrictions on the opportunities available to imperialism and the deepening crisis have spurred the most aggressive circles of monopoly capitalism to seek contacts and make attempts to apply the tactics of "loosening up," on the one hand, and to embark on adventurous measures on the other. The Government of the United States, the leading capitalist power, is engaged in militarizing that country, trampling international law underfoot, and committing acts of open aggression. The most serious example is the war waged on the South Vietnamese people and the series of aggressions against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. U.S. aggression in Vietnam is one of the most shameful wars of our era: the American Government is committing the international crime of genocide. The Americans have admitted that this year they have dropped more explosives on Vietnam than on the whole Pacific area during the Second World War.

In the struggle against the U.S. aggression in Vietnam the socialist countries are in the front line; they are helping and will continue to help the people of Vietnam. Yet, there is more that we can do. Although the Chinese leaders are opposed to the idea, we hold that joint aid to Vietnam and coordinated measures on the part of the socialist countries, the establishment of unity of action against American aggression are imperative.

Keeping an eye on historical experience and bearing in mind the situation of our country, the Central Committee pays much attention to the situation and problems of our continent, of Europe. The positive efforts of the socialist countries and a certain improvement in inter-state relations notwithstanding, the revanchist and militarist policy of the ruling circles of monopoly capitalism in the German Federal Republic further tends to maintain tension in Europe. Peace in Europe is gravely endangered by the political, economic and military bonds of the two most aggressive groups of

monopoly capitalism—the United States and West Germany—on the two shores of the Atlantic Ocean. This threatens not only the European socialist countries but also the security of all the European countries.

A significant factor of peace and security in Europe is the strong German worker-peasant state, the German Democratic Republic, which is building socialism and which gained great international appreciation through its achievements and active peace policy.

In the past four years the activity and effectiveness of Hungarian foreign policy has increased. Our increased activity in the sphere of foreign policy and even more the stability of our system, the fact that we can play a role as a member of the great socialist community has augmented the international prestige of the Hungarian People's Republic. This is reflected in the growing number of bilateral contacts and in the work we have undertaken in international organizations such as the United Nations and UNESCO, and in other fields. The so-called "Hungarian question" has been buried in the United Nations during the period under review and last year a representative of our country was elected chairman of one of the main committees and this year a vice-president of the General Assembly.

In the sphere of international contacts particular significance is attached to close cooperation and development of our relations with the Soviet Union and our close allies, the socialist countries who joined the Warsaw Pact and the Council of Mutual Economic Aid (CMEA).

The Soviet Union, the birth place and home of the Great October Socialist Revolution, is the truest depositary of the Leninist ideological inheritance and precisely for this reason is the most powerful and reliable bulwark of the international working class, the countries and peoples of the socialist world system, of all the anti-imperialist forces and peace-loving men and women. Relations with the Soviet Union have ever been a touchstone. There has never been a more hated enemy of the imperialists and a better friend of those who fought for the socialist revolution, the freedom of the peoples and for peace, than the Soviet Union in the past fifty years.

The Hungarian people is building a socialist society, and desires peace, for this is the only certain road to prosperity of our people. On this road Hungary has always found the greatest support and unselfish friendship on the part of the mighty Soviet Union. Relations between the Hungarian People's Republic and the Soviet Union are cordial and truly fraternal. Hungarian-Soviet friendship and cooperation derive from our ideology, they correspond to our international principles and national interests and therefore we constantly foster and strengthen them in every sphere of life.

We have done our utmost and must continue to do so in the future, too, to strengthen the joint political, economic and military organizations of the socialist countries. The significance of the security is invaluable. As long as the imperialists continue the arms race, and maintain their aggressive military blocs, the guarantee of world peace is the force represented by the Warsaw agreement. The international tension, the open aggressive policy of the imperialist powers oblige us to pay increased attention to the defense capacity of the country. There is nothing more important than the defense of the socialist fatherland.

In solving the economic tasks of the socialist countries, including the economic development of the Hungarian People's Republic, effective cooperation between the countries of the CMEA plays a positive role. The Central Committee and our government have invariably striven to contribute to improving the work of the CMEA. The results are widely known: increasing trade between the socialist countries, based on long-term agreements and providing stability, is an indispensable element of our national economy; in addition we have a common oil pipe-line, power grid and rolling stock pool, and the Common Bank is now in operation. In view of the political significance and socialist character of our economic links, we have supported and, in part, initiated the establishment by the interested member-states of bi- or multilateral joint projects, such as the Intermetall, an effectively operating joint undertaking. In order to develop our socialist cooperation and guided by the idea that less investment is needed to accomplish a number of tasks provided we join forces, the Hungarian People's Republic will continue to support the development of and cooperation within the framework of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid.

In addition to maintaining close ties with the Soviet Union and the member states of the Warsaw Pact and the Council for Mutual Economic Aid, we have been endeavoring unceasingly to expand political, economic and cultural relations with all socialist countries. As a result of these efforts, our political cooperation with almost every socialist country has become closer in recent years; our economic and cultural relations with them have also widened and expanded. Our fraternal cooperation and our developing ties with the socialist countries have helped us in accomplishing both our foreign-policy aims and our domestic tasks. We will make every effort in the future to strengthen relations between Hungary and all the socialist countries, including China and Albania, states with which our relations are now unsatisfactory. Our ties are based on the identity of our socialist principles and targets, respect for independence and sovereignty, mutual benefits and the principle of mutual comradely aid, and they are progressing along these lines for the good of our peoples.

Our relations with states belonging to the so-called third world are also developing. The policy pursued by the socialist countries towards the peoples and states struggling for national independence and independent development is based on Lenin's thesis that the international working class struggling for social liberation and the colonial peoples fighting for national independence are interdependent and must form an alliance. Today this principles is being put into practice by the socialist countries through the unselfish aid they are giving to and the real friendship they are showing towards the newly free states and the peoples struggling against the colonial system and imperialism. Our Party develops its ties with progressive forces in Asia, Africa and Latin America on the basis of these principles.

In maintaining relations with countries of different social systems we have been endeavoring to put into practice the principle of peaceful coexistence in accordance with propositions laid down jointly at the important Moscow meetings of the international Communist movement and in line with the decisions of our 8th Congress. In the present world situation the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist theory and practice demand firm rebuff to imperialist aggression, to all activities designed to undermine and "loosen up," and to attempts aimed at dividing the socialist countries. And his is exactly what our Party and Government are doing. Nor is it any less of a revolutionary position to struggle for the realization of the principle of peaceful coexistence in the relations between countries with different social systems.

We are doing this in a complicated situation. But even in the most complicated international situation we have a reliable compass to find the right bearing: concerted Hungarian national and class interests, the Marxist-Leninist theory and proletarian internationalism from which our foreign policy derives. There has been no change in the principles on which our activities on the international scene are founded; the objectives of the foreign policy pursued by the Hungarian People's Republic are:

1. Defense of our national independence and the sovereignty of the Hungarian People's Republic against any imperialist encroachment.

2. Struggle for stronger unity and concord between the socialist countries, for raising their political, economic and military prestige.

3. Solidarity with the struggles waged by our fellow-workers in the capitalist countries for democratic rights, peace and social progress.

4. Support for the national liberation movements in their fight against old and new colonialism, imperialist oppression and aggression.

5. Cooperation with independent states in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

6. Struggle for the implementation of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems.

7. Continued efforts—as the focus of our international activities—to avert the outbreak of world war, by joining forces with all peace-loving people.

In the estimation of the Central Committee social relations during the past four years have been developing along the road and in the direction indicated by the 8th Congress. Socialist industry and transport have grown stronger, trade has developed and the newly-formed agricultural cooperatives have gained strength. Socialist production relations and productive forces have made good headway, socialist consciousness of people has improved and as a result of all this the foundations of the socialist social order have been consolidated in our country.

The profound change that has taken place in the class structure of our society can be measured numerically. As compared with 1949 the 1966 situation in this respect is as follows:

The number of people employed in socialist industry increased from 521,000 to 1,480,000, that is, nearly threefold. The total number of wage and salary earners increased from 1,630,000 to 3,400,000, that is, more than twofold. The membership of cooperative farms increased from 10,000 to 1,050,000. The membership of handicraft cooperatives increased from 8,000 to 192,000. On the other hand, the number of small-scale producers decreased from 2,322,000 to 142,000. In keeping with the country's rapid and large-scale industrialization since 1949 the proportion of agricultural workers in the total labor force dropped from 52 per cent to 32 per cent.

Available data prove that in our country the expropriation of the large estate owners and capitalists put an end to exploitation and that now there are only working classes in our society. Later, with the establishment of cooperative farms, socialist change was extended to all fields of the national economy. At the same time statistics indicate that wih the country's industrialization the size of the working class increased tremendously, its composition underwent a change, the total number of wage and salary earners also grew to a very large extent, whereas the number of people working in agriculture decreased greatly. The significant changes that have taken place in class relations are the result of social development, at the same time they are the new points of departure and conditions for further transformations and for the completion of the building of socialist society.

During the past four years, through its devoted labor, our working class has greatly contributed to the development of the national economy, it has advanced at the head of the decisive trend, the so-

cialist transformation of society, and it has passed its test as the leading class of our society.

A large part of those now active in the working class, were not workers before the liberation either for reasons of age or other causes, and in earlier years this involved a certain deficiency in their political education. At present the large-scale influx has come to an end, therefore in recent years the working class has become stronger. A considerable proportion of the present-day workers grew up under the conditions of our democratic system and became steeled in the work and struggles for the building of socialism. Their general education is on a higher level than it was in the case of the proletariat under capitalism; hundreds of thousands of them are acquiring political and technical knowledge after working hours. The working class is equal as a whole and structurally to a leading role, and it is fulfilling its historic mission as the motive force of society.

The leading role of the working class is being realized ever more effectively, primarily as a result of the fact that it is governing and exercising power through the Party, secondly that the overwhelming majority of society has identified itself with the revolutionary aim of the working class, socialism, and is working to complete its construction, and thirdly, that in the spheres of state and social activity the working class is fulfilling its leading role directly, through about a quarter of a million workers active in those spheres.

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The main political basis of our People's State is the worker-peasant alliance. Through the socialist transformation of agriculture, through the Hungarian peasantry's having embarked on the road to socialism, the worker-peasant alliance has made progress in its aims, in content, i.e., in quality, and consequently the political basis of our state has continued to gain strength in the past years. The constant strengthening of the worker-peasant alliance is a permanent task of our Party. We now possess newer and much more favorable conditions for this. We must be aware, however, that the strengthening of the worker-peasant alliance depends not only on intention and political declarations, but above all, on an economic policy conforming with the well-proportioned development of our national economy as well as a proper coordination of the interests of the two principal working classes.

In our country the socialist transformation of agriculture took place in accordance with the common interests of the two working classes, the workers and the peasants, with the successful solution of the double task—that of simultaneously reorganizing and raising production. We exerted far-reaching efforts to make it easy

for the peasantry to take the devisive step: we ensured democratic leadership in the cooperative farms, we introduced land-rent, old age allowances, social insurance, and we introduced a comprehensive remuneration system designed to reward skill and industrious-countryside are firm. Our peasantry has found its place in collecness as a result of the foundations of socialism in the Hungarian tive farming, and is working honestly and living better than in the past. Since honor for labor has become a guiding principle in the countryside as well, a process has started that will lead to the development of a united socialist contingent of peasant cooperators. In the socialist conditions our peasantry, too, prospers through its work. For this reason our Party and our People's state has done everything it could to strengthen agriculture by supplying it with an adequate amount of machines, farm buildings, necessary chemical materials and other means of production, and will continue to do so in the future. For the same reason we must do all we can to continue to increase production and productivity in agriculture, to cut the costs of agricultural production.

With a view to further strengthening the cooperative farms and ensuring their sound operation, as well as in the interests of the peasantry and the whole of society, we recommend that the legal foundations for the land ownership of cooperative farms should be established through appropriate legislation. Much of the land in the possession of cooperative farms that is being used for agricultural purposes is the property of people no longer living in the countryside, other land is gradually becoming the property of urban residents through inheritance, and there is legal uncertainty regarding the ownership of other land now worked by the cooperative farms.

It appears necessary that a law be drafted which will in principle make it possible for land now in the possession of cooperative farms to become their property against an adequate purchasing price. The idea is that landowners now living in the city, given suitable time to think it over, should decide whether they will go to work on the cooperative farm, or sell their land against adequate compensation. The same right must also be guaranteed to an heir who is not a cooperative farm member. Cooperative farm members, owning land, must also be ensured the right to decide, at any time and without time limit, whether they wish to receive land rent for the rest of their life or sell their land to the cooperative farm at a corresponding price. Apart from this it must be made possible for the cooperative farms, if they so wish, to purchase the land now in their use but owned by the state. We shall leave the settlement of this to the free and voluntary decision and agreement of the cooperative farms and the nominal owners of the land.

In our society, in addition to the two principal classes, the work-

ers and the peasantry, other working classes and groups, such as the petty bourgeoisie and the intelligentsia, are also participating as our allies in the building of socialism. The Party is fostering this alliance and dealing with its specific issues with due attention.

Parallel with the growth of the role of the sciences, technique and culture, the number of intellectuals and their social significance are also increasing. The Hungarian intelligentsia is collaborating with the workers and peasants, with the people, for a common objective—socialism. The politically more progressive intellectuals are working and fighting for our goals in large numbers as members of the Party. The overwhelming majority of the intelligentsia agrees with the policy of the Party and the Government, with the practical steps taken in Hungary toward the implementation of socialism, and gives proof of this by its work. The results of its efforts are to be found in the more recent creations of our people, in the higher level of skill, culture and education. During the past four years Hungarian intellectuals have augmented the reputation of our country abroad through their outstanding scientific, technical, literary and artistic achievements. However, the Party must bear in mind that significant sections of the intelligentsia react more sensitively to difficulties that arise, to the ideological and political influences of the bourgeoisie, and for this reason we must be tireless in spreading Marxist-Leninist theory among them, as well as in introducing and strengthening the habit of thinking in terms of the community, the spirit of revolutionary steadfastness and integrity.

The urban petty bourgeois, those working as artisans and retail shopkeepers, are also respected members of our society. While not relenting in the struggle against the spirit and practice of parasitism, everyone must understand that amidst the building of socialism and under our social conditions the work of a given number of private handicraftsmen and small tradesmen is useful. They are satisfying social requirements, therefore their activities are socially useful and their work will be needed in the future, too.

The practical experiences of the past years have justified the policy we have been applying with respect to members of the former ruling classes. All those who have put paid to their past and are working honestly are finding their place in our society.

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In recent years there have been numerous debates on the manner of thinking and the attitude of our young people. In the course of the discussions we also ran into extreme views. Some people tried to pit our youth against the grown-ups by fomenting an inter-generation controversy, others painted a dismal picture of

the moral and political situation of our young people. Far from sharing these extremes and false generalizations, the Central Committee condemns them. What are the young people of today like? Naturally they are not all alike, they differ just as the grown-ups do. The majority of our young people negate capitalism, the exploitation of man by man, the colonial system, and accordingly have a feeling of solidarity with and respect for the new socialist society and the peoples fighting for their freedom. The young people, even if they do not make statements about it every hour, appreciate the struggles of the grown-up generations who swept away the old world and opened up before the entire people, including youth, the road to a free, socialist advance.

The overwhelming majority of our young people are studying honestly, performing their work, and fulfilling their duty to their country, and their thinking is being shaped by socialist society. Among the activists and members of the Young Communist League, those working in the socialist brigades, the young soldiers in our army, indeed, in every walk of life, we can find large numbers of young people about whom we can safely say that this is what our socialist youth should be like. We must take into account, however, that our society is still at a transitional stage, our young people are subject to many different influences, and the circumstance that the system is a socialist one does not in itself automatically turn them all into socialists. The still existing shortcomings of our society particularly influence our young people, and lacking the necessary life experience they do not always draw the correct conclusions. The socialist education of our young people is a primary political task of our Party, we must strive to induce the young people to find fulfilment in the upbuilding and service of their socialist country as the only life with a content worthy of man.

Our social system is based on firm foundations, and there is order and legal security in our country. Our fundamental laws are good and the requirements of socialist legality prevail. Law-abiding citizens are guaranteed full legal protection, while we safeguard our socialist gains with a vigilant eye and we shall allow no one to endanger our social system in any way. This is the state of affairs today and so it will be in the future. Our enemies who expected that the unity of our society, and of our people, would be dissolved by the complexity of international affairs, by their tactics of "loosening-up," or by difficulties that emerged in the course of constructive work pursued within the country, miscalculated. The Party is on guard, and aware of foreign, imperialist attacks—our working class, our people are making growing efforts to close their ranks and strengthen socialist unity through surmounting obstacles.

As in the past years, the internal policy of our Party has promoted the socialist unity of our people. This policy declares and realizes the alliances of the working classes, the unity and cooperation of Communists and non-party members, and the strengthening and development of the socialist character of our state and society.

The Patriotic People's Front has played and continues to play an active part in solving every major task of our society. It realizes with success the political cooperation of Communists and non-party members, and unites within its ranks all patriots who are ready to serve with deeds the grand national aim of building up socialism.

It has been proved by international experience, that socialism makes it possible, in principle, for several parties to function alongside each other. In our country, however, as a result of the historical development—one party—the revolutionary party of the working class is functioning, this party leads society. This situation does not decrease, but increases the responsibility of the Party to act in close unity with the masses and to win the representatives of the various classes and strata of society—even those who still have reservations on one political question or another, and who have not yet accepted in full our ideology—to carry out the Party's aims in their common interests.

As the leading force of the Patriotic People's Front, the Party realizes, within this movement, the unity of people in different occupations and professions, atheists and believers belonging to different denominations, the unity of all those who have become aware of the basic and common interests of our society and are ready today to cooperate for the common wealth of our homeland. The activity of the Patriotic People's Front—a movement also invested with important constitutional functions—will be necessary whilst there are still different social classes, and until our society as a whole becomes fully homogenous from the political and ideological point of view.

The law and order of the Hungarian People's Republic guarantees equal rights for all citizens, and our state represents and serves the interests of the entire people. Our history and international experience indicate that the functioning of the state, embodying the power of the working class, is needed throughout the long historical period of transition from capitalism to communism. During this period, if the situation for one reason or another does not become more critical, the repressive functions of the state will decrease more and more, while ordinary civil administration, the creative work of economic and cultural organization and catering for the people's everyday needs will play an increasing role.

The more the partisans of socialism and democratism become

aware of the unity of rights and duties—both in their thinking and their behaviour—the more speedily and efficiently shall we succeed in attaining our socialist goals, and the more successful will be the consolidation and promotion of our system. An added impetus would be given to the advance of democracy if all our citizens everywhere would represent our system as its masters and defend its achievements as their own—would oppose all ill-intentioned critics, detractors and misusers—if everybody would prove through their exemplary behaviour and work that power and the rights in our country belong to the working people and that these rights and justice are attained through the conscientious execution of one's duties.

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Every decree of importance passed by our Party in the past period was aimed at the attainment of higher standards, at the full construction of socialist society. The new proposals submitted to this Congress serve the same aim. To realize our great goal:

1. We must strengthen and promote the power of the working class, of the people.
2. Socialist property relations have to be consolidated and developed.
3. The productive forces are to be increased and measures taken to make more rational use of them.
4. We have to take steps to make Marxist ideology predominant, to strengthen socialist social consciousness and a collective spirit.
5. As we advance, the difference between work by brain and by hand and between the towns and villages has to be further lessened.
6. Labor productivity has to be increased mainly by raising technical standards and by better organization of work.
7. Efficiency and profitability in industry, agriculture and all main fields of the national economy have to be increased.
8. The professional knowledge of our people, of the workers and the level of their general education have to be further raised:
9. Our system of distribution is to be improved as have the consumption and the living standards of the working people.

Conditions for successful work are on hand in the country and international conditions are equally provided, and can be made secure if we firmly hold our ground. Full construction of socialism in our country still requires the work of many years, but its fruits will be enjoyed already by the generations living today.

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The questions relating to the strengthening of socialist patriot-

ism, to the struggle against nationalism, to the strengthening of internationalism occupy a highly important place in our ideological work.

Nationalism is a bourgeois idea which still has a positive role to play in those areas of the world where the peoples fight for the creation of independent nations and for the attainment of independence against imperialism, agaist reactionary feudal or tribal forces. In Europe, however, nationalism had fulfilled its positive role at the time of the emergence of independent national states. In West European countries there still exist such bourgeois forces which in defense of their national interests find themselves face to face with U.S. imperialist, with West-German revanchist, aspirations. Cooperation with such forces is possible and necessary. Nevertheless, it has long been the working class which consistently represents the national interests in the countries of Europe, while the reactionary bourgeoisie, ever since the modern industrial proletariat emerged, has played up nationalism and the class struggle to smokescreen class antagonisms and to incite people against each other. Therefore, our Party, like every revolutionary Party, leads a consistent struggle against bourgeois nationalism.

Of late the imperialists and the remnants of national reaction at home wish to fan up nationalism in the socialist countries precisely with the aim of dividing these people and pitting them against each other on the old pattern. Even in the socialist countries there are some people who are short-sightedly playing with nationalism and thereby do harm—instead of service, as they may believe—to the cause of socialism. The imperialists, however, are entertaining vain hopes, for the Marxist-Leninist parties leading the socialist countries have a rich revolutionary experience. Socialist fraternal bonds of friendship are taking shape among the socialist nations, their fundamental interests are common, and bourgeois nationalism will never succeed in driving a wedge between us.

Our Party considers proletarian internationalism as an essential element of socialist patriotism. In its ideological work, therefore, it educates the Hungarian people in the spirit of internationalism, of friendship with other peoples. The idea of proletarian internationalism embodies the identity of, and fidelity to, the interests of the socialist homeland, of the international working class, of the socialist world system. In keeping with the teachings of Leninism, our Party is faithful to the idea of proletarian internationalism. Our main task is to build up a socialist society in our country. This underlies all our decisions, but this should not run counter to the common interests of the socialist world system, of the international working class. We should fight our common enemy, imperialism, in a common united front. For this reason, we con-

demn the present line of the Chinese leaders, which betrays with growing clarity tendencies for nationalism, chauvinism and hegemony, tendencies existing despite their phrasemongering about world revolution.

As regards the ideological questions, I should like to deal with our attitude towards religious outlook, religious people, and the church. The position of our Party on these questions has been essentially correct.

Our Party ideology is opposed to all idealistic views, including religious ideas. This implies ideological struggle. There is freedom of religion in our country; our Party avoids anything that might hurt the feelings of religious people, but does not give up working for enlightenment, for the spreading of scientific views. The class struggle, in our opinion, was not and is not one between believers and non-believers. Believers of any denomination may freely exercise their religion and are not subject to discrimination and they enjoy equal rights on a par with the rest of our citizens.

Following the liberation, we had sharp political struggles with the leaders of the different churches, not on ecclesiastical but on secular and power issues. When certain church leaders demonstrated their fidelity to the Hapsburg dynasty, acted in support of the interests of the landowners and capitalist classes, and formed an alliance with the imperialist enemy, the struggle was sharp, but this is already a thing of the past.

In Hungary, at present, the relationship between the churches and the State is regulated satisfactorily by agreement, acceptable to both sides. Since the church leaders have accepted the fact of the emergence and the existence of the socialist system as an accomplished fact, we were able to reconcile our positions in more than one question facing our society. In addition to the correct policy of the Party and the State, the democratic stand of believers has also had a part to play in bringing about a situation where both the State and the Church are in harmony with the interests of the people and socialist construction. The same role has been played by realistically thinking people in the leading church bodies and by the growing number of progressive-minded priests of the different churches, who work in agreement with us for the good of our working people on the basis of mutual respect within the framework of the Patriotic People's Front.

Our experience prompts us to welcome the dialogue started between Marxists and Christians in the Western countries with a view of finding ways and means for joint action in the interest of progress and peace.

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Our Party has successfully solved its task despite the complicated circumstances of the period since the 8th Congress. The Party or-

ganizations and Party members have been guided in their activities by the spirit of selfless service to our people. The Party membership worked and strove for implementing our policy aimed at improving the welfare of our people, not sparing their strength, with discipline and devotion, in close unity with the masses.

In the past four years the Party registered a sound development; its membership rose at a yearly rate of 3.5 per cent, totalling 73,000 new members, in four years; the number of full members and probationers totals 584,849. The composition of membership is satisfactory, the ratio being 42.5 per cent for manual workers, 37.3 per cent for intellectual workers, 7.9 per cent of persons in military service, 3 per cent for persons in other occupations and students, and 9.3 per cent for pensioners. Women comprise 22.9 per cent of the membership.

The strength of the Party lies not only in the size of its membership but principally in the class-consciousness, political maturity and activity of its members as well as in the unity and cohesion of the Party. Therefore we do not aim at a large increase in membership in the future either. We should endeavour to admit new members chiefly from the ranks of workers at the bench, members of cooperative farms, women and young people who make outstanding performances in production and social activities.

The Central Committee can report to the Congress that Party life is guided by the Leninist standards and that the principle of collective leadership prevails in our Party. In recent years, however, personal responsibility in Party work has diminished to some extent. In decision making, it is desirable to strictly observe the principle of collective leadership, but greater emphasis should be placed on the principle of one-man responsibility in the execution of resolutions.

Our Party functions on the basis of the principle of democratic centralism: actual guidance is vested in the higher Party committees, while the lower Party bodies are given appropriate independence and authority, and Party life is characterized by a democratic atmosphere and democratic practices. Party democracy has furtheir developed and strengthened in the course of the preparation for the Congress. The preliminary election of nominating committees lived up to the hopes pinned on them, the party membership has effectively taken part in the selection of candidates. Democracy in Party life was further strengthened by extending the secret ballot to the election of functionaries of Party committees and of secretaries of local Party branches. This new line of Party democracy should be strengthened and developed in the future as well.

In the period ahead we shall continue to strengthen both aspects of the principle of democratic centralism. Centralism too should be strengthened. We meet with cases, if only sporadically, in which

certain Party members make use of their right to criticize but fail to work as they should in carrying out resolutions, in implementing Party assignments. Our just system under which rights and duties are inseparable should be enforced in practice and in relation to every member of our Party.

Both in theory and in practice we should continue our efforts to develop Party democracy, to find ways and means to a greater extent to activate the Party members in shaping our Party's policy. We should also do our utmost to give full scope, in the future, to the spirit of free discussion and open stating of opinions at Party committees and Party branches, for this is a source of our Party's strength and a real, not formal, guarantee of its unity.

A spirit of sound criticism is alive in our Party. This free atmosphere of active criticism sheds light with greater clarity on the fact that there are some who, filled with self-conceit, are content with the way things are. We still have quite a number of functionaries who can explain away everything, who offer thanks when criticized but bear a grudge against the person who has levelled the criticism.

Our Party gains respect by making proper use of power, not by dominating but by leading and serving the people. This attitude is compulsory for all functionaries and members of the Party. The judgment of ordinary people about the Party depends to no small degree on the work and behaviour of the Communists whom they know personally. Most of our Party functionaries and our Party members live and work as Communists should. We have taken energetic measures against some instances of abuse of power by Party members, and we shall do so in the future as well.

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Our Party is the country's leading force. It elaborates and directs the foreign and domestic policy, the national defense and internal order of our country. It directs the effort of the working class and the working people for building socialist society. The achievements expressed in the great social transformations of the past decade which include the defeat of the counter-revolution, consolidation of workers' power, restoration of legal order, the socialist reorganization of agriculture, a considerable development of the forces of production, a strengthening of national unity have all been attained under the leadership of the Party. This has won our Party the confidence and appreciation of the masses.

All these are indisputable facts. Still, we hear opinions in Party life about the weakening of the leading role of the Party. The discussions on this question stem in part from differences of opinion on the Party's leading role. There are some people who interpret

Party leadership as consisting in passing Party decisions even on minor matters and confining the role of the State and social organs to executive functions only. This is an incorrect view. Such an interpretation o fthe Party's leading role would result in belittling the independence and responsibility of the State organs and mass organizations.

There are others who identify this leading role with the application of force, of coercion. This runs counter to the Leninist principles of Party guidance, particularly at the present stage of socialist construction. An appreciable number of Party members identify the leading role of the Party with the role and authority of Party organizations. Still others believe that the precondition for the Party's leading role is to appoint Party members to all leading posts. The leading role of the Party prevails wherever its policy is realized. In certain cases and in some places the resolutions of the Party are not implemented with the required consistency and sometimes are even distorted. Where the Party policy is not enforced, one cannot speak of the Party's leading role. There are instances in quite a few places where the leading role of the Party is not realized in this issue. Still, it would be a mistake to generalize these exceptional cases: local drawbacks can and should be remedied, but throughout the country the Party's leadership is assured and its policy implemented.

Among international news items recently figured views disputing the necessity of the principle of centralism in the revolutionary party of the working class. Elsewhere there is a tendency to interpret the Party's role as some sort of unfathomable theoretical guidance. We shall not mention the kind of distortion when school Children are led to attack Party bodies and Party organizations under the guise of "cultural revolution," with the alleged aim of "purging" them.

Recognizing the necessity and correctness of exchanges of views among Parties and respecting the independent opinion of Parties on this score, we should like to emphasize the attitude of our own Party regarding the various views on the leading role of the Party. The historical experience of the Hungarian working class and working people have also proved that a consistent struggle against capitalism and for socialist construction are possible and can only be successful provided there is leadership by a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party, organized and working on the basis of democratic centralism. The experience gained by our Party in the hard-fought battles show that those forces which claim to strengthen the power and the leading role of the working class by relying on forces other than Party organizations or forces in opposition to them do not strengthen but in effect endanger the power of the workers, the building of socialism.

The working people, the working class are in need of the Party, of its leading and organizing activity throughout the period of socialist construction. Any view that aims at restricting the leading role of the Party deprives the working class, the working people of its guiding force. Hard struggles, which often claimed heavy sacrifices, have taught us Hungarian Communists that it is our sacred duty consistently to observe the Leninist principles relating to the leading role of the Party and to its inner life.

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In the past few years, Party propaganda has developed considerably. The number of participants in Party education has increased from 600,000 to nearly 800,000 since 1962. It is particularly encouraging that the vital teachings of Marxism-Leninism are studied on a high level by over 27,000 persons at the evening universities of Marxism-Leninism, and at an intermediary level by 17,500 persons at the evening secondary schools of Marxism-Leninism which were established two years ago and have justified our hopes.

Nevertheless, the propagation of Marxism is lagging far behind the requirements of life. Party education and Marxist education at colleges and universities have not yet been freed from their abstract character and from vulgarization. We still come across cases of half-heartedness and uncertainty in the struggle against leftist and rightist manifestations. Progress is slow in the improvement of teaching methods, in the better utilization of audio-visual aids, in the modernization of curricula.

In the propagation of Marxism, attention should be centered on the salient questions of our time, on the requirements of socialist construction. There is an urgent need to strengthen the Marxist economic concept, to develop economic propaganda, to show the interaction of economic and ideological work. It is equally important to explain in a convincing manner the salient issues of our time, the international situation and the international Communist movement. It is a task for the coming year to improve and perfect the subject-matter of Party education and its programs, to apply boldly new forms, and develop teaching methods.

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The proposal for amendments to the Party Rules is listed as an independent item on the Congress agenda and will be argued in a separate address. I will therefore not concern myself with it in detail. The omission of the programmatic sections of the Rules and the remainder of the proposals are aimed at enabling Congress to help to strengthen Party work in content and in merit by dropping

superfluous formalities. Here in the report of the Central Committee I wish to deal with only three modifying proposals.

The change of the greatest significance is the ending of candidate membership. In this proposal the Central Committee was motivated by the fact that more than 21 years after our liberation any person applying for Party membership is no longer a stranger to the Party, for he has been living here under the eyes of the Party for a long time, working on the building of socialism, and his relationship to the Party and to our system can be judged with responsibility. What had to be done twice, according to practice up till now—admitting candidates and Party members—by both the Party and the person applying for membership, will now be done simultaneously with proper thoroughness.

Among the proposals there is one saying that Congress shall not elect an Auditing Committee. It is assumed that the Central Control Commission, by extending its terms of reference, will be able alongside its present work to ensure the control of the Central Committee's finances. Adherence to the proper procedure of work by Party bodies and Party organizations can be controlled in the course of work by higher Party bodies, and ultimately by the Central Committee, that is, those bodies which otherwise perform the general supervision of work.

To strengthen the Party's guiding and controlling role is the purpose of the proposal aimed at empowering all Party organizations in offices and institutions to require the heads of the offices to give a full account to them, and to supervise the work of the offices themselves with a view to providing more effective assistance than up to now to officers, state bodies and institutions in the fruitful performance of their assigned work.

The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party is an internationalist party whose past and present have become linked with the international Communist movement and whoe future will also be inseparable from it. It is only on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and inspired by internationalism that our Party can serve the Hungarian working class, the people and the nation that gave it birth, faithfully and effectively. Accordingly, we have always devoted close attention to the international working-class movement of which our Party is an active part and hence to a certain extent, a responsible factor.

The world Communist movement is the most influential political force of our time. The number of Communist parties in the world today is close on 90. Communist parties are active in almost every country of the world, and the ideas of Marxism-Leninism are making their effect felt everywhere.

The leading role of the Communist parties in the socialist countries has strengthened. The prestige and mass influence of the

Communist parties in the capitalist countries has increased still more. Indisputable proof of this is the unfolding of large-scale mass struggles and the fact that several West European and North European Communist parties gained an increased number of votes at the latest elections. Although the undermining activities of imperialism, the differing class relations and other peculiar conditions hamper the process, the number and influence of the Communist parties have also increased in the developing countries. A result of the increase in the mass influence of Communist parties is that a dialogue and an interest in unity of action between Communists and Social Democrats and other progressive parties are developing in many countries, and an anti-monopoly front of the working class and other working people is taking shape.

In many countries the class struggle is sharpening. In this struggle the bourgeoisie regards the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party as its chief adversary, they are what it fears most, and where it can it deals its most ruthless blows at them. This explains why in Europe, in the Federal Republic of Germany, Spain, Portugal, Greece, Turkey and elsewhere, as in Iran, the Communist parties have been banned and forced to go underground, their members are mercilessly persecuted and in certain countries the leaders, if captured, are murdered. In other countries of the world, in Indonesia and in certain Latin American countries, the authorities are trying to drown the freedom aspirations of the working classes and peoples in blood by merciless persecution and mass terror against the Communists and other progressives.

The blows struck at the Communists help the imperialists. These blows fall upon the most consistent and most devoted champions of social progress and national independence, and injure the cause of progress and national independence itself. The hangmen forget that ever since mankind has lived in a class society there has always been a struggle between progress and reaction, but reaction has never been able to stop history either with arms or by any other means. It will not succeed now either. Mankind has left behind the eras of slavery and feudalism, and today one-third of mankind is already past the era of capitalism. The decline of capitalism cannot be prevented, any more than the decline of slavery and feudalism could.

History advances irresistibly, the idea of communism is gaining ground, and today the socialist world system and the strength of the international Communist movement is raising a bulwark before imperialism and opposing aggression. The strength of the world Communist movement is multiplied by the fact that it is led by a single world ideology, Marxism-Leninism, and is struggling tirelessly to unite all progressive forces.

It is particularly important that there should be lively contacts

between the Communist and Workers' parties, that the fraternal parties should exchange experience and coordinate their actions in international fields against the common enemy, imperialism. This consideration has led our Party in the period under review when it met and carried out negotiations with numerous parties of the international Communist and working-class movement. On repeated occasions we met with representatives of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist parties of nearly all the socialist countries, as well as with most of the West European Communist parties and a large number of Communist parties from other continents. Each of these discussions was fruitful and useful. We wish to conduct similar discussions in the future and we are urging bilateral and multilateral meetings and discussions with the fraternal parties.

The frequency of meetings has also been made necessary by the unfortunate circumstance that there also exist today views in the international revolutionary working-class movement which are in contradiction with the principles of Marxism-Leninism. These vews disregard proletarian internationalism and the community of interests of the socialist countries, are mistaken in their judgment of the possibilities of the socialist revolution, and misinterpret the conclusions of Marxism on the different roads of the socialist revolution and on the specific features of building socialism.

A confusing influence on the unity of the international working-class movement is the fact that in some places the Marxist-Leninist interpretation and treatment of questions is permeated by nationalist tendencies and views that are alien to our ideology. If we examine the characteristics of these erroneous views we see a misunderstanding or misinterpretation of national interests. It is made a subject of deliberation whether to subordinate or superimpose national interests to common interests, whereas it is entirely clear that these should and can be coordinated.

In the international working-class movement all pseudo-left and right-wing deviations have always had, and still have, a common distinguishing mark, anti-Sovietism. International imperialism and the bourgeoisie have always regarded the Soviet Union as their main enemy, and continue to do so. The right- and the "left-wing" deviators, whatever their intention may be, with their anti-Sovietism, whether they wish to or not, are playing directly into the hands of the imperialists.

The Central Committee and the membership of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party are intensely concerned with the questions over which there are controversies and differences in the international Communist and working-class movement. We hold that in relations between states, on a given question, it is possible to

remain neutral, but on the most important questions of Marxism-Leninism and the international Communist movement, a stand must be taken. The representatives of our Party on every occasion clearly explained our position on controversial issues, and that is what we are also doing now at our own Congress.

The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party is an unshakable supporter of close cooperation between the socialist countries and Communist parties on the basis of principle. It is our view that the 1957 and 1960 Moscow declarations took a correct stand on the most important questions of our age, and that their conclusions have been verified by life in every respect. We still consider what was included in those declarations to be our own views and we are following this line.

We condemn all actions that disrupt the unity of the ranks of the international working-class movement. At present, it is the Chinese leaders' aspirations for hegemony, their anti-Sovietism and splitting activities that are causing the greatest damage. In recent months, in order to smash the opponents of their incorrect views, they launched the so-called "proletarian cultural revolution," and as the shock troops of this movement they brought into existence "Red Guard" units composed of organized school children and students. All this cannot simply be regarded as an internal matter of the Chinese Party and of its Central Committee. Lin Piao himself, who is Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee and Defense Minister, declared before the students of the Military Academy that "Chairman Mao stands much higher than Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin." The Chinese leaders themselves have said that the "proletarian cultural revolution" is not only for internal application but is also "an example for all countries." And in one of the streets of Peking a sign already proclaims that "the world committee of the Red Guards" functions there. Thus all this also concerns us. We reject these views, which are alien to Marxism-Leninism, and we dissociate ourselves from them.

As internationalists, we must resolutely reject anti-Sovietism—this anti-Communist idea—as well as nationalism, and all it anti-socialist manifestations. Nationalism and chauvinism are not unknown in Hungary. Our country and people were for centuries oppressed by aliens, and the Hungarian ruling class was the oppressor of national minorities living in the territory of the country. After the First World War, the imperialist dictates of the Trianon Treaty served as a pretext for the ruling classes to whip up nationalist and chauvinist passions and hatred against the neighboring peoples to extremes.

Today socialist countries live side by side in a considerable area of the world. Through the existence of the socialist system the possibility has been created to banish hatred for good from the

relations of nations which for long centuries caused untold damage to the oppressed and exploited working people of all countries. The Communist parties must also tear out the roots of nationalism. Only socialism is capable of solving the problems of the past, by creating a system in which cooperation and brotherhood between nations and peoples develop on the basis of equality and common interests.

The ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin are guiding us, it is they who revealed the international character of capitalist oppression, and pointed out to us the identity of interests of the international working class. They taught the workers to view the world in accordance with their own class interests, and they educated the working class to be internationalist.

In working out its independent policy, our Party proceeds from the historical, social and economic conditions of our people and our country, but as an internationalist party it takes into consideraiton the international experiences of the proletarian revolution and socialist construction. Our Party also takes into account the common interests of the socialist world system, and considers the interests of the fraternal parties in the capitalist countries operating and struggling under very difficult circumstances. We believe that a revolutionary party is responsible for its work not only to its own working class and people, but also to the international working class and mankind.

In the last two years in the international Communist movement, the isolation of the splitters has increased to a great extent, and efforts towards unity have strengthened. Conditions for a major conference of the Communist and Workers' parties are ripening. The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party supports the idea of a large conference, not for the conference's own sake, but for the strengthening and broadening of our unity and cohesion. We desire unity of action primarily and immediately in aid to Vietnam, and generally in the struggle against imperialism — our common enemy. There's no need for any kind of excommunication, we wish to consult and unite in the fight against imperialism with every revolutionary party and with all progressive forces, and thus naturally also with the Chinese progressive forces, and thus naturally also with the Chinese Communist Party and Albanian Party of Labor. But if today their leaders reject this completely, the international working-class movement cannot come to a halt because of that, neither can we wait indefinitely for a broader conference.

The interests of the international Communist movement and of mankind take priority over everything. We must work for the representatives of all those parties of the international working-class movement to meet and consult which consider the time ripe for making a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the situation in a com-

radely manner and together, and draw conclusions on the joint tasks to be carried out in the given situation.

Marxist-Leninist theory, the international Communist movement armed with that theory, and the idea of communism are irresistible and are advancing on their historic path. Internationalism has always made the international working class, the socialist world system, and the powerful movement of the world Communist and Workers' parties invincible, and does so today. The revolutionary party of the Hungarian working class, faithful to the teachings of Marxism-Leninsim, has always been, and will continue to be, loyal to the idea of internationalism and unity.

## RESOLUTION OF THE CONGRESS OF THE HUNGARIAN SOCIALIST WORKERS' PARTY

### EXTRACTS

The 9th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, held between November 28th and December 3rd, 1966, reviewed the country's four years development, considered our achievements and our shortcomings, and analyzed the experiences our Party membership and the working people have gained in labor and struggle. On the basis of a realistic evaluation of the situation, the 9th Congress approved the report of the Central Committee and stated:

Looking back over the past years, Congress drew the main conclusion that the Party and the country have proceeded on the path outlined by the 8th Congress and that our policy has proved to be successful.

The political guidance of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the unity of the Communists and non-Party people, the patriotism, devoted effort, knowledge and enthusiasm, industry and creative energy of the workers, peasants and intellectuals have resulted in outstanding achievements.

During the period between the two congresses our socialist system and state power, and the state of the proletarian dictatorship have been further strengthened.

The country's economy has grown and the living conditions of the people have improved.

The achievements of our working people, our consistently socialist foreign and domestic policy, uncompromising on principles, have added to the prestige of our country throughout the world.

Under complicated international conditions our Party has implemented the line adopted by the 8th Congress, safeguarded and

developed the socialist achievements of the people, and supported the international forces of socialism and peace. In the course of this many-sided struggle and creative labor, our Party has also become stronger, more tempered and more united.

The 8th Congress of our Party stated that we have laid the foundations of socialism in our country, and set as a target the complete construction of a socialist society. During the past period we have progressed in this direction. The historic task of our party and people in the coming four years will continue to be the complete construction of socialism.

## DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY

During the past five years, the economic strength of our country has increased, national wealth has grown, and production has become better equipped technically and more modern.

Industry has developed in the direction outlined by the 8th Congress, and its structure has taken shape accordingly. During the Second Five-Year Plan, industrial production rose by 47 per cent, and approximately two-thirds of the increased industrial production came from higher productivity.

The output of the chemical and engineering industries rose more rapidly than average industrial production. In line with our economic requirements, more fertilizers and pharmaceuticals were produced in the chemical industry, more means of telecommunication, precision instruments and machine tools in the engineering industry, more knitted goods in the textile industry and more canned goods in the food industry. The composition of the power resources of our economy has become more favorable, and the proportion of gas and oil increased from 23 to 29 per cent within five years.

A number of new factories of a high technical level went into operation, and progress was made in the concentration of industrial production.

The consolidation of industrial enterprises and the reduction of intermediary directing bodies proved to be correct. The aim of consolidation was the more economical utilization of technical and intellectual resources. This has brought initial results. The more intensive concentration of productive forces will take a longer time.

During the period between the two Congresses we continued the introduction of diesel engines and the electrification of the railways, increased our stock of transport vehicles, and extended and improved our network of roads.

The stock of machines in the building industry increased by about two-thirds during the past five years and so did the proportion of more modern large-panel construction and the utilization of prefabricated concrete and reinforced concrete construction.

Agricultural output was 10 per cent higher than during the previous years. Considering the difficulties due to bad weather and those of the initial period of the transition to socialist large-scale farming, this is an outstanding achievement. At the end of the plan period, we were able to cover our bread-grain requirements out of our domestic crop. The value of purchased agricultural produce rose 29 per cent compared to 1960. The results of the intensive development of agriculture are now noticeable. During the past five years about 42,000 hectares were planted with grapes and about 51,500 hectares with orchards, and higher-yielding crops were more widely used.

The technical facilities of agriculture have improved, the number of tractors per 50 hectares increased almost one and a half times, while the irrigated area increased more than two and a half times.

The ever wider and speedier division of labor resulted in a deep-going change in the relations between industry and agriculture and also in the territorial, branch and factory division of production. Agriculture is rapidly becoming a large-scale consumer of industrial products and at the same time an important supplier to industry.

The rapid and large-scale social and technical redistribution of the population is a concomitant of economic development. Several hundreds of thousands of people have changed their trade and dwelling places during the past period. Socialist industrialization secured its labor power primarily from agriculture. The proportion of people engaged in agriculture in the total number of working peoples decreased to 31 per cent compared to 55 per cent in 1949.

Three fourths of the industrial investments were utilized in the provinces. The rate of growth of the number of industrial employees in the industrially undeveloped countries was almost double the national rate and four times that of Budapest. During five years the number of industrial employees increased by 38 per cent in the Great Hungarian Plain, by 29 per cent in Southern Transdanubia and by only 7 per cent in Budapest. Despite this, 41 per cent of the total number of industrial employees of the country still worked in Budapest in 1965. It is our task to continue industrialization in the provinces.

The international economic relations of the country have expanded. The correctness of our policy of economic coordination was confirmed by the progress of our economy and the advance of the other socialist countries. During the Second Five-Year Plan our foreign trade with the countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid increased by 70 per cent, in particular 98 per cent with the Soviet Union.

An earnest of our development is the fact that the isssue of the import of power, and the supply of our iron and steel industry with raw materials, all of which is necessary for fulfilling the Third

Five-Year Plan, may be regarded as settled thanks to deliveries from the socialist countries, primarily the Soviet Union.

Our trade with the non-socialist countries continued to expand and new useful industrial and commercial relations were developed.

Despite these achievements, the results of the international division of labor in some important industrial branches are still unsatisfactory. There is a need for more extensive specialization and better coordination between the interested countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid. We strive for cooperation with all socialist countries, and are ready for a more extensive division of labor.

Tourism, that peculiar indication of international relations, has also increased in our country recently. The number of visitors to Hungary and of people going abroad has greatly increased. This is advantageous, both politically and economically.

The result of our economic development, though positive in their entirety, also show that we have not been able to achieve all the objectives laid down by the last Congress.

The increase in the national income lags behind the plan target. The increase in agricultural output was less than planned, produtions costs in industry decreased less than envisaged, and increased in agriculture, mainly because of the rising costs of material. We spent more on consumption and accumulation, including the increase in stocks, than the national income produced. In other words, our outgoings were more than what we produced and this was detrimental to our balance of foreign trade.

The utilization of fixed assets was unsatisfactory in important branches of the economy, and too many new investments were started. This organization of labor did not meet requirements and this contributed to the fact that the productivity of labor improved less than desired. During the second part of the Five-Year Plan period the pace of economic development slowed down. In its December 1964 resolution the Central Committee opposed these unfavorable tendencies, and its effect was already felt in 1965. We elaborated the Third Five-Year Plan and the new system of economic management.

Our economic tasks in the coming period are fundamentally directed to attain the Third Five-Year Plan targets and simultaneously to elaborate and introduce the new system of economic management.

The objectives of the Third Five-Year Plan are:

—to continue the complete construction of a socialist society in our country;

—further to increase the resources of the country and the national income, and systematically to improve the living conditions and the cultural and social services for the population.

We must reach an annual 6 per cent increase in industrial production; 80 per cent of this should be met by a rise in productivity. Agricultural output must increase by 13 to 15 per cent, compared to the average of the preceding five years. The total amount of investments must reach 250,000 to 260,000 million forints. The real income of the working people must rise by 14 to 16 per cent.

By implementing the Third Five-Year Plan we must solve the following tasks:

The development of the national economy is to be made more balanced. The present rate of accumulation and distribution will be maintained. Through greater investments we must lay the foundation for the continued development of the national economy, and ensure at the same time a further increase in the living standard of the population.

The Plan places emphasis on a more coordinated development of the two main branches of the economy—industry and agriculture. As a continued increase in the share of industry is necessary, 46 to 50 per cent of the investments will be allocated for industrial development.

There will be a continued favorable change of pattern in the utilization of power resources. By 1970, the share of oil and natural gas will reach 37 to 39 per cent.

The Plan envisages the accelerated development of our engineering and chemical industries and more extensive utilization of our bauxite and natural gas resources. Chemical production will increase by 55 to 60 per cent, and that of engineering by 40 to 45 per cent as against an all-round 32 to 36 per cent increase in industrial production. Our engineering industry will be faced with the major task of considerably developing the manufacture of transport vehicles. The construction of a new motor vehicle factory is scheduled.

The implementation of the Soviet-Hungarian alumina-aluminium agreement will start under the Third Five-Year Plan. Our alumina output will almost double in five years, and will increase to about 460,000 tons.

The 3-million ton processing capacity of the Szaszhalombatta mineral oil works will be completed in that period and it will set out to double its capacity. A power plant with a capacity of approximately 1,000 megawatts will be established at Szaszhalombatta, by enlarging the Banhida Power Plant and by partly putting the new power station at Gyongyos into operation.

We are paying special attention to speeding up technological development, and the introduction of new up-to-date construction and production processes.

The growth of industry in our country is possible only with the

simultaneous advance of agriculture. The development of agriculture will be more rapid under the Third Five-Year Plan. With this prospect in view, investments in agriculture will be increased, the modernization of agriculture will be continued and it will develop in an intensive direction. Between 1966 and 1970 the utilization of fertilizers will be doubled. Agriculture will be provided with 38,000 to 40,000 tractors. 35,000 to 36,000 trailers and 6,000 to 7,000 grain-combines.

In agriculture we shall gradually provide conditions for the overwhelming majority of the farms to meet out of their own incomes the means required for increasing production and personal expenses. We must enable the cooperative farms to introduce the guaranteed monthly payment of wage in all of their production branches. While vigorously developing the cooperative farms, we must continue to pay increased attention to the maximum utilization of the possibilities of the household plots.

To ensure the development of agriculture at the required pace, it is necessary to develop a system of credit, investment, state support, and taxation for the cooperative farms corresponding to the new system of economic management.

We propose that the First National Congress of the cooperative farms convene next year to discuss the major problems connected with the functioning and management of the cooperative farms, to elect the National Council of Cooperative Farms and to take a stand on the establishment and functioning of territorial cooperative farm associations.

Under the Third Five-Year Plan we are increasing our efforts to develop transport, primarily by increasing the share of electric and diesel traction.

To speed up home-building we are planning to build four or five modern plants to produce prefabricated elements.

To meet the growing material needs of our rapidly developing production and be able to introduce advanced techniques, we must continuously increase our exports. We are planning a 50 per cent increase in the export of industrial products. The chemical industry, light industry, agriculture, food-processing and the aluminium industries have an important task to fulfil in increasing our exports. Engineering will continue to play a key role in our industrial exports, primarily within the framework of economic cooperation with the countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid.

Much greater attention is being paid to the economical substitution of domestic products for goods so far obtained through imports. The large-scale development of our chemical industry, paper-mill and wood-working capacities during the Third Five-Year Plan will serve this objective.

The new conditions emerging from our development demanded that the new system of economic management be established. Our old economic methods fail to fully meet the present situation.

The given degree of our social and economic progress made the further development of a planned economy possible and necessary. In the future, centralized guidance should not be provided by the so-called method of breaking down the plan into separate units, but by economic methods, considering the active role of the socialist market. Commodity and money relations will play a greater role within the framework of the planned economy.

The chief purpose of the reform is to strengthen our socialist system, to assist the completion of the construction of socialist society, to bring the advantages of socialist planning to bear more than ever, and to make possible the more consistent realization of our economic policy.

The major objectives of the economic reform are:

—a more dynamic and more balanced development of the national economy;

—a change in the pattern of production and consumption according with and meeting requirements of the national economy;

—a more intensive link-up with the international division of labor, an increase in the profitability of our foreign trade;

—speedier introduction of specific and technical achievements into production and consumption;

—active and effective participation of the working people in the direction and control of economic processes;

—as a whole, more efficient economic management to continue to build up the basis for higher living standards.

The implementation of the reform is a deep-going political process that concerns our entire society. The decentralization of economic decision-making, greater independence locally and in the enterprises are the major prerequisites for greater democracy in the enterprises. The working people will be able better to assess and control the bulk of the work of the enterprises.

Through better coordination of the interests of the individual, the enterprise and society, the reform will considerably promote creative work and initiative. More consistent distribution according to work will add to the prestige of labor.

The reform sets greater tasks before economic executives. It will ensure the advancement of the working people and the executives on a mass scale, providing broader scope for the discovery of talented people and appointing them to the appropriate jobs.

The new system adds to the obligations and responsibility of the directing state bodies, and the effectiveness of centralized direction will increase.

Work on carrying out the Five-Year Plan and for introducing

and applying the economic reform will increase the activity of the whole of society and foster creative work.

## OUR PARTY AND THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT

During the past four years our Party was guided in its international activities by the interests of the Hungarian working class, our people, our nation, and in complete harmony with this, by the principles of proletarian internationalism. We intend to follow this path also in the coming period.

The international Communist movement is the most influential political force of our age. The Communist parties of the world have approximately 50 million members. No single country exists where the revolutionary effect of the ideas of socialism and communism are not felt.

In the 14 socialist countries, the Communist and Workers' parties have become the leaders of their countries and peoples, and they direct the building of socialism or communism.

The Communist Parties of the developed capitalist countries carry on a consistent struggle against the monopolies, for democratic rights, for peace and socialism. They fight for the elimination of the split in the working-class movement and for the unity of the working class.

The Communists of the developing countries fight against neocolonialism to ensure that their countries become independent economically as well and that they do not take the capitalist road.

In recent years a sharp dispute occurred within the ranks of the international Communist movement. The Chinese leaders split the unity of the international Communist movement by their well-known dogmatic policy. In contrast to this disruption of unity, efforts for unity have recently strengthened in the socialist countries and in the international Communist movement.

Every Communist party has to elaborate its own policy in accordance with the historical, social and economic conditions of its own country. This policy should be based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and it will only be effective if it at the same time serves the true interests of the working class and other working people of the country concerned, of its nation, and the common interests of the socialist world system and the international working class. This is possible and necessary. It is the source of the immense strength and the invincibility of Marxist-Leninist theory and of world-transforming communism.

In building socialism every nation has to mobilize its resources to the utmost. But our possibilities are not limited by our national

resources, for the international cooperation of the socialist countries provides powerful advantages and resources.

Experience has shown that the idea of united action gains ground and the disrupters of unity become more and more isolated. It is recognized more and more that our main tasks are common and demand joint action, and that all disputes should be subordinated to the fight against imperialism. It has been found useful for the Communist parties to hold bilateral and multilateral meetings, or regional meetings to discuss burning problems of the region concerned.

Bilateral and multilateral meetings play an important role in strengthening cooperation, but they cannot replace a great international meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties, and the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party is ready to make every effort to bring it about.

The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party considers the general line of the Moscow conferences of the brother parties of 1957 and 1960 to be the basis of its international activity.

As a participant in the Moscow Consultative Meeting held in March 1965, it fully shares the viewpoint agreed upon by the 19 brother parties.

Our Party has fought and fights for the restoration of unity within the international Communist movement, and against all types of Right-wing opportunism and "Left-wing" adventurism. Our Party maintains close and extensive relations with the overwhelming majority of the Communist and Workers' parties. The exchanges of views with the representatives of these parties make for a better mutual understanding and knowledge of views of each other, and for closer cooperation.

Our Party has sought and seeks good relations with progressive democratic parties, primarily with the African and Asian democratic parties and liberation movements, with the left-wing socialist parties and with the Social-Democratic parties that are willing to cooperate.

Our activity for the unity of the international Communist movement goes on with unabating energy.

The 9th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party offers the Hungarian people a program for the coming years. In the fulfilment of this program, the Communists will continue to lead in devotion, self-sacrifice and work. Every person who cherishes his country should fight and work in close cooperation with them. The aim towards which we are successfully striving is the further advancement of our people, of our nation, the prosperity of our country and the safeguarding of peace.

## STATEMENT OF THE 9th CONGRESS OF THE HSWP ON THE U.S. AGGRESSION IN VIETNAM

The 9th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party voicing the sentiments and the will of the Hungarian Communists and the entire Hungarian people, who are engaged in socialist construction, most resolutely condemns the criminal war being waged by the United States against Vietnam, and expresses fraternal, international solidarity with the heroic people of Vietnam, who are defending themselves against aggression.

The Vietnam aggression of the American imperialists is one of the most infamous wars of our age. Violating the 1954 Geneva agreements, and trampling underfoot the elementary standards of international law, the United States is interfering with armed force in the internal affairs of Vietnam. On the false pretext of halting Communist expansion, it has landed hundreds of thousands of troops and is ravaging South Vietntm, which is thousands of miles away from its shores, trying to suppress the South Vietnamese people's fight for freedom. It bombs the territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The atrocities of the American military in Vietnam—the killing of tens of thousands of innocent people—fully qualify as an international crime of genocide. The aggression of the Americtn imperialists is condemned with contempt by the whole progressive world.

The 9th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party considers that the July 1966 Bucharest Statement of the Political Consultative Body of the Warsaw Treaty justly pointed out the increasingly dangerous character of the war of aggression in Vietnam. The events of recent months have fully borne out the conclusions of this Statement.

The Government of the United States does not seek a peaceful and just solution to the Vietnam problem; on the contrary, it is expanding its aggression behind a smokescreen of peace phrases. The adventurous Vietnam policy of the United States not only jeopardizes the peace of Southeast Asia, but the peace of the world as well.

Hundreds of millions of peace-loving people all over the world admire the heroic struggle the Vietnamese people are waging against the American aggressors, for freedom, the unification of their country, and progress. This struggle is supported by the socialist countries and by all progressive, peace-loving people. The world-wide movement promoting the struggle of the people of Vietnam is gaining in scope and strength. The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the people of the Hungarian People's Republic stand together on the side of the attacked Vietnamese people. Our Party and people support, to the best of their ability, the struggle

of the Vietnamese people, and extend political, diplomatic economic and military assistance to them. They are confident that the just struggle of the heroic Vietnamese people will be crowned with complete success.

The Hungarian people wholeheartedly support the four-point demand of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, and President Ho Chi Minh's appeal of July 17th, 1966. The United States must immediately and unconditionally stop the bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, withdraw its own armed forces and those of its satellites from the territory of South Vietnam, recognize the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam as the sole lawful representative of the South Vietnamese people, end all interference in the internal affairs of Vietnam, and adhere without fail to the 1954 Geneva agreements. The Vietnamese problem can only be solved on the basis of meeting these demands.

The 9th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party finds it necessary to intensify the struggle against the Vietnam aggression of the American imperialists. All who feel responsibility for the destiny of their people and for peace must unite to halt the American aggressors, to quench the spreading and increasingly threatening fire of aggressive war. The hand of the imperialist aggressors must be stayed by the unity of action of the socialist countries and of the Communist and Workers' parties, by consolidating the peace-loving, progressive forces of the world. This is the most important task of today.

The Vietnamese people are fighting for a just cause and the Hungarian people trust they will win.

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## SPEECH IN REPLY TO THE CONGRESS DEBATE BY JANOS KADAR

### EXTRACT

Our Congress opened on Monday, November 28th, and in accordance with my commission I submitted the report of the Central Committee. In the part which dealt with foreign policy, I spoke for a suitable duration—and I think in a suitable manner—about our relations with the United States of America. The same evening, the news was published both in Budapest and Washington that Hungary and the United States had raised their diplomatic relations from legation to embassy status. This did not unsettle us. If a Communist policy based on correct principles is correct on Thursday, it must be correct on Monday too.

With regard to the United States as well, we carry out the principled policy which we formulated in Moscow with the fraternal parties in 1957 and 1960. We condemn the U.S. aggression in Vietnam. We have refuted and will refute in the future all attempts by the U.S. government to interfere in the internal affairs of the Hungarian People's Republic. This is a principled policy and not tactics. The fact that we strive for peaceful coexistence is just as principled a policy. We want normal relations and wish to establish political, economic, scientific and other relations with the United States. If they have a similar willingness, then our relations can be normal. Our Party is convinced that this is a Marxist-Leninist, a revolutionary policy.

Another foreign political question which I want to mention is our standpoint regarding the Federal Republic of Germany. A new government has now been formed in the FRG. A so-called great coalition has been set up, with the inclusion of the Social-Democratic Party. Naturally, this is primarily a matter which concerns the people of the German Federal Republic, but it directly concerns every German.

In the opinion of our Party and government, we do not have to change the fundamental principles and practice of our policy towards West Germany. This is unaffected by the change of government. Together with all the revolutionary parties of Europe and together with all the progressive forces of every country, we fight against West German revanchist efforts and against the neofascist wave which appeared there at the two recent provincial elections.

We fight and work for the security of Europe. Any government functioning in Bonn, whatever its composition, any coalition, must lend ear to the demand of the socialist part of Europe—and those who are very active in politics, know that this is not only the demand of the socialist part—that West Germany also recognize the European borders established as a result of the Second World War and the fact that it can never change them in any way.

Whatever government there may be in Bonn, if it wants to follow a realistic policy, it must come to recognize what is an unchangeable characteristic of Europe today—the existence of two German states. One of the two states—the German Democratic Republic—has already rendered an inestimable service, not only to us Hungarians and the member countries of the Warsaw Treaty Organization, but to all the European nations. It rendered service by laying the foundations of the future, and by building a strong bastion of socialism and peace in the heart of Europe, on German soil. Good relations with West Germany can only be visualized if it notes that our revolutionary, comradely and socialist relations with the German Democratic Republic can never become the object of a bargain. We shall continue to strengthen them.

Taking into consideration what has already been said, the Hungarian People's Republic is willing to develop its economic, political and diplomatic relations with the German Federal Republic on the basis of mutual advantage. It is also ready to expand its cultural relations and tourism.

Earlier, I spoke about our relations with the United States of America, and now I have spoken about those with the German Federal Republic. We are convinced that the policy which we represent not only accords with the interests of our own people, but fully meets the interests of the American people and the German people. I can add as a Communist that we wish the very best—peace and prosperity—to the American people and to the German people and want to live in friendship with them.

The representatives of the German Unity Party, the West German Communist Party, and the West Berlin Socialist Unity Party, were present at our Congress and addressed us. We express our thanks to them for coming to us and we are very glad that a unity of principles and internationalist fraternity exist between us. We are convinced that they are genuine Marxist-Leninists, Communists and at the same time the finest German patriots, who represent the future of the German people. The sooner the German people follow the call of their comrades—the German Communists—the quicker they will be happy and free, the quicker they will be able to exploit their great possibilities and capabilities in the sphere of production, science and culture. The German Communists wish the best for the entire German people.

# RESOLUTION*

## OF THE 10th CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF JAPAN (OCTOBER 1966)

All the delegates to the 10th Congress of the Communist Party of Japan warmly salute the CC of the Party of Working People of Vietnam and the CC of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam and thank them for the message to our congress expressing heartfelt greetings to our Party and the Japanese people and feelings of combat solidarity. These greetings from the people of Vietnam, who carry on the indomitable heroic struggle against the fierce aggression of U.S. imperialism, are the most stirring manifestation of international support for the 10th Congress of our Party and the greatest inspiration for our Party and the Japanese people, who are fighting against the U.S. imperialist aggression in Vietnam and the State government's participation in it.

The CPJ is holding its 10th Congress in a situation characterized by the further aggravation of events connected with the U.S. aggression in Vietnam, as is evidenced, for instance, by the Manila conference. This Congress has come our against the U.S. aggression in Vietnam and against its escalation and supported the four demands of the DRV government and the 5-point Statement of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. The Congress has warmly approved the line of stepping up the struggle of the peoples of all countries in support of the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people, intensifying international joint actions and strengthening the international front of struggle against the war and the aggression of U.S. imperialism, and adopted a corresponding decision.

Our Party and the Japanese people shoulder special responsibility in the struggle of the anti-imperialist, democratic forces against the U.S. aggression in Vietnam. This is explained by the fact, pointed out in the Congress decision and in speeches of delegates, that Japan has been turned into a major composite base for the conduct and expansion of the war of aggression in Vietnam. Acting on the strength of the Japanese-American "security treaty", the reactionary forces of Japan and the Sato government fully support U.S. aggressive policies in Vietnam and take an active part in this infamous war. They make the territory of our country available for U.S. bases and, mobilizing the country's industry, engage in the

*Akahata, October 31, 1966.

manufacture and transportation of materiel. They have already sent medical and military missions to South Vietnam.

The working class, all the working people of Japan suffer from capitalist "streamlining" of production, low wages and rising prices; their social and democratic rights are trampled underfoot. All this is closely connected with the policy of war and reaction pursued by the U.S. and Japanese reactionary forces. The struggle of the Japanese people, who side with the people of Vietnam and fight against U.S. imperialism and the reactionary forces at home, grows in scope and intensity.

Our Party should display still greater solidarity with the Party of Working People of Vietnam in the spirit of the joint communique of the delegations of the CPJ and the PWPV published on February 27, 1966, and, carrying it actively into reality, sharply intensify concrete actions in rendering material and moral support to the people of Vietnam. Together with the broad masses of the people our Party should work vigorously for the development, in most diverse forms, of the struggle for assistance to the Vietnamese people: insist on the termination of the manufacture and transportation of material for the U.S. aggression in Vietnam, oppose the use of U.S. military bases on Japanese territory, and so on.

Our Party does everything to further the unity of action of the working class and the broad masses (the movement of October 14, 1966, centered on the struggle against the U.S. aggression in Vietnam; the strike of October 21, 1966, in which about 5.5 million people participated in one form or another). It is doing its utmost to promote joint struggle of all the democratic forces of Japan, the Communist and Socialist parties included.

On behalf of the 10th Congress of the CPJ we express the warmest solidarity with the heroic Vietnamese people, who are fighting on the front line of the international struggle waged by the anti-imperialist, democratic forces of all the world against U.S. imperialism. We voice our determination to intensify still more every kind of assistance to the Vietnamese people's struggle against the U.S. aggression, in defense of their country. Responding to the message of greetings from the Party of Working People of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, which expresses determination to ght till victory and contains an ardent appeal for solidarity, we solemnly pledge resolutely to denounce the policy of aggression and war pursued by the U.S. and Japanese reactionary forces and, together with the Vietnamese people, to exert every effort for the sake of achieving common victory.

*October 30, 1966*

# EVENTS IN CHINA DISCREDIT THE IDEA OF COMMUNISM*

The current events in China tend to discredit the idea of communism in the world.

This line is especially harmful because what is at stake is the destiny of Vietnam, which borders on a China whose government opposes creation of an aerial as well as ground bridge of aid from the socialist countries and above all the Soviet Union.

It is harmful because it generates a split in the socialist camp and a breach in the front of the peoples fighting against their bitterest common enemy, U.S. imperialism.

In addition to everything else, it is harmful because it endangers the Chinese revolution itself, an epoch-making event of our time second in importance only to the October Revolution.

That is why the goings-on in China are a tragedy affecting the entire revolutionary and Communist movement of the five continents. The unavoidable fact of the existence of profound disagreements about the general line cannot make us forget about our permanent obligation in the Asian East. The dogged pursuit of a policy of isolation increases the dangers of aggression on the part of the United States.

Peking's reckless policy of splitting the revolutionary camps, its anti-Sovietism carried to wild extremes cannot but stand in the way of joint resistance to U.S. imperialism, the chief enemy of the entire socialist world, of all peoples.

Many people ask, with good reason, about the cause of the current events in China.

Answering this important question is a complicated and difficult matter with which the entire revolutionary movement strives to cope.

To be sure, the current process did not arise out of nothing. In addition to other causes, both its form and content can be traced back to old and deep roots in the history of that vast country, characterized by autonomy and isolated development over millennia. Processing its own feudal culture, the country led a closed life and was proud of it. China turned its back upon the rest of the world, especially Europe, which it traditionally treated with a mixed feeling of superiority and suspicion.

Writing in a U.S. newspaper more than a hundred years ago, Karl

*Report of V. Teitelboim, member of the Political Commission of the CC, CP of Chile, to the October plenum of the CC. Abridged from **El Siglo**, October 13, 1966.

Marx characterized these prejudices of Chinese society, prejudices which have not been uprooted yet, as "learned ignorance and pedantic barbarity."

Throughout the reign of numerous feudal dynasties China nurtured the idea of a leading role in the world. That was the consequence of ethical causes, of the high density of population which since the very outset of historical development turned China into a vast and almost impenetrable human ocean, as well as of the predominant views on life, its forms and religious concepts which differed greatly from those that had originated in the Mediterranean area. The bloody imperialist aggression in the 19th and the first half of the 20th centuries heightened hatred for the white man, who was regarded — not without reason — as the incarnation of the foreign devil, the exploiter, the ruthless invader—in short, as Enemy No. 1. The Boxer uprising early this century was an expression of this sentiment of indiscriminate hatred for the white man.

As Mao said, at the end of 1917 the salvo of the cruiser *Aurora* brought to China the Marxist teaching, its central idea that people differ, not according to the color of their skin, but according to their socio-economic position, according to the class to which they belong, and that therefore, every worker, regardless of the color of his skin or the shape of his eyes, is on all the earth a brother to other workers with whom he is destined to fight together, in keeping with the famous mobilizing slogan with which Marx and Engels concluded *The Communist Manifesto*: "Workers of all lands, unite!"

In China, the working class remains a tiny minority, a thin stratum, an isle amidst a vast peasant mass subjected over millennia to feudal and then to petty-bourgeois influences and ways and constituting a natural fertile soil for superstition, chauvinist infatuation and backward habits conducive to deification of authority. These difficulties were aggravated by the barrier which separated the masses from culture.

This complex fabric of historical causes related to a remote past penetrates, not surprisingly, even into sectors of the Communist Party of China, and there ensues in it a tense struggle, overt or covert, which effects every Communist, every leader—a struggle between these survivals of the past and Marxist ideology. In the case of some leaders who by virtue of their social origin, did not escape the influences of the above-mentioned factors, the petty-bourgeois nationalist trends take the upper hand in acute struggle against the proletarian concepts, against Marxism. It appears to us that this has happened on a large scale and affected even prominent leaders, who succumbed to such influences.

The report of the Political Commission presented by Comrade

Jorge Inzuenza correctly appraises the positions of the dominant group in the leadership of the Communist Party of China as revisionist with regard to Marxism.

The negation of Marxism takes different forms in China today. All the deviations which Marx, Engels, Lenin and the world revolutionary movement combated in the course of 120 years are to be observed there.

The invocation of anarchic chaos rather than the organized force of the people led by their political vanguard, the appeal even to supernatural forces, magic exhortions, certainly have nothing in common with a scientific, raitonalist concept, with dialectical materialism, with Marxism, which regards revolution as a process characterized by a high degree of organization and one governed by objective laws.

What is in question is not only a sharp deviation from our principles, but things diametrically opposed to Marxism.

This has found characteristic expression in the so-called "cultural revolution," a movement launched by order of the group now in power. The order was issued to millions of youngsters who were freed from attending classes—the universities were closed—in order to burn books and gramaphone records, destroy ancient works of art, fulminate against the classical opera and attack the Communist Party, many of its leaders in different parts of the country, and the Young Communist League, which was dissolved. Hence this movement is not a revolution, for it is directed against legal organs of the revolution, against the youth organization and the Party. Besides, the facts show that it is assuming the character of a movement against culture, for it is inspired by the primitive idea that in the cultural field it is necessary to "destroy everything and build everything anew." What this movement employs is not revolutionary creative coercion but merely primitive physical coercion whose impunity is guaranteed by power.

The "cultural revolution" in China is not an expression of the proletarian dictatorship, it is a directed explosion of the "Red Guards" who act as ordered from on high and often fight not only against one or another sector in the Party and against the Communist youth organization, but also against the proletariat, the peasantry and the intelligentsia.

The concept of war as a requisite for the conquest of power, Mao's thesis that "the rifle bears power," his unabashed assertion that from the ruins of nuclear war there will arise a civilization a thousand times more resplendent than the present one, are also in glaring contradiction with Marxist-Leninism. In April 1914, on the eve of the first imperialist world war when no socialist state was in existence yet, a Polish journalist, Alfred Maikosen, asked Lenin: "Do you crave for a conflict?" Lenin replied: "No, I don't

want it. Why should I wish it? I am doing and will do everything in my power to prevent mobilization and war. I do not wish millions of proletarians to exterminate each other, paying for the madness of capitalism. No misunderstanding is to be allowed in this respect.

"Objectively to predict war," Lenin said, "to try, should this calamity be unleashed, to make full use of it is one thing. To wish for war and work for it is something different." (*Information Bulletin*, Peace and Socialism Publishers, Prague, 1966, No. 77).

Flagrant distortions of Marxism are imposed by decree in all areas of China's life in the name of an idolatric personality cult which, as Pablo Neruda said, transforms Mao Tse-tung into "a living Buddha." They speak, not of "Maoism," but of "President Mao's ideas"—on a theoretical plane—as a form of exoneration from any responsibility for failure in practice which Mao Tse-tung's eulogistic exegetes will always blame on the mistakes of those who have not creatively assimilated his infallible precepts.

Some of these ideas have fallen through indeed, and not only in the ideological field, but also in their internal and external application.

Added to the errors at home are blunders in the international arena which have virtually brought about the international isolation of China. These failures, which assume a tragic character, especially in Indonesia, led not only to the destruction of the Communist Party of Indonesia, which was the biggest party in the capitalist world, but also to an unprecedented massacre of hundreds of thousands of fighters. They are among the factors behind the break-off with Peking of the Communist Party of Japan, once its resolute supporter, the estrangement of the North Korean Party from China and the maintenance by the Democratic Republic of Vietnam of a cautious position, a position of defense of the unity of the world socialist camp.

Great sacrifices were suffered not only in Indonesia, but also in China itself, where the ruling group does not hesitate to provoke border incidents.

Some Chinese leaders do not discount the idea of trying hard to bring on a U.S.-USSR nuclear clash which they would watch from t mountain top, as they put it in their peculiar "poetic" lingo.

The anti-Soviet phobia with which the studying youngsters are infected through all media drives the "Red Guards" to proclaim in Peking: "Soviet revisionists, we are awaiting the moment of vengeance. (Vengeance for what? For the assistance the Soviet Union rendered by creating thousands of factories in China—facts which even the "anti-revisionist" tags glued to the Soviet ZIL, Volga and Chaika cars cannot obscure?) We shall skin you, rip your veins, burn your corpses and scatter the ashes in the wind."

This is not only celestical music to the U.S. imperialists. We have already heard such curses from Hitler and Goebbels.

The newly-coined spurious theory that the issue is one of struggle between poor and rich countries, no matter whether they are capitalist or socialist, has nothing in common with Marxism, with the truth. The charge that Soviet society—inasmuch as it stands for peace—forgets about the struggle against imperialism, contradicts reality. Equally lying is the assertion that Soviet society is growing bourgeois. In this society the bourgeois disappeared from the scene many years ago. It is nonsensical to associate the revolution and socialism with an obligatory and perennial state of irremediable misery. The revolution is accomplished precisely for the purpose of delivering people from the misery to which they are doomed by capitalism, by imperialist and feudal exploitation.

Speaking of the cause of the present Chinese drama, the constantly arriving reports lead to the assumption that a certain group is struggling fiercely to entrench itself in power, using even Bonapartist methods for the purpose. The outrages which the world is witnessing are stimulated by this group, which is seeking to secure its positions and remove its rivals in this way.

What actually is taking place is an offensive against the Party waged, under the patronage of army leaders, by masses of juveniles—politically ignorant, alien to the proletariat and flatteringly called—Trotsky fashion—"the barometer of the people"—who are destroying Party branches, local committees and other leading bodies.

There have also been reports of clashes between the "Red Guards," on the one hand, and workers and peasants, on the other.

In the final analysis, the "Red Guards" are simply a tool of a policy which they do not control and which affects the Party, the Communist youth, the masses of workers and peasants.

All this evidently gives rise to instability and struggle within the Chinese Party, a struggle the full extent of which is not known to us. Otherwise it is impossible to explain this rapid and complete destruction of the unity of thought and action which led the Communist Party of China and its once solid leading core from the caves of Yenan to the conquest of power in a country inhabited by one-fourth of the world's population. And this shows how deeply the Communist Party of China has been penetrated by elements alien to Marxism.

The events have proved that this policy weakens assistance to Vietnam, that this split benefits only the imperialists, who remain the chief enemy, the common enemy of the entire socialist camp and all peoples. For this reason the Communist Party of Chile has supported, in its documents and statements of the past ten years and especially since its 10th Congress, a firm policy of peace and

exposed the pernicious personality cult which is bearing such bitter fruit in China today. It insists on respect for the Leninist norms, on the leading role of the Party as the organized vanguard of the working class and the entire people. Therefore our Party has always called—and it renews this call at the present plenary meeting —for voluntary vigilance to prevent the small groups of adventurers financed abroad from ensnaring the gullible from among our people. Therefore our Party fights consistently for unity of principles, for solidarity with Vietnam, socialist Cuba and all peoples suffering from imperialism and its agents, and spares no effort to restore, on a sound foundation, international revolutionary unity, including unity with the Chinese comrades. We hope that this unity will be achieved and will help defeat imperialism and bring nearer the victory of the world revolution.

# ON THE 11th PLENUM OF THE CC, CPC

## STATEMENT BY THE POLITICAL COMMISSION OF THE CC, CP OF EL SALVADOR

The Political Commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of El Salvador (CPS) has been following with deep concern the development of certain campaigns inside the Communist Party of China and among the Chinese masses. It is also concerned about the fact that on certain international problems the CPC leaders have taken a stand fraught with extremely grave consequences. This concern has lately increased as a result of the 11th Plenum of the CC CPC.

The plenum was led by Comrade Mao Tse-tung. The communique released after the plenum contains, in effect, the following points:

1. The measures taken for the so-called "great proletarian cultural revolution" are approved.

2. The CPC decision to persevere in counterposing its particular line to the Marxist-Leninist line collectively elaborated by the Communist and Workers' parties at their 1957 and 1960 world meetings in Moscow is formally confirmed.

3. The anti-Soviet line is legalized as an official policy of the CPC.

4. Unity of action, proposed by the CPSU to combat the U.S. imperialist aggression against the people of Vietnam by joint effort, is rejected.

The CPS considers that each Communist party is completely independent and that no hegemony exists, or should exist, within the international Communist movement, as is evident from the documents approved by the Communist and Workers' parties in 1957 and 1960. On the other hand, in faithfully interpreting these documents, it considers that each party is responsible to the other parties for the right or wrong application of Marxist-Leninist teachings to the realities prevailing in its own country. This responsibility, which is moral in character, concerns also the exercise of revolutionary vigilance to safeguard the fraternal relations that must exist between the brother parties.

With this responsibility in view, we maintain that any departure from or distortion of Marxism-Leninism by any party should be pointed out in a suitable, comradely manner.

That is why we Salvadoran Communists declare that, as we see it, the "great proletarian cultural revolution" which has for some time been going on in the People's Republic of China is a distortion

of Marxism-Leninism. The better-known manifestations of this "revolution" make us think that there are sharp differences and serious contradictions in China and in the CPC itself, and that, furthermore, they are not being dealt with properly. The unrestrained cult of Comrade Mao Tse-tung as an individual and the exaltation of his writings to the rank of dogma are the keynote of the "great proletarian cultural revolution."

The activity of the "Red Guards" is only one of the effects of the distortion of Marxism-Leninism promoted by the leading CPC group. No genuine Communist could ever justify the numerous excesses of the "Red Guards," who act under a false notion of what a real proletarian cultural revolution should be. The attitude and activity of the leaders and of numerous rank-and-file members of the CPC, far from advancing the great cause of the revolution and of communism, discredit it; far from helping Communists the world over, they are making it easier for the imperialists to win a foothold in their ideological fight against proletarian concepts.

As for the CPC leadership's formal confirmation of its intention to persist in counterposing its particular line to the Marxist-Leninist line jointly elaborated and approved by the Communist and Workers' parties in 1957 and 1960, the CPS will never agree to this CPC line. The division of the world Communist movement in general, encouraged and being carried forward by the CPC, and the tendency to split every Communist party in particular injure our glorious cause, a cause of the peoples fighting in the capitalist countries, as well as of the peoples waging bloody battles for their national liberation, against colonialism and neocolonialism. The split in the world Communist movement caused by the Chinese leaders has encouraged the U.S. imperialists to make still more persistent and criminal attempts at policing the peoples of the world. It has encouraged them to commit acts of aggression against the peoples of Cuba, Panama, the Dominican Republic, the Congo and Vietnam.

The issue of Vietnam is worthy of special mention. The 23rd Congress of the CPSU issued a firm and calm fraternal appeal to the effect that for all the differences existing between the CPSU and the CPC there are certain problems which are common to all the revolutionary forces, and which can and should be tackled jointly. In keeping with this correct view, the CPSU urged the CPC to join in united action, specifically by setting up an active front against imperialism, which is criminally attacking Vietnam. The highly important appeal of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU was acted on at the recent meeting of the Warsaw Treaty countries, which decided to send volunteers to defend the people of Vietnam as soon as the latter should ask for it. But the Chinese leaders at

their 11th Plenum formally rejected this justified appeal for united action.

That attitude of theirs is borne out by the unwarranted anti-Soviet slander campaign that they have been carrying on. One aspect of this campaign is to constantly accuse the Soviet Union of having made a deal with the United States to divide the world into spheres of influence, and the aggression in Vietnam is made out to be a product of this alleged collusion. The gravest circumstance, as far as the Vietnamese people's heroic resistance to the aggressor is concerned, is that the CPC leaders raises very serious obstacles to the vast assistance which the Soviet Union is fraternally extending to Vietnam.

To the world revolutionary movement, the defense of Vietnam has become an urgent and imperative task of today. It is the touchstone indicating who is opposed to imperialism and who abets its crimes. All that impedes the defense of the Vietnamese people is prolonging the indescribable suffering their supremely heroic resistance entails; besides, it endangers the precarious peace the world enjoys, and exposes mankind to the threat of a third world war.

Summing up, the Political Commission of the CC CPS declares that the actions of the CPC leaders aimed at formalizing the division of the world Communist movement, legalizing anti-Sovietism and rejecting united action in defense of the people of Vietnam are the negation of Marxism-Leninism. We maintain, moreover, that these actions are undermining the unity of the world Communist movement, weakening the national-liberation movements and imperiling peace and security throughout the world.

For these reasons the PC CC CPS, responding to the demands and the anxiety of the Party membership, addresses through this statement the fraternal appeal to the CPC leaders to prove by concrete deeds their loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and to abandon their present attitude for ever in the interest of the great cause of the peoples of the globe, who are fighting, at different levels and in different circumstances, for their happiness and independence, for democracy, socialism and communism.

*Political Commission of the Central Committee,*
*Communist Party of El Salvador*
*November 1966*

# PLENUM OF THE CC, CPSU*

The Central Committee of the CPSU met in plenary session in Moscow, on December 12 and 13.

The Plenum discussed Soviet foreign policy and the struggle of the CPSU for world Communist unity and passed a relevant decision.

The Plenum approved the basic propositions of the drafts of the State Economic Plan of the USSR and the State Budget of the USSR for 1967.

## I

## SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY AND THE STRUGGLE OF THE CPSU FOR WORLD COMMUNIST UNITY

### Decision of the Plenum of the CC, CPSU

Having heard and discussed the report "Soviet Foreign Policy and the Struggle of the CPSU for World Communist Unity," presented by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC, CPSU, the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee resolves:

Fully to approve the political line and practical activities of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee aimed at implementing the course of action in respect of foreign policy and the world Communist movement worked out by the 23rd Congress of the Party.

The Plenum notes that the CC, CPSU and the Soviet Government, struggling against the aggressive forces of imperialism, consistently promoting the Leninist policy of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, have achieved a further consolidation of the international positions of our country. The Soviet Union is making a big contribution to the maintenance of universal peace and the security of the peoples, to the working people's struggle for freedom, peace and social progress.

At the same time serious obstacles on the road to a normal international situation and durable peace are raised by the aggressive policy of imperialist powers, first of all American imperialism, as well as the revanchist quarters of the FRG. It is necessary to continue giving a firm rebuff to the bellicose forces of imperialism

*Pravda, December 14, 1966.

and their policy of interfering in the internal affairs of other countries and of fanning military conflicts.

The Plenum approves the stand taken by the Political Bureau and the Soviet Government on the Vietnam issue and considers it necessary to continue rendering all-round support to the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people against the criminal aggression of U.S. imperialism.

Attaching great importance to the cause of strengthening European security, the Plenum considers it an important task to seek the implementation of the principles set out in the documents of the Warsaw and Bucharest Meetings of the first secretaries of the central committee of the Communist and Workers' parties and the heads of government of the Warsaw Treaty countries.

The Plenum stresses that in the present-day international situation, it is more important than ever to promote the unity and increase the might of the socialist world system, to develop political and economic cooperation among socialist states, strengthen the international solidarity of the working class, support the peoples fighting against colonial oppression and neocolonialism, and persevere in consolidating the alliance with the national liberation forces.

The Plenum fully approves the line and the practical activities of the Political Bureau and the Soviet Government as regards relations between the CPSU and the Communist Party of China, between the Soviet Union and the Peoples Republic of China. The latest developments in China and the decisions of the 11th Plenum of the CC, CPC show that the great-power, anti-Soviet policy of Mao Tse-tung and his group has entered a new, dangerous stage. The line pursued by the present leaders of the CPC in the international arena, their policy in respect of socialist countries, the hostile campaign against our Party and the Soviet people, and the splitting activities in the international Communist movement have nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism. This policy and these activities damage the interests of socialism, the international working class and liberation movements, the socialist gains of the Chinese people themselves, and objectively assist imperialism.

The Plenum confirms the immutability of our Party's policy of friendship and internationalist solidarity with the Communist Party of China and the People's Republic of China. At the same time the Plenum finds it necessary resolutely to expose the anti-Leninist views and the great-power, nationalist course of action of the present Chinese leaders, to step up the struggle in defense of Marxism-Leninism and the general line worked out by the Moscow meetings of 1957 and 1960.

In the obtaining conditions it is even more important to fight for the cohesion of all Communist and Workers' parties on the

principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The CC CPSU agrees with the view of fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties that favorable conditions are now being created for a new international meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties, which should be well prepared in the course of mutual consultations among the parties.

The Plenum of the CC, CPSU urges Party organizations and all the working people of the Soviet Union to increase, by their constructive labor, the economic and military might of their country to carry out the great plans of Communist construction outlined by the Party Program and the decisions of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU and fittingly to greet the glorious 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

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INFORMATION

# bulletin

89

*Included in this issue*

SPEECH BY
WALDECK ROCHET

CLOSING SPEECH
NICOLAE CEAUSESCU

MANIFESTO DOMINICAN
COMMUNIST PARTY

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(1)

# information bulletin - 89

*contents*


**CONCLUDING RESOLUTION**
Of the 12th Congress, Communist Party of Belgium **5**

**WALDECK ROCHET'S SPEECH AT CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETING 13**

**DEVELOPMENTS IN CHINA**
Abridged from **Freies Volk,** CP of Germany **18**

**RECENT EVENTS IN CHINA**
**Avante,** central organ Portuguese CP **21**

**FRANZ MUHRI ON A WORLD COMMUNIST CONFERENCE 23**

**RESOLUTION**
Of the CC, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia **25**

**CLOSING SPEECH**
By Nicolae Ceausescu at Plenary Meeting CC, RCP **26**

**CPUSA GREETS PROPOSAL FOR WORLD PARTIES' PARLEY 38**

**STATEMENT OF PEOPLE'S PARTY OF PANAMA 40**

**MANIFESTO OF DOMINICAN COMMUNIST PARTY 46**

**CHILEAN CP SUPPORTS IDEA OF WORLD COMMUNIST CONFERENCE 54**

**CONCERN ABOUT CHINA**
Editorial in **The African Communist 56**

**ACTIVITIES OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES 58**



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# CONCLUDING RESOLUTION*

## OF THE 12th CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF BELGIUM

### 1. THE BIG BOURGEOISIE IN AN IMPASSE

Throughout the past year the policies of the ruling big bourgeoisie have been meeting with growing resistance on the part of the principal forces of the working-class movement. The chief elements of the government's policy—"Atlantism" and subordination to the "European Six," whose foreign policy is dominated by Bonn, unitarism as the conception of the State, the striving to integrate working-class organizations economically and socially in the system of neocapitalism—have failed to bring about solution of the concrete problems. The resistance of the masses has further aggravated the contradictions of the system and the difficulties confronting the big bourgeoisie, which is at a deadlock on a whole number of issues. This resistance makes it possible to outline new solutions.

The awarenes of the danger of a third world war resulting from U.S. escalation in Vietnam contributes to the development and consolidation of the peace movement in our country. The number of regions where the trade unions play the principal role in this movement is growing.

The struggle for peace and the movement against the stationing of the NATO headquarters in Belgium have induced the broadest public strata to search for new solutions to the problem of security.

There remained nothing for the government to do but resort to ruses to minimize in the public eye the implications of the stationing of SHAPE in our country and camouflage the policy of subordination to the United States.

And this is an impasse.

The economic outlook is bleak. But the efforts of the monopolies to make the working people pay for the consequences of their economic policy sparked off a series of large-scale actions for secure employment and living conditions. The Zwartberg agreements, wrested from the employers following the Limbourg miners' strike, led to the growth all over the country of the demand for the preservation and raising of the level of employment. This movement, along with the actions and strikes in defense of the economic and

*Drapeau Rouge, December 16, 1966.

social demands of the working people, and especially the unprecedented strike of the workers of the FN, Schreider and ACEC metallurgical enterprises paralyzed the new attempts to integrate the trade union organizations in the neocapitalist system, specifically through an incomes policy. In these conditions the question arises of defeating a pernicious economic policy which relies on the consolidation of the most powerful capitalist groups as well as on encouragement of U.S. and West German investors.

Ever more labor organizations oppose the government's constantly increasing financial assistance to big capitalists without any counterweight in the form of controlled economic development or a guaranteed level of employment in all regions of the country. The harm done by this policy is aggravated by the government's orientation on raising public services tariffs and consumer and local taxes which reduces the purchasing capacity of the masses and retards the expansion of the domestic market.

The threat of new bankruptcies in industry, of the closure of new enterprises, greater unemployment and accentuated economic decline is imminent in the entire Walloon industrial complex and some regions of Flanders. The government, which is seeking to settle the problem of state finance with the help of old recipes such as reducing expenditures on social needs and increasing the sttae debt, cannot offer any serious guarantees for the future of the economy and employment in the country.

And this is impotence.

The problems or revision of the Constitution, of the relationships between the Walloon and Flemish communities and the statute of Brussels, the structural and linguistic problems of higher education remain frozen, for undemocratic unitarist solutions are rejected by an increasing number of diverse organizations. It is important to note that the trends in favor of democratic federalism, long since widespread in the Walloon districts, are finding today a response in Flanders as well, specifically in some working-class organizations, and also among the intellectuals. But each of the two ruling parties is pulling the government to its own side, and the latter prefers to temporize, to mark time.

And this is immobilism.

The entire program of the big bourgeoisie and its government can be summed up as follows: keep in power.

## 2. THE WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT FACED WITH THE OFFENSIVE OF THE EMPLOYERS AND REACTION

The political struggles of the past year confirm the correctness of the ideas developed by our Party at its last congresses. It would be useful to return to the events of recent years in order to ap-

praise the path traversed since the time when the Left forces in the working-class movement (Socialists and Communists), relying on the vanguard forces in the General Labor Confederation of Belgium (FGTB), fought against the Lefèvre-Spaak government but were in the majority only in one Walloon area.

The trade union movement, its United Front and above all the FGTB are beginning to play a decisive role in the economic, social and political life of the entire country, now especially in the Walloon districts. In fact, what is taking place is the most important qualitative change in the working-class movement in recent years. This new role makes it possible to foresee the necessity of renovating the traditional structure of the working-class movement, of overcoming the narrow and often negative character of the old United Action. This perspective poses the problem of working-class unity already on the scale of the entire working-class and democratic movement. It goes without saying that Communists must promote the development of this trend, which, although clearly manifested and probably irreversible, is not yet evident everywhere, not even in the trade union movement itself.

Thus, the task of achieving working-class unity calls above all for the elaboration of a short-term program of action for 1967.

At present the principal forces of the working-class movement are members of the United Front of the FGTB and the Confederation of Christian Trade Unions. Wherever this Front acts from democratic principles it can successfully resist the offensive of the employers and reaction. It compels not only the majority in the Socialist Party but also some political circles of Christian Democracy to deviate from the line plotted by the big bourgeoisie.

It should be noted that the decisive factor behind this change was the important decision of the majority in the FGTB to come out and oppose the Harmel-Spinoy fiscal projects.

The Right in the working-class movement were defeated in the FGTB owing to the failure of the idea of class collaboration and to the development of trade union democracy. The FGTB plays a growing role in present-day political struggles. A certain rapprochment of the positions of the Wallon trade union Left and important trends in the FGTB in Flanders is becoming apparent. Thus, the confusion that was to be observed among the voters in March 1965 and the resulting shift to the right both among the voters and in parliament in no way refuted the reality of labor's leftward movement. Despite indisputable difficulties, this trend is asserting itself. Joint action by the Socialist and Communist working people is the chief condition for this shift to the left, which is to lead to the unity of all the working masses irrespective of ideological differences and the organizational pluralism.

The Belgian Socialist Party is the scene of struggle between the

Left, whose influence is growing constantly, and the Right, who are clinging to their parliamentary seats and to the pernicious policy which they for a long time imposed upon the party. The blame for the difficulties experienced by the BSP rests with its leaders, who, even while in opposition, desperately clutch at the policy of class collaboration, inevitably rousing the discontent of the party's rank and file and activists. Nevertheless, the shift to the left in the BSP is evident, and the supporters of the Left trend are already the majority in the Walloon party organizations.

This could be seen during the recent BCP congress, at which many speakers criticized the policy of the Socialists' participation in the government. The "neo-socialist" theories of Simonet were drowned in the debate.

This movement, which enjoys active support inside the Socialist Party, is a reflection of the increased activity of the trade union movement. The BSP, of course, has not yet worked out new positions, consistent and more conforming to reality. The changes in the party have been taking place in conditions of difficult and contradictory development which led to grave defeats for the Right. Two highly significant facts characterize this new phase of the crisis of Right-wing Social Democracy.

The first is that the BSP went over to parliamentary opposition under the pressure of sentiments predominant among the masses, which imparted to the evolution in the Party an importance much greater than that of the superficial tactic of "cure by opposition." This political fact should be appraised positively, no matter what arguments were adduced to justify it. It testifies to changes in the minds of the Socialist rank and file, to a more effective pressure exerted by the party activists and the working-class Left.

The second is that the majority of the Socialist MP's came out against the stationing of the NATO headquarters in Belgium, thus making a breach for the first time in the Atlantic solidarity of the three traditional parties and bringing about Spaak's resignation.

The successes of the United Front of the FGTB and the CCTU, especially in the metallurgical industries and in the public services, are proof of profound changes taking place among the Christian trade union leaders, who more and more incline in favor of autonomy with respect to the policy of the monopolies. In more general terms, it can be said that broad Christian circles are beginning to realize the need for the democratic renovation of social life.

In the Walloon districts the attempts to separate the federalist movement from the working-class movement and impart a chauvinistic character to it were unsuccessful.

In Flanders, increasing authority and influence is enjoyed by the new, democratic federalist trends which dissociate themselves from the unitarism of the BSP and the chauvinist nationalism propaga-

ted by the leaders of the People's Union.

As a result of all these changes, many intellectuals of most diverse trends, including Christian ones, are beginning to search for democratic solutions to the problems of our time. This draws them nearer to the working-class movement and leads to a discussion with Marxists.

## 3. FOR NEW UNITY

However, the working-class and democratic movement is not guaranteed against a few consolidation of the Right. The capitalist monopolies are preparing new attacks on all fronts and, consequently, conditions for new actions by the Right aimed at splitting the workers' organizations. The coming months will witness serious clashes, for the working people are beset with a host of dangers, such as growing unemployment, curtailment of production in the iron and steel industry, recession in the Walloon districts, the wage-freeze, the attacks on the draft law on sickness and disability benefits, reduction of budgetary expenditures at the expense of public ducation, authoritarian and bureaucratic solutions offered for the elaboration of the statute of Brussels and the settlement of the problem of Louvain University, the danger to freedoms stemming from the stationing of the NATO headquarters in the country, establishment of a regular army at the service of the bellicose strategy of the Washington-Bonn axis. The revival of Nazism in West Germany increases the disquiet generated by the role Bonn plays in NATO.

The working-class and democratic organizations must remain vigilant and be ready to act at any moment to give a resolute rebuff to any attack against them.

We consider that it would be in the interests of these organizations to set up an opposition front based on the majority of public opinion and pursuing three principal aims:

1. A new orientation of foreign policy presupposing the liquidation of military blocs, Belgium's withdrawal from NATO and its bold, independent and effective initiative aimed at putting an end to the U.S. aggression in Vietnam and establishing a system of European security.

2. Democratic federalist measures in the Walloon districts and Flanders, as well as in Brussels. The right to referendum on the initiative of the population. Democratization of the Constitution and state institutions.

3. Defense of employment and application of the Zwartberg agreements in every region and in every branch of industry. Steps to guarantee a secure existence. Introduction, for this purpose, of workers' control at all levels. We demand a social policy which

would protect the purchasing capacity of the masses; we demand a sound prices policy envisaging genuine control over capitalist profits and broader rights for the commission on prices; we demand an end to the growth of taxes and to the sabotage of draft law on sickness and disability benefits, and propose, as one of the means of achieving this, a reduction in military spending, an effective struggle against tax evasions, and a higher tax on capitalist profits.

The task, consequently, is to fight for a policy of genuine economic renovation and development, which necessitates the participation of the workers and democratic organizations in the distribution of capital investments, both on the scale of Belgium and of the Common Market.

There exist all conditions for the program of structural reforms formulated several years ago to become a more concrete objective of the struggle for workers' control, and for the as-yet too general outlines of the alternative policy to be brought into greater conformity with the actual state of things.

To ensure advance along this road, it is necessary to continue the fight against the policy of the Social-Democratic Right, to inflict upon it one defeat after another through the practical realization of labor democracy, to develop the criticism of the theories of "modern socialism" which constitute the ideology of splitting the working-class and democratic forces and serve to justify the practice of class collaboration.

It is necessary to accentuate the rupture between the majority of trade union organizations and the policy of the monopolies, to strengthen the cohesion and independence of the former. The road to victories lies through fresh successes in consolidating working-class unity by drawing the BSP and the Christian Democrats more to the Left. The Christian Democratic MP's should strive to strengthen their independence from the Right win of the Social Christian Party, for before powerful actions can be taken it is necessary to establish a parliamentary majority whose positions will become ever more crystallized in the course of the struggle itself.

Thus there can emerge a new unity leading to joint action on an unprecedented scale. On the way to this unity it would be possible to elaborate and specify the conditions, in particular as regards the program, of forming a democratic and anti-monopoly government, for the perspective of the broad front of political opposition which we advocate is the demand for the transfer of power to this front for the purpose of initiating an alternative policy.

## 4. PROMOTE DISCUSSION AND ACTIONS

However, first it should be recognized that there exist new pos-

sibilities for joint action. In particular, the organizations and activists of our Party can see that many of our earlier proposals have become a subject of reflection among all sections of the working-class and democratic forces. The BSP and the entire working-class movement are obviously too slow in drawing conclusions suggesting themselves in connection with the new situation and with the development of new concepts spreading among the Christian masses. We express the wish that all the Left working-class organizations study this highly important question, and that the BSP and CPB organizations set the example of unity. For without understanding the importance of the current change it is impossible to go over from appeals for action to action itself, and at best one will have to limit oneself to superficial propaganda of correct but too general ideas.

The existing situation demands—of the Communists, in the first place—that a sustained effort be made to overcome trailing behind the events, learn the lessons of the previous congresses and still more energetically stimulate mass action.

But intensification of the activity of our Party calls for its own consolidation and above all for extensive development of the discussion in all its organizations and growth of its numerical strength. That is why we should hold numerous Party meetings and ensure the observance and full utilization of the democratic rights provided by the Party Rules, in order to perform in the best manner the role assumed by us—to advance concrete proposals and slogans calling for action, to amplify the dialogue with the working-class and democratic forces.

## RESOLUTION* OF THE CPB CONGRESS ON VIETNAM

The 17th Congress of the Communist Party of Belgium salutes the heroic struggle of the people of Vietnam, a victim to U.S. imperialism, and expresses to them its admiration and solidarity.

Despite the enormity of the military means at its disposal and the atrocities it resorts to, U.S. imperialism will never impose its law on the people of South Vietnam who are led by their true spokesman, the National Liberation Front.

It is this failure that has led Washington's ultra-reactionary groups to the policy of escalation illustrated by the criminal air raids on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, although there still exists the possibility of peaceful settlement on the basis of recognition of the Vietnamese people's right freely to decide their destiny.

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*Le Drapeau Rouge, December 16, 1966.

The terroristic bombing of the DRV by U.S. aircraft rouses the indignation of the Belgian public, which realizes the tremendous danger of the policy of escalation to world peace and ever more insistently demands, through the peace movement, immediate and unconditional discontinuation of the raids.

This demand acquires added urgency now that, following appeals by highest world authorities, there reappears the prospect of a Christmas and New Year truce in Vietnam.

The 17th Congress of the Communist Party of Belgium urges that the Belgian government take this opportunity to support firmly and openly initiatives aimed at stopping U.S. air raids on the DRV. This is the main thing for putting out the dangerous flame of war kindled by U.S. imperialism in Vietnam and preparing a solution of the problem that would conform with the inalienable rights of the Vietnamese people.

# WALDECK ROCHET'S SPEECH* AT CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETING

On behalf of the Political Bureau of our Party, I am to inform you briefly about the talks between representatives of our Party and the Federation of the Democratic and Socialist Left.

The Communique begins with recalling that in the course of the discussion the delegation of the Communist Party proposed to the representatives of the Federation:

1. elaboration of a common program of all the Left parties that would conform to the interests of the workingmen, the people and the country;

2. a national agreement on the mutual withdrawal of candidates in favor of the left candidate polling the biggest vote, with this agreement to be effective in all the constituencies.

The Communique also mentions that after these questions were discussed the CP delegation expressed regret that its proposal regarding a common government program—a proposal which stands —had not been accepted by the representatives of the Federation.

As to the electoral tactic and the respective positions of the two organizations, it is confirmed first of all that in the first round of balloting either organization will advance its own program and dominate its own candidates.

In the second balloting, in all the constituencies where the Left can win, both organizations will appeal to the voters to ensure the success of the candidate best placed in the first round.

Application of this point of agreement and the special cases that may arise will be jointly examined immediately after the first round.

As regards the districts where the Left are not in a position to win, we have been able to agree on the tactics to follow.

And in view of the Federation's declared intention to withdraw its candidates in favor of candidates of the center in the districts where no Left candidates can win, our delegation indicated that Communist candidates would not retire in favor of Right candidates and that in the second round they would oppose Gaullist and other reactionary candidates.

As we can see, as far as electoral tactics are concerned the agreement is limited but nevertheless positive, for it will make for the defeat of a certain number of candidates of the UNR and reaction to the benefit of candidates of the Left parties.

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*Abridged from **L'Humanité**, December 22, 1966.

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The second and fairly large part of the document deals with convergencies of viewpoints and with the common objectives of the Communist Party and the Left Federation.

The Joint Communique points out that both delegations place in the foreground of their common aims the struggle against one-man rule, for they regard Gaullism as an anti-democratic regime which is the chief obstacle to the blossoming out of freedom, to economic and social progress, to a consistent policy of peace and disarmament.

The Communique defines the following common objectives:

—a constitutional reform to abrogate or revise the articles utilized for imposing one-man rule;

—guaranteed individual and collective freedoms, as well as a democratic status of ORTF (the French Radio and Television—**Ed.**);

—protection of the freedoms of local communities;

—abolition of the restrictions on the right to strike, recognition of the trade union section of the enterprise, and extension of the rights of the production committees;

—moral and material emancipation of women.

In the economic field, both delegations affirmed that there can be neither genuine democracy nor a happy future for France unless capital investments are made ensuring the country's effective part in the peaceful competition of nations and providing all French citizens with the necessary means to satisfy their most justified needs.

This presupposes that the prjority given to the atomic race will be counterposed with fundamental priorities of the right to a dwelling, health protection and above all education and research.

On the question of education, both delegations point out that the interests of the nation demand equal opportunities for the youth, a democratic educational reform and the allocation of the necessary funds, with the secular status of the State and the school respected.

As regards the economic and social fields, the two delegations consider it indispensable that a policy of development and progress should be pursued. This calls, in particular, for the adoption of the following measures:

—Democratic elaboration of an economic and social plan to replace the 5th Plan (the government's economic development plan for 1966-70.—**Ed.**).

—Nationalization of the war industry and commercial banks, democratic management of state-owned enterprise.

—Higher wages, salaries, pensions and benefits.

—Full employment, observance of the social security laws, and gradual reduction of the pension age.

—A tax reform to tax large incomes and ease the burden on the working people, especially in the low-income brackets.

—A consistent agricultural policy relying on cooperation, modernization, improvement of living conditions in the countryside, and fair remuneration of the peasant's labor.

Stressing that they do not conceal their divergences on a number of major issues, both delegations declared support for any initiative for general simultaneous and controlled disarmament, promotion of peaceful coexistence and political, economic and cultural contacts with all countries, and settlement of international conflicts.

They consider it necessary that an immediate end be put to the U.S. air raids on North Vietnam and peace in that area restored through the implementation of the 1954 Geneva agreements.

They urge France's return to the Geneva Disarmament Committee and declare their profound hostility to the "force frappe" and their determination in securing the signing of the Moscow Test Ban treaty and opposing the manufacture and proliferation of nuclear weapons.

Opposing the atomic armament of West Germany, the two delegations express themselves in favor of establishing European and international collective security and recognizing the Oder-Neisse border.

Lastly, the Communique stresses that confrontation of viewpoints led to the cryestallization of a common basis for action in the struggle against one-man rule and for democracy, thus opening up positive perspectives before the people of France.

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We consider that this agreement is a very important event. It is a victory for all who stand for the alliance of the democratic and working-class forces.

In the first place, the meeting which we have had is a significant political development in itself.

Indeed, there have been no such meetings between the Communist Party and the other Left parties in the past 20 yars.

Moreover this agreement is to play an important role by virtue of its content for it far transcends the bounds of elections.

To be sure, the agreement does not envisage all the measures and demands listed in our program for securing genuine democracy.

But the common aims defined in it coincide with a whole number of propositions contained in the programs of both organizations,

and, understandably, the agreement does not envisage a single measure running counter to our policy and our program.

In other words, signing this agreement the Communist Party did not renounce any of its fundamental political positions.

For instance, although our proposal on a joint program was not accepted by the representatives of the Federation, we by no means renounce it, contrary to what *l'Aurore* says.

Our delegation states clearly in the Communique that the Communist Party remains loyal to this basic aim.

This means that we shall continue the struggle for the creation of the most favorable conditions which will make it possible tomorrow, even after the elections, to reach genuine agreement regarding a common government program.

We are convinced that the agreement that has been concluded will contribute to the post-election development of Socialist-Communist unity of action, to the alliance of all democratic and working-class forces. It will make it possible to deal a hard blow at Gaullist power.

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As a matter of fact, the parliamentary elections are for us but a stage in our struggle for unity and alliance.

But this is a very important stage, for the results of the forthcoming elections are bound to influence France's political future.

These results will greatly facilitate fresh successes of unity if in the first round the working people and democrats massively vote for the party tirelessly working for unity and alliance—the Communist Party.

The more votes the Communist candidates obtain already in the first round, the more difficult it will be to reject agreement on a common government program: the necessary alliance will eventually become inevitable.

We stress that the results of the *first* round will be decisive.

Indeed, it is the number of votes the different parties will receive in the first round throughout the country that will make it possible to measure the influence each party wields.

In other words, the millions of votes the Communist Party will poll in the first round on the basis of its program will give it the necessary strength for successful work on behalf of working-class unity and the alliance of all democratic forces.

That is why we say there is no need for endless arguments as to what will happen in the second round in this or that constituency.

Our Party, its organizations and activists should already now before the first round, enter the battle upholding the Party pro-

gram with a view to winning millions of votes for the Communist candidates.

Already now our organizations and activists must redouble their activity to bring our program, our solutions, our policy of unity and alliance to the knowledge of all working people, all democrats.

Thereby they will contribute to turning the forthcoming elections into a victory for the Party and at once for the alliance of the working-class and democratic forces.

# DEVELOPMENTS IN CHINA*

Our Party is deeply concerned about the latest developments in the People's Republic of China and the joyous echo they evoke in the anti-Communist press of the Federal Republic. Once our Communists enthusiastically watched the heroic battles of the Chinese people's great revolution, which claimed so much sacrifice, and its victorious advance. Is it possible that this is in danger now? Communists ask whether things really are that way in China.

Other Communists say that the Communist movement is still so young, historically speaking, and is in power only in some countries, where it, moreover, took over a very short time ago, and that it is faced with entirely new and formidable problems. It may and, indeed, it cannot but come up against difficulties and make mistakes. Shouldn't one be somewhat more forebearing? And then, is it right to gauge everything by the experience of other countries and condemn every departure from this experience? Are we at all in a position to pass a correct judgment?

A whole series of important questions are asked that cannot always be readily answered. To be sure, we must pay heed to those Communists who stress the extreme complexity of socialist construction and the fact that since the situation varies from country to country there are entirely different roads to socialist construction.

The question, however, is: are there not, for all the variety, certain necessary fundamental laws governing the working-class movement and operating in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism? Marx, Engels and Lenin showed convincingly that of all the classes in existence it is only the working class that can lead the struggle to abolish the exploitation and oppression of man by man. They also showed that the working class can accomplish these tasks only if it is led by a revolutionary party of like-minded people who have united of their own free will in a disciplined and militant democratic organization.

These are some of the necessary laws which are valid for every country, for the working-class movement in any country, including China.

The CPC held its last congress in 1956, or ten years ago. The congress decisions indicated that China would require several decades to build socialism—a realistic and correct estimation. It was allthe more surprising, therefore, that in 1958 the Chinese leaders simply discarded these correct decisions of their Party

*Abridged from **Freies Volk** (CP of Germany), November 1966.

congress and adopted the policy of the Big Leap. They said the Soviet Union's experience in socialist construction was inapplicable to China. By forging ahead at a high rate, China could become the economically strongest country and arrive at communism before other countries. In this way, they said, China would become the center of the world revolution.

If we consider this policy in terms of the general laws of Marxism-Leninism governing socialist construction listed above, we must describe it as an unmistakable departure from Marxism-Leninism.

This departure had dire consequences. The Big Leap policy was carried on for two years, beginning with 1958. Coupled with certian natural calamities, it wrought such havoc in the economy as to require a "settlement period" that lasted for years. Not until 1966 did output in the decisive industries—coal, metal and oil—reach the 1958 mark once again. Thus the Big Leap caused economic and social stagnation which, needless to say, hit the people.

The lessons drawn from this should be, in our view, different from a "cultural revolution" leading to the burning of the writings of Balzac and Shakespeare, the destruction of recorded music by Bach, Beethoven and Tchaikovsky, the demolition of the Pushkin memorial in Peking, assault on foreigners, and above all the destruction of cultural monuments of the Chinese people themselves.

The "cultural revolution" is, in fact, a further departure from Marxism-Leninism.

Let us see what forces the CPC leaders are leaning on for support as they carry on their "cultural revolution" and who the latter is directed against. Those are forces that are *outside the Party*. They concentrate their main fire on the Party. Why? Because active in the Party are the forces opposed to anti-Marxist policy. The aim is to break their resistance to the "cultural revolution." The "Red Guards" openly raided 20 provincial Party committees out of 27 for opposition to the "cultural revolution."

The Korean Party of Labor rightly branded the "revolutionary" methods of the "cultural revolution" as "anti-revolutionary Trotskyism."

Thus the so-called cultural revolution is directed inside the country against the working-class party and leans on petty-bourgeois intellectuals for support.

All this is "supplemented" by deliberate misinformation of the people. On the one hand, the Chinese leaders keep silent about the condemnation of the "cultural revolution" in the official statements of practically all the Communist and Workers' parties. On the other, they spread false reports to the effect that "the German people at heart admire Chairman Mao" (*Information Bulletin for Party Functionaries*, Sept. 28, 1966).

In foreign policy terms, the main content of the "cultural revolution" is a policy of disruption, of stepping up the anti-Soviet campaign and virtually assisting imperialism.

The Chinese leaders have put about the lie that there is a conspiracy between the Soviet Union and the United States against the people of Vietnam. Do they need this lie as an excuse for dodging effective solidarity with the heroic people of Vietnam?

The Pentagon could be very grateful, for it knows full well, of course, that China is the socialist country which borders directly on Vietnam and which can and does block the Soviet Union's great aid to the Vietnamese people. The touchstone of every Communist is real solidarity with Vietnam, not revolutionary talk.

The ultimate cause of the alarming events taking place in China is, undoubtedly, disregard for the leading role of the working class.

After the October Revolution a thousand million people, mostly peasants and members of the petty bourgeoisie, were drawn into a world-wide revolutionary process. Thus the working class won hundreds of millions of allies. These forces are invincible when they act together and are led by the revolutionary working class. But it was inevitable that petty-bourgeois ideas, too, should make their way into the working-class movement. Lenin foresaw this and called attention to the danger of a petty-bourgeois current in Russia. While the CPSU solved this problem, the CPC leaders clearly ignored Lenin's warning. People born into the families of intellectuals or peasants, they one-sidedly oriented the Party on the revolutionary peasantry. In Mao's writings there is hardly any analysis of the position and specific struggles of China's working class.

This orientation on the petty-bourgeois elements has its effect. Throughout history the petty bourgeoisie has provided fertile soil for nationalism and chauvinism, for rash and reckless moves, for the deification of heroes and the simultaneous spread of equalitarian notions with regard to the masses. Revolutionary phrase-mongering has always served to camouflage petty-bourgeois behavior. Peking's present talk certainly does not cause the slightest concern among the imperialists, whereas its anti-Soviet campaign and disruptive activity are welcomed as help for the aggressive policy of the United States in Asia. As for Bonn, it is only too evident that Bonn directs its attacks against the Soviet Union and not the Chinese leaders' talk.

We Communists of the Federal Republic see our task in fighting, as internationalists of action, for the greatest possible solidarity with the people of Vietnam. We reject the Chinese leaders' anti-Marxist point of view and combat all manifestations of nationalism. And we firmly rally behind the Soviet Union, the main force in the fight against the American aggression in Vietnam.

# RECENT EVENTS IN CHINA*

## OUR STAND

The latest reports from China evoke anguish and indignation among the Communists and all working people of the world. Anguish because they see the dangerous trend of events which may jeopardize the results of the great Chinese revolution. Indignation, because they see what advantage the imperialists take of the policy pursued by the leaders of a great and glorious Party and a great socialist country.

The stand of the Portuguese Communist Party as regards the difficulties in the world Communist movement has always been absolutely clear. Since the time we rejected the leftist and adventuristic theses of the Chinese leaders, we have always come out in defense of the unity of the socialist camp and of the Communist movement. We have always stood for the equality and independence of any one party and against the interference of any one party into the internal affairs of another party. We have always favored limited the polemic to the ideological field or ending it when it turned into invective and outrageous slander. We have always advocated frank and fraternal discussion. We have always pointed out the need for maximum patience, so that life itself should show who is right and thus enable those erring to rectify their errors. We have always held that only imperialism, the class enemy, the warmongers can benefit from the absence of unity in the socialist camp and the world Communist movement.

Therefore we are working to strengthen the bonds of friendship and cooperation between our Party and the other fraternal parties, and, being a contingent of the great international Communist movement, we propose methods and display the initiative which could constitute a constructive contribution of the Portuguese Communists to the overcoming of the difficulties.

Similar positions are held by almost all fraternal parties, beginning with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. For several years the CPSU has been the target of the crudest and most calumnious charges on the part of the leaders of the Communist Party on China. "Betrayal of the proletarian revolution and the national-liberation movement," "collusion with U.S. imperialism," "restoration of capitalism in the USSR," "betrayal of the people of Vietnam" — these were among the gravest accusations which the Chinese leaders invented and disseminated throughout the

*Avante, central organ of the Portuguese CP. Editorial from No. 372, November 1966.

world with the help of frenetic and profuse propaganda in an attempt to discredit the Party of Lenin and the Land of the Soviets. And throughout all the years of this propaganda the Soviet Communists have been exerting efforts to improve the relations with the People's Republic of China and the Communist Party of China, insisting on the need for unity and working for it.

But the Chinese leaders have learned nothing from the friendly efforts of the fraternal parties, the series of failures of their adventuristic orientation, or their growing isolation. Renewing and intensifying, in the rudest form, their attacks on the entire Communist movement and chiefly on the USSR, the mainstay of the world revolution, they have systematically turned down fraternal proposals aimed at strengthening cooperation with the USSR and the other socialist countries and achieving rapprochement with the other fraternal parties.

Gradually their ideas of hegemony and domineering, their nationalistic and chauvinistic sentiments began to prevail upon the ideas of internationalism, upon consideration for the interests of the socialist camp and the Communist movement, for the cause of the working people of all the world. Mao Tse-tung was deified. And inasmuch as the deity is infallible, faith, intolerance, fanaticism were counterposed to most evident facts refuting the proclaimed "eternal truths," and to the resistance of those who dared to reason and argue.

The so-called cultural revolution—a logical consequence of this process of political degradation—is merely the camouflage for a violent campaign to inculcate hatred for the Soviet Union and the world Communist movement in the Chinese people, to incite the psychosis of great-power chauvinism and conduct a sweeping purge of many Chinese Communists who do not approve the anti-Leninist policy of the CPC leaders.

Mao Tse-tung and his group have chosen a moment for a new "leap" along the road of split when the unity of the socialist camp, the Communist movement and the anti-imperialist forces is needed more than ever in order victoriously to oppose the criminal war of U.S. imperialism against the heroic people of Vietnam. Instead of accepting the proposals of the USSR, Vietnam itself and fraternal parties for unity of action against the aggressor, they bring their campaign against the Soviet Union and the Communist movement to paroxysm. This orientation and these actions benefit only the aggressor; they thicken the clouds over the people of Vietnam and create new and serious dangers to our great cause, which is also the cause of the great Chinese people.

We hold, as before, that the unity of the socialist camp (including the People's Republic of China) and the unity of the Communist movement (including the Communist Party of China) is an impera-

tive necessity. We hold, as before, that there are objective grounds for this unity. We hold, as before, that the aggression against Vietnam demands that great China join her forces and efforts with those of the Soviet Union, the entire socialist camp, the world Communist movement. We hold, as before, that there are many Marxist-Leninists in the Communist Party of China who will not stop working to return their party to the correct road of cooperation and unity with the other socialist countries and the Communist movement. Despite the increasingly dangerous and pernicious course of the Chinese leaders' policy, we shall continue to insist that all efforts should be exerted to restore unity.

The actions of the CPC leaders have reached a point where no positive contribution can be made by keeping silent about them.

# FRANZ MUHRI ON A WORLD COMMUNIST CONFERENCE*

A report on international problems and the world Communist movement was presented to the Central Committee of the CP of Australia by Franz Muhri, the Party chairman.

Among other things, Muhri spoke of calling an international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties. He said that in view of the U.S. imperialists' continued escalation of the war in Vietnam, the threat to peace in Europe emanating from the West German revanchists and militarists, and the whole of international development, which calls for more active cooperation than ever of the forces of peace, democracy and socialism—unity of action of the socialist countries and unity of the world Communist movement are essential to preventing a world atomic war.

Muhri recalled that the CPA had invariably supported every proposal and every initiative in favor of establishing and promoting unity, and added that it would continue to do so. This is why we are for an early meeting of the Communist parties of Europe to discuss European security, he said.

The world Communist conference should be carefully prepared through bilateral and multilateral consultations if it really is to contribute to the unity of the world Communist movement, said Muhri. To take into account the changes that have occurred since the 1960 meeting is an important requisite for the success of the future meeting. The world Communist movement at the present stage should deal with its tasks and objectives in a constructive and creative manner, fully respecting the autonomy and equality of the parties concerned and the principle of non-interference in their internal affairs.

*Volksstimme, Dec. 22, 1966.

# RESOLUTION*

## OF THE CC, COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The plenary meeting of the CC of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia came to the conclusion that the leadership of the Communist Party of China is deliberately intensifying its anti-Leninist and nationalist policy against the unity of the movement. The so-called "great proletarian cultural revolution" — an expression of the deep crisis into which the CPC has been led by Mao Tse-tung and his group—discredits the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. The CPC leadership spearheads its attacks primarily against the CPSU and other fraternal parties and stubbornly rejects any united action in the struggle against imperialism, above all against the U.S. aggression in Vietnam. It thus objectively harms the interests of not only the socialist community and all other revolutionary and progressive forces, but also of the Chinese people themselves, does a service to imperialism, and it undermines the possibility of the relations improving between the People's Republic of China and the socialist countries, for which the Communist Party and government of Czechoslovakia have been working tirelessly.

The meeting discussed the question of convening an international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties. In doing so it proceeded from the decisions of the 13th Congress of the Party. Like many fraternal parties, the Central Committee considers that the new developments in the world, the mounting struggle against imperialism, for peace and socialism demand speeding up the preparation of the conference with the participation of the largest possible number of fraternal parties. The international Communist conference could discuss the situation in the world and in the Communist movement and outline new tasks of the struggle against the common enemy, for common aims. Such a conference would undoubtedly help strengthen the unity and solidarity of our movement and enhance its efficacy.

The plenum of the Central Committee most resolutely condemns the constant extension of the U.S. aggression in Vietnam and the barbarous bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and its capital, and reaffirms the complete solidarity of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic with the embattled people of Vietnam and its resolve to go on rendering them the necessary aid in the struggle for freedom and independence.

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*Rude Pravo, December 20, 1966.

# CLOSING SPEECH*

By NICOLAE CEAUSESCU AT PLENARY MEETING OF THE C.C. OF THE R.C.P. OF DECEMBER 21-23, 1966

## The Successes in the Implementation of the 1966 Plan Are a Lasting Foundation for the Attainment of Next Year's Great Economic Objectives

The plan for 1967 provides for a high rate of increase of industrial output, in the first place of the decisive branches of industry: power, iron-and-steel, machine-building and chemical industries, and of the light and food industries.

The plan for 1967 envisages a more marked development of the industry of consumer goods, principally in the sectors of the light industry and of durables. The rate of increase of the production of consumer goods will be over 12 per cent compared with 1966, thus exceeding the general rate of industrial growth in 1967.

It can be estimated that in the first year of the Five-Year Plan the State Plan provisions in industry will be successfully implemented. It is a gladdening fact that gross output, the marketable produce sold and cashed in, as well as labor productivity, cost price and planned profits, are being achieved and topped.

This demonstrates that real bases were provided for the Five-Year Plan and that it meets the conditions and possibilities of our economy and the working people's capabilities which constitute a guarantee for its being carried through.

Particular stress should be laid on the fact that this year the consumer goods industry—especially the light industry—has turned our products over and above plan worth of some 1,000 million lei; this is illustrative of the efforts made pointing at the same time to the important reserves we are disposing of in this domain. While laying stress on the fast development of heavy industry which in 1966 has accounted for 68.3 per cent of the total industrial output, we have this year ensured a rate of increase of the consumer goods industry which is near to that of heavy industry. This shows our Party leadership's concern for doing away with the lagging behind of the consumer goods industry.

The need for a faster development than last year of the consumer goods output follows from the steady growth of the population's requirements and from the fact that for a long time this sec-

*Abridged from **Agerpres** bulletin (English Edition), December 26, 1966.

tor was neglected. Gradually as the population's purchasing power went up, the lagging behind of this sector has become more and more conspicuous. Measures had to be taken this year for stepping up production during each quarter and it was necessary to supplement the imports of consumer goods. Nevertheless, we must say that a shortage of some consumer goods is still felt in the market, especially of durables.

Particularly noteworthy is the fact that the plan of agricultural output has been exceeded by 7.2 per cent in 1966. One could say that this year's agricultural plan has not been very ambitious and that is why it could be overfulfilled. But account must be taken of the fact that agricultural output has grown over 1965, when we had a comparatively good output, by 11.2 per cent. This is the highest rate ever achieved in our country's agriculture. The cereal output this year is over 3 million tons higher than the average annual output under the Six-Year Plan. The results recorded in agriculture are due to the measures taken by the improvement in its technico-material basis, better agricultural management, and also to the fruitful activity carried on by the agricultural bodies, by our peasantry as a whole.

An important feature of the plan for 1966 is fulfilment and overfulfilment of the provisions in both the sphere of material production and in social and cultural areas, and in raising the living standards of the population. This reflects the intensive activity conducted by our Party and State bodies, the enthusiasm with which the working class, the peasantry, the intellectuals, the working people irrespective of nationality are carrying through the Party's policy of completing socialist construction in Rumania.

## Qualitative Advance of All Economic Activity Is Must in the Present Development Stage of Our Country

We have now reached such a development stage that our advance is conditioned by the qualitative rise in our entire economic activity. In industry we have such year obtained a high rate of growth in the volume of production. We must now—parallel with the further development of production quantitatively—go over to a new stage, a higher stage qualitatively, of industrial activity as a whole.

Although we have unquestionable successes to our credit in the industrialization of the country, industry keeps lagging behind the advanced countries. In heavy industry itself, especially in the machinery sector, there are disproportions which are getting ever more visible, creating difficulties in the development of the entire economy. So, in a number of branches of the machine-building in-

dustry we are still largely turning out the rough proportion of equipment, the proportion of fine mechanics, electric installations, machine-tools and automation being largely ensured from imports. This situation is moreover also reflected in the prices we get in the export of machine-tools per ton, compared with other countries. In 1964 we have got 420 pounds sterling per ton, while, as it emerges from the international economic publications of the same year, Bulgaria got 500, France 968, the German Federal Republic 946 and Switzerland 1724 pounds. Significant in the same context is the fact that for the exported electric machinery and equipment we obtained in 1965 5,468 lei foreign currency per ton, while for the same equipment we are paying for importation 11,579 lei foreign currency.

With good reason, one may ask: why are we at such a stage? A first explanation is that we have started from a low development level compared with the more advanced countries. But this explanation is only partly valid today. We must not forget that we have 18 years of planned economy behind us. We have always underlined that our economic policy is focused on the development of heavy industry, principally of the machinery industry. Facts show, however, that in spite of the achievements recorded, in practice we have not ensured the attainment of this objective in step with the requirements of contemporary technology.

In 1967, just as in the ensuing years, we shall have to make great efforts to do away with the existing lags in the iron and steel industry—especially in regard to the output of special steels for which a special program of measures has been elaborated during this year—and in machine-building. Only thus shall we be able to secure the modernization of our economy, to bring it nearer to the economies of the advanced countries.

To this end, we shall have to achieve more than what we have set ourselves at Congress, to rally all our forces so that until 1970 we should create a lasting basis for the development of these branches. If we do not manage to achieve this during the Five-Year Plan, difficulties will arise in the ensuing years which will powerfully make themselves felt in the development of society. We must not forget that all countries, both socialist and capitalist, are now making great efforts for the development and the modernization of industry, of the entire economy.

As you could note from the study of the Plan, we are devoting great attention to the proportional development of all branches of the national economy. In this context we shall have to give increased attention in the coming years to the consumer goods industry. Even though figures are envisaged in the 1967 plan calling for a higher rise than those established by the Ninth Congress, the consumer goods industry will still lag behind the working people's

requirements. This is the reality. It is a consequence of the fact that due attention was not devoted in the past to the light and food industries.

In the ensuing years we shall have to find supplementary resources and material means to secure a more marked development, higher than provided for under the Five-Year Plan, for the consumer goods industry. It is ou rduty to do our utmost for the satisfaction of the steadily growing, many-sided requirements of our entire people.

In our country material production expenditure in economy as a whole accounts for 58 per cent, and in industry for a rough 63 per cent compared with the value of overall output, whereas, as shown by official data of international organizations and specialized publications, in countries with a developed economy the input-output ratio amounts to from 30 to 35 per cent. This situation has a direct effect on the total national income and the national income per head of the population. The exaggerated proportion of the production expenditures or inputs in our country leads to the diminution of the socialist accumulations, exerts a negative influence on extended socialist reproduction, on the rise of the living standards of the population, on the development of society as a whole. That is why the growth of economic efficiency must be our prime concern, that is why we must analyze with the highest sense of responsibility the causes of the large production expenditures, and seek the ways to cut them.

The large production costs also follow from the fact that we have still a low level of technical processing of the raw material.

Rumania has generally a low metal output; it will not be possible to develop it very much in the future either. That is why output of higher-grade steels, the more accentuated progress of fine mechanics, of the machine-building industry, electrotechnical and electronic industries, of all the branches that secure the highly economical processing of the raw and auxiliary materials are decisive for the progress of our economy. One of the very essential problems on which the growth of our economy's efficiency depends is to obtain from the same amount of raw and auxiliary materials a value several times higher.

Certainly, we are also manufacturing products of a world standard from the angle of both technicality and metal consumption, as for instance, the diesel locomotives, the 65 hp tractors and other manufactures. At the same time, in a number of products, the consumption of materials and primarily of metal is much higher than in the advanced countries. We still have big internal reserves for cutting down specific consumption and improving the technical performances of machinery, equipment and plant.

It is necessary to point out that high metal consumption is also

an outcome of a past trend towards an exaggerated use of metal in industrial construction. Attempts were made in this country to mechanically copy practices current in the United States of America where there is a high per capita metal output and where the steel mills, because of sale difficulties, are not always working at full capacity.

Large quantities of iron for concrete are used in our building industry and, unfortunately, these quantities are growing year by year.

We must exercise a better control of all metal consumption, take firm steps for a substantial cutting down of metal consumption in the building sector, for combating grandomania, and the tendencies towards gigantomania. Designs must be ensured which should provide solutions to reduce specific metal consumptions, abandoning the trend which laid stress on metal construction.

A negative phenomenon in our economy is also the big proportion of wastes in a series of products. The liquidation of waste must be a constant concern of all enterprises. It is necessary to do away with the practice of envisaging rejects in the plan—a form of officially wasting raw material. Those who cause damages to production must bear the material responsibility of their deeds, must feel the effects.

A particularly serious facet of our economy is the existence of planned losses. As you saw from the report to Budget, in 1966, losses amounting to over 4,000 million lei were recorded and in 1967 losses totalling 3,400 million lei are envisaged. Our economy is annually registering losses in over 1,370 types of products. The working programs of a large number of enterprises for next year too include planned losses.

The question of planned losses must preoccupy all our economic and Party bodies. The time has come to do away with this anomaly, with this grave manifestation of economic backwardness. No economy can afford to organize a production showing deficit, to finance a number of enterprises at the expense of other enterprises. We have branches which year by year are spending more than they are producing, whose outputs do not cover input and that are financed from the State Budget, from the added product achieved by enterprises working satisfactorily.

In many enterprises there is a too big use of labor force compared with other countries. This situation is also aggravated by the fairly high number of non-productive workers. For this reason, labor productivity in our country is much below the one in advanced countries. According to international statistics, labor productivity in Rumania is from 2 to 3 times lower than in Italy, France and Western Germany.

These data clearly outline the big reserves existent in our economy in the matter of labor productivity. In recent years we have provided economy with high-standard modern equipment, but they are not everywhere operating with the rated capacity, adequate standards for their use were not introduced everywhere, and the productivity attained abroad with similar equipment is not obtained in all these units.

A correct attitude is not always adopted with regard to those who fail in their work. Even where some measures, although timid enough, were taken, they were not received with very much comprehension. Can we turn these enterprises into social welfare institutions? For this our State has special institutions. The enterprise must be organized so that production and labor should correspond to the world level, should ensure to each worker the possibility to make full use, during the legal working hours, of his capacity, in compliance with the existing technical conditions.

In appreciating the general condition of social labor productivity in our economy, we must take into account also the fact that more than a half of the gainfully employed population—I am referring to the peasantry—are working only one third of the normal working time. This has repercussions on social productivity generally. We must establish measures to ensure a growth of labor productivity in the enterprises and economic units and at the same time —in keeping with the possibilities of our economy—the drawing into production activity of the entire population, and a higher degree of employment of labor force on a national scale.

## Agriculture Can Make a Greater Contribution to the Growth of the National Income

We are convinced that our agriculture can make a far greater contribution to the increase of the national income, to socialist accumulations. The achievements of this year are a telling proof in this respect. Agriculture is the branch which, if we pay due attention to it, will reward our efforts to the full.

The investments made for the development of agriculture are recovered in a very short time, and the agricultural foodstuffs have their sale ensured on the world market. The UN statisticians envision an increase of the world deficit of farm foodstuffs in the ensuing years. By developing farm output, we will be able to make an increased contributions to the growth of the national income, to the progress of economy. That is why the errors made in the past by neglecting the development of the technico-material base of agriculture have been so harmful.

As is known, our country has favorable natural climatic and soil conditions for a many-sided development of farm output. Yet, a

significant part of the farming area is subject to erosion. Nevertheless, very little has been done for halting the process of land degradation, for improving soil fertility, for increasing its productive capacity. On the contrary, a number of operations for land improvement carried out in the past, and illustrations were provided by the situation in Banat and Chisana, were neglected and got degraded. In spite of the fact that it had been envisaged in the Six-Year Plan to prepare 600,000 hectares for irrigation, expanded subsequently to a million hectares, only some 70,000 hectares have been irrigated. Nor has the program of agricultural chemicalization and mechanization been carried out. Apart from big tractors, seeders and several other farm machines, the targets concerning the production for the mechanization of agriculture were not fulfilled. Repeated change in the machinery types, withdrawal of existing machines from production, contributed to the disorganization of the production activity for the needs of the mechanization of agriculture. So, when the 65-HP tractor was introduced in production, there was an unjustified stop in the manufacture of the 45-HP type, which caused difficulties.

Some of the shortcomings we are witnessing today in agricultural output are also due to some erroneous conceptions according to which the State should not have made investments in the whole of agriculture, but only in the state-owned sector of agriculture. The effect of these erroneous views and conceptions has been a lag in the development of the technical and material basis of agriculture, neglect of land improvement work, maintenance of a low level of agricultural contribution to the progress of the national economy.

I have recalled these several shortcomings manifest in the course of years in industry and agriculture in order to learn from them, in order to understand that in socialist construction in the management of planned economy arbitrariness and subjectivism must be categorically eliminated, that in shaping our entire economic policy we have to proceed from a thorough study of realities and prevailing conditions.

Successes recorded in the matter of intensifying agricultural production notwithstanding, there are still serious shortcomings in the rational use of land. Each year, both on state farms and at the agricultural production cooperatives, areas remain uncultivated which deprive the national economy of important amounts of agricultural produce. For a more rational use of the land resources, the drive must be continued for the zoning of crops in the light of the pedoclimatic conditions, with stress on locating each crop on the more favorable lands.

In the field of cattle-breeding—a branch to which we are paying special importance in the framework of efforts for the modernization of agriculture—the growth of the head of cattle and their

productivity must be pursued even more perseveringly, as well as improvement of the breeds, an increased weight of the animals, and lower death rate.

An important factor of the development of livestock raising and of stepping up animal output is the ensuring of a rational and economical foddering. A long-range program must be worked out in a short time concerning the production of combined fodder so as to ensure the satisfaction of needs of both state, farms and agricultural cooperatives.

The state farms have been supplied in recent years with modern technical means, increased quantities of chemical fertilizers, and also got investments for building complexes for industrial livestock raising. Certainly, plant and animal output has gone up on state farms and their contribution to the state central fund has increased. Nevertheless, the results obtained are not commensurate with the efforts we have made. Just as the previous year, the oncoming year will see a big number of state farms working in conditions of planned losses. The economic situation of these farms, just as the general activity of the state farms will have to be thoroughly analyzed bearing in mind the present and future stage of technical endowment, with steps being envisaged to secure a radical improvement in their entire activity. Administrative activity must be simplified, for now it takes up a large part of the working time of the engineers and experts. The latter, inclusive of the manager, must take an active part in the production process, ensuring higher output at lower cost.

There is also a considerable number of underdeveloped agricultural cooperatives, particularly in the hilly areas. The National Union of Agricultural Cooperatives, the Higher Council of Agriculture, with the help of other central bodies have surveyed their economic situation. A program of measures should now be established in each cooperative separately, leading to the increase of production, growth of the commonly-owned property, to the rise of the cooperative farmers' incomes. For, in these areas too, the peasantry has achieved good results. In a number of hilly villages the living standard—also illustrated by the housing conditions—is higher than that in some lowland villages. However, it is not the natural conditions which prevent these cooperatives from functioning well, but the shortcomings in the matter of their organization and the lack of recommended lines of production which may ensure high output and big incomes.

## Demands Linked with the Development of Our Country's Foreign Trade

Particularly great tasks are set next year in the matter of inter-

national economic exchanges. Our foreign trade will be developing at a rapid pace.

Despite the rises recorded during the recent period we must state that our export per capita is much smaller than in other countries both for volume, share of machine-building, and export effectiveness. Thus, the volume of foreign trade per capita in our country is twice smaller than in Bulgaria, three times smaller than in Czechoslovakia and about five times smaller than in the United Kingdom and the German Federal Republic. The export of machinery and equipment accounts for merely 19 per cent of our country's total export, a fact which places us behind many European countries.

We have to give special attention to the quality of the exported goods. To cope with the competition on the international market, the exported products must be at least equal for technical standard and price, to similar makes of other countries.

It is necessary that the economic ministries, the foreign Trade Ministry and the Party bodies devote special attention to a systematic control over the carrying out of the production for export, to the complete implementation of the export plan, to the increase of the efficiency of our foreign trade.

In each ministry, one Deputy Minister must be especially in charge of the export output. Likewise, in those companies that are delivering products for export comrades must be designated from the management who should check especially the situation of deliveries, ensure quality standards and the observance of the time-limits established by the contract. Within the framework of the economic commissions of the regional Party bodies, a special sector must function which should also be entrusted with following up the production of output intended for export.

The Ministries' and enterprises' responsibility for the carrying out of export orders must increase. Under conditions of foreign trade monopoly, the entire import and export activity has been concentrated at the Foreign Trade Ministry. This excessive concentration creates difficulties. We shall have to transfer some of these attributions to the economic ministries and enterprises, without diminishing the responsibility of the Foreign Trade Ministry for the unitary implementation of the foreing trade policy of Rumania.

The Plan envisages an increase of imports, which presupposes greater financial effort. We must study the possibilities of finding at home some substitutes to a number of products now imported or envisaged to be imported. Supplementary imports cannot be made except on the basis of finding new reserves to increase exports.

In connection with the activity in the domain of foreign trade

we must pay greater attention to improvement of coordination and cooperation in production, both with the socialist countries and with other countries, on the basis of the principle of respect for nnational independence, non,interference in internal affairs and mutual advantage. Further development of our economy cannot be ensured without a steady extension of economic exchanges, of coordination and cooperation in production on the international scale.

## Growing Living Standards

A large-scale housing construction and new social and cultural construction are envisaged. In step with the growth of the country's economic potential, the Party and Government allocate increased funds for the extension and perfection of health service, development of education at all levels, facilities for the progress of science, art and literature, for the advance of the cultural standards of the people.

The Party and State bodies are in duty bound to pay particular heed to the improvement of the trade services to the population, to the development of public utility works, to the beautifying of town and villages, and to the public conveyance system.

In accordance with the provisions of the plan for the next year, the pattern of commodities to be supplied to the population will be better than that of this year, the consumers being provided with a wider range of high-quality goods—foods, clothing and footwear —with a concomitant better compliance with the demand for durables.

It is necessary that efforts be made so that in the course of the fulfilment of the Plan, supplementary resources be tapped to increase output of consumer goods in priority demand with the population, thus complying with the growing purchasing power of the working folk.

The enterprises must strictly observe the plan provisions as to the quantities of goods, assortments and categories of prices.

## Steady Enhancement of the Party's Leading Role

Next year's tasks are formidable: their implementation calls for steady improvement of our entire activity. Under study are a number of measures concerning economic planning and management and other concrete measures which will make for the improving of the activity of enterprises and ministries. We shall have to accelerate the taking of these measures which are decisive for the smooth working of the economy.

As you know, since our last Congress a set of measures have been taken regarding both improvement of activity in the domain

of economy, and development of social life. They include perfecting of current and long-range economic planning, adapting agricultural management and organization to the new requirements, inclusive of the creation of the self-managing bodies of the cooperative peasantry, of perfecting guidance and direction of scientific activity, social steps such as increased pensions and elaboration of a new pensioning scheme, consolidation of the family, measures for the growth of the birth-rate, lowering the number of divorces, improving education and rearing of the younger generation.

In pursuance of the measures concerning improved management and planning of the national economy, we are to study in the subsequent period a set of problems such as improvement in the organization of economic enterprises and bodies, the system of material incentives, technico-material supply, scientific organization of production and labor, automation of technical and economic calculations and office computing, scientific rate-fixing, training of cadres for economic management and improved foreign trade systems, a better financial and banking system, simplification and rationalization of accounting in the national economy by wide-scale introduction of electronic computers.

Socialist construction demands that all Party and State officials be posted on the problems being brought forward by social development. It is on everyone's work, zeal and sense of responsibility, ability correctly to solve the many problems of socialist construction, that fulfilment of the great tasks set by the Party and the people depend.

Consultation of the Party and State active, of the entire Party with regard to the chief issues of our domestic and foreign policy is a principal feature of our activity, an essential trait of inner party democracy. We must steadily strengthen the Party's links with the masses, submit for discussion to the working people, to the entire people, the main decisions and measures to be adopted for the ensuring of the country's progress. In this way, the conscious participation of all the working people in the construction of society as a whole will be widened, our socialist democracy will steadily develop.

We have to devote greater attention to training and bold promotion of young cadres with a thorough technical and economic grounding, closely to concern ourselves with the steady broadening of their knowledge.

Of great importance is the implementation of a correct policy in regard to cadres, which should ensure the intertwining of the experience of older cadres with the buoyancy, energy and competence of younger cadres. It is obvious that one cannot work and live only on what was learned in the old days, on the experience of the past. To do so would mean marking time, a fact which can-

not but adversely affect everyday activity. The throbbing life in our homeland, the exigencies entailed by the contemporary social realities require that each of us develop his receptivity to all that is new and advanced, make an ever more valuable contribution to the advance of our people, to the construction of socialist society.

# CPUSA GREETS PROPOSAL FOR WORLD PARTIES' PARLEY*

In a telegram to the congress of the Bulgarian Party which began last Monday, Henry Winston, national chairman, and Gus Hall, general secretary, CP, USA, said.

We admire the welcome initiative of Comrade Zhivkov in calling for the convocation of a world conference of representatives of the Marxist parties to affirm the tested Leninist norms of working-class internationalism and to insure the overcoming of all barriers put in the way of manifestation of maximum solidarity with the victims of imperialist aggression; to intensify the struggle to force an end to U.S. bombardment and occupation of the sacred territory of the Vietnam people first of all.

"We recall the words of Comrade Zhivkov to the effect that 'an anti-Soviet socialism is no socialism at all: rather it is a negation of Socialism in practice and Marxism-Leninism in theory'," Winston and Hall said.

"Indeed close friendship between the Communist parties of the socialist countries is the very hub of the wheel of our world movement.

"Socialist Bulgaria has flourished and prospered in the atmosphere of such relations of friendship. At the very heart of its system of mutually advantageous external relations for friendship, prosperity and peace is its relationship with the Soviet Union; a model of kindred relations between brothers which are hailed with pride and satisfaction by all who are committed to Communism's fulfillment.

"We treasure the ever-strengthening ties of fraternity between our parties which are united by common striving for peace and socialism, and oriented by the common universal science of Marxism-Leninism."

Winston and Hall's message said, "Comrade Zhivkov and the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party uphold and carry forward the revolutionary traditions of working-class internationalism in the spirit of Vassil Levski, of Vaseil Kolarov, of George Dimitrov."

"The all-sided achievements of the Bulgarian masses in an exemplary fashion thanks to the collective genius of the most dedicated sons and daughters of the Bulgarian working people in the Communist Party of Bulgaria, headed by its Leninist Central

*The Worker, Sunday, November 20, 1966.

Committee and its outstanding leader, general secretary Todor Zhivkov."

# STATEMENT* OF THE PEOPLE'S PARTY OF PANAMA

Far back in September 1964, the Enlarged Central Committee of our Party discussed at its 12th plenum, among others, the acute problem arising in the world Communist movement around the correct interpretation of the Statement of 81 parties in connection with the proposal concerning the general line of the Communist movement made by the leadership of the Communist Party of China in June 1963.

We Panamanian Communists saw changes taking place in the world arena; we realized that the world revolutionary process was deepening in every respect. We saw the socialist camp and above all the Soviet Union had vastly increased their economic, military and political might, becoming an ever more decisive factor of mankind's development.

Also, the national-liberation movement of enslaved peoples has been dealing shattering blows at the colonial system, with the resulting rise of a whole number of independent states.

Historical successes have been scored in the class battles against the monopoly bourgeoisie in the capitalist world. The heroic resistance of the people of Vietnam to the aggression of U.S. imperialism has again exposed the inhuman nature of the U.S. warmongers. On the other hand, the Vietnamese patriots' war for freedom has noticeably aggravated the contradictions in the capitalist world, causing real crises and worsening the political and financial position of the United States. The imperialists are doomed in the dirty war they have imposed on Vietnam. Ever broader strata the world over are joining the peace movement.

Therefore the People's Party, taking into consideration these facts and principles, fully supported the decisions of the corresponding international meetings.

It was in this spirit that our 12th plenary meeting discussed the questions pertaining to the disagreements in the world Communist movement. It examined the attitude of the CPC leaders in the light of the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement, which are part of our political line. We condemned the form in which the public polemic was conducted, and the use of unfriendly and insulting language. We urged discontinuation of that polemic, hoping for the end of the campaign which might harm the cause of the social revolution currently under way.

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*Slightly abridged from **El Mazo**, November 26, 1966.

In all fairness, we can state that we did everything we could to strengthen the cohesion of the revolutionary movement in general and the Communist movement in particular. At different international meetings our Party exerted every effort to put an end to such a dangerous state of things and denounced all factionalist moves, no matter by whom they were undertaken.

After the above-mentioned 12th plenum we saw with alarm that, far from abating, the public polemic was taking an even more dangerous turn. The persons responsible for the political line of the CPC deny the negative character of these actions; moreover they consider them necessary and useful. The present state of things compels our Party to voice its opinion, dictated by the historical necessity to counterpose a solid front to the desperate sallies of the U.S. imperialists.

The People's Party has always recognized that the establishment of the People's Republic of China headed by its Party was one of the strongest blows at the world imperialist system, second in importance only to the victory of the October Revolution. Our Party also recognizes the high level of economic, social and cultural development the great Chinese people attained after the victory of the revolution, and the role they play in Asia and the rest of the world in the battle against the common enemy.

But the actions undertaken in recent years by the persons responsible for the political line of CPC are diametrically opposed to the positions of unity, solidarity and fidelity to the principles of Marxism-Leninism to which the Chinese comrades adhered in their long struggle for the conquest of power and then in the first years following their glorious victory.

The imperialists and the slanderers of the revolution have already amply used these actions of the CPC leading group in launching a violent campaign aimed at discrediting the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and smearing the socialist camp.

Our Party has always displayed special caution in considering problems of this kind, knowing full well how our enemies exploit such mistakes. But, we repeat, in the present circumstances we are compelled to make this statement, though not in the form suiting the imperialists but in a way most conforming to our principles and to the principles of the world Communist movement.

We Panamanian Communists have seen with profound concern the problem of disagreements raised by the Chinese comrades develop in the direction of a series of confused and contradictory propositions with accentuated anti-Sovietism but having nothing in common with the Marxist-Leninist principles to which the Chinese comrades claim they adhere. In addition to everything, a "cultural revolution" has been launched.

This "cultural revolution"—the CPC leading group's generic

term for a whole number of highly serious deviations from Marxism-Leninism in recent years, could not but astound progressive people and the revolutionary world, because it presents itself to the world as an extreme manifestation of chauvinism, as exaggeration of national peculiarities. In addition, it presents the Chinese comrades as the standard-bearers of utterly nonsensical sectarianism, and flagrantly contradicts the principles which were applied in the course of the revolutionary struggle in China.

The "cultural revolution" simply brushes aside the entire cultural wealth accumulated by mankind, the heritage won by the toiling masses in liberation struggles throughout history. To negate this basic principle of formation of human culture means to negate one of the great principles underlying Marxist-Leninist theory.

This position of those responsible for the political line in China is all the more dangerous since it is pursued at a time when the U.S. imperialists are stepping up their infamous aggression against the heroic people of Vietnam in an attempt to break their will; when imperialism and world reaction are redoubling their efforts to impose a new colonial system upon mankind; and when ever new tyrannical regimes are sprouting on our continent under the patronage of the U.S. imperialists.

As far as our Party is concerned, we must point out that the splitting ideas and activities of the CPC leaders have done obvious harm to the Panamanian Communists' struggle against a powerful enemy, U.S. imperialism, which has entrenched itself on our territory.

Despite heavy odds, our people headed by their revolutionary vanguard have been dealing telling blows at the domestic reactionaries and imperialism. But today, after many years of cohesion maintained by the revolutionary forces of Panama we witness deviations and factional activities inspired by the incorrect views of the Chinese comrades. Renegades, dregs of society, traitors and even agents of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency were recruited under the patronage of the Chinese leadership with the aim of weakening our Party, destroying it from within and thus removing it from its vanguard position in the Panamanian revolution.

The arguments used in the struggle against our Party from the so-called "Marxist" positions are well known. We are accused of being revisionists, of hindering the revolution, and hear other most absurd and foulest of accusations. But the line chartered by our Party and its correct application in the conditions of our reality have smashed to smithereens the position of the supporters of the "Chinese line."

Fortunately, owing to the monolithic unity of our Party, the traitorous and splitting activity failed to achieve its ends despite the use of the dirtiest means, including physical attacks, in the

struggle against us. When the plans to split our Party collapsed, the anti-Party grouplet patronized, encouraged and financed by the CPC leaders tried to set up a parallel "Communist party," whereupon followed systematic trips of these despicable people to Peking. Thus the Chinese comrades violated elementary principles of mutual respect and proletarian internationalism.

Our Party continues to develop its political line in conformity with the demand for changes voiced by our people; it fights against the forces which doomed our country to backwardness and misery, for the complete expulsion of U.S. imperialism from our land. The Panamanian Communists are not alone in this struggle, which is sometimes bloodless and sometimes not. On our side are thousands of upright Panamanian, patriotic-minded professional and intellectuals who are ready to take part in this struggle for the liberation of our country and the happiness of our people.

Our Party considers that at present an intense struggle is being waged in China around the principles of Marxism-Leninism. However, being as we are consistent Marxists, we fervently hope that owing to the help of the Communist parties of the world and the heroic participation of the great Chinese people and the Marxist-Leninists of their Party the existing state of things will be remedied, bringing nearer the complete victory of the peoples.

The People's Party will enthusiastically welcome the calling of an international conference of the Communist parties. It considers it an imperative necessity to convene such a conference, which will make a profound study of the growing aggressiveness of U.S. imperialism and discuss problems of achieving a more effective unity of our ranks, with the view of creating a stronger and more solid anti-imperialist front.

*Central Committee,*
*People's Party of Panama*

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## TOWARD A NEW WORLD COMMUNIST MEETING

**Valerio Sires**

**Vice-Chairman, People's (Communist) Party of Panama**

The People's Party of Panama (PPP) early last month adopted a resolution in connection with the increasingly vicious campaign being carried on bythe leaders of the Communist Party of China. The resolution proceeds from the fact that in earlier years we took a stand on the differences by upholding the banner of Marxism-Leninism and the decisions of the 1957 and 1960 meetings. It

notes that the CPC leadership's campaign, far from subsiding, has intensified, assuming a plainly anti-Soviet character and advocating the so-called "cultural revolution," which at bottom has nothing to do with Marxism.

Our Party considers that today, when the peoples of the world are striving for unity of action against the U.S. aggression in Vietnam, any campaign tending to discredit the CPSU is in effect landing those who wage it into the enemy camp, and decidedly serves imperialist interests.

Our Party has always fervently advocated the defense of universal and national culture. Faced with the U.S. imperialists' cultural aggression, it called for the steady promotion of Panamanian culture, which is deeply rooted in folklore, the national traits, humanism and proletarian internationalism.

We adhere to Lenin's thesis that "one should take the whole culture left by capitalism and build socialism on its basis." To us Panamanian Communists, the real cultural revolution consists in ending illiteracy, fetishism, racial prejudice and national narrow-mindedness; in bringing science into every walk of life; in setting up people's centers that will help to engage in creative endeavor and to appreciate art; in raising the educational standards of the people; in increasing the influence of universities and colleges on the mass of the people; in acquainting the masses with all that is pure and genuine and classical in world culture, and enlightening the whole people in such a way as to enable the peasants in the remotest villages to understand Shakespeare, enjoy Shostakovich and appreciate Lu Hsin. This is why we are so very interested in studying and fostering folklore, in literary work and the study of our cultural values. But now the leading CPC group has launched in the international arena a "cultural revolution" which is the negation of relevant Marxist principles and, due to the methods used, discredits the true meaning of this concept, which Communists loyal to the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Dimitrov and others have always pointed out.

The resolution therefore condemns this new campaign, in which one senses the presence of the dragons of nihilism and adventurism shouting about a "cultural revolution."

In this resolution, passed on November 4, the PPP points out the CPC leaders' attempt to form a Communist party parallel to ours. Activity in this field reached a point where "pro-Chinese" groups tried to kill prominent student leaders on the pretext of combating "revisionism." But despite the help they got, these groups could not win the support of the Panamanian people and, moreover, they split and found themselves isolated from the masses.

The resolution says that as the Party sees it, conditions for a new meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties, which is

becoming a necessity, have ripened. At present all the Communist parties should be rallied against imperialism, in defense of Vietnam. The resolution says, therefore, that the PPP is in favor of holding a new meeting in the spirit of the 1957 and 1960 meetings, with a view to assessing the international situation since 1960 and adopting general decisions on all issues of international significance.

In adopting this resolution, the PPP is aware that the time has come to take a stand, which can only be for unity of action and for what the 1957 and 1960 meetings urged, namely, frontal struggle against imperialism. The PPP would like to see all the sensible elements in the CPC overcome sooner or later the difficulties they are confronted with today, and reestablish close fraternal links with the entire socialist community and the other Communist parties of the world, so that the glorious Chinese people may play in history the role which the victory of their great revolution has earned them.

# MANIFESTO OF THE DOMINICAN COMMUNIST PARTY*

A large-scale ultra-rightist conspiracy is being prepared throughout the country. The names of its organizers and their putschist and terorist aims are generally known. At the same time the Balague government is intensifying the policy of repression and complete submission to U.S. imperialism.

But this policy is meeting with growing resistance on the part of the working people and all nationalist circles striving for profound revolutionary change which would put an end to the present state of economic exploitation and political oppression.

The Balaguer government, imposed upon our people as a result of U.S. military intervention and the rigged elections of June 1, is a government of betrayal, hunger and repression.

Relying for support on the imperialist forces and the classes and groups hostile to the nation, Balaguer has launched a massive reactionary offensive.

*In the economic field:*

—he sanctions the sale of state-owned industrial, commercial and finance enterprises, closes down factories and invites private capital to seize them;

—reduces the university budget while increasing the privileges of the armed forces;

—prohibits strikes and freezes the workers' wages;

—increasingly places our country at the disposal of the imperialists by concluding economic agreements with the Americans (the International Bank of Development, the Agency for International Development, etc.) and with the Organization of American States, with loans being received not only by the government, but all state-owned enterprises, independent organizations or state organs;

—returns confiscated to Trujillo plunderers;

—abolishes the Christmas bonus, using the damage from the hurricane Inés as the pretext;

—encourages the export of cattle at a time when there is no meat for the bulk of the population.

*In the political sphere:*

—carries out mass dismissals of workers and employees of the administrative apparatus and state-owned enterprises, allowing leading administrative posts to be seized by Balaguerists;

*Abridged.

—subjects large numbers of democratic-minded officers and men in all sectors of the armed forces to dismissals and repressions, aiming the chief blow at the patriotic servicemen from the February 27 Camp;

—conducts a new reorganization of the military intelligence service, which commits criminal and repressive acts every day;

—unconditionally supports the establishment of inter-American armed forces as an instrument of continental aggression against the Latin American peoples, and sanctions their crimes against our people;

—willingly accepts U.S. military tutelage of our armed forces camouflaged as "military aid" by "military aid advisory groups";

—carries on patrolling in government and private cars, conducts surveillance in government establishments, compiles repressive dossiers;

—makes appointment to posts dependent on renunciation of democratic political views.

In the pursuit of this policy Balaguer subjected to repression all national democratic groups which really or supposedly can organize resistance of the masses. The victims include representatives of all political trends opposed to Balaguer—from the Dominican Revolutionary Party to the Communist Party, as well as the June 14 Revolutionary Movement, the Social-Christian Party and the Dominican Popular Movement.

Along with this, the receipt of humiliating loans and the surrender of our wealth to imperialism as a "solution" of economic problems have become a daily occurrence in his activities. Unable to solve any problem in the political sphere (for repressions are his method), in the economic sphere (because of abhorrent dependence imposed upon us), or in the social sphere (by virtue of his pro-imperialist nature and links with the ultra-reactionary classes and groups), Balaguer makes the working class shoulder the consequences of the crisis. Whereas the salaries of big bureaucrats have been cut by a few pesos, thousands of workers have been given the sack and the family budgets are threatened by new dismissals, the high cost of living, social insecurity, the lack of schools and hospitals, and mass unemployment whose shadow looms over those working who refuse to bow to the employers.

The social classes of the country have reacted to the policy of the regime by drawing closer together.

Despite the formal division due to the existence of several trade union centers, the working class has unanimously rejected the government's policy of hunger. There are clear signs of the growth of its political awareness and militancy.

The working class is the most active fighter against despotism and imperialist rule.

The petty bourgeoisie, politically active among the students, intellectuals and small businessmen, was at first confused, hesitant and passive. But there already are indications of its growing resistance to the government's policy of destroying any opposition and suppressing all classes in the interests of the oligarchy and imperialism.

The bourgeoisie proper is grouping around the Balaguer government. Even while manifesting disagreement with some aspects of its policy, it fears the revolutionary solution wanted by the working class and fully sides with the government, trying to retain its class domination with the help of timid recommendations and palliatives. But some political groups within the opposition bourgeois parties have adopted national positions and denounced the repressions and the complete surrender to imperialism.

This regroupment of the class forces with respect to the Balaguer government has led to a realignment within the political parties which represent these classes and which but yesterday participated in the constitutional democratic front, having united forces in the trenches.

But the policy of Balaguer and his supporters is so openly reactionary and evoked such disgust that even some reformists in the most conservative parties of the opposition have publicly opposed Balaguer's recent statements concerning the sale of state enterprises.

An important regroupment is taking place also within the Left as a result of the ideological debacle and waning influence of the ultra-leftist and sectarian views expounded by the leaders of the Dominican Popular Movement and the adjacent groups of the June 14 Revolutionary Movement, as well as a result of the consolidation of the Communist Party.

Our Party, which represents the political interests of the working class, declares openly its revolutionary opposition to the present regime and its intention to fight for its overthrow. Other Left forces (including the June 14 Movement), even if they have not clearly demonstrated their adherence to this stand, are in opposition which could be described as of the revolutionary type, and fight in earnest for the overthrow of the government. Just as our Party, these political and social groups come out against coups d'état, against military conspiracies which intensify oppression and strengthen the power of the ruling classes. The immediate objective of our struggle is a system which would unite all democratic and political circles and all classes and strata interested in safeguarding the national wealth and establishing revolutionary democracy.

The policy of betrayal, dismissals and repressions pursued by

the present regime cannot be combated with the help of the so-called "democratic and constructive" opposition.

There is nothing positive or progressive which would deserve popular support in the policy of the present government, installed by American bayonets.

The forces supporting Balaguer's regime, their anti-popular aims have absolutely nothing in common with the immediate aspirations of the working class and all working people.

Therefore the political position of the Dominican Communist Party with respect to the government is clear: No reconciliation! No support for its reactionary policies! Fight on all fronts against pro-imperialist power!

But it should be made clear that our call for the democratic and nationalist forces to organize against Balaguerism is not a call for adventuristic and rash actions. This aim must be achieved through the preparation and organization of the masses in the course of a period which still has to be determined. This necessitates organizing numerous forces within the framework of the daily struggles for concrete objectives.

The popular discontent, the confusion caused in the reformist groups by the collapse of a policy which they think should have been "more intelligent", and the political and economic plans of the non-Balaguer oligarchy have brought about increasing manifestations of a crisis at the top and disagreements as to whether to support the established "constitutional order" and recognize the Balaguer-ridden political freedom.

Planning struggle against the democratic movements, groups of the reactionary military have launched conspiratorial activities, with some of them searching for ways of stopping the mass democratic movement and others prompting the regime to intensify the repressions. Old disagreements of a personal nature play their role in this.

In the current crisis imperialism has some room for maneuver to effect changes when the situation threatens to get out of hand, All these changes would be within the framework of its own reactionary solutions.

Imperialism can resort to the following maneuvers:

a) Intensification of Balaguer's repressive policy. It is evident that in considering other possibilities the U.S. clearly orients Balaguer's policy on stepping up the political repressions against the democratic-minded servicemen and civilians, the liberal bourgeoisie included.

Imperialism's tactic can be to make maximum use of the repressive possibilities of Balaguer and his government before provoking any changes.

b) A military coup. Acting through high-ranking "gorillas"

opposed to Balaguer and supporting Wessin, imperialism can stage, as it did in Argentina recently, a military coup and install a regime even more terroristic and bloodier than the present one. The aim will be to exterminate democratic-minded politicians, destroy public organizations and wipe out the opposition that there is.

If it proves impossible to continue this policy, imperialism can resort to a counter-coup to restore Balaguer to power.

c) Assassination of Balaguer, blamed on the Left as the pretext for ruthless repressions against the revolutionary force.

Such are imperialist solutions to the current political crisis, all of them designed to preserve the power of the reactionaries.

To deceive the masses, the imperialists talk of "defending Balaguerist constitutionality". Thus the slogan of defense of constitutionality, which had a revolutionary content in the case of the constitution of 1963, is now used as a weapon and protective armor for the most reactionary regime we have had since Trujillo, for the camouflaged U.S. military occupation, and for the power of all the anti-constitutionalists who, buoyed up by the U.S. invasion, opposed the April revolution.

The struggle of our people in defense of democracy and of the constitutionality of 1963 with its socio-economic gains, for the realization of what was won in hard struggle should not be confused with defense of the constitutionality which emerged as a result of military occupation and which falsified elections turned into chains for our people. This constitutionality usurps power and helps retain it in the hands of the ruling classes, the exploiters who give our land to foreigners, receive loans from them still more curtailing our sovereignty, and return these loans to the same foreigners. Defense of "Balaguerist constitutionality" is defense of imperialist constitutionality, of the "order" established by occupation troops and supported by the big bourgeoisie and landowners.

The objectives of the April revolution united the people and indicated the direction to our democratic process, in the course of which the military-bureaucratic machine of reaction was broken. The landing of U.S. troops impeded this process and led to an armed conflict, thus underscoring the anti-imperialist tasks which constituted its essence.

In the present situation, characterized by the existence of a government which is an embodiment of betrayal, and by the threat of a military coup or mass repressions facilitating this sellout to imperialism, there again arises the question of a revolutionary and constitutionalist national government coming to power and uniting the masses around their immediate objectives.

Faced with the threat of a coup and with a government of betrayal and unemployment, we need a clear-cut slogan uniting and mobilizing the masses, a slogan indicating a road other than

those leading to the preservation of the power of reaction. The absence of such a slogan paralyzes the masses, which do not have a clear idea of what the democratic solution should be.

There is only one democratic and revolutionary solution before our people: revolutionary action against Balaguer's puppet government and against any attempts at a terroristic coup, struggle for the revolutionary objectives which could not be achieved in April because of the U.S. intervention, for the restoration of the constitutionalist government of the April revolution headed by Colonel Caamano and based on the 1963 Constitution, this democratic program of the struggle of our people for their immediate demands.

The people regard this solution as revolutionary and support it, because it presupposes the unity of the civilians and military in the struggle for the basic patriotic objectives; because it re-unites the regrouped forces of our liberation which are fighting for the complete independence of our nation and its development; because the program of these forces—the 1963 Constitution—puts on record the immediate aims of national-democratic struggle; because the tasks which united our people yesterday have not yet been accomplished, and can be accomplished only given the close unity of all the oppressed masses and all nationalist forces, with the exception of those whom vacillations will lead to the enemy camp.

U.S. imperialism, the treasonous bourgeoisie and all agents of intervention and betrayal will do their utmost to prevent the realization of this revolutionary slogan. This applies also to the conservatives from the opposition, part of the "constructive opposition"; to those who, while pretending to be in opposition, support this regime of hunger and misery; to those who are more opposed to democratic and anti-imperialist struggle than to the government. All of them will raise a hue and cry in rejecting this slogan.

But the masses, the working class, the peasants, the students, the democratic-minded military, the constitutionalist fighters and the other nationalist strata will not oppose this slogan. Work with the masses, patient in view of its profundity but rapid because of its urgency, will help them to see where the correct road of their struggle lies. They will know that on the way to glory and power, to labor and peace with dignity they will be confronted with imperialist troops which will have to be routed.

The more than a year of open military occupation and the weeks of undercover occupation have shown to our people and in particular to the more conservative circles—if they do not shut their eyes to reality—that U.S. imperialism has not given up its far-reaching plans of domination and exploitation. It occupies our country, installs governments, demands land concessions, grants high-interest loans which are to be used as dictated by its ambas-

sador. Those who naively believed that imperialism would pay for its criminal intervention by showering the country with gold, have been disappointed. They ought to realize that the struggle leads us to a clash with imperialism not because of mistakes, but because the nature of every revolution in the scientific sense of the word, a revolution with the participation of the masses leads to a clash with imperialism, with its troops of aggression.

Our call to fight for the restoration of the April revolutionary constitutionalist government which was headed by Colonel Caamano and which could not stay in power because of U.S. intervention, conforms to the immediate tasks of the Dominican revolution, of the struggle for the establishment of a democratic regime to tackle the tasks of freeing the country from the foreign yoke and ensuring independent economic development in an atmosphere of extensive freedoms conducive to enhancing the role of the workers and peasants, who comprise the majority of our people, to solving the problems of the destiny of the nation, and to achieving further socialist aims.

This demand, issued in the context of the immediate objectives of the Dominican revolution, does not rule out struggle for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism, which are our ultimate objectives. The immediate aims, concretely expressed in the slogan for the restoration of the April revolutionary constitutionalist democratic government, are part of our struggle for the ultimate socialist objectives of our revolution, unrealizable without passing through stages of struggle which include the necessary realignment of forces. Having united, these forces will fight against the power of capital till victory.

We address our call for struggle to the working class, the most exploited class in our society, the victim of all governments and all kinds of plans, the victim of the plunderous policy of the triumvirate and of Balaguer's repressions, the victim of Trujillo's dictatorship and of oppression by the employers. We address this call to it because the working class—the vanguard of a revolution with immediate democratic and anti-imperialist aims but directed at achieving socialist gains—is the only guarantee of the deepening of this process.

We appeal to all the social groups which took part in the April revolution, including those who were deluded into reconciliation with Balaguer's power; we appeal to those who are called upon to occupy the place of honor, glory, victory and patriotism which they held during the anti-imperialist and democratic struggle, because this revolution of our people, this process, which will not be stopped either by interventionist troops or by the treachery of leaders, offers a place to all patriots and imposes a duty upon them.

We appeal to the constitutionalist fighters who, having emerged from the trenches, were confronted with the hostility of the reactionaries and saw that the hungry destiny of the vanquished awaited them, although right and victory were theirs and the historical truth was their strongest weapon. We appeal to them, the unnamed fighters who conceal their glory for fear of criminal repressions. We urge them to take up arms again, to join in irreconcilable struggle, to occupy their place in the front ranks of the patriots which their country offers them with dignity, or die with honor but never to accept humiliating handouts.

We appeal to the military, both those who fought in defense of the Constitution and who did not. We urge them to join their people in defending their homeland and again to oppose those who have always led them along the road of dishonor.

Men and women in the factories, in the villages, in all corners of the country—rise to fight for the restoration of the constitutional government of the April revolution, for the Constitution of 1963.

*Executive Committee,*
*Dominican Communist Party*
*Santo Domingo, October 10, 1966.*

(This document is based on the analysis of the political situation in the country made at a plenary meeting of the Central Committee on September 28, 1966.)

# CHILEAN CP SUPPORTS IDEA OF A WORLD COMMUNIST CONFERENCE*

## STATEMENT OF THE CC

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Chile has examined the question, formulated by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the CC of the Bulgarian Communist Party, at the 9th Congress of that Party, that conditions are more and more ripening for the holding of a new conference of representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties.

Our Party has invariably pronounced itself in favor of the idea of convening such a conference. Its 8th Congress reaffirmed this stand, pointing out that the conference "should be the culmination of a whole process of actions for unity, and that it should take place precisely when conditions are ripe for this." Proceeding from this, the Chilean delegation expressed at the 9th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party, through our unforgettable Jose Gonzalez, our full agreement with the opinion expressed by Comrade Zhivkov.

In the last two years U.S. imperialism has brought its interventionist and aggressive policy, especially in Southeast Asia, Africa and Latin America, to highly dangerous extremes. In this connection almost all Communist and Workers' parties have spoken out for unity and joint action, particularly in support of the valiant struggle of the Vietnamese people, and have been acting accordingly.

Both the need for joint action against the interventionist policy of imperialism and the presence of a whole number of new phenomena that have arisen since the last world conference of the Communist parties make it absolutely imperative to launch preparations for a new conference of the international Communist movement.

While unity and joint actions have been developing among the majority of the Communist parties, the Communist Party of China has slipped into positions which make more and more improbable the rapid overcoming of the divergencies caused by it more than six years ago. This, too, is an objective fact.

The Communist Party of Chile considers, as before, that there must be mutual understanding between all the Communist parties, the Chinese Party included.

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*El Siglo, December 19, 1966.

Nevertheless, if the Chinese comrades refused to take part in a new conference of the Communist and Workers' parties, its convening would remain an urgent necessity in view of the extreme importance of a discussion of the new world situation, the further implementation of the tasks of solidarity in the anti-imperialist struggle, and the continuation of the fight for the complete unity of the Communist movement on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The difference of views of some parties on this or that problem is not a serious obstacle to agreement on many issues that unite us, to joint action against the imperialist adversary, and still less so to our gathering at a conference in the spirit of fraternity, mutual respect and equality which the Communist movement upholds.

*Central Committee, Communist Party of Chile.*
*Santiago, December 17, 1966.*

# CONCERN ABOUT CHINA*

Friends of the Chinese Revolution in all countries are expressing the gravest concern at the turn the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party has been taking towards increasing isolation from the other socialist countries and the rest of the international Communist movement. Such a policy only serves to harm the interests of all fighters for socialism, liberation and peace; of the heroic Vietnamese people in their great resistance to American imperialist aggression; and — not least — of the Chinese people themselves.

Recent reports suggest that this concern is shared by very many among the seasoned and experienced Marxist-Leninists of China; indeed it would be strange if this were not so. Perhaps this helps to account for some of the reported excesses of the so-called cultural revolution, in which the youthful "Red Guards" would seem to be directed rather against elected leaders of the Communist Party and the Young Communist League than against the remaining elements of capitalism which exist in the country.

Without attempting to pass judgment on the internal affairs of People's China, Communists everywhere cannot but query generalizations which seek to brand the great cultural treasures of capitalist and pre-capitalist civilizations as "reactionary" and "harmful." Marx and Lenin loved and respected the writers, poets and musicians of past ages; to belittle and even ban their works is unhistorical and un-Communist. It may be that these are minor questions in comparison with the great sweep and achievements of the Chinese revolution, which is transforming the lives of hundreds of millions of people. But they are manifestations of an increasingly marked tendency to disregard and defy the experiences, good and bad, of the building of socialism in the USSR over the past fifty years, and of the century-old international Communist movement. This departure from Communist traditions manifests itself in strange and unaccountable ways.

It is impossible, for example, for South African revolutionaries to understand or condone the way in which the Chinese leadership has taken under its patronage so discredited a collection of political hitch-hikers as the leadership-in-exile of the defunct "Pan-Africanist Congress" of South Africa (which country they have, for some lunatic reason of their own, recently taken to calling "Azania", a name unknown to our people). The P.A.C. leaders, as

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Editorial in **The African Communist**, No. 27, 1966.

we have more than once had occasion to recall in these columns, built their organization from the start on the basis of rabid anti-Communist slanders. Even now, in the safety of exile, they continue to spit their venom at Congress and Communist leaders like Mandela and Fischer, whose shoelaces they are not fit to tie.

We cannot believe that our Chinese comrades can really take seriously the claims of P.A.C. to be the authentic representatives of the liberation movement of our country. But we cannot help feeling, either, that the current anti-Soviet campaign of the Chinese leaders has brought them to a stage where they will accept any allies, however dubious their standing or their motives. It is this campaign itself which is at the root of the matter. We consider it to be profoundly mistaken, fraught with the gravest dangers for the cause of national liberation, socialism and peace. It has achieved nothing but to encourage the ambitions and adventures of the imperialists and to cause disarray and confusion among the ranks of the anti-imperialist and progressive forces.

Let our Chinese comrades dispassionately survey the years since 1960 when this fraternal strike came out into the open. They have been years of intensified imperialist counter-revolutionary offensives in Vietnam, in Indonesia (resulting in the massacre of hundreds of thousands of Communists)and elsewhere in Asia. Of intrigues and aggression in Africa (including the overthrow of the progressive Nkrumah government). Of intensified intervention in Latin America (including the crude suppression of the democratic revolution in Santo Domingo). It is scarcely conceivable that all these acts of brazen and illegal aggression could have been carried out in the face of a united and vigilant anti-imperialist front, spearheaded by the Communists.

We are not saying that the Chinese comrades alone are to blame for this tragic division in the ranks of the revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces. The supreme task of today, transcending all others, is not to apportion blame for the past, but to heal the breach and stand together against the enemy. And we must bluntly say that, in this all-important task, the present trend of Chinese policy is purely negative.

These matters are too grave to pass over them in silence. We must achieve unity. The longer it is delayed the heavier will be the cost, to the oppressed and exploited of the earth; to the cause of freedom, peace and socialism; and also to the future of the Chinese people and the Chinese revolution.

# ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

**December 10-23, 1966.** A delegation of the Syrian Communist Party led by I. Bakrim, member of the Political Bureau of the CC, visited Czechoslovakia.

The representatives of the SCP informed their Czechoslovak colleagues about the position of their Party in the country, the active support by the Communists of all recent progressive measures in Syria, and the efforts of their Party to promote the cooperation of all the progressive forces of the country with the aim of uniting them in a progressive national front called upon to consolidate the successes that have been achieved, ensure the country's further development and guarantee democracy for the working class and the popular masses in order to frustrate the conspiracy of imperialism and reaction.

The representatives of the two parties condemned the U.S. aggression in Vietnam, escalated of late by the air raids on the DRV capital, Hanoi, and expressed solidarity with the DRV, the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front and the entire Vietnamese people.

Both parties regard it as their primary task to contribute to the consolidation of the unity of the world Communist movement and consider, in agreement with many other fraternal parties, that preparations should be launched for an international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties.

The representatives of the two parties put on record that the intensification of the anti-Leninist policy of the leadership of the Communist Party of China, its attacks on the USSR, socialist countries and Communist parties injure the interests of all revolutionary forces and discredit the ideas of Marxism-Leninism.

**December 12-13.** A plenary meeting of the CC CPSU discussed questions of the foreign policy of the USSR and the struggle of the CPSU for the unity of the Communist movement. It also discussed the national economic plan and the state budget for 1967. The CC fully approved the political line and practical activities of the positions of the USSR in the world arena and to the need for continuing to resolutely repel the warmongers and their policy of interference in the internal affairs of other countries. The CC approved the stand of the Political Bureau and the government on the Vietnamese problem and stressed the vital need to strengthen the solidarity and might of the socialist world system and the international solidarity of the working class. While reaffirming the policy

of internationalist solidarity with the CPC, the CC CPSU considers it necessary to point to the anti-Leninist views and great-power, nationalistic course of the CPC leaders and to step up the struggle in defense of the Marxist-Leninist line worked out at the Moscow conferences of 1957 and 1960. Putting on record the presence of favorable conditions for convening a new international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties, the CC considers that it should be thoroughly prepared in the course of preliminary inter-party consultations.

**December 12.** The CC of the Bulgarian CP met to discuss the draft national economic plan and budget for 1967. The report on the national economic plan was presented by Apostol Pashev, chairman of the State Planning Committee, and the report on the budget, by Dimitr Popov, Minister of Finance.

After the debate the CC unanimously approved the drafts, which will be submitted to the National Assembly.

**December 13.** A delegation of the French Communist Party and representatives of the Federation of the Democratic and Socialist Left began talks on matters of common interest, specifically on joint action in the forthcoming parliamentary elections.

**December 15.** The CC SUPG held its 14th plenum to hear the report of its Political Bureau, presented by CC Secretary Gerhard Grueneberg. It is stressed in the part of the report devoted to the world Communist movement that, in the Political Bureau's opinion, "conditions are ripening for a new international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties."

The speaker included First Secretary of the CC Walter Ulbricht, who touched upon problems of internal political development and the foreign policy of the new FRG government headed by Chancellor Kiesinger.

**December 17-18.** At an enlarged plenary session in San Jose, the CC of the People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica discussed the internal political and international situation and noted that for some time the international tension would not diminish and that, on the contrary, the cold war would grow in intensity.

It was stressed at the session that defense of democracy and national sovereignty must constitute the basis of revolutionary action, especially Costa Rica, situated in the Caribbean Sea and surrounded by imperialist-controlled armies. With this aim in view the Party must fight for the unity of action of the democratic forces of the country.

The Central Committee declared for convening a conference of representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties to discuss the serious problem created by the leadership of the Communist Party of China and to search for the best ways of safeguarding the unity of the world Communist movement.

**December 19-20.** A plenary session of the CC of the CP of Czechoslovakia discussed progress in the implementation of the tasks set by the plenary session of the CC in November 1965 as regards the activity of central leading organs. The report was presented by Antonin Novotny, First Secretary of the CC.

The CC also discussed problems of the development of external economic relations and foreign trade, dealt with in the report presented by J. Lenart, member of the Presidium of the CC and Chairman of the Government.

The session heard information about the situation in the world Communist movement and the consequences of the actions of the CPC leaders, and adopted a resolution.

**December 20-24.** A delegation of functionaries of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party headed by Zoltan Komoczin, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC HSWP, visited Moscow on the invitation of the CC CPSU.

**December 21-23.** The CC of the Rumanian CP held a plenary meeting at which it discussed and approved the draft national economic plan and budget for 1967, and the measures to implement the tasks in the field of land improvement set by the 9th Congress of the RCP.

The concluding speech was delivered by N. Ceausescu, General Secretary of the CC.

★ ★

**Italy.** Before December 20, 1966, a total of 939,919 people had changed their Party cards in the card-changing campaign held by the Italian Communist Party. Fidelity to the Italian Communist Youth Federation was reaffirmed by 71,186 young men and women. The ICP admitted 47,795 and the ICYF, 11,484 new members.

Commenting upon these data, A. Natta, member of the Leadership and head of the organizational department of the CC ICP, pointed out:

"During twenty days in December we advanced at the following pace: on the average, more than 11,000 people changed their cards and more than 500 joined the Party in 24 hours. The card-changing campaign proceeds with special success in Turin, Naples, Rome, Genoa and Bologna.

"Today we have a real confirmation of the posibility of enhancing the mass role of the Party, its influence and authority among the Italian citizens." (*Unita*, December 24, 1963.)

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INFORMATION

# bulletin

90

*Included in this Issue*

**REPORT TO 18th CONGRESS, FCP**
**Waldeck Rochet**

**SPEECH BY FIDEL CASTRO**

**50th ANNIVERSARY OCTOBER REVOLUTION**
**CPSU Resolution**

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# information bulletin-90(2)

*contents*


**REPORT TO 18th CONGRESS OF FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY**
Waldeck Rochet **5**

**EIGHTH ANNIVERSARY OF CUBAN REVOLUTION**
Fidel Castro **30**

**PREPARATIONS FOR 50th ANNIVERSARY OF GREAT OCTOBER REVOLUTION**
Decision of CPSU Central Committee, Jan. 4, 1967 **43**

**ACTIVITIES OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES** **60**



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# REPORT* TO 18TH CONGRESS OF FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY

## Waldeck Rochet

The period since the 17th Congress has seen important events on the national as well as the world scene.

### 1. THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

The achievements of socialism express themselvess, among other things, in the fact that the economy of the socialist countries is developing faster than that of capitalist countries. Between 1961 and 1965, industrial output in the socialist world system went up 43 percent against 34 percent in the capitalist countries.

As for the Soviet Union, the 3rd Congress of the CPSU adopted Directives for the five-year plan, whose realization will bring about a new powerful upswing of the national economy.

On the other hand, under the impact of the national-liberation movement, the number of independent countries has kept on growing and the class struggle in the capitalist countries has been been expanding.

In view of the increased aggressiveness of U.S. imperialism and the latter's use of the differences existing in the world Communist movement, some comrades occasionally ask whether the balance of world forces has continued to shift in favor of socialism. We consider that the socialist world system has become, and remains the decisive factor for development despite the harmful disruptive activity of the present Chinese leaders.

But while the increased aggressiveness of U.S. imperialism does not indicate a reversal of the balance of forces in its favor, it reflects the tendency of the more aggressive imperialist groups to deal with the difficulties and contradictions besetting the capitalist system by means of brutal intervention, including military ventures.

Indeed, the leaders of the imperialist camp are resolved, not only to consolidate what they think can be salvaged from the ruins of the colonial system, but also to regain, if possible, the positions they have lost in Asia, Africa and Latin America during the last quarter of a century, as well as to strike blows at the socialist system.

The fact is that the imperialists, above all the American imperialists, are feverishly preparing for an atomic war.

*Abridged from **l'Humanité**, Jan. 5, 1967.

The giant monopolies of the United States, which wield decisive economic influence and undivided political power, aspire to steadily increasing their possibilities of foreign expansion, and dream of seeing the United States dominating the world.

This resolve of American monopoly continuously to expand its economic and political positions throughout the world is one of the important foundations of the foreign policy of Washington.

The U.S. monopolies are waging an open war against Vietnam to hold and extend their positions in Southeast Asia. In Latin America, they are trying for the same purpose to hinder the development of new independent states and to stamp out the liberation movement through brutal intervention and recourse to neocolonialist methods.

The aggression that is particularly marked in this respect is, unquestionably, the bloody and barbarous war against the people of Vietnam. Some 400,000 American troops, aircraft carriers and heavy bombers, poison gas and napalm—these are the means being used in an attempt to crush the Vietnamese people, who are fighting for their independence.

The U.S. aggression in Vietnam is one of the most cynical manifestations of the imperialist policy of aggression. The invading troops of America, which are fighting 12,000 kilometers from that country's frontiers, arrived in Vietnam in violation of international law, that is, the UN Charter, which establishes the right of nations to self-determination. They are there in violation of the 1954 Geneva agreements, which ban the establishment of military bases and the presence of foreign troops in Vietnam.

Furthermore, the United States seeks to enslave other countries in Indochina by interfering ever more brutally in the affairs of Laos and by continuing its acts of provocation against Cambodia.

The U.S. leaders, checked by the heroic resistance of the Vietnamese people and stuck in a war of aggression that is condemned by the peoples and by the peace forces in the United States itself, try to conceal their terrible guilt by talking about their alleged desire for peace. But how could anyone believe their words about peace if they are stepping up the war as they utter those words, carrying the escalation forward step by step, at the risk of provoking a universal conflict?

If the U.S. leaders want to prove that they are for peace they should take a different course. They should stop the bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam without any qualification and should recognize the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam as the sole and real spokesman of the people of South Vietnam. Lastly, they should pull out their troops so that the people in both South and North Vietnam can manage their own affairs and unite freely, without foreign interference, in peace and independence.

That is the meaning of the joint Statement adopted by the European socialist countries in Bucharest last July. The Statement insists on the United States proceeding strictly to apply the Geneva agreements.

If the American leaders met these conditions, negotiations would become possible, for no one can doubt the Vietnamese people's will for peace considering the terrible trials they have been going through for more than 20 years.

Regrettably, the U.S. imperialists have so far been following a different course. The Johnson doctrine of brutal interference in the domestic affairs of sovereign nations, whether in Vietnam, the Dominican Republic, the Congo or elsewhere, is incompatible with the policy of peaceful coexistence or with respect for the right of nations to self-determination.

By encroaching on national sovereignty, the American militarists are dealing a telling blow at world peace, considerably increasing the danger of a new world war.

That is why all the forces opposed to imperialism and war anywhere in the world should rally together today to counteract U.S. aggression and to maintain peace and national independence.

The French Communist Party, which has never dissociated the fight for peace from the fight for national independence, admires the staunchness and the determination of the valiant Vietnamese people to defeat the aggressors.

From this rostrum I express our fraternal solidarity with the glorious Party of the Working People of Vietnam and with its Chairman, Ho Chi Minh, as well as with the Heroic National Liberation Front of South Vietnam.

Our Communist Party welcomes the political, economic, technical and military assistance which the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are rendering to the people of Vietnam in keeping with the principles of proletarian internationalism.

By the same token, we regret that the Chinese Communist leaders see it as their duty systematically to turn down all proposals for coordinated aid to the Vietnamese people by the socialist countries.

As is known, the Soviet Union does not border on the DRV. To deliver its war supplies to Vietnam, the Soviet Union has to ship them across People's China. Yet ever since the conflict began to expand, the Chinese leaders have raised obstacles to the transit of Soviet war supplies intended for Vietnam. For example, the Soviet Union proposed setting up an airlift over Soviet and Chinese territory to speed deliveries, but the Chinese leaders rejected the proposal.

Lastly, I would like to recall that the CPSU and the Polish United Workers' Party proposed to the CPC to take part in a conference of all the socialist countries for the purpose of overcoming difficul-

ties and reaching agreement on coordinated aid to the Vietnamese people.

On that issue, too, the CPC leaders took a grossly negative stand, which they tried to justify by increasingly violent attacks and calumnies against the Soviet Union and socialist Poland.

It is obvious that by rejecting proposals for coordinated assistance on the part of the socialist countries and by fomenting hatred for the Soviet Union, the Chinese leaders are seriously injuring the unity of the anti-imperialist forces, and are objectively rendering the U.S. imperialists a very great service.

The French people have a special reason for contributing to that great battle for peace and national independence. In fact, the French and Vietnamese peoples are linked by bonds of friendship and solidarity established in the past, particularly over the long years of common struggle against colonialism, for peace and independence.

In recalling these circumstances, we are fully aware of our internationalist duty. Ever since the beginning of the American aggression in Vietnam, our Party has been making a decisive contribution to the development of the protest movement in our country. We are resolved to continue and step up our action with a view to rallying the whole French people against the U.S. aggression, in support of the independence of the Vietnamese people and of world peace.

The American rulers' policy of aggression, which has already led to the war of aggression against the Vietnamese people, is also a grave menace to Europe. The U.S. imperialists' ambitions for domination and aggression are not restricted to Southeast Asia—they are also aimed at establishing economic and political control over Western Europe.

The American imperialists are stepping up the arms race through NATO and the reactionary forces of Western Europe. They are trying to prevent the development of normal relations between West and East European countries. They want to perpetuate the division of nations into opposing military blocs.

This is a dangerous situation because the imperialist leaders of the United States and the revanchists of West Germany, who are striving to use each other for their own ends, strive to maintain international tension in the hope of achieving their expansionist and warlike aims. On the one hand, international tension may furnish them a pretext for keeping their troops and military bases in Europe, more than 20 years after the war. On the other hand, it is on international tension that the Bonn militarists pin their illusory hope of taking their revenge and realizing their ambitions some day.

But while the plans of the Washington imperialists and Bonn

revanchists are very dangerous, there is no reason to think they cannot be foiled. On the contrary.

First of all—and this is the decisive factor—there are in Europe and the rest of the world sufficiently strong anti-imperialist and peace-loving forces to make the war-mongers retreat, provided these forces mobilize for action to safe-guard European and world peace.

Secondly—and this is a circumstance not be ignored—deep rooted antagonisms and differences set the various imperialist countries against one another.

As our 17th Congress foresaw, the recent period has seen the contradictions between the capitalist countries themselves, which tends to weaken imperialism, become sharper than ever.

It is above all in the exacerbation of the struggle between the American monopolies and the monopolies of various other members of the Atlantic bloc that one should see the source of the crisis in NATO and the Atlantic pact. The U.S. aggression in Vietnam has, needless to say, aggravated this discord.

The political result is that the United States can no longer control the policies of the various members of the Atlantic bloc as easily as in the past. Time and again it comes against resistance. For a long time the U.S.-imposed its domination on other countries under the pretext of countering the alleged Soviet threat. But no serious politician will believe the myth of the danger of Soviet aggression today, when it is, in fact, very dangerous to follow blindly in the wake of Washington.

Hence the dissensions and cracks in the Atlantic alliance, which are accompanied by the effort of certain capitalist countries, primarily France, to break free from the American grip, an effort which represents a positive development.

To be sure, this development cannot make us overlook the fact that the fundamental contradiction on a world scale is that between imperialism and the socialist world system. This explains why the capitalists remain enemies of socialism even when they are wrangling among themselves and fighting one another in certain forms.

For all that, the working class and the anti-imperialist forces can and must take advantage of the antagonisms between capitalist countries to promote the fight for peace and national independence.

It is important, therefore, for all the peoples of Europe to realize the danger inherent in the policies of the U.S. imperialists and West German revanchists, and to fight in common to prevent a new war and establish security in Europe.

One has only to think that France found itself at war with Germany three times in less than three quarters of a century to re-

alize the prime importance of the problem of European security today. The joint Declaration adopted by the socialist countries in Bucharest in July 1966 provides constructive solutions to these problems. The Declaration, as well as disclosing the dangers of the present situation in Europe, proposes specific measures for organizing a system of European collective security based on the combined efforts of all European nations.

I wish to stress that the reaction of the FCP to those proposals was all the more favorable because the FCP itself has continuously advocated measures of a similar nature.

In the foreign policy sphere, our Communist Party has steadily championed a genuine policy of peace and national independence. In the years following the liberation of our country we opposed the policy of subordinating France to the United States and shortly after took a stand against the decision of Western governments, including ours, to rearm Germany.

The disturbing resurgence of Nazism in West Germany today shows how very correct we were in declaring, almost alone, against the rearming of West Germany.

Of course, it is by no means a question of fanning chauvinism by depicting the German people as a sort of "hereditary foe." On the contrary, we are for a genuine reconciliation of the French and German peoples in the interest of peace in Europe. It is manifest, however, that this reconciliation implies the abolition of militarism and the very idea of revenge. Thus, reconciliation can be brought about only through a policy of cooperation, disarmament andn peace among all the peoples of Europe, a prerequisite of which is, in particular, recognition of the two German states, inviolability of the postwar European frontiers, and the denial of nuclear arms to West Germany.

France holds a special place in the present international situation. As a result of the changed balance of world forces and the aggravatio of the contradictions between the monopoly interests of various countries, in particular the U.S. and France, the de Gaulle government had to take steps toward freeing France to some extent from U.S. patronage and toward a more realistic policy of international cooperation.

The FCP stand on the changes that have taken place in the sphere of foreign policy is clear and explicit.

We support every measure, originating anywhere, that is likely to promote international détente and peaceful coexistence, because we Communists place the interests of the working class, France and peace before everything else.

That is why we declared, in the National Assembly last April, for the withdrawal of French troops from NATO. By so doing we remained faithful to the position we had upheld all alone for a

long time. Indeed, for more than 15 years we Communists have been fighting against the U.S. military bases in France, that is, for peace and national independence.

That is why we are against the renewal and amendment of the Atlantic pact in 1969, when it is due to expire. We consider that everything should be done between now and 1969 to bring about the dissolution of military pacts and their replacement by a system of European collective security comprising all European countries, irrespective of their economic or social systems.

Speaking of Europe, I would like to stress that we have no objection to any European organization. On the contrary, we favor increasingly close economic and political cooperation between all the countries of greater Europe, the real Europe, on the basis of respect for national independence.

But we will not accept the abolition of national independence through a political combination put either under German hegemony or U.S. patronage.

The nation is a lasting reality to us. Legitimate and sound attachment to independence and sovereignty links up naturally with internationalism, with respect for other nations, with the desire to establish close cooperation at all levels between all the European countries without exception, including Britain and the East European countries.

An outstanding development of recent date was the French-Soviet rapprochement. De Gaulle's trip to the Soviet Union and the visit which Premier Kosygin paid to France were received very favorably by most Frenchmen of every opinion, except for a minority of diehard reactionary politicians who give the interests of the U.S. rulers priority over the interests of France and peace.

We French Communists are particularly gratified by this progress because we have always advocated Franco-Soviet friendship and cooperation in the interest of our peoples and of peace, in the interest of European and world security.

For the same reason we appreciate the improvement in the relations between France and other socialist countries.

But while de Gaulle was compelled by circumstances to take certain realistic steps, this is not to say that his foreign policy is free from contradictions or negative aspects.

On this point the draft resolution submitted to Congress says that the FCP, while supporting without hesitation measures furthering peace, "is opposed to the serious negative aspects of de Gaulle's foreign policy, which reflects monopoly interests rather than being inspired by national interests." Among these negative aspects mention should be made, first and foremost, of the government's stubborn effort to set up a strike force, which is not only ruinous for the country but endangers French security and peace,

in the sense that it makes for the proliferation of nuclear weapons in the world, with all the dangers this entails.

Now we believe that it is not in the interest of France to contribute to the atomic arms race but, on the contrary, to adhere to the Moscow test ban treaty and thenceforward to advocate on the world scene the conclusion of an agreement on general disarmament providing, first of all, for the prohibition of the use of atomic weapons and subsequently for the destruction of the world stockpile of these weapons.

That is why the FCP is fighting for the reconversion of the French atomic? to peace production, for France taking an active part in disarmament conferences, for the signing of the Moscow test ban treaty, for a cut in armaments and for general controlled disarmament.

When the de Gaulle government refuses to recognize the German Democratic Republic, which is what we demand, it is playing, whether it likes it or not, into the hands of the Bonn revanchists instead of providing conditions for a peaceable settlement of the German problem within the framework of European security.

Lastly, the pursuit of a neocolonialist policy, and the refusal to grant Martinique, Guadeloupe and Réunion, the autonomous status these countries seek is an infringement of the right of nations to self-determination. The support of South Africa, with its regime based on racial segregation, is an aspect of the same policy..

Indeed, it is impossible to follow in the foreign-policy sphere or in other spheres a policy truly and lastingly meeting the interests and aspirations of the people without making it impossible for the monopolies to impose their demands on the nation. Only a regime of genuine democracy will be able consistently to carry out a real policy of peace, disarmament and national independence.

## II. THE ECONOMIC SITUATION AND MONOPOLY POLICY

Proceeding to the economic and social situation, we see that it is marked first of all by a contrast between the development of the productive forces and production, on the one hand, and the stagnation of the purchasing power of the bulk of the working people due to monopoly domination, on the other.

It is a fact that under the de Gaulle regime the working people are denied the fruits of scientific and technological progress. Since 1957, industrial production has increased by 60 per cent and labor productivity by 50 per cent, while the purchasing capacity of a large number of working people has decreased.

Never before has the gap between productivity and wages been so considerable. Wages would be even lower had the workers not fought for them.

About four million working people, mostly women, earn less than 60,000 old francs a month. This is a disgraceful situation.

Increasing productivity due to technological progress and the intensification of labor should make it possible simultaneously to raise wages and reduce average working time. Yet what is happening is the reverse for according to official data, average working time is close on 46 hours a week against 40 before the war. Indeed, if we consider that not all working hours are declared, it turns out that very many working people must put in 50, 55 or even 60 hours a week to meet their needs. France has become the industrial country with the longest working week.

Now that international competition is increasing both within and outside the Common Market, the big monopoly bourgeoisie of France makes the most of all the levers of the state to secure maximum capitalist profit, intensify the accumulation of capital, and hasten concentration in the interests of the most powerful monopolies.

True, the government describes the modernization plan for 1966 to 1970 as a plan for progress that should bring prosperity to every Frenchman. But one has only to analyze this plan to see that its main pupose is to hasten the process of concentration in favor of the monopolies by providing them with big profits and substantial funds for self-financing, whereas wages and social relief are drastically limited.

## III. THE STRUGGLE AGAINST MONOPOLY, FOR GENUINE DEMOCRACY

The foregoing analysis shows that the policy of monopoly, which expresses itself in the de Gaulle regime, sacrifices the interests of the working class and other working people for the privileges of big capital.

But this policy is meeting with growing resistance, as the draft resolution points out. The economic and political struggle of the working class and other social strata that are victims of monopoly has gained in scope. The strike movement of the working class for higher pay, shorter hours without pay cuts, guaranteed jobs and social security has been gathering momentum. In view of the merger of enterprises and the resulting closing down of factories, the fight against the increasingly numerous layoffs has become more important than ever.

The growth of the number of local actions was accompanied by nation-wide actions, as was the case with the strike and protest action on May 17, 1966, and the action taken on November 23. Those actions involved several millions of working people in the public and private sectors.

At the same time we promoted among the masses the idea of unity and alliance of the working-class and democratic forces. In that way our Party enhanced its prestige, showing the masses that it really is the party of unity and alliance. As a result, it won the respect and sympathy of numerous Socialist working people and numerous republicans of every opinion. After the presidential elections our Party continued to work hard for an understanding among all Left-wing parties on the basis of a common government program.

On January 11, 1967, it will be one year since our Party proposed to the Federation of the Left and to all Left-wing parties a discussion to develop a common government program.

At its plenary meeting in June, when it still had no reply from the Federation of the Left, our Central Committee drafted a program of its own for the general election.

The main objective of our program is to end the regime of personal power and establish genuine democracy. In the political field, our program envisages the complete restoration of national sovereignty, and this calls for the repeal of every provision of the present Constitution that established the regime of personal power. We want a government of democratic alliance accountable to a genuine National Assembly empowered to make laws and control the government. We want a government whose indispensable stability should be based on unity of the democratic parties around a common program and on active support by the masses.

In the economic and social spheres our program sets the twofold goal of expanding the economy and raising the standard of living of all working people. But this implies that the big corporations in industry and finance must stop dominating the state and appropriating the principal riches of the nation.

In the international sphere, our program envisages a consistent policy for peace and solidarity with the oppressed or newly-free peoples, for international cooperation, collective security, and disarmament.

We are convinced that our program for genuine democracy meets the needs of the people, particularly those of the youth, who long for a fraternal society in which science and technology will at last be placed in the service of man, peace and progress.

We think our program affords a sound basis on which to rally all working-class and democratic forces.

Last June we sent it to the Federation of the Left and to all Left-wing parties, specifying that we did not regard it as a document to be accepted or rejected, but as our draft program to be compared in the course of discussion with the draft programs of the Federation and other Left-wing organizations for the purpose of developing a common program.

For some time the Federation leaders did not react favorably to our proposals. Without answering us directly, they made it clear that they were against developing a common government program.

During the discussion preceding this Congress and held before agreement was reached between the FCP and the Federation, many of our Party members wondered why the Federation leaders refused to commit themselves with the Communist Party on the basis of a common government program.

Indeed, if the Federation leaders cannot bring themselves to commit themselves with the Communist Party on the basis of a common government program and to jointly seek its realization to the point of entering the government, it is because some of them fear that the working class and its vanguard, the CP, may carry too much weight in an alliance of all democratic forces.

Now since there can be no real change without the working class and its party, we do not think the Federation leaders can persist indefinitely in this view, for the situation in France is such that there is no real third alternative, and the choice has to be made between two alternatives only:

—the reactionary alternative, that is, the pursuit of a policy imposed by the magnates of economy and finance, which is what the present regime is doing;

—the really democratic alternative, which calls for the active and loyal unified cooperation of all working-class and democratic forces if it is to triumph.

It is our ardent desire that all the Left-wing parties and groupings associated in the Federation should ultimately set out to rally all working-class and democratic forces.

Our Party, for its part, has been doing all it could to achieve progress in this direction, and will continue to do so.

The politial organizations of the Left were themselves prompted to take into account the development of the popular movement in the country. At the end of October the Socialist Party congress and the Federation of the Left announced that they were willing to hold a discussion with the CP.

Our Political Bureau reaffirmed the Party's proposals and said that our delegation was ready to meet with a delegation of the Federation of the Left. It was in those circumstances that the talks were begun which ended in agreement on December 20.

We are convinced that the agreement will make it possible to deliver a blow to the de Gaulle regime and at the same time contribute to Socialist-Communist unity of action, as well as to the winning of the vast majority of class, democratic and national forces.

One must not infer, of course, that all obstacles to unity have now been overcome. Experience tells us that it takes tenacious and

persistent effort over a long period to achieve unity and alliance.

The working class and our people do not want to return to the past. They want real change, a new and genuine republic in which the working people will no longer be treated as pariahs. We therefore say that the task in the fight against personal power is not just to win any majority, but a democratic majority capable of embarking on a policy of social progress and peace.

But to really bring such a majority into being, it is absolutely necessary for the Communists to be part of it, for in France there can be neither a Left majority nor a majority for social progress without the Communists.

## IV. PROBLEMS OF UNITY AND THE FIGHT FOR SOCIALISM

To us Communists the fight for genuine democracy is a component of our struggle for socialism. Indeed, reforms effected under a genuinely democratic system as we visualize it woul dincrease the influence of the working class and the prestige of its organization while reducing the power of monopoly and isolating the big capitalist bourgeoisie. They would lead to partial qualitative changes in society, with democracy becoming a continuous process of creation.

Of course, such democratic reforms, imposed by the working class and the masses generally through struggle, would not in themselves constitute socialism. But their realization could enable the masses to see the objective of socialism and the necessity for striving to achieve them.

Once democracy had triumphed, the prospect of socialism would open up. In our time, as Maurice Thorez often said, there is no long historical interval between the democratic and the socialist stage.

These problems of democracy and the transition to socialism were the theme of the Communist-Socialist dialogue on ideological matters.

To begin with, it should be stressed that if the dialogue between the two parties is possible, it is because Communist and Socialist working people alike are striving for a more equitable society, for socialism.

It is well known that the Rules and fundamental programs of the French Communists and Socialists maintain, in almost identical terms, that their goal is to abolish social classes and eliminate the exploitation of one class by another by socializing the basic means of production and exchange and by transforming capitalist society into a collectivist, or communist, society.

But while Socialists and Communists alike are striving for socialism they disagree over the ways and means of effecting the transi-

tion from capitalism to the new system. These differences are rooted, first of all, in the fact that the Communists, being Marxist, are revolutionaries, whereas the Socialists are generally inspired by reformist ideology.

That is why, incidentally, the Communists and the Socialists give different estimations of the October Socialist Revolution and the experience of other socialist countries.

We Communists maintain that the great merit of the October Socialist Revolution was that it ushered in the era of socialism by founding the world's first socialist state.

The Social-Democratic leaders of various countries, on the other hand, consider that the road which Lenin and the Russian Communists took in 1917 to overthrow capitalism and build socialism was not good because it was too costly.

It is true, of course, that the first socialist state, which rose on the ruins of the tsarist empire, had to build socialism in the face of incredible difficulties, which required immense effort involving enormous sacrifice as well as certain involuntary mistakes.

For all that, the great merit of the October Revolution and the experience of the USSR is that they proved that the working class can overthrow capitalism and build a socialist society from which the exploitation of man by man has been banished. This is why, as the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution approaches, we are happy to have responded to Lenin's call in 1920.

Yet while Communists and Socialists have been following different roads since the October Revolution, the main problem today is to know whether the deep-going changes that have occurred during the last 50 years in favor of socialism can bring Communists and Socialists closer together.

In this respect it appears, indeed, that while discussion is very likely to run into a blind alley if concerned with the past, it can, on the other hand, reveal common ground if it bears on current problems and on the outlook for the future.

*First*, it should be borne in mind that owing to the October Socialist Revolution and the establishment of socialism in many countries—a circumstance which considerably weakened the capitalist world system—there exist today new conditions enabling such countries as France to choose a new road, easier than the one the Russian Communists took after 1917.

It should be stressed, of course, that the transition from capitalism to socialism, regardless of its duration, always constitutes a qualitative change, a revolutionary leap, for it necessarily involves the abolition of private ownership of the basic means of production and exchange, and their socialization.

Marxist theory says that the transition to socialism is always a qualitative transformation of society and, consequently, a social

revolution, but it does not provide pre-set patterns of the forms and means the working class and its allies employ for the transition to the new system.

For instance, Socialist leaders maintained for a long time that the contradictions between Socialists and Communists were insoluble, because Communists, they said, will invariably and on principle insist on the seizure of power by violent means, through armed insurrection.

However, as was stressed at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1956, in our time the new correlation of world forces in favor of socialism makes it possible to envisage, in some countries and under certain conditions, a peaceful transition to socialism, which does not signify, of course, a transition without class struggle.

The possibilities of our epoch are determined by the conditions of class struggle in every given country and by the new balance of world forces.

These two categories of factors, internal and external, enable our Party to regard as possible the peaceful advance of Fance to socialism. At this moment, of course, no one can say for sure just how socialism will be realized in France tomorrow.

But the position and determination of the FCP are clear: all its activities are aimed at creating favorable conditions for a peaceful transition to socialism with a view to realizing the socialist ideas as a result of the democratic movement of all working people.

*Second,* Socialists maintained for a long time that it is impossible for them to visualize unity with Communists because of the existence of only one party in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

We know, however, that our Party replied to that by pointing out that we in France reject the thesis of a single party as an obligatory condition for the socialist revolution, and that we declare for the principle of plurality of parties.

I want to stress in passing that this is not an isolated position in the world Communist and working-class movement. In fact, the 1960 Statement of 81-parties, reiterating that Communists criticize the ideological positions and Right-opportunist practices of Social Democracy, points to the need for a united Communist-Socialist front, also for the purpose of winning power and building socialism.

Therefore, by rejecting any possibility of agreement and cooperation between Communist and Socialist parties the present Chinese leaders adhere to a sectarian line opposed to the 1960 Statement, which bears their own signature.

Indeed, by opposing Communist-Socialist unity of action they help sustain the division of the working class and thereby play into the hands of the capitalist bourgeoisie.

*Third,* the affirmation of the possibility of a peaceful transition to socialism in conditions of plurality of parties in no way signifies that socialism can be built without class struggle, without the mobilization of all the forces of the working class and its allies.

On the contrary, since dangerous illusions still persist among the working people, it is necessary to proceed from the Marxist proposition that the big bourgeoisie will never relinquish power of its own free will.

The transition to socialism—peaceful or non-peaceful—calls in any case for working-class unity in struggle and for the union, around it or on its side, of all democratic, progressive and national forces, i.e., the winning over of the majority of the people, so that the isolated big bourgeoisie would no longer be able to resort to civil war.

This means that the peaceful transition to socialism under the multi-party system does not depend on the wishes of the Communist Party alone. It presupposes certain conditions which concern other parties. It is necessary, in particular, that the Socialist Party abandon the policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie and pursue an effective policy of struggle for democracy and socialism.

For here we must tackle a fundamental question, that of the nature and functions of the political power which the working class and its allies are to establish for making socialism a reality. As the draft resolution points out, by abolishing exploitation of man by man socialism creates conditions for the broadest participation of the masses in running state affairs.

As we know in France the plurality of parties, the parliamentary system, the municipal freedoms are factors of political and social life.

With the transition to socialism and consolidation and democratization of all these institutions becomes necessary, which presupposes the exercise of the freedom of thought, the freedom of assembly and association, the right to strike and all human and civic rights. The rights of the minority must be exercised within the framework of new democratic legality established by the majority.

But—and this is another essential aspect of the problem—this involves the need to determine the content of the political power which the working class and its allies must establish in order to be able to protect the new social system against attacks from within and without and ensure the socialist transformation of society.

The new political power of the working people can assume different forms depending on the realities of the country concerned, but it must always, and also under the multi-party system, meet two basic conditions:

1. To ensure the broadest democracy for all working people and

for the people as a whole, in order to enlist their cooperation in building socialism and managing state affairs in all forms.

2. To protect the new regime of socialist democracy against subversive actions organized by the former exploiter classes for the purpose of regaining power and restoring capitalism.

That is why we hold that the new power of the working people and the cause of socialist construction must be protected and defended within the framework of socialist laws by all the democratic parties which stand for socialism and which represent the majority of the people.

Lastly, it should be stressed that the working class, by virtue of its social position, is the inspirer and natural leader of all forces fighting for democracy and socialism. By the same token, the existence and activity of the Communist Party as the revolutionary vanguard of the working class inspired by the principles of Marxism-Leninism is essential for victory.

Of late some facts have appeared which testify to the emergence of more favorable prospects for the unity of action of the two parties.

The Socialist Party has had to revise some traditional concepts of social democracy. For instance, under the pressure of facts the Socialist leaders have had to discard the myth about the "Soviet menace." Likewise, faced with the Soviet Union's economic and technological achievements, they have abandoned the thesis according to which communism signifies poverty. The cold war, which twenty years ago contributed to pushing the Socialist Party into the anti-communist camp, has been weakened by the crisis of the aggressive NATO bloc, even if this crisis is reflected in the Socialist Party in different ways and not without relapses of past attitudes. The realization by the masses in France of the aggressive character of U.S. policy helps shatter among the Socialist workers illusions about the virtues of the "free world." At the same time, Socialists and Communists agree on such major issues as the struggle against the atom bomb.

On the other hand, it is undeniable that the new propositions advanced by our Party have made it possible to remove many obstacles which but yesterday prevented Socialist-Communist unity of action.

Indeed—and this must be stressed—it is possible today to overcome the ideological disagreements between Communists and Socialists, on the condition that there is the will on both sides really to fight for democracy and socialism.

Our aim, the aim of the Communists, is clear: we want to organize, in a democratic way, a socialist state where the basic means of production and exchange will be owned and controlled by the people; in short, a socialist state which will assure the future of

every citizen and provide scope for the ful blossoming out of democracy.

We think that in the course of frank and profound discussions it will become possible not only to reduce the ideological disagreements which have up till now kept Communists and Socialists apart, but also to secure the elaboration of a common stand on the basic issues and thus make possible a major step *towards the unity* of the working class, which is one of our fundamental objectives.

The discussion of the ideological disagreements between our two parties must in no way hamper Socialist-Communist joint action.

## V. PROBLEMS OF THE PARTY

Our Party has been worthily carrying out its role since the 17th Congress. Communists have contributed decisively to the preparation and conduct of all working-class and democratic actions in defense of the working people's demands, for freedom and peace.

The growing influence of the Party has also been reflected in the results the Party achieved in different election campaigns.

Likewise, the correctness of its policy accounts for the favorable state of things in the Party. The unity of the Party ranks has been confirmed in the entire period of preparation for the Congress.

Nevertheless, the successes scored by the Party, its solid unity are no reason for us to forget that as the movement of the masses develops it is necessary to improve our work on the economic, political and ideological plane.

To advance in the realization of all the political tasks set by us, our Party should also exert tremendous efforts in the field of ideology and organization.

It is undeniable that with the advent of socialism in many countries and the spread of socialist ideas throughout the world Marxism-Leninism has become a great force which our adversaries have to recognize.

But it is precisely because they are most of all afraid of new successes of socialism in the world that the defenders of capitalism are struggling desperately to maintain their influence over the masses.

The Party's successes in different fields depend in large measure on the consolidation of its ranks and improvement of its organizational work. The good health of the Party is also reflected in the size of its membership.

Today we have 50,000 more members and 2,600 more branches than in 1961. Our advance since 1961, although slow in our opinion, is undeniable. We say that it is insufficient because the political exigencies, the great responsibility shouldered by us call for an uninterrupted growth of Party membership, the influx of new forces.

We all know that our Party does not exist for its own sake, but is the vanguard of the working class, which is responsible for the future of the country. Consequently, it cannot fulfil its tasks only by its own forces, without the support and participation of the masses. The strength of the Party lies primarily in its ability to mobilize in struggle millions of sympathizers. That is why consolidation of the union of Communists with non-Communists must be our constant concern.

## VI. THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

Since its 17th Congress our Party has been very active in the international field, and today we are happy to extend warm greetings to the numerous delegations of fraternal parties attending our Congress.

In the period under review our Party exchanged study delegations with many fraternal parties and conducted political talks, which helped mutual familiarization with the struggles, problems and successes of the respective parties.

It took an active part in several meetings and conferences, striving to promote the exchange of experience and create conditions for a fraternal discussion of common topical tasks and for the steady consolidation of the unity of the Communist parties.

Guided by the same spirit, our Party is working today for the convening in the near future of a conference of the Communist parties of Europe on the issue of the joint struggle for European security.

Our Party also contributed, together with the other democratic forces, to the support of the Spanish people's struggle against the Franco regime and for democracy. Our Party broadened and strengthened the bonds of fraternal solidarity with the democratic and revolutionary parties and national-liberation movements of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

It also came out for the legalization of the Communist Party of Germany and campaigned in behalf of the democrats and patriots persecuted in Portugal, Greece, Venezuela, South Africa, Indonesia, in all countries of the world where external and domestic reaction is trying to strangle by violence the striving of the peoples for freedom.

It will continue and extend this activity, being aware that thereby it is also fulfilling its duty to the people of France and to the world labor movement.

The FCP shapes and pursues its policy taking into account the concrete conditions in France and the international situation, and relying firmly on the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

We resolutely uphold the principle of independence of the Communist parties, of their equality, of non-interference in the affairs of fraternal parties. At the same time, as the draft resolution reiterates, the FCP steadily abides by the principles of proletarian internationalism.

It will go on contributing actively to the defense and consolidation of the world Communist movement, whose general line is charted in the joint Statement of 1960.

Regrettably, the present leaders of the Communist Party of China have departed from this general line to launch a chauvinistic, adventuristic and disruptive policy which evokes concern and reprobation.

Maurice Thorez pointed out back in 1960 that the theses developed by the Chinese side not only reflected divergencies on this or that point with most Communist parties but presented a theoretical and political line *opposed* to the general line of the world Communist movement.

Today the Chinese leaders no longer confine themselves to declaring that the struggle for peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems hampers the struggle of the working class and the oppressed peoples for their liberation. One can read in the Chinese press statements to the effect that U.S. imperialism can be destroyed only through a world war.

Since it is known that a world war today will be a thermonuclear war in which hundreds of millions of people will perish, this makes clear the reckless character of a policy which regards such a war not only inevitable, but also a means of achieving socialism.

Our Party, in full agreement with the joint Statement of 81 parties, categorically refuses to consider that a war which will plunge the people into a terrible nuclear catastrophe could become a means of securing the triumph of socialism.

On the contrary, remaining loyal to the humanist ideal of the founders of our doctrine, we reaffirm that the struggle for socialism and the struggle for peace are inseparable. Besides, we are convinced that in our time it is possible to prevent imperialism, U.S. imperialism in the first place, from unleashing a new world war.

To be able to so do, it is necessary to intensify still more the struggle of the broadest masses for peace and disarmament, to establish and consolidate the alliance of all peace-loving and anti-imperialist forces in each country and the world over, and strengthen the united might of the socialist camp. But, by trying to undermine this struggle and this unity the Chinese leading group facilitates the aggressive policy of imperialism.

The same irresponsibility is manifest in the concept of the socialist revolution which they want to impose on others.

Instead of recognizing that the concrete conditions of time and

place determine the possibility of the peaceful or non-peaceful form of the socialist revolution, the Chinese leaders rule out the former and accept only the latter.

Thereby the present Chinese leaders are trying to force upon all Communist parties, all revolutionay movements a single blueprint of struggle, regardless of the concrete conditions and real possibilities.

They propagate the erroneous thesis according to which the socialist revolution necessarily presupposes civil war in all cases, which in certain conditions leads to the replacement of mass action by adventuristic slogans. This orientation, if followed, would prove highly beneficial only to reaction. As recent experience shows, reaction is only too willing to make revolutionaries pay for such mistakes, inflicting on them tragic repressions and unhesitatingly plunging the whole nation into a bloodbath.

As regards the sectarian policy of the Chinese leaders, who behind the cover of leftist phrases are trying to remove any possibility of cooperation between Communist and Socialist parties, it would only lead, if we accepted it, to perpetuating the division of the working class. In the case of countries such as France, this policy certainly conforms to the wishes of the capitalist monopolies, but it runs counter to the interests of the working people.

Our Party, which has always combated distortions of Marxism, whether "Left" or "Right," unanimously rejects the theses of the present Chinese leaders.

Also, the French Communists cannot conceal their concern in connection with some aspects of the events in China described as the "great proletarian cultural revolution." They have international repercussions and do grave harm to the fundamental propositions of the Communist doctrine.

Cultural nihilism is alien to Marxism-Leninism. The genuine cultural revolution accomplished by socialism consists, as Lenin stressed, in placing at the disposal of the toiling masses from factory and field all the treasures of culture from which they were previously barred by the exploiter classes. It presupposes critical assimilation of everything that is best in the cultural heritage of the past.

It is also a matter of record that the life of the Chinese Party is inspired by a militarist concept alien to Marxism, and that the cult of Mao Tse-tung has assumed unheard-of proportions, an almost religious character whose manifestations provide plenty of food to the bourgeois press.

In the name of Mao Tse-tung, paramilitary groups of youngsters commit outrages against Party organizations and activists, while the Young Communist organization has been disbanded, the trade unions dissolved and the army plays a political role of primary im-

portance. "To learn from the People's Army of China" is the central motto of the "new directives." It is openly proclaimed that the army is to direct communist education in the factories, workshops and villages. The "cultural revolution" thus acquires features of an alarming anti-Party operation in which the role of the Party is virtually effaced giving prominence to the army and the "Red Guards."

At the same time the Chinese leaders impart to communism a caricature image contradicting the Marxist-Leninist concept of communist society which should satisfy the material and cultural needs of all people and thus make possible their free, harmonious and all-round development.

Lastly, the present Chinese leaders systematically violate the principle of proletarian internationalism and the standards governing relations between fraternal parties and between socialist countries.

They are trying to impose upon the Communist parties of all the world their nationalistic, adventurist and sectarian line by allocating considerable means for struggle, not against imperialism, but against its staunchest adversaries—the Communist parties which refuse to adhere to their viewpoints.

Seeking to propagate their untenable line, they resort to impermissible methods, to aggression and crudest slander.

Thus, they assert that capitalism is being restored in the Soviet Union, which is an absurd lie. They accuse all the Communist parties loyal to the general line of the world working-class and Communist movement of revisionism, whereas it is they who turn away from Marxism-Leninism, replacing it by "Maoism."

In their splitting activities they do not scruple to employ renegades and provocateurs whose small groups possess large funds and are utilized by specialized organizations of the bourgeoisie whenever an opportunity presents itself.

The **FCP has been and** will go on fighting resolutely against these impermissible actions which benefit imperialism and anti-communist reaction.

The present Chinese leaders assume a grave responsibility to the peoples: along with interfering with the socialist camp's assistance to Vietnam they are accentuating the anti-Soviet slant of their policy.

Their political struggle is now directed chiefly against the Soviet Union, i.e., against the principal force in the socialist camp, the most reliable ally of the peoples attacked or threatened by imperialism. A veritable campaign of inciting hatred for the Soviet Union among the Chinese people is being conducted in the country.

We note with indignation that the present Chinese leaders accept from imperialism's hands the frayed banner of the anti-Soviet crusade.

In these conditions indifference, a conciliatory attitude towards the line pursued by them and towards their splitting activities can only amplify the damage they are causing to the Communist movement, to the struggle for peace and socialism.

No phraseology can any longer conceal the fact that the policy of the present Chinese leaders leads to the systematic weakening of the socialist camp and thus encourages imperialist ambitions. That is why their stand becomes increasingly isolated in the world working-class movement. Even the events taking place in China show that not the whole of the Communist Party of China agrees with the present leading group of Mao Tse-tung.

We are convinced that sooner or later, under the pressure of life, the great Chinese people will find in the Communist Party of China itself the forces which will help them restore the bonds of solidarity and uniey with the entire world Communist movement in the struggle against imperialism.

Loyal to their invariable internationalist position, our Party will continue to search for and use all means conducive to joint effort in rendering aid to the Vietnamese people, strengthening the cohesion of the world Communist movement and broadening and consolidating the united front of the anti-imperialist forces.

Experience has shown that international conferences of the Communist and Workers' parties are one of the most effective means of studying in common the problems posed by life and pooling efforts in the struggle against imperialism, for peace, for national independence, for democracy and socialism.

We stand for convening a new conference which would enable the Communist and Workers' parties to reaffirm in common the principles of the 1960 Statement, analyze the most important changes since 1960, work out, on this basis, a common general line for the future and undertake, at last, measures which can uphold and strengthen the unity of the world Communist and working-class movement.

Our 18th Congress has assembled at a time remarkable for all the Communists of the world, for all progressives. Soon it will be 50 years since November 7, 1917, the day when the salvo of the cruiser "Aurora" thundered over Petrograd. Under the leadership of the Communist Party of Bolsheviks headed by Lenin, the first socialist revolution in history triumphed, the world's first socialist state was established.

We are positive that we are expressing the feelings of all the delegates, of all the members of our Party when we extend, on this occasion, especially warm greetings to the representatives of the great Communist Party of the Soviet Union who are attending our Congress with Comrade Pelsve at their head. We ask them to convey to the CPSU, to the Soviet people heartfelt greetings of the

French Communists in this year of celebration of the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, which has been and remains the greatest event of modern times.

No other event has had such importance and such consequences as these "ten days that shook the world." The October Revolution ushered in a new era in man's history, the era of socialism, communism, the era of liberation of peoples and nations.

To working people, to the exploited and oppressed, to people of lofty ideas socialism has long since been an ideal, a teaching, a program. With the October Revolution it became also a living reality.

The progressive-minded working people and intellectuals of our country enthusiastically welcomed the October Revolution and supported it with their active solidarity. The French bourgeoisie, on the contrary, joined the other imperialist powers in launching intervention against the young Soviet state and in every way assisted those who had unleashed the civil war against the power of workers and peasants.

Led by their Communist Party, the Soviet working people repelled the imperialist intervention. They surmounted the incredible difficulties, the legacy left by the previous regime of oppression and economic backwardness, and successfully set out along the road which, as Lenin predicted, was to lead them from the impoverished and feeble Russia to the rich and mighty Soviet Union.

No other system but socialism could enable a people to accomplish, in so short a time and insuch difficult conditions, such tremenodus tasks in constructing a new society, in advancing the economy, science and culture and the well-being of man.

The accomplishments of the country of the October Revolution, which has now launched on the boldest enterprise in human history, the building of communism, are rendering, by their force of example, valuable aid to the struggle of all Communists.

The spread of the ideas of the October Revolution, the constructive effort of the Soviet people, the Soviet Union's victory in the war against fascism tipped the balance of class forces on an international scale in favor of the working class and the oppressed peoples. These were the chief factors behind the emergence, after the second world war, of several new socialist states, among them China, and the formation of a powerful socialist world system which decisively influences the evolution of human society. At the same time they played the chief role in the destruction of the colonial system and enabled most of the peoples oppressed by imperialism to win independence.

And if today there exists the possibility of accomplishing the transition to socialism by means differing from those which were used by the Russian Communists, it must not be forgotten that the

conditions for this, were created by the victory in November 1917.

We take pride in the fact that we too bear the fine name of Communists, we are proud of the road traversed since 1920, when, inspired by the best traditions of our people and learning lessons from the victory of the party of Lenin, the French working people created their French Communist Party.

Our Party celebrates with enthusiasm and confidence the 50th anniversary of the immortal October Socialist Revolution. It will make it the celebration of all working people, all progressives, the broadest masses of our people, who know what France owes to the heroism and sacrifices of the Soviet people in the war against Hitler Germany, and who see in friendship with the Soviet Union the most reliable guarantee of the security of our country and of universal peace.

Our Party has a positive record to produce at its 18th Congress. It can look to the future with confidence. Great battles lie ahead. We shall wage them having a solid ideologically well-equipped party which becomes more tempered with every passing day, maintains close links with the broadest masses and combines firm adherence to principle with tactical flflexibility and boldness. We shall wage these battles fighting in our own ranks and in the international movement on two fronts: against dogmatism, sectarianism and sterile narrow-mindedness, which are the main danger today, and against Right-wing opportunism, revisionism.

Relying on its correct policy, the boundless devotion of its members, its unshakable unity, our Party will spare no effort to accomplish successfully the central task of bringing about the unity of the working class, the alliance of all the social strata hit by the policy of the monopolies, the union of all democratic forces in the struggle for democracy, social progress and peace.

It is working-class unity, the union of all democrats that will make it possible to remove one-man power, accomplish the great historical change the demand for which is growing steadily, and establish a new, higher form of democracy with its socialist perspective.

It is working-class unity, the union of all democrats that will enable France to pursue a consistent policy of independence, peace and disarmament, releasing the resources necessary for the growth of the people's well-being and the flourishing of education, science and culture.

Encouraged by the successes already attained on this road, and measuring the way still to be covered, the French Communist Party will fight with might and main to bring to a victorious end this great work of uniting the virile forces of the nation. It knows that thereby it loyally serves, as it has always done, the interests of the

working class, the interests of the people, the interests of the country.

It is precisely because it champions, as always, with foresight and staunchness, the interests and the future of France, that the FCP, the Party of the working class, is the great national force which exerts a decisive influence on the life of the country. Yes, as Maurice Thorez said at the concluding session of our 17th Congress: the people of France more and more recognize our Party as the spokesman of their aspirations.

Our battle for the unity of the working-class and democratic forces is a battle for a democratic, peace-loving and prospering France.

Firmly adhering to Marxism-Leninism, relying on the decisions our Congress will adopt and on the solidarity of our brothers in struggle the world over, we shall fulfil our mission of service to the people of France with confidence in the triumph of our cause.

# EIGHTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE CUBAN REVOLUTION

## Speech* by Fidel Castro

Eight years have passed since we won power by revolutionary means, that is, established revolutionary power. Many people may have thought it was just another of the numerous "revolutions" in inverted commas. They may, moreover, have expected it to end in the same way as the so-called revolutions on our continent generally ended, that is, that the revolutionaries would go bourgeois, that enthusiasm would not last more than a few months and that it would not be long before those who had organized and accomplished the revolution compromised, enriched themselves and plunged into political intrigue.

After eight years we see how very much our revolution differs from all the so-called "revolutions," and realize that it is a genuine revolution in the true sense of the term. The importance of this fact already goes beyond the boundaries of our country, extending to the whole of Latin America and the world. During these eight years the revolution has had a twofold effect, first on our own people and then on other peoples.

There are certain highly indicative figures showing what a revolution can mean to a country. One of them is the annual death rate per thousand inhabitants. Here are some figures no slanderer or smearer of our revolution can deny. The annual death rate in our country was 13 in every thousand inhabitants, according to accepted UN data. By now this figure has dropped to 6.8.

More important still, we now have the lowest death rate in Latin America and it is even, we understand, lower than in Canada, which you know to be a rather highly developed country. This applies also to children below one year of age. Before the revolution, the death rate among them was 60 in 1,000, and now it is only 37.

Our country and people today have better health services than any other country in Latin America. We owe this to a higher standard of living and the amazing progress of our medicine, to the network of hospitals we have set up and the increase in the number of hospital beds from 20,000 before the revolution to more

*Abridged from the **Prensa Latina** release, Jan. 6, 1967. The speech was delivered at an anniversary meeting.

than 40,000 today, to systematic campaigns against epidemics, and to prevention.

Every citizen of our country, no matter where he lives and whether he is a worker or a peasant living in a remote part of the country, is certain that he will get the best in medical aid in any hospital brought into being by the revolution, and that it will be better than the aid extended to a privileged minority in the past.

In the educational field, we have done something more than completely wiping out illiteracy and setting up classes in advanced knowledge. Hundreds of thousands of workers throughout the country are receiving a six-year education. We may ask those present here how many of them continue their studies, how many are going to finish six grades. Almost the whole nation is a student body, as a comrade put it, because those who have finished six grades are carrying forward their studies.

There is a school and a teacher in every corner of the country, and every child has an excellent opportunity of going to school.

Our universities are growing in number. The number of technological colleges established is impressive. Tens of thousands of young workers and students attend these colleges. The composition of our student body has changed .Considerably more people are engaged in technological and scientific studies than in the past. The number of those who get scholarships and have all their expenses covered so that they can study and become engineers, doctors or middle-bracket technologists and in many cases finish an elementary school, far exceeds 150,000. This year, 1967, it will climb to roughly 200,000.

The service industries are expanding and so are communications and transport. Speaking of transport, our country may already be said to have a merchant fleet, with a tonnage six times as great as before the revolution. Although our country is an island and depends largely on foreign trade, it virtually lacked a mercantile marine. But now we have an appreciable number of large merchant vessels flying our flag in every sea of the world.

We will carry forward this program, making the most of our possibilities.

However, it is not only our merchant shipping that is expanding. We are developing a vast fishing fleet. And there already are certain encouraging signs and facts.

Now for our armed forces. Barely eight years ago they were an army of bearded guerrillas who came to the capital in January. That day, January 1, its first columns, led by Camilo Cienfuegos and Ernesto Guevara, our glorious commanders, took the two most powerful strongholds of the former regime. Not one of the *barbudos* had graduated from a military academy.

In these eight years of steady growth, constant clashes and

tensions, this Army has trained thousand upon thouands of professional soldiers through its own classes and schools, and has become a most efficient organization. It has developed a revolutionary concept of the defense of the country, according to which everyone should be and is a soldier and defender of his country. In the event of attack, the Army can take up into its ranks the whole of our embattled people and lead them. And this has been achieved in only eight years.

Far-reaching social changes have taken place in eight years. In this brief span, in line with the first laws of the revolution, an immense segment of the population has been exempted from paying rent.

In the years to come, as we have said on other occasions, not a single family—meaning, of course, those families that abide by the laws and regulations in force—will have to pay rent. This will have come about by 1970, according to the same laws, and to new laws to be enacted in the future.

In other words, we are replacing the individualist concept of life, the individualist concept of man's needs, and the individualistic concept of money, by a superior concept that will benefit society far more, by a collectivist concept of social needs and benefits.

Why is it that the people are coming to understand the revolution better and better? Why has the people's enthusiasm not spent itself in these eight years? Because what is particularly impressive and encouraging about our revolutionary process, is that people's political alertness, enthusiasm and revolutionary fervor are growing year after year.

But the effort we have been speaking about would have been fruitless without effort in a much more difficult field, our economy. In the brief eight years since the triumph of the revolution we have inaugurated new gigantic thermal power stations, and they already supply our country with electrical energy.

New major enterprises have been added in these years to our textile, steel and engineering industries.

We invest large sums in many other fields, such as glass, cement, fertilizers and other items, which in coming years will also be produced by up-to-date plants.

This despite the fact that one of the most challenging problems of industrialization is the shortage of specialists, of engineers and highly skilled workers, with whose training the revolution has vigorously concerned itself throughout the past years.

By 1968 we will have completed new cement works, which are so necessary for the socio-economic advancement of our country. As a result, output will be almost twice as great as when the revolution triumphed. These plants have been under construction

for years. Years have passed since we designed them and purchased machinery and plant, for both civilian and defense purposes. But the day is no longer far off when we will be putting out twice as much cement as now. We need cement to erect factories, public buildings and dwelling houses. Housing construction in our country is restricted by the shortage of cement. Agricultural construction is also limited—for the same reason. We need cement for everything. Besides, we need cement to build fortification works for our country.

However, the greatest, the most titanic effort is being made in agriculture. We have already scored some substantial gains.

You will recall that the target we set ourselves for 1965 was to have 60 million eggs from 4 million layers. But our estimates proved pessimistic. The assignment was exceeded. Nevertheless, for all that our state farms had 4 million hens and an average of more than 60 million eggs were produced per month in 1965, we had to introduce certain restrictions by the end of the year. But in 1966 there was not a single month in which we had to resort to such restrictions, for the state already had 5,800,000 layers apart from those owned by peasants. This means that five million hens will supply over 90 million eggs a month on the average, and that in some months the supply will range from 110 to 120 million. This shows what can be done in any branch of the economy given proper organization, effective use of technical facilities, and skilled personnel.

During the next two years we will have in our fields more machinery for building waterworks, clearing the ground and building roads than our country had before, since the establishment of the republic. Judge for yourselves what that means in terms of promoting our agriculture. Note, for example, that next year we will plant about 15,000 caballerias to cane and some 20,000 caballerias to grass crops. This makes up 35,000 caballerias in only two branches of agriculture, not to mention other branches. In Pinos Island alone next year we are going to plant more citrus plants than there are in Israel, one of the world's major exporters of citrus fruits. A similar plan is being carried out on a similar scale in the west of Pinar del Rio Province. In other words, we have two major plans that are being put into effect elsewhere on the island.

Next year we will put to use much more land than in any one of the previous years. This is also true of the amount of fertilizers. Not a single caballeria under cane will be left without fertilizer. Nor does this apply to cane alone, for we plan to use fertilizers in growing feeds and vegetables too.

The amount of fertilizer to be applied this year to just one crop, coffee, will exceed 100,000 tons. Before the revolution our peasants did not use fertilizers: not a pound of fertilizer ever went into a coffee plantation. Today use of fertilizer is a universal practice and

the peasants realize its importance. They speak of the remarkable effect this has on the coffee trees.

However, it is not a question of coffee trees alone, which will receive 150,000 tons of fertilizer, or have been receiving it since June. There is also the fact that in 1967 and 1968 we will plant as many coffee trees as we now have all over the country.

Thus we will be in a position to meet our own requirements at a rate twice as high as before the revolution, and obtain foreign exchange by exporting surplus coffee.

In the eight years since the revolution we have planted over 300 million tree seedlings, and this in a country where capitalism used to destroy forests, where it never planted a tree, with the result that we are now compelled to import large quantities of timber, as well as wood-pulp for our books and newspapers.

Under the plans we are now carrying out, the time is not far distant when we will begin to fell the first of the newly-planted trees, whose growth we will quicken by using fertilizers. We estimate that by 1970 we will have roughly 1,000 million trees we can use as timber. They will take up an area of about 50,000 caballerias of the newly afforestated land.

New branches of agriculture, new crops that have never been cultivated on a large scale in our country, such as strawberries, grapes, asparagus and onions, are developing at a fast rate. We will go on expanding the cultivation of other crops, some of which, such as cereals and above all rice, we will grow for the purpose of maintaining certain traditions.

Considerably more cotton will be grown, and we are introducing bean crops into farming and stock-breeding. With the use of new machinery, the production of French beans will go up noticeably. In short, we will promote every single branch in accordance with our natural conditions.

We will have a fine cane crop this year, and sugar output will be greater than in any one of the previous five years.

We hope by 1970 to double agricultural production over 1959, the victory year of the revolution, and the entire population will benefit by this achievement.

I forgot to point out the special effort we are making in growing tobacco, which we will produce in larger quatities and which has an excellent world market. The cutlook for our country is very good in this respect.

Along with agriculture we must develop mechanical engineering, that is, farm-machine building, if we want to mechanize our agriculture so as never to suffer shortages of labor power in fulfilling our plans.

Mention should be made here of what Comrade Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, our delegate to the FAO conference in Uruguay, told

us. He said all the Latin American countries have been granted a total of 125 million dollars in foreign loans to develop their agriculture. As for Cuba, it has received as much in foreign loans for the same purpose as all the other countries of Latin America put together. Those are machines from the socialist camp, as well as from some capitalist countries.

Now what goes on in Latin America? Recent years have witnessed a decline in the production of foodstuffs, and the continent now produces four per cent less per head of population than several years ago. This is a sad reality affecting many of those brother nations. It is a real decline in so important a sphere as agriculture, as food production.

Since we invest in farm machinery, and in agriculture generally, as much in foreign aid as all the other countries of Latin America put together, how can we fail to achieve a yearly drop in child mortality, in the death rate per thousand, and to prolong the life expectancy of every citizen?

I have said that agricultural progress is accompanied by increasing use of farm machinery and fertilizers. A few days ago I told technology students that by 1971 or 1979 we would be using more nitrogen in our agriculture than is used today by France, one of Europe's foremost countries in this respect, with a population exceeding ours roughly seven-fold.

And what is the enemy doing? Perhaps we can do all this in peace, without any problems or handicaps? No, because we must overcome innumerable difficulties, innumerable effects of the American imperialists' criminal policy.

To give you an idea of it, I have brought here a cable on the problem of fertilizers that has come in today. The Associated Press reports that the British are thinking of granting Cuba a loan for the purchase of a large fertilizer plant in Britain. I official U.S. quarters it is said that the matter is under discussion with the British, and it looks as if no final decision has been reached.

The United States objects emphatically to the transaction because it thinks the deal would pierce a big hole in America's sustained effort to isolate the Communist regime of Fidel Casro.

Washington, which is trying to keep Castro under strong economic pressure in order to fan an internal discontent over his regime and make it more burdensome for the Communist bloc to back it, is telling other Latin American countries that communism is not the way to a higher standard of living.

What cynicism! They imagine they can in that way, that is, by exerting pressure, resorting to blockade, and obstructing to the utmost the efforts of so small and underdeveloped country as ours, prove that communism does not lead to higher living standards. The only thing they are achieving is to reveal their cynicism and

shamelessness, the criminal spirit and the insolence of the imperialists. What they are proving is the exact opposite, namely, that imperialism is the enemy of a higher standard of living for the people, that the enemy of the progress of the underdeveloped countries is not communism but imperialism, the very same imperialism which openly pursues the criminal policy of using every means to prevent a small underedevelopd country, a country it exploited for fifty years, from feeding its people better. The imperialists are proving that it is not communism that opposes the expansion of trade between various countries, which is so beneficial to peace, and that it is not communism that hampers economic progress.

The capitalists never bothered to build a fertilizer plant in our country. All they did under one of their numerous deals with the Batista regime was an attempt to build a small plant that would produce 30,000 tons of ammonium nitrate and that was never completed. Not until a very short time ago, after overcoming numerous difficulties over the acquisition of suitable equipment, did we succeed in providing conditions in which the plant can go into operation this year. The capitalists did not aspire to more than 30,000 tons of ammonium nitrate. The revolution wants a million as a minimum, that is, 30 times as much.

U.S. imperialism has helped one people after another to become internationalist-minded. Having a common enemy, we realize our internationalist duty and the need to proceed in a consistently internationalist spirit, and see the policy of Cuba, the foreign policy of our revolution, in the firm and invariable policy of supporting the revolutionary movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

We know that this policy reflects the sentiments of our revolutionary people, and their revolutionary internationalist mission. Do we have to ask this vast audience whether it accepts this policy, the internationalist foreign policy of our people, government and Party?

In other words, no one can claim that a group of people in power is imposing this policy—a policy involving risks—on our people. The fact is that a group of people solidly linked with the people, the leaders of the revolution, who are completely at one with the people, express the sentiment, will and consciousness of the people.

It is most unfortunate that our people have come to realize this in a mere eight years. And if asked what is the most important result of the revolution, the most important of the achievements listed by us, we would answer: the most extraordinary result of our revolution is the amazing revolutionary consciousness that our people have developed.

The imperialists attack one people today and may attack another

or several peoples simultaneously tomorrow. They are sworn enemies of the people, of the people's well-being.

Will they manage to convince the British government? We doubt it. We do not think they can achieve anything, whatever the pressure they may exert. Why? Because no nation can do without trade, because such a policy is criminal and absurd, and breeds world conflicts and problems, and no sovereign nation will yield to such pressure.

We must tell you by way of information that the imperialists also put pressure on the Italian government and Italian firms. For we are taking certain steps in various countries, and we must say that many of them are interested in selling us fertilizer plants. We expect to put up at least three plants during the next four or five years, with an annual capacity of not less than 200,000 tons of ammonia, apart from the plant which is to be built at Nuevitas and which was purchased in France through the Soviet Union.

Europe is striving for greater independence from the United States, and many European countries trust Cuba and want to sell it their products.

The case of Cuba is teaching something to the European countries, namely, that should any revolutions take place in Latin America, those countries stand to lose very little and to gain much, for U.S. imperialism maintains economic supremacy on this continent. It enjoys preferential tariffs and makes its own terms, so that Latin American countries have to go to Europe in quest of the dollars they need to pay for American commodities, to pay interest to the Americans. The Cuban example shows Europe that the interests of industrial Europe are best promoted by revolutionary independence, that is, by the Latin American peoples' revolution inspired by the desire for independence and freedom. One ought to tell the European countries not to allow the imperialists to deceive them. What the revolution in Latin America really hits is the interests of Latin American monopoly and not those of the people. It hits the imperialist monopolies of the United States and not the American people. For the American people are a victim of these monopolies, of their wars, their savagery, their crimes. Without the imperialists, the American people could also benefit from the revolutionary process in the underdeveloped world. But the American people are a victim of imperialism.

Now while the American people are not yet in a position to free themselves from imperialism, Europe *can* get rid of the hated and outrageous American patronage. It is not for nothing that the American imperialists are so hated in every part of the globe. Anyone will say they are hated in Cuba and Vietnam and Korea . . . But that is not the whole story, for the hatred is universal. Ask a Greek or a Frenchman and he will tell you he hates the American

imperialists. Ask a Spaniard and he will tell you how he hates the American imperialists. They are tired of humiliation, of the Marines who mistreat and insult people everywhere.

That is why we are calm. We know that Europe cannot give in to American imperialist pressure on those issues.

I have told you that everything was achieved thanks to the unity of the people. Perhaps there was in the country an organization comprising all revolutionary forces? No. One of the important achievements of the revolution in the past eight years was that it united all revolutionary forces in one organization and created an instrument of revolutionary unity and guidance for the people.

Thus we have on our Central Committee not people who once belonged to other organizations—for we no longer speak of former organizations—but people who fought for the revolution and its ideals on one front or another.

The people united, their forces rallied together, an organization was founded and at the same time the political consciousness of the masses was fostered.

That is one of the factors which made the advance of the people possible.

Never in the history of our country had we achieved greater unity—I mean revolutionary, class unity, that is, unity of tthe humble, the oppressed and exploited. We attained it for the first time in the history of our country. It is an important factor that will gain in importance as time passes. A genuine worker-peasant alliance was brought into being.

Why? Because it was built on revolutionary foundations, on Marxist, Leninist foundations. The peasants were freed from exploitation, and no attempt was made to impose any particular mode of production upon them. They got land gratuitously, and stopped paying any rent whatever. These peasants, these 100,000-odd families in the country-side, especially in the mountain regions, constitute a class solidly linked with our proletariat.

The revolution helps the peasants in every possible way. It grants them loans, builds roads for them, supplies them with equipment and machinery, extends medical aid to them, and educates them and their children.

It should be noted that at the close of these eight years our working class has an excellent ally, an excellent comrade-in-arms in revolutionary struggle. This ally is our peasants. The finest of them are in the Mountain Militias, who have eliminated the bandits trained by the CIA. This alliance is indestructible because it is based on a revolutionary policy, a genuinely Marxist-Leninist policy.

These peasants, whom the big landowners and the bourgeoisie tried to mislead by alleging that they would be robbed of their

land, have absolute confidence in the revolution. They know that the two agrarian laws that were needed have already been enacted, and that the years to come will see further progress.

We have carried out a different, a new type of agrarian reform. The lands included in national estates, that is, national lands, those owned by society as a whole, those on which re-afforestation plans are being put into effect and on which other vast projects are being implemented on a grand scale, make up 70 per cent of the country's total land area.

We did not divide the one-time latifundia. That would have been suicidal for the revolution, for we would have been unable to carry out any one of the far-reaching plans we now lay. But neither did we propose to turn the agricultural proletariat into peasants, for that would have been a step back. This is the social basis on which we can concern ourselves with carrying out our plans. At the same time, however, we cooperate with the small agricultural producer by granting him credits, rendering him technical assistance, and trying to raise the productivity of his farm. In some branches, such as tobacco or coffee, the proportion of small producers is very great. They also own a sizeable segment of the livestock population.

We did not urge a merger of the lands owned by individual peasants. We encouraged the credit cooperatives and cooperatives for the joint use of machinery and equipment that sprang up spontaneously. However, we fully respected the will of the cooperative peasants. Their social consciousness is increasing.

There are in human society certain things that we have yet to see. We have yet to see how people will behave when the vital needs of the family are met in full and money becomes immaterial.

There are two types of people: optimists and pessimists. Many of the revolutionaries are generally optimists, whereas the sceptics, that is, those who have scant faith in man, belong to the pessimist camp. Some believe that when everything, such as free housing and electricity, and when their children at school are supplied with clothing, footwear, food, in short, all they need—the community in which they live and in which money will become less and less important will gradually develop into something devoid of willpower, something indifferent and indolent.

Some imagine that only the whip of necessity, only the whip of hunger, makes people work and produce material benefits. But we who belong to the optimist camp, to those who believe in man, consider that to think so means setting little store by man and that those who think so are ignoring man's immense capacity for moral development, ignoring the fact that man is a human being and not an animal.

We consider that the concept of labor will gradually change,

and that man will improve more and more. We think that as labor ceases to be something that has to be done in order that one's children and wife may not starve to death, as labor ceases—as it has already done in our country—to be a means of exploitation, and as people come to treat labor as a miracle, a source of well-being and wealth and happiness, man will come to have greater respect and love for labor.

We have said that we are Marxist-Leninists. And to be a Marxist-Leninist means, first of all, borrowing from Marxism its creative nature, its dialectics and fundamental principles, and using them according to revolutionary criteria, dialectically, in a specific reality. We respect other people's interpretation of the realities of their countries, the forms and methods of building socialism and communism, of applying Marxist ideas.

When we speak of ourselves as Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries, this means that we take a thoroughly revolutionary applying ideas of *our* realities. We must say we are optimists and stand, that we are following our own road, blazing our own trail, are satisfied with the progress our revolution is making, with the growing consciousness of our people, with the way in which the correctness of our interpretation of Marxist-Leninist ideas is being proved, as is also the importance for the revolution of contact with the people, of close links between leaders and masses — a requisite for the most successful development of the revolutionary process.

Our people have become highly conscious politically. They have developed a high morale that goes on rising. They are taking an active part in the solution of the problems and difficulties facing the country. Theirs is a revolutionary and internationalist mission, which they are fulfilling with increasing energy.

Our revolution has a splendid characteristic: it distributes as it unites. In step with the unification of the people there goes on a distribution of functions. New cadres emerge. For all that we are faced with numerous tasks and that a considerable number of the comrades who fought in the Sierra are still in our armed forces, and who took part in the struggle to win state power, more and more new cadres are emerging.

I have said that the revolution unites the people and distributes functions among those who are accomplishing the revolution. This cannot go on indefinitely, however. It is not only the administrative, political, military and economic functions that have to be distributed, but also orientation tasks, tasks which consist in talking to the people. We may well raise this question here and now. Now that our revolution is eight years old, we must differentiate functions more and more, must work by increasingly collective methods, must train more and more people who will be equal

to any task. This is also true of our public meetings. Other comrades should address them. One day it may be Fidel who speaks, then it may be Raul, then Comrade Dorticos, then some other comrade, then Almeida and Ramiro and Guillermo and Armando. In short, let it be the Central Committee, as you say. Then the slogans will change, and the slogan "Everyone with the Party" and "Everyone with the Central Committee of the Party."

We should gradually get used to that. Nothing could be more important or sound than that, and besides, nothing could be fairer. Fairer in what sense? Surely not in the same sense that the comrades should see the right to speak from this platform as a privilege? No. For fifteen years many of the comrades who carried on the revolution had to concern themselves with everyday work. How much time did they have for study in those years?

A relatively small handful of leaders have had to carry a huge burden. We risk lagging behind. The more the various functions are distributed, the more collective experience will be gained and the more opportunity the comrades will have to educate themselves. Workers and everyone else are improving their knowledge, and so should the entire leadership.

Lastly, Vietnam. We have discussed Vietnam on numerous occasions, analyzing the significance of the heroic struggle of Vietnam, the significance of Vietnam to the world, to the liberation movements and all the peoples suffering from imperialism. We have said that the fight going on in Vietnam is for the whole of mankind, and that Vietnam is fighting also for us by putting up a heroic and successful resistance to the most powerful, aggressive and hated imperialists on earth.

The heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people has aroused an all-embracing and powerful political consciousness, with the prestige of imperialism sinking to an unprecedented low. This consciousness is growing in step with the escalation of the war, in the course of which the imperialists recently committed the heinous crime of bombing the capital of Vietnam. Vietnam has won the sympathy of the whole world, of the foremost thinkers, and brought emphatic statements from men like Bertrand Russell and Paul Sartre, as well as numerous other intellectuals of Europe, Latin America and the rest of the world.

I need not speak of our love and solidarity for Vietnam. It is only natural and logical that a country like ours, which is threatened by the same kind of dangers, should fully identify itself with Vietnam. It is natural and logical that our country, which sees imperialism as the enemy of all peoples, should side with Vietnam.

For Vietnam, the issue is one of life and death, of a decisive struggle gaining in depth and intensity.

We therefore want to do something more than words alone can do. We want to dedicate this year to Vietnam, want this year to be "Heroic Vietnam Year." This calls for no explanation, and it is the proposal we are making to you: let the year 1967 be "Heroic Vietnam Year."

# PREPARATIONS FOR THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE GREAT OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

## DECISION OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE, JAN. 4, 1967

November 7, 1967, will be the 50th anniversary of the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The working people of all countries will join the Soviet people in celebrating this historic birthday of the world's first socialist state. The 50th anniversary of the October Revolution is the triumph of Marxism-Leninism, the ideals of the working-class movement, the ideas of proletarian internationalism and friendship among nations.

The Great October Socialist Revolution ushered in "a new era in world history" (Lenin), the era of the downfall of capitalism; it turned the destinies of mankind in the direction of socialism. The development of mankind in the past half century has been marked by the triumph of the ideas of the October Revolution, by great revolutionary accomplishments which have radically changed the social and political outlook of the world.

The 50th anniversary of the October Revolution is the holiday of victories of communism, Marxism-Leninism and the life-asserting teaching of Vladimir Lenin, inspirer and organizer of the revoluton, founder and leader of the Communist Party and the Soviet State, fighter for the unity of the international Communist movement. Leninism is the eternally living source of revolutionary thought, revolutionary action, revolutionary courage; ever new generations of people striving for social change turn to Lenin's ideas. The name of Lenin is infinitely dear to all the peoples of the planet, it has become a symbol of the new world.

As they prepare for the 50th anniversary of Soviet power the Communist Party, the Soviet people again and again express their love for Lenin, who devoted his energy, his brilliant mind to the cause of the revolution, to the struggle for the happiness of the working people, and express their firm determination to sacredly fulfil his behests, to safeguard and multiply the gains of the October Revolution.

For the first time in history the October Revolution put an end to the domination of landowners and capitalists and destroyed the exploiter system. Under the slogan, "All power to the Soviets,"

workers, peasants, soldiers and sailors stormed the old world, and triumphed. The dictatorship of the proletariat was established and a new type of state appeared, the Soviet socialist state. The era of the power of working people began. Economic, social and political emancipation of the masses, their liberation from class and national oppression, and all-round development of the working man have become the aim of the construction of a new world. Herein lies the deepest essence of the revolutionary humanism of the October Revolution.

The October Revolution showed the way to solving the vital problems posed by the entire preceding development of world history: those of the future of society, the nature of social progress, war and peace, the destinies of world civilization.

The victory of the October Revolution confirmed Lenin's theory of socialist revolution. The Marxist-Leninist teaching stood the test of history on issues such as:

—the inevitability of the collapse of capitalism and establishment of socialism;

—the vanguard role of the working class, led by the Communist Party, in the revolution and in building a new society;

—the dictatorship of the proletariat and its role in the struggle for the victory of socialism;

—the Soviets as a form of dictatorship of the proletariat and organs of genuine people's power and socialist democracy;

—the alliance of the working class and the peasantry and other strata of the working people under the leadership of the working class as the decisive force in the struggle for social emancipation;

—the industrialization of the country and socialist reconstruction of agriculture;

—ways of solving the nationalities problem;

—raising the living standard of the working people and carrying out a cultural revolution.

As they look forward to the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution the Soviet people are summing up the results of a half-century of struggle and victories. Theirs has been a road from the landlord-capitalist system to radical socialist transformations, to a society free from exploitation; from lack of political rights for the working people to socialist democracy; from national oppression of the peoples to their freedom and equality, friendship and fraternity; from technical and economic backwardness to modern industry and mechanized cooperative farming; from illiteracy to unprecedented progress of public education, science and culture.

The lofty revolutionary spirit and heroism of the working class and working peasantry were manifested with particular force in the days of the October Revolution and the years of the civil war and foreign intervention. The young Soviet Republic, like an island,

was surrounded by an ocean of hostile forces; its enemies predicted its inevitable and early fall and did everything to strangle and destroy it. Titanic efforts were needed to snap the fire ring of White Guard and interventionist troops, to overcome the economic blockade, famine and devastation. Led by the Communist Party, the workers and peasants and the Red Army upheld the gains of the revolution and routed the enemies. The country began building up its economy.

The mass-scale heroism displayed by the working people in the years of economic rehabilitation and the first five-year plans went down as an unforgettable chapter in the history of our society. Soviet people spared neither effort nor means, they conscientiously made sacrifices and worked perseveringly, showing examples of courage for the sake of overcoming the country's backwardness and turning it into a mighty socialist power.

An immortal heroic feat was performed by the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War against the fascist invaders. It was a grim and bloody war, and the damage it caused was formidable. But the Soviet social and state system created by the October Revolution withstood the most severe trials. The rout of the most rabid forces of imperialist reaction, the bitterest enemy of progress and civilization—Hitler fascism, demonstrated the indomitable strength of the socialist state. The victory of the Soviet Union in the Great Patriotic War created favorable conditions for the development of socialist revolutions in a number of countries of Europe and Asia, for a mighty upsurge of the national-liberation movement.

The strength of the socialist system was also strikingly manifested in the postwar years. Cities and villages rose swiftly from ashes and ruins. The war-ravaged economy was fully restored. New successes were achieved in economic, scientific and cultural development. The country entered the period of full-scale communist construction.

In solving the gigantic tasks set before our country by history, the Soviet people have displayed self-denial, revolutionary organization, tenacity, conscious discipline and purposefulness.

The memory of the revolutionary fighters, Leninist Bolsheviks who perished in tsarist dungeons and exile, the memory of the national heroes of the socialist revolution and civil war will aways be sacred to our people. Our land was soaked with the blood of millions of the finest sons and daughters of the people who were killed by the White Guards, intervention forces and fascist invaders. The glory of the sons and daughters of the people who safeguarded the freedom and independence of our motherland will never fade. Nor will the stoic builders of new factories, of collective and state farms of the first five-year plans ever be forgotten.

The deeds of those whose labor multiplied the material and spiritual wealth of Soviet society will live on forever.

A great path has been traversed by our people, and great is their exploit, an everlasting example for generations to come, for all who have taken the road of freedom.

The red banner of socialism has fluttered triumphantly over our land for a half a century. For half a century the Soviet people have been translating the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin into life. They have achieved a great deal. The complete and final victory of socialism in the USSR and the transition to the upbuilding of communism—this is the most important result of the revolutionary transformations effected in our country.

The 50 years of the October Revolution have witnessed the setting up of a large-scale socialist industry developing at a steady pace, equipped with the most up-to-date machinery and capable of solving most complicated scientific and engineering problems and national economic tasks. The conversion of the Soviet Union into a mighty industrial power is one of the greatest victories of the working class, of the entire people. Our working class carefully preserves and develops the glorious labor traditions of the first five-year plans.

The 50 years of the October Revolution have seen the implementation of Lenin's cooperative plan in the countryside, the creation of large-scale socialist farming. The victory of the collective-farm system signified a social revolution in rural life. The well-being of the collective farmers has improved, their political and cultural standards have risen immeasurably. The glorious collective-farm peasantry and state-farm workers are sparing no effort to ensure the further advance of agriculture, to multiply the country's riches.

The 50 years of the October Revolution have been years of growing living standards of the people. Execution of the right to work, rest and leisure, free education and medical aid and maintenance in old age and in case of sickness or disability has become the natural and usual practice for Soviet people. Socialism has given Soviet men and women confidence in the morrow. They are not haunted by the fear of unemployment, victimization and poverty. Concern for man and his welfare is the supreme goal of the Party and the state in socialist society.

The 50 years of the October Revolution signify the accomplishment of a cultural revolution. Socialism has brought to Soviet people education and enlightenment and has immeasurably elevated and enriched the cultural life of society. Soviet scientists worthily serve their people. Soviet science has achieved remarkable results in all fields of modern scientific and technological progress. It has much to its credit in the exploration of outer space. Socialist culture, socialist literature and art, which assimilated the best achieve-

ments of the past, have become an integral part of the common proletarian cause and actively help in educating a harmoniously developed man of communist society.

The 50 years of the October Revolution signify the growing social, political and ideological unity of the people. The community of fundamental interests of the working people has served as the basis for the consolidation of the alliance of the working class and the peasantry which took shape and grew stronger in the common struggle for the building of socialism and communism.

Affirmation of the indestructible brotherhood of all the peoples of our homeland is a result of the fifty years of the October Revolution. The free and equal peoples—Russian, Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Uzbek, Kazakh, Georgian, Azerbaijanian, Lithuanian, Moldavian, Latvian, Kirghiz, Tajik, Armenian, Turkmenian and Estonian—all nations, big and small, united in the inviolable Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, built socialism by combined effort, stepped onto the road of prosperity and achieved tremendous successes in economic and cultural development. In the close-knit family of the brother nations of the USSR we have upheld the gains of the October Revolution and scored tremendous results on the road chosen by us.

The experience of development of the USSR as a single socialist multi-national state reveals the essence and importance of socialism for the solution of the age-long nationalities problem; it signifies the triumph of the ideas of proletarian internationalism applied in practice.

The 50th anniversary of the October Revolution means the birth of the man of a new world, a man with new moral principles. With the victory of the October Revolution a decisive struggle was launched against the customs and prejudices of the world of private property, with its individualism, egoism and selfishness. The years of socialist construction radically changed the character of human relations in our country. They defeated the bourgeois ideologists who had hoped that socialism would be unable to overcome the old society's forces of inertia and individualist ways. The years of Soviet government saw the emergence of generations of people with a highly developed political consciousness and a new attitude to labor, people brought up in the spirit of collectivism and fellowship. Soviet patriotism and proletarian internationalism. A man with a new character was moulded—a revolutionary and a fighter for our great cause.

Socialist democracy—the broadest, fairest and most representative of all—has arisen and become firmly established in our country. Born of the revolution, the power of the Soviets, government of the people and for the people, has provided ample opportunities for the participation of working people in the administration of state, eco-

nomic and social affairs. Socialist society elevates the civic dignity and honor of man, sets the noblest aims before people and affords every condition for a conscious endeavor by the people in the name of building communism.

The role of the Soviet trade unions as a school of communism bringing millions of working people into communist construction increases in society.

The work of the Lenin Komsomol as an active assistant of the Party, the leader and organizer of the Soviet youth is gaining in scope. The Soviet system proved to be a great school of courage for the training of young people.

Cooperative, scientific, technological, sports and other mass organizations of the people have developed on a vast scale.

Socialism has ensured the political and economic equality of women. As a result of the October Revolution women have come to play an active part in the new life. During the war and in the years of socialist and communist construction the glorious women of the Soviet land displayed great courage and showed examples of devoted and diligent work, and they continue to do so. Women are in the forefront of the builders of communism in every field—industry and agriculture, education and health, science and culture, the bringing up of the rising generation, and the administration of the state.

The results of the October Revolution, and the lessons of history irrefutably testify to the advantages of socialism over capitalism. The development of the Soviet socialist society and its achievements have proved in practice that socialism is a social system ensuring the planned and effective development of social production, the growth of the living and cultural standards, democracy and genuine freedom for the working people.

The experience of socialist construction has shown that the revolutionary reorganization of society entails diffifficult creative effort and meets with new problems, tasks and historical turns as it goes on.

Soviet society emerged, grew and gained strength in fierce class battles. Tackling the highly complex problem of translating the ideals of scientific socialism into reality, our people blazed a new trail under the leadership of the Leninist Party. As they fought for Soviet power and the victory of socialism, the working class and other working people had to overcome many barriers and obstacles and to cope with incredible difficulties.

The proletarian revolution first triumphed in one country whose economy was backward and greatly undermined by the imperialist war, and foreign intervention. The Soviet people built socialism in the conditions of hostile imperialist encirclement and a constant threat of armed intervention. Our country went through the most

trying wars with their irreparable human losses and tremendous material damage.

In the fifty years that have passed, the Party and the people knew the joys of great victories and the bitterness of bereavement, temporary setbacks and mistakes. Our Party emerged from all the treals stronger and more seasoned than ever, inspired by unshakable revolutionary optimism and confidence in the victory of the great communist cause.

We still have many pending problems. The Party takes a sober view of the state of affairs; it sees the problems that are pressing and takes measures for their solution.

The greatness and strength of socialism as an idea and a system of social relations manifested themselves above all in the fact that in spite of all the difficulties the first socialist country accomplished what many contemporaries thought impossible and unattainable.

Our country has reached a level of development which makes it possible to solve still more successfully the problems of advancing the economy and improving the standard of living. Socialism is a steadily developing society which is bringing out more reserves and possibilities as it progresses. These possibilities and advantages of socialism take effect not by themselves, not automatically, but as a result of the conscious labor of millions.

The role of the Soviet working class as a creator of the new society is great. The working class revealed its historical mission in carrying out the October Revolution and in building socialism. It is the most advanced, the leading force of Soviet society on its way to communism.

The epoch-making victories of the Soviet Union fully confirmed the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of the historical role of the working class, and proved correct the road which our people have been following throughout the past years, since the October Revolution, under the leadership of the CPSU, under the banner of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. The Communist Party is carrying aloft the great banner of Lenin.

In the hardest times—in the years of the struggle for Soviet power and in the days when the working people mourned Lenin's death and in the period of the severe trials of the Great Patriotic War—the finest sons and daughters of the Soviet people joined the Leninist Party to fight in its ranks for the victory of the workers' cause. Everywhere and always Communists went unhesitatingly where struggle and construction were particularly difficult. In the course of revolutionary struggle and socialist change the Party reared numerous cadres in every economic and cultural sphere. The Communist Party is part and parcel of the working class, the working people, the people as a builder, it is constantly

and unanimously supported by the people and cherishes their trust. It has no interests other than those of the people.

The Party is arriving at the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution having gained vast experience in the leadership of communist construction and of the country's home and foreign policy. It has upheld its general line in unrelenting struggle against Trotskyists, petty-bourgeois adventurers, Right-wing opportunists, national deviationists and other anti-Leninist trends and groups.

Firmly and consistently guiding itself by Marxist-Leninist principles, steadily carrying forward and enriching the theoretical heritage of Marx, Engels and Lenin, the CPSU is confidently leading the Soviet people in communist construction, and is successfully discharging its function of the organizer and political leader of the Soviet people.

The experience of the CPSU as the party of the Great Socialist Revolution, as the leading force of a socialist society built in a country where the most diverse socio-economic structures—from patriarchal-tribal to capitalist—had existed, is of enormous international importance.

Communist and Workers' parties and the peoples of fraternal countries carefully study and widely use the experience of socialist and communist construction in the Soviet Union for building a new life. The valuable experience of brother parties in building socialism is widely used in our country. Mutual support, assistance and exchange of experience have become a powerful factor for our progress.

Radical changes have taken place in world politics during the 50 years since the October Revolution. In its first decree—the Decree on Peace—our revolution resolutely rejected the policy of plunder and violence in the world arena. It was precisely after the October Revolution that two opposite trends, two policies, developed in world politics: the policy of peace and freedom of the peoples, personified by socialism, and the policy of war and enslavement pursued by imperialism.

The Soviet state proclaimed new principles in relations between peoples and countries—the principles of equality, sovereignty and non-interference in domestic affairs—and has been carrying them into practice ever since. The Soviet Union, beginning with Lenin's Decree on Peace, has been following a foreign policy meeting the most vital aspirations of the peoples. This is a policy providing favorable conditions for the building of socialism and communism, of strengthening the unity and cohesion of the socialist countries, of fully supporting the struggle of the peoples for national and social liberation, cooperating with the young developing countries, consistently applying the principles of the peaceful coexistence

of countries with different social systems, and safeguarding mankind against a new world war.

The Soviet people are marking the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution at a time when the international positions of our country have become stronger than ever. The Soviet Union is making a major contribution to the safeguarding of world peace and the security of the peoples, and to the working people's fight for freedom, peace and social progress.

For half a century now, the country of the October Revolution has been in the van of world progress. Having scaled the heights of a developed socialist society, our people have immeasurably increased their opportunities of influencing the pace of social changes throughout the world. Socialist and Communist construction in the USSR is a major component of the world revolutionary process. Socialism today influences world development primarily by the positive strength of its example. The might of our state, its example and prestige, and its activity in the international arena, all of which have been placed in the service of socialist ideals, are becoming ever more important in solving world problems in the interests of the working people of all countries.

*The Great October Socialist Revolution is of enormous international significance. It accelerated the march of world history.* The ideas of Marxism-Leninism, of the October Revolution, have spread all over the world; they have roused the peoples for the struggle against oppressors, for their freedom and independence. The gains of the October Revolution provided a powerful base for revolutionary change in every part of the globe.

The victory of the socialist revolution in many countries of Europe and Asia and on the American continent—in Cuba—and the establishment of the world socialist system are a continuation of the revolutionary renovation of the world initiated by the October Revolution.

*The October Revolution revealed the historic role of the working class as the standard-bearer and main champion of socalism,* as the most advanced and most militant class force of modern times. It gave powerful impetus to the revolutionary movement of the international working class, making it the central factor of the contemporary epoch.

*The October Revolution was the turning point in the development of the national-liberation movement.* It proved the feasibility of achieving the complete national liberation of the peoples, led off the crisis of the colonial system and created real opportunities of national-liberation revolutions. The break-up of colonial empires, the appearance of formerly enslaved peoples on the international scene as an active and independent force, and their effort for social progress are all inseparable from the October Revolution,

from the achievements of socialism, from the class and anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples of the world.

*The Great October Socialist Revolution:*

*—merged in a single stream the struggle of the working class and other revolutionary forces for socialism and the fight of the oppressed peoples against national and colonial oppression.* It revealed the vitality and need of an alliance of the working-class movement and the national-liberation struggle of the peoples in the name of the victory over imperialism and of the triumph of national freedom and social emancipation;

*—exerted a tremendous revolutionizing influence on the peoples of the world.* strengthened the fighting resolve of the working class of all countries, awakened the oppressed nations and roused large social strata for active political life;

*—went a long way toward promoting the organization of the working class and other working people throughout the world:* this is manifest in the growth of the Communist parties and in the rapid expansion of trade unions, women's and youth organizations and all the progressive forces of society.

*The October Revolution was the cradle of the contemporary world Communist movement,* which by now has become a most influencial political force in the struggle for the revolutionary transformation of the world on socialist principles. The Communist movement has demonstrated its ability staunchly and consistently to uphold the interestss of the working people. The strategy of the Communist movement has been set forth in the Declaration and Statement of the Moscow meetings of the Communist and Workers' parties; fidelity to these documents is a characteristic of the Marxist-Leninist parties.

Half a century of history has corroborated the soundness and vitality of Marxism-Leninism and revealed the impotence of reformism and Social-Democracy. Experience has shown that success attends those Communist parties which abide by Marxism-Leninism. It has shown that any revision of Marxism-Leninism or any phrasemongering and dogma fail inevitably.

An uncompromising struggle is going on between socialism and capitalism, between the forces of progress and those of imperialist reaction. The imperialists will stop at no crime in attempting to hold up history and to arrest the mighty revolutionary movement for liberation and emancipation. American imperialism, which has assumed the role of world policeman, is stepping up provocations in various parts of the world. The U.S. imperialists have unleashed a predatory war against the Vietnamese people; they are trying to strangle the freedom and independence of nations and to establish their rule.

To effectively repel the aggressors and to combat imperialism,

it is essential to cement the unity of all the revolutionary and progressive forces.

Half a century of experience has graphically proved the validity of the Marxist-Leninist proposition that the national and international tasks of the revolutionary forces are inseparable. Fidelity to proletarian internationalism is a guarantee of the successful advancement of the revolutionary cause in each particular country and throughout the world.

The Soviet Union is in the forefront of the struggle against imperialism. Faithfully fulfilling its internationalist duty, the CPSU does all in its power to contribute to the cohesion and might of the socialist system, to the unity of the international Communist and working-class movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. It supports the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat against capitalist slavery, and the struggle of the peoples against colonial oppression and neocolonialism, steadfastly seeking to strengthen the alliance with the forces of national liberation.

Ever since the first days of its existence the Land of the Soviets has been in an internationalist alliance with the proletariat and other working people of the world. This alliance is a powerful source of strength both for the first country of socialism and for the world revolutionary movement.

Soviet Communists and all Soviet people greatly appreciate the internationalist support they have from their brothers in other countries. The Soviet people will never forget that thousands upon thousands of internationalists fought with arms in hand for the first working people's homeland. The powerful "Hands off Soviet Russia!" movement was a symbol of internationalist unity. Nor will Soviet people ever forget the fraternal solidarity shown for them by other peoples in the years of socialist construction in the USSR and during the Great Patriotic War, with which the anti-fascist Resistance merged into one.

The growing international revolutionary movement and the increasing sympathy and support for the Land of Soviets on the part of the working class and other working people of the world inspire our people in the struggle for the victory of communism. Our party and people have a keen sense of international solidarity and friendship for their class brothers and their comrades in the common fight for peace, democracy and socialism.

The historical experience of the October Socialist Revolution and the world revolutionary movement testifies irrefutably to the fact that the fundamental interests of the working people can be met and all-round social progress made only by advancing to socialism. It shows that the working class, coming out in alliance with the mass of the people, is the main driving force of modern history,

that Marxism-Leninism is the only scientific, genuinely revolutionary ideology of the international working class and world socialism, and that socialism brings social and national liberation, equality and resurgence to all oppressed nations and peoples.

The Communist Party and the Soviet people are preparing for the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution with a feeling of legitimate pride for progress made and with clear prospects fo rthe future.

The 23rd Congress of the CPSU was an important landmark along our country's road to communism. On the strength of profound scientific analysis it outlined the main tasks to be carried out at the contemporary stage of communist construction. The Party has worked out and is implementing highly important measures to firmly establish and carry forward the Leninist standards of Party and state life, improve the principles of collectivism in work, promote inner-Party democracy, encourage criticism and self-criticism, and improve economic management.

The tasks and plans for the coming years mapped out by the 23rd Party Congress arouse new strength and energy in the Soviet people.

It has become a tradition with the Soviet people to celebrate each anniversary of the October Revolution. Every Soviet citizen and every family marks the anniversary of the revolution as the most joyful, the greatest and most memorable event. But the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution is a special holiday. During the days of this jubilee our Party and people will sum up the results achieved in a whole historical period. Thinking over the past, we are well aware that we have new tasks to accomplish as we build communism. By coping with them successfully we will bring new victories to the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, to the Communist Party and the Soviet people.

The Central Committee of the CPSU resolves:

To mark the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution as a great holiday of the working people, a glorious holiday of all the Soviet peoples, as a triumph of the ideas of the October Revolution, of communism.

Mindful of V. I. Lenin's words that the best way of celebrating the anniversary of a great revolution is to concentrate on unsolved problems, the CC, CPSU recommends the Party, government, trade union, Komsomol and economic organizations to step up work on carrying out the plans adopted by the 23rd Congress of the CPSU, and to direct the efforts of the working people toward accomplishing the following major tasks:

—considerably increasing industrial growth, raising the efficiency of social production through full use of achievements in science and technology, increasing labor productivity, improving the sys-

tem of planning and economic incentives, improving social relations;

—achieving a stable high rate of development in culture, considerably increasing the output of farm produce through intensive production;

—considerably raising the material and cultural standards of the people, expanding housing, cultural and welfare development, in town and countryside;

—perfecting socialist democracy, enhancing the role of Soviets of the Working People's Deputies, ensuring the full exercise of their powers in realizing economic and cultural tasks, promoting the working people's activity in every sphere of public life, heightening the responsibility of executive bodies, deputies and government officials before the people;

—promoting the socialist standards of life, enriching the revolutionary traditions of our society, educating people in a communist spirit, in the spirit of Soviet patriotism, proletaran internationalism and friendship among peoples.

The CC, CPSU recommends the central committees of the Communist parties of the Union Republics, the territorial, regional, city and district Party committees and local Party organizations to begin on a large scale organizing and political work in connection with the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution.

It is advisable for the central committees of the Communist parties of the Union Republics, the regional, territorial, city and district Party committees, local Party organizations and collectives of working people to discusss the questions relating to the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution. Each region, district, enterprise, state farm or collective farm should have its own concrete plans of preparations for the celebration.

In the course of political work among the people, it is necessary to properly reveal the historic importance of the October Revolution for revolutionary change in our county, its impact on the world processes, the victory of the socialist revolution in other countries, and to show the fundamental advantages of socialism over capitalism.

A comprehensive account should be given of the historic struggle of the CPSU for the triumph of the ideas of scientific communism, against anti-Marxist trends and deviations, for the triumph of the Leninist policy of the Party.

Preparations for and the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution should help to promote the revolutionary and labor traditions of the people, socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism. They should contribute to the education of the working people as people with high moral standards and inspired by loyalty to communist ideals, civic sentiments, people uncompro-

mising toward bourgeois ideology, putting the interests of their socialist country above everything else and ready to defend the gains of socialism with arms.

The active cooperation of veteran Bolsheviks, participants in the October Revolution, veterans of the civil war and the Great Patriotic War, and veterans of labor should be enlisted more extensively in preparing for the celebration of the jubilee.

The CC, CPSU approves the initiative of the staffs of industrial and transport enterprises, construction projects, collective farms and state farms for launching a socialist emulation movement in honor of the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution to reach the targets of the five-year economic development plan ahead of schedule.

The CC, CPSU recommends the central committees of the Communist parties of the Union Republics, the territorial and regional Party committees, the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions (AUCCTU), the CC of the Lenin Komsomol, the Party, government, trade union, Komsomol and economic organizations to encourage the socialist emulation movement with a view to increasing the effectiveness of social production, raising labor productivity, improving the technical standards and the quality of output, encouraging economy and thrift, introducing the latest achievements of science and technology into industry and agriculture, organizing production on scientific lines, strengthening the socialist discipline of labor, and achieving better organization.

Commemorative banners of the CC, CPSU, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the Council of Ministers of the USSR and of the AUCCTU as well as all-union prizes are to be instituted as symbols of labor glory in honor of the 50th anniversary of of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

After the results of the socialist emulation movement in honor of the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution are summed up, the commemorative banners shall remain forever with the staffs of those industrial enterprises, building organizations, collective farms and state fams which have achieved the best results in carrying out their commitments.

The AUCCTU, trade-union committees and councils are recommended to work out and implement measures for the extensive participation of trade union organizations in the preparations for and the celebration of the 50th anniversary of Soviet power. Trade union organizations should support and encourage the initiative of factory and office workers in the socialist emulation movement and in the movement for communist labor. They should step up the effort to improve the organization of labor, the living conditions of working people and the recreation facilities used by them.

The Central Committee of the Komsomol is recommended to

work out measures for the participation of Komsomol members and other young people in preparations for the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution. The work of the Komsomol organizations should be aimed at educating the rising generation in the spirit of the revolutionary traditions of the Great October Revolution, of loyalty to Lenin's behests and the cause of the Communist Party. It is necessary to encourage and support in young people the desire to increase the material and spiritual wealth of their socialist country.

The initiative is approved of the local government bodies and collectives of working people which have drawn up an extensive program for urban renewal, town beautification and the laying of gardens and parks in honor of the 50th anniversary of Soviet power.

In the days of preparations for and the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution tribute should be paid throughout the country to the memory of those who fell figthing for the cause of the revolution, and for the establishment and consolidation of Soviet power; at anniversary meetings, veteran Bolsheviks, active participants in the revolution, the civil war and the Great Patriotic War, veterans of labor, heroes of the five-year plans, and active participants in socialist construction should receive credit for their contribution.

The editorial boards of the newspapers *Pravda, Izvestia, Ekonomicheskaya Gazeta, Selskaya Zhizn, Sovetskaya Rossia, Trud* and *Komsomolskaya Pravda,* the periodicals *Kommunist, Partiinaya Zhizn, Agitator* and *Polticheskoye Samoobrazovanie,* and the Moscow, republic, territorial, regional, town and district newspapers and periodicals, the State Committee for Broadcasting and Television under the USSR Council of Ministers, and its local branches should give proper coverage to preparations for the jubilee. The press, the radio and television should depict the glorious revolutionary record of our Party, the achievements of the Soviet state and social system, the advantages of socialist democracy, the friendship of the peoples of the USSR, the courage and heroism of the people; they should carry reports on the devoted labor of the Soviet people and rouse them for new achievements in labor.

The State Committee for Science and Technology of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, and the councils of ministers of the Union republics should extensively feature the aehievements of the Soviet republics, using exhibitions and other media to this end.

The USSR Academy of Sciences, the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, the Academy of Social Sciences, the Higher Party School, the AUCCTU, the USSR Ministry of Culture, the Committee for the Press, the Committee for Cinematography, the USSR Ministry of Higher and Specialized Secondary Education, the State Committee

of the USSR Council of Ministers for Professional Technical Training, the USSR Ministry of Communications, the Board of the Znaniye Society of the USSR, the boards of the Writers' Union, Artists' Union, Composers' Union, Cinematographers' Union, Journalists' Union and Architects' Union of the USSR, the Central Council of the Union of Sports Societies and Organizations of the USSR to carry out measures in preparation for the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution, in particular with a view to:

—preparing and publishing scientific and popular historical, socio-economic, political, military and children's literature, as well as fiction, enlisting as authors veteran Bolsheviks, veterans of the revolution, the civil war and the Great Patriotic War, heroes of labor, prominent scientists and public figures; ensuring that the publications in question meet high ideological and artistic standards;

—holding among the working people lectures, talks, theoretical conferences, get-togethers with veterans of the revolution and of labor, war veterans; organizing excursions to places associated with the history of the revolution, and holding evenings of friendship and international solidarity;

—making films devoted to the history of the revolution, scientific documentary and feature films, and television programs;

—holding contests for the best scientic and technological achievements, for scientific papers, for the best literary productions and works of art devoted to the jubilee;

—producing jubilee plays, holding pictorial and folk art exhibitions, ten-day festivals of literature and the arts, reviews of amateur art;

—holding jubilee scientific sessions and conferences;

—holding mass-scale sports competitions, sportsmen's tours of places of historical interest, games of the peoples of the USSR, etc.

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The CC, CPSU calls upon the glorious working class of the Soviet Union to mark the coming jubilee of Soviet power by new achievements in the socialist industry, construction and transport, more efficient operation of the enterprises, higher labor productivity, and the establishing of new labor traditions.

The CC, CPSU calls upon the working people of the countryside to mark the jubilee by promoting the collective- and state-farm system, increasing the yield of all crops, raising the productivity of livestock and increasing output in general.

The CC, CPSU calls upon the intellectuals of the Soviet Union to work still more actively for speeding the scientific and techno-

logical progress of our country, for the further development of the culture of socialist society.

The CC, CPSU calls upon Soviet women to go on applying their energy and initiative to communist construction, and doing their best in the upbringing of the rising generation.

The CC, CPSU calls upon Soviet youth to be loyal continuators of the cause of the October Revolution, and active builders of the new world, to acquire knowledge, to preserve and multiply the gains of the older generations.

The CC, CPSU calls upon the men and officers of the Soviet armed forces persistently to master combat equipment and weapons, to treasure and multiply the revolutionary and combat traditions of the Army and Navy, to stand on vigilant guard of the sacred frontiers of the Soviet state born of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The CC, CPSU expresses firm confidence that the Communists, members of the Komsomol and all working people will greatly contribute to the economic and military might of the country by their creative labor, that they will work with still greater energy to implement the great plans of communist construction determined by the Party Program and the decisions of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU, and that they will greet in a fitting manner the glorious jubilee of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

*Central Committee,*
*Communist Party of the Soviet Union*

# ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

**January 3.** The Communist Party of Argentina issued a statement analyzing the government crisis. The appointment of General Alzogaray commander of the country's ground forces is not a mere change of the guard: it is another aspect of a bloodless coup whose denouement has yet to come, the statement says.

The Communist Party sharply criticizes the leadership of the General Confederation of Labor which, instead of warning the working class and the people about the reactionary character of the reorganized government, has again made statements full of hopes for a change in government policy. As things stand now, encouragement of illusions that the dictatorial government of a fascist type can reform or that another equally reactionary clique can pursue a policy in the interests of the workers and the people, testifies either to an incurable blindness of the GCL or its capitulation before the class enemy.

The statement goes on to point out that the GCL Secretariat does not reflect the sentiments and the fighing spirit of the working class, which has in recent months acquired instructive experience in the course of strikes and the struggles of the people generally.

**January 6.** R. Strzelecki, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC, PUWP, met with A. Kudryashev, deputy chief of a CC, CPSU department, and other senior officials of the CC, CPSU, who had arrived to take part in a conference in Lublin devoted to problems of promoting cooperation between border regions of Poland and the Soviet Union.

**January 6.** The political commissions of the central committees of the Communist and Socialist parties of Chile met in Santiago and adopted a statement stressing the need for joint action in the forthcoming municipal elections and for the establishment of a national committee of the movement for the self-determination and solidarity of the peoples of Latin America.

**January 7.** Delegations of the French Communist Party and the United Socialist Party reached agreement on concrete measures to be taken in connections with the forthcoming elections to the National Assembly. Both parties characterized the agreement of December 20, 1966, between the FCP and the Federation of the Democratic and Socialist Left as an important positive act and declared that elaboration of a common program of the governmental majority would be the best contribution the Left parties could make

to the strengthening of the movement for popular unity and democracy in France.

**January 8.** The Central Committee elected by the 18th Congress of the French Communist Party held a plenar ymeeting which elected the following Political Bureau; Gustave Ansart, François Billoux, Jacques Duclos, Etienne Fajon, Benoît Frachon, Georges Frischmann, Roger Garaudy, Raymond Guyot, Henri Krazucki, Paul Laurent, Roland Leroy, Georges Marchais, René Piquet, Gaston Plissonnier, Waldeck Rochet, Georges Seguy, Jeannette Thorez-Wermeersch, and alternate members Guy Besse and André Vieuguet.

Waldeck Rochet was re-elected General Secretary of the Party. The Secretariat of the CC also includes R. Leroy, G. Marchais, R. Piquet, G. Plissonnier and A. Vieuguet.

**January 7-8.** More than 3,000 delegates elected by Italian emigrees took part in the National Conference on Emigration convened by the Italian Communist Party in Rome. It was pointed out at the conference that the economically harmful problem of emigration (about 6 million people have left the country since 1945) could be solved only through economic planning proceeding from the interests of the working people and providing for the industrialization of the backward southern regions.

**January 9.** The CC of the Bulgarian CP held a conference to discuss tasks stemming from the Directives of the 9th Congress of the BCP. Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the CC and Chairman of the Council of Ministers, delivered a report on the economic plan and budget for 1967.

**January 10.** The CC of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia held its 6th plenary meeting which adopted a resoltuion on the immediate tasks of the LCY and the program of activities of the CC. It also approved a report on preparations for the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

**January 11.** The last January issue of *CPB Information* reports that at its session on January 6 the Political Bureau of the CC of the CP of Belgium studied tasks facing the entire working-class and democratic movement in connection with the attempts of circles close to the government to prepare the ground for a new offensive against democracy. The Political Bureau considers that there can be no question of vesting this government with special powers. The working-class and democratic forces must find the road to unity in order to resist this danger.

**January 11.** According to *Unita,* the political economy study centre run by the CC of the Italian CP has launched the publication of a monthly bulletin. Eugenio Peggio has been appointed chief editor of the bulletin.

**January 11.** The news agency Liberation published a report on the losses of the United States and its puppets in South Vietnam.

| Year | Number of U.S. troops | Total losses | Losses of U.S. | Increase of total losses of U.S. compared with 1961 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1961 | 1,364 | 49,329 | 8 | |
| 1962 | 9,865 | 85,358 | 256 | 32-fold |
| 1963 | 16,500 | 133,296 | 933 | 124-fold |
| 1964 | 23,000 | 208,263 | 2,140 | 267-fold |
| 1965 | 190,000 | 227,500 | 19,200 | 2,400-fold |
| 1966 | approx. 400,000 | 370,000 | 108,000 | A more than four-fold increase compared with losses in 1961-65 |

**January 11.** An official delegation of the Italian CP arrived in the German Democratic Republic on the invitation of the SUPG. The delegation, led by E. Macaluso, member of the Leadership of the ICP, also includes members of the Leadership A. Reichlin, A. Pesenti, member of the CC, A. Gouthier, and *Unita* correspondent R. Caccavale.

**January 14.** The 5th plenary session of the Board of the SUPG-West Berlin adopted the Party's election program in connection with the forthcoming elections to the city's Chamber of Deputies. The Board instructed Party Chairman Gerhard Danelius to address the Social Democratic Party of West Berlin with the proposal "to dissociate itself from the Right course of the Kiesinger-Brandt government and support the policy of all-round normal relations with the East and the West."

The plenary session discussed the work of the bureau which issues emergency passes to residents of West Berlin and expressed gratitude to W. Stopf, Chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, for his positive response to the request of the Board of the SUPG-West Berlin to continue the issue of such passes after January 31.

The Board decided to increase the circulation of the Party newspaper *Die Wahrheit*. Starting with February the newspaper will four times instead of three times a week and will have more pages.

**January 16.** A delegation of the Communist Party of Finland headed by Political Bureau member Olavi Laine arrived in Budapest as guests of the CC of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

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INFORMATION

# bulletin

91

*Included in this Issue*

**JOINT COMMUNIQUE**
**FCP AND USP**
**l'Humanité**

**FOR COMMUNIST UNITY**
**ON VIETNAM**
**CP of Britain**

**STATEMENT BY**
**SANTAGO CARRILLO**

*Issued by*
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# information bulletin-91(3)

*contents*


**RESOLUTION**
Of Plenary Meeting, CC, Communist Party of Finland, Jan. 21-22, 1967 **5**

**THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH VIETNAM IN BATTLE** **6**

**CALL FOR COMMUNIST UNITY ON VIETNAM**
Statement Executive Committee, CP of Britain **11**

**DEMOCRACY WILL COMMENCE ONLY AFTER FRANCO'S DOWNFALL**
Statement of Santiago Carrillo **13**

**WE MUST FIRST ASCERTAIN THE POLITICAL AIMS OF THE ELECTIONS**
Speech by Aarne Saarinen, Chairman CP of Finland **18**

**WITH OPTIMISM FORWARD TO THE ELECTIONS**
Article in **De Waarheid** (Netherlands) **21**

**JOINT COMMUNIQUE BY THE FCP AND USP**
**l'Humanité** **22**

**EXTRACTS FROM RESOLUTIONS**
13th Plenary Session of the Communist Party of Israel **24**

**NATIONAL COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS**
**New Age** **33**

**STATEMENT OF POLITICAL COMMISSIONS OF SOCIALIST AND COMMUNIST PARTIES OF CHILE** **37**

**SUSPENSION OF CONSTITUTIONAL GUARANTEES, NEW BLOW**
Statement of Political Bureau, CC, CP of Venezuela **38**

**MAO'S SQUADS AGAINST MARXISM-LENINISM**
**Einheit** (CC, SUPG) No. 1, 1967 **40**

**ACTIVITIES OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES** **48**



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# RESOLUTION

## OF THE PLENARY MEETING, CENTRAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY OF FINLAND, January 21-22, 1967

The Communist Party of Finland considers that practice has confirmed the correctness of the political line defined by the 1960 Meeting. Since then, however, certain changes and events have taken place on the world scene, which need to be jointly evaluated. The Communist Party of Finland therefore supports the call for a new international meeting and thinks that the parties should now begin talks on the character, objectives, agenda and date for holding such a joint meeting.

If a joint discussion of all the important issues is impossible at the present stage, an international meeting should be called to discuss the most pressing issues, the issues that are of concern to all. These include, first and foremost, the question of war and peace and of fortifying unity in the fight against imperialist aggression. Apropos of this we suggest including the folowing three items in the agenda:

1. Unification of all peace forces to stop the war in Vietnam and in Southeast Asia.
2. Support for the national-liberation movements and the newly-free states; the fight against neo-colonialism and hunger in the world.
3. Possibility of averting a third world war; peaceful coexistence, non-intervention in the internal affairs of other states.

The purpose of the meeting should not be to isolate any one of the parties from the international Communist movement.

Preparations for the meeting should be carried out particularly thoroughly and collectively and should aim to get as many parties as possible to participate in it. After preliminary talks we think a general preparatory meeting could be held to finalize preparations for the joint meeting, its agenda and date.

*Central Committee,*
*Communist Party of Finland*

# PEOPLE OF SOUTH VIETNAM IN BATTLE

## COMMUNIQUE* OF THE LIBERATION AGENCY

The year 1966 has seen the armed forces and the people of South Vietnam accomplish their greatest feats of arms since the beginning of their resistance to the U.S. imperialist war of aggression. It will go down as a highly important period in the determined struggle our people have been waging for so long under the leadership of the National Liberation Front.

Our armed forces and our people defeated the American imperialists in their "special war." But the imperialists did not reconcile themelves to their defeat—they began to rush troops to South Vietnam, openly took over the conduct of the war and launched a large-scale local war, which they have been stepping up ever since.

During the past year the strength of U.S. troops has increased from 190,000 to 365,000 and that of the satellite troops, from 16,000 to 52,000. The U.S. force engaged in the aggression against South Vietnam already exceeds the puppet army in strength, as well as the maximum of American troops engaged in the Korean war. The U.S. has already moved in six divisions of its standing army, and plans to send another two, that is, to concentrate eight divisions in South Vietnam, or about half the strength of its standing army, apart from two light infantry brigades.

The U.S. has also boosted its war materiel by increasing the number of aircraft to more than 3,000, armored carriers and cars threefold, and guns by almost as much. In addition there are the U.S. Seventh Fleet cruising in the South China Sea, and aircraft based on Thailand and Guam, which directly participate in the bombing and shelling of Vietnam. The number of bombs and shells used in 1966 has trebled over 1965, that is, has reached the number of bombs and shells used by U.S. troops throughout the three years of the Korean war. The saturation of the American force of aggression in South Vietnam with aircraft and artillery, and their firepower have reached an unprecedented degree, topping even the level attained in World War II. In some areas, the U.S. aggressors used scores of bombs and hundreds of shells against each inhabitant, including infants. Budget appropriations for the war in Vietnam have been increased to $24 billion, and will probably be raised to $30 billion to $35 billion, or half the defense budget of the U.S.

*Abridged from **Nhan Dan**, Dec. 20, 1966.

Our armed forces and our people have won major victories this year. According to incomplete data, 233,194 enemy men and officers were killed, wounded or taken prisoner from January to the end of November 1966, including 100,738 American aggressors. Our armed forces destroyed 33 enemy battalions (including 16 U.S. infantry battalions), 10 armored units equalling battalions (American), 249 companies (including 81 U.S. and 12 satellite companies). and 356 platoons, 3 military subdistricts, 275 enemy outposts and watch-towers. They shot down or damaged 1,932 aircraft of various types, destroyed 3,182 military craft, including 1,608 armored carriers, 30 locomotives and 108 military railway cars, sank 82 warships of various sizes, and destroyed 289 bridges.

Military operations by the armed forces and the people of South Vietnam in 1966 may be described as follows:

1. The armed forces destroyed more enemy manpower than in any one of the previous years.

The most significant fact in this connection was that U.S. losses in 1966 were almost five times as great as in 1965. Including the 100,000 enemy troops which deserted in 1966, the number of men and officers put out of action was close on 340,000, or three-fourths of the total strength of the U.S. and satellite troops in South Vietnam.

The armed forces and the people of South Vietnam destroyed much greater quantities of weapons than in any one of the previous years. The number of enemy aircraft shot down increased substantially over previous years.

2. The three arms of our armed forces, far from weakening, grew steadily, both quantitatively and qualitatively, developing in the battlefield successes achieved earlier.

Worthy of special note is the growth of the guerrilla movement which, having gone through harsh trials, has become more powerful, organized and efficient, and has played an important role in foiling various plans of the U.S. aggressors and their puppets.

Guerrilla operations, which take the most diverse forms, strike terror into the hearts of the invaders. These are compelled to admit that the South Vietnamese guerrillas are "the ablest and most skillful fighters history has ever known." The better-known "aggressor-destroying zones" around Danang and Chulai and in some parts of the Tay Ninh, Thu Dau Mot and other provinces enabled the guerrillas considerably to strengthen their positions and to keep the enemy in a narrow ring.

3. Coordination on various fronts improved noticeably. Specifically, a turn was brought about this year in the Kuang Tri and Thua Thiet provinces, where the enemy found himself shackled and had to scatter his forces even more in order to counter our blows.

Thanks to combined operations, our armed forces struck at all the U.S. units and formations on all fronts. The more fiercely the Americans went into action, the greater losses they suffered. They had to reinforce the 1st Airborne Division by two-thirds. The new reinforcement of the Marines, necessitated by losses, equalled two divisions in strength. The 173rd Brigade had to be re-formed almost entirely, while the 196th Brigade, specially trained in "new tactics," was put out of action after several battles in Tay Ninh Province. Other U.S. divisions were likewise worn out or routed shortly after they set foot on South Vietnamese soil. As for the puppet army, almost all its divisions, including strategic reserves, lost their combat efficiency.

4. These victories and gains appreciably stimulated the initiative of the armed forces in the battlefield and increased their power. They now have a more solid base on which to fight the U.S. aggressors successfully, at a time when the enemy is expanding the war.

Along with armed struggle, our armed forces and our people intensified political struggle and work among the enemy troops, skillfully combining these three lines of struggle and attacking in all three fields.

1. The U.S. troops' direct aggression against South Vietnam, the intensification by the American aggressors and their puppets of their extremely reactionary military, political, economic and cultural policies resulted in increasing and aggravating the antagonisms between the U.S. imperialists and their puppets, on the one hand, and the whole of our people, including even members of the puppet army and officials of the puppet administration, on the other. These antagonisms were particularly sharp in the towns, where they expressed themselves in frequent and serious clashes. An unprecedentedly broad and powerful movement has been developing in South Vietnamese towns since March 1966. During the first nine months of this year, over three million compatriots in the towns took part in various actions against the U.S. aggressors and the Thieu-Ky clique.

The working people's movement assumed considerable scope in 1966. The workers are becoming increasingly active in their fight for a better life and for democratic freedoms. In many instances the fight assumes a vast scale and a resolute character, as was the case with the struggle of 30,000 employees of RMC-BRG, the American company serving all the military projects under construction in South Vietnam, with the textile workers' struggle, etc. The role of the working class in the political struggle of the people, and its resolve in the fight going on in the towns against the U.S. imperialists and the Thieu-Ky clique are becoming increasingly evident.

In the towns, the people are also stepping up their *armed* strug-

gle. They mount surprise attacks on enemy outposts, shell military installations and barracks with mortar fire, destroy enemy agents, liberate the population, and bring various districts under their virtual control.

According to incomplete information, over 11 million compatriots in town and country during the last 11 months took a direct part in the fight against the puppet authorities and armed forces, against the U.S. expeditionary corps and the satellite troops. They insisted on putting an end to the bombing and shelling of communities, to combing operations, the use of toxic chemicals, and the call-up, on establishing democratic freedoms, easing the lot of the people, and stopping this aggression. This struggle gained in intensity toward the end of the year. Over four million compatriots in the countryside joined in it in October and November, even as military operations became more active.

2. The surface of the liberated areas continued to increase. A further 660,000 people had been liberated by September. At the same time the enemy was unable to capture any really important objectives.

The enemy plan for "pacifying" the rural areas failed completely, although the American aggressors and their puppets did their best to mass their manpower, materiel and funds in order to strike us a blow with armed force, and by means of lies and fraud in the political fields and of bribery in the economic field.

We are inspired by and proud of the fact that culture and education have been making rapid progress in spite of a cruel war. The U.S. aggressors bomb and shell schools, killing school-children and teachers, but even so our people cannot allow their chidren to remain ignorant. Children study in underground shelters and in trenches. Where they cannot attend school by day they do so at night. Schools destroyed by enemy fire are rebuilt as soon as the enemy has gone, and in some cases more than once. The Phuoc Thanh school in Ben Tre Province, fore one, was rebuilt seventy times. The network of literacy classes is being expanded in villages, troops and guerrilla units, youth shock brigades, offices, enterprises and building projects. Children and adults live according to the requirements of the Resistance.

More and more medical establishments are being provided, and they are operating more efficiently than before. Many more classes have been set up locally to train surgeons' assistants, nurses and obstetricians. Despite the severe shortage of equipment and manuals, appreciable initial progress has been achieved in training doctors, which is done exclusively in Vietnamese.

Culture, the arts, the press and communications are developing apace, contributing effectively to the fight against the American aggression, for national salvation.

The press, both national and local, is developing, and the quality of coverage is improving. Radio Liberation and the Liberation News Agency are expanding their activities.

3. While our people stand united and are determined to carry their Resistance war through to victory, the political position of the enemy in 1966 remained most precarious. The U.S. had to put all its political trumps on the table, but it invariably failed. All mediators lost faith in the U.S. one by one, for the reactionary policy of the U.S. and the Thieu-Ky clique damaged their interests to some extent or other.

4. The fact that the United States took over the direct conduct of the war, assigning the puppet army an auxiliary role, injured the national pride of the personnel of the puppet army. The deeper the U.S. involvement in the war, the more passive the puppet army.

The passivity, disillusionment and demoralization of the puppet army are increasing from day to day. Desertions are on the rise. According to incomplete data, there were over 100,000 desertions from the puppet army since the beginning of the year.

★ ★ ★

The extension of the war to North Vietnam by the U.S. imperialists has brought the two parts of our country still closer together.

Every gain of the compatriots in North Vietnam in production or in battle strengthens the compatriots in the South. The latter hail the armed forces and the people of North Vietnam, who have shot down more than 1,600 of the American aggressor's aircraft.

The world supports Vietnam's struggle against the American aggressors.

The protest movement against the U.S. imperialist war of aggression is growing all over the globe, taking on the most diverse forms. The whole world condemns the aggressors' crimes against our people.

# CALL FOR COMMUNIST UNITY ON VIETNAM

## STATEMENT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE CP OF BRITAIN

Deep concern at the latest developments in the international situation, especially in Vietnam and West Germany, was expressed by the executive committee of the Communist Party yesterday.

These required the united action of all Communist parties, said a statement adopted by the executive committee at its meeting at the weekend.

Noting the growing isolation of the U.S. on Vietnam and the increasing divisions in NATO, the executive committee condemned "the further brutal escalation of the war in Vietnam by U.S. imperialism and especially the bombing of Hanoi and other cities."

It called for urgent new activity "to step up the movement in Britain to aid the Vietnamese people, to stop the bombings, to make the Wilson Government cease supporting the U.S. and to force the withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Vietnam."

The Communist Party was of the opinion, the statement said, "that a world conference of Communist parties to assist the Vietnamese people, convened with the agreement of the Vietnamese Communists, could be of the utmost possible importance.

"A new threat to peace and democracy in Europe arises from the appointment of Kiesinger, the ex-Nazi, as Chancellor, and the neo-Nazi developments in West Germany," the executive committee stated.

"It is therefore urgent for all Communist parties concerned to concert their efforts to ensure European security."

The executive committee welcomed the proposed conference of Communist parties on European security, and "hopes that it will take place as quickly as possible.

"This is a situation which requires increased activity by the Party and progressive movement to combat German militarism and neo-Nazism," it declared.

The committee expressed "extreme concern over the latest events in China, which are causing grave damage to the Communist Party of China, the Young Communist League and the All-China Federation of Labor.

*Slightly abridged from **Morning Star**, January 16, 1967.

"The policy and activities being pursued by Mao Tse-tung and his associates are violations of accepted Communist principles and practices.

"They are causing deep and unnecessary rifts among the Chinese people and their mass organizations, and so creating serious problems for the future development of China.

"The present crisis in China will only be finally resolved by a return to Communist principles," the statement said.

The committee deplored the opposition of the present leaders of the Communist Party of China "to united action to aid Vietnam, and will resist all their attempts to split the Communist parties."

It called on all Communists for renewed activity to change the policy of the Government, to build the Party and the Young Communist League and to extend the sales of the *Morning Star*.

# DEMOCRACY WILL COMMENCE ONLY AFTER FRANCO'S DOWNFALL

## STATEMENT OF SANTIAGO CARRILLO, GENERAL SECRETARY, COMMUNIST PARTY OF SPAIN

The ultra-reactionary group which handled the "referendum" has overshot itself. The actual vote turned out to exceed the number of registered voters of two million — a bit too much. But then, everything is possible with the "electoral" methods used. Complete companies of armed policemen were marched to the polling stations to vote "yes." Soldiers were assembled in the barracks and led by their sergeants and officers to the polling stations with "yes" ballots in their hands, having been warned that "those wishing to vote 'no' must ask the Captain for a new ballot list." Nuns too, like the soldiers and policemen, marched in formation to vote "yes."

The invention of "passing-by voters" would make the biggest election riggers of the period of the monarchy green with envy.

An American journalist who speaks broken Spanish made an interesting experiment: he appeared at a polling station under the name of Perez and, without producing any identification papers, took part in the voting. How many people voted ten or fifteen times posing as "passing-by voters" who were not even asked to show their documents? Probably more than half a million unconditional supporters and hangers-on whom any regime like that of Franco can mobilize. The nearly eight million "yes" votes obtained in this way must be subtracted from the published returns as false and unreal. Only then shall we arrive at somewhat more accurate results of the referendum.

Nevertheless, one cannot deny the fact of considerable mass participation—considerable if it is taken into account, that abstention in the recent municipal elections reached 90 per cent in Barcelona and 88 per cent in Madrid and averaged probably 75 per cent throughout the country. It is quite possible, however, that about 50 per cent of the registered voters did go to the polls. It is a large figure, considering the unpopularity of the regime. To create the impression of great activity at the polling stations, these 50 per cent were compelled to stand for a long time in queues. To them should be added the "passing-by voters." But no one will be able to say for sure just how they voted. Most polling stations were sealed off when the ballots were counted, which was done in a family fashion, without any control. The ballots were destroyed

*Abridged.

immediately after the signing of the voting reports. The number of "no" and blank ballots is certain to have been considerably understated.

But the vast majority of the citizens who took part in the voting did so with a feeling of bitterness and discontent. Why then did they vote? Above all, because of coercion. The campaign of threats and pressure had assumed such crude forms that some loyal newspapers, such as *ABC*, were obliged tc point that out the day after the referendum. The government had issued a decree, dispatched to municipal councils and circulated under the signature of magistrates, ruling that those abstaining from the vote would be punished in accordance with a 1907 law. Aware of the terroristic traditions of the regime, its abuse of power and arbitrariness, many people, understandably, took this threat seriously. The decree was concretized for each category of citizens. The workers were threatened with withdrawal of their Christmas pay and even dismissal—a threat which is sometimes effective during a period of recession such as the present one; the scholarship students, with annulment of scholarships and impossibility of further study; the workers who periodically leave for France and other countries to do field jobs, with cancellation of their passports. There even were cases when tradesmen were threatened with imposition of higher taxes.

This intimidation and the government's totalitarian campaign had an effect upon a part of the population, which would have otherwise abstained from the voting. But there also were other factors which influenced the voters' attitude. Among them was the hypocritical stand of the top clergy which deserves condemnation by all upright people. True, there is a difference between its appeal in 1947 to vote "yes" and the present appeal to vote "as conscience commands," which shows that now it cannot associate itself with the regime as openly as in the past. But this difference does not negate the fact that the top clergy urged, in all forms, participation in the voting and condemned abstention. In Catalonia and the Basque country the bishops hastened to disavow respectable priests who had proclaimed the legality of abstention. But nothing is known about a bishop having disavowed the newspaper *La Voz de Albacete* which, wilfully misinterpreting the Pope's words, had printed in huge letters: "Paul VI urges voting 'yes' to the Spain of Franco." With rare and worthy exception, bishops violated canonic laws and sent nuns to the polling stations.

One of the craftiest tricks pulled by the government was the very short space of time allowed between the announcement and the holding of the referendum. Using all propaganda media, all means of dictatorial power, the government sought to create an atmosphere conducive to its interests. At the same time, the oppo-

sition not only was unable openly to state its viewpoint, but did not have enough time to mobilize its forces in conditions of underground work. If it had had two months for conducting at least clandestine propaganda, the results would have been different. We Communists had joined all other opposition forces, including the monarchists and the right-wing Gil Robles forces, in signing a document demanding guarantees for propaganda against the referendum and its postponement. We did so because that enabled the entire opposition to issue a joint statement and because the refusal to satisfy this demand—which could be expected—would help expose the referendum maneuver before the whole world. Entertaining no illusions about the results of the referendum, we had issued a statement calling for abstention. Later on the same stand was adopted by other groups. However, since little time remained till December 14, there was no possibility of popularizing this attitude by clandestine means. Learning that the Communists called for abstention, those who tended to follow the bourgeois opposition groups yielded to the government's propaganda which urged them to resist Communist "maneuvers." But most of them never learned that groups close to them had also appealed for non-participation.

Despite the magnificent mobilization of our Party, the new working-class movement, the students and many intellectuals, there was not enough time to frustrate the campaign of intimidation and pressure. This was to the detriment of the opposition forces, which even through underground action could have achieved better results if they had had more time.

The referendum is an episode in the struggle against the dictatorship which has not changed the conditions of this struggle but rather introduced greater clarity and precision into them. From this episode, following the example of the workers' commissions and the students, the opposition should draw the conclusion that organization and constant coordination of actions are needed. To use the opportunities provided by the present situation, the various anti-Franco forces should resolve to overcome the parochial attitudes, establish coordination of actions and act openly all the time and not only in extraordinary circumstances. It is necessary to have a "round table" or other similar organ which should not discriminate against any one but, on the contrary, should be open to all wishing to join the opposition. There is pressing need to get together in order to draw collective conclusions from the referendum and lay down a common line of action.

Agreement between one or another group should be achieved on an emergency basis greatly differing from that which could serve as the criterion for political alliances in different conditions. For example, when the monarchists, who, incidentally, obtained only 6,000 votes in the recent municipal elections, add the stereotyped

phrase "We oppose the Communist Party" to a document of the opposition forces, this does not surprise or embarras us very much. For our party, we Communists also could add that "We oppose the monarchy and the monarchists." But what for? We did not do so, because this is obvious, because it goes without saying. What is necessary today is understanding between the political groups which adhere to different and even opposite positions on most im-Pportant issues but agree on one thing, namely, *that the people themselves should decide, in conditions of freedom, which of the solutions proposed by one or another group are most acceptable, which solutions suit them most.*

The area of consensus between these groups could be just the establishment of democratic norms. And then let the people decide. We stand for the republic; the monarchists, for the monarchy. We oppose solutions of the Right; the Right, those of the Left. But all this within definite limits and norms freely accepted by all, within the framework of respect for the right of the minority. Such is the essential objective which calls for stable contacts and cooperation between different and even mutually opposed forces which do not renounce their ideals.

The referendum was not a victory for the opposition, for the latter had no opportunity to show that it enjoys the support of the people, of their vast majority. But that was to be expected when freedom is lacking and when the referendum results were fabricated in government offices without any control. But the referendum was not a victory for the regime, either. Those who had been working behind the scenes persuading Franco to hold it had expected quite different results. They wanted to launch "liberalization" of the dictatorship in order to camouflage its fascist essence which hampers development of Spain's international relations (a very acute problem for Spain), and to prevent rapprochement between the genuinely democratic opposition and what could be called Right-liberal opposition, by incorporating it into the regime. These people thought that a pardon enabling the survivors of the Second Republic (with the exception of Communists) to return home, and the referendum campaign during which some rightist opponents of the regime would be given some space in the press and a few minutes of TV and radio time, would facilitate an international campaign designed to create the impression of liberalization in Spain, while not affecting the foundations of the regime. But Franco did not allow even that concession to the Right opposition, which he despises. He had the law made to his own order, providing no openings for the present and introducing no clarity into the question of succession. He considers that any concession would open the slippery road to the emergence of an alternative to his power. The caudillo, who shuffles pretenders to the throne to preclude any monarchic alternative and

restricts the possibilities of the various groups of the movement to prevent any of them from gaining supremacy and to rule out the emergence of another alternative, could not allow any genuine way out. The new law is said to be Franco's testament. It may be, but it is a testament which insists, "After me, the deluge."

But hereby Franco has lost the international trump which the more far-sighted of his supporters wanted to get by holding the referendum. None of the more or less serious foreign journalists would present the referendum as liberalization, while some of the journalists closest to the regime have characterized it as a "lost opportunity." After the referendum Franco's international stature is the same as it was before it. His regime still retains the fascist imprint.

At the same time Franco has dealt a shattering blow at the illusions of those who hoped for an "evolution" of the regime. By his conduct the caudillo has confirmed what the Communists and other democrats have been saying: democratization will commence only after Franco is removed from power, and it must be carried on by the people.

The conclusion that suggests itself after the referendum is this: it is necessary to go on stepping up the mass struggle against the dictatorship in most diverse spheres—economic, cultural, political and international. The opposition must organize and coordinate its actions, imparting stability to the broad convergence of positions achieved with regard to the referendum. It must not only be more resolute and energetic in coming out into the streets, but work out a democratic alternative to the present regime.

# WE MUST FIRST ASCERTAIN THE POLITICAL AIMS OF THE ELECTIONS*

## AARNE SAARINEN, CHAIRMAN OF THE CPF, COMMENTS ON THE COMING PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

We need to be clear about the political aims of the Social-Democratic Party in the election campaign, and about the slogans to be put forward in the campaign. This matter is particularly important now, when the SDP has officially declared for the foreign policy line known as the Paasikivi-Kekkonen line, and when the Lefts are cooperating in the government with the Centre Party, which proposes to nominate Kekkonen, this cooperation not ruling out the possibility of a left-wing policy and, indeed, providing ample conditions for it.

The issue of next year's presidential elections has already become topical because as early as mid-1966 the Center Party hastened to put forward Kekkonen, the present President, and proposed to all other parties talks to form a broad electoral alliance. Except for the small rural producers' party, which has few members, the reaction of all parties to the proposal was favorable, and two of them—the Union of Workers and Small Holders and the People's Party — have already declared for the re-election of the present President.

The Communist Party has yet to take an official stand as to the specific candidate. Its decision on this point will be considerably influenced by the foreign and home policy objectives of the electoral alliance. It is well known that in Finland the President of the Republic is in a rather "neutral" position and therefore exerts appreciable influence on both the foreign and the home policy of the nation. The question is, first of all, whether one can be quite certain, within the proposed electoral alliance, that the foreign and home policy to be launched after the elections will satisfy the people's democratic movement.

Various points of view—so far of a personal nature—have been expressed in Social-Democratic quarters. Some Social Democrats have said that the present President should be re-elected and that this should be done through the parliament. Others are of the opinion, however, that the SDP and the Finnish People's Democratic Union should discuss the question of putting forward a common candidate or, in the absence of such a candidate, the alternative of each party putting forward its own candidate. The SDP is ap-

*Kansan Uutiset, Jan. 16, 1967.

parently inclined to support the nomination of the present President.

It has also been said in Social-Democratic quarters that it would take exceptionally important reasons for the SDP to renounce the obligations imposed on it with regard to the presidential elections by its left-wing policy. As to that, we must note that at the moment there are no sufficiently clear signs of a left-wing policy although the Lefts make up the majority.

Among the tasks of a left-wing foreign policy is that of promoting good and trustful relations between Finland and the Soviet Union, as well as an active effort to safeguard peace, including the demand that the United States stop its aggression in Vietnam, the establishment of a European security system, which implies recognition of the two German states and the present frontiers of Europe, non-proliferation of nuclear arms, the disbandment of military alliances, and gradual disarmament. On the domestic scene, a left-wing policy implies permanent and close cooperation and joint struggle by the working-class parties for social progress, gradual elimination of the power of big capital, and the extension of democracy.

Our Party and the entire people's democratic movement consider that it is a question of whether we should at the coming elections promote the election of the present President as we did at the two previous elections, or whether we should look for another candidate. In our view, no one holding a key post in the SDP today could in the sphere of foreign policy, particularly with regard to the Soviet Union, expect to achieve what the present President has achieved. There are such people among the people's democrats, but it is obvious that the SDP would not back our candidate. One cannot agree with the Chairman of the Foreign Policy Commission of the parliament, who said that "to the Soviet Union, it is a question, first and foremost, of a continued policy of friendship, not of specific individuals." A continued policy of friendship depends precisely on specific individuals and, first of all, on the President of the Republic, but also on the Prime Minister, on other individual members of the government, and in the final analysis, on individual citizens. The situation today is such that our bourgeois President has contacts with both the statesmen and the Party leaders of the Soviet Union. Not so, unfortunately, with any one of the Social-Democratic leaders holding key positions. This state of affairs will take time to change, and the change will depend in decisive measure on the SDP leadership.

In examining this matter we should, furthermore, bear in mind that the cooperation of the working-class parties is of relatively recent date and is not yet close and trustful enough. Nor has it really risen to a party level. On either side there still lingers an

atmosphere of distrust which they should strive to remove.

It should also be remembered that the extreme right wing of the bourgeoisie has not given up its efforts to remove the present President so that a foreign and home policy suiting the Right may be launched. It is therefore trying to ensure that the SDP puts forward a candidate of its own.

Evidently, the extreme right wing of the bourgeoisie will continue to hope and trust that the anti-Communist and anti-Soviet forces linked with the Right will yet gain the upper hand in the SDP leadership. Assuming that this hope has a real basis, this cannot increase confidence in the SDP on the part of those who are against the aspirations of the Right.

It is essential to ascertain the political aims of the SDP in connection with the election campaign. What slogans should be put forward for the campaign? This question is particularly important today, when the SDP has taken an official stand for the foreign policy line known as the Passikivi-Kekkonen line, and when, along with cooperation of all Left forces, there is cooperation in the government with the party which has put forward Kekkonen as its candidate and in respect of which President Kekkonen was one of the initiators of participation in the coalition government. This coalition does not rule out the possibility of pursuing also a left-wing policy and, indeed, creates ample opportunities for it.

I think when we are clear enough as to the political aims of the elections we will be able to arrive at a final decision, and we must therefore hold special talks also with the SDP.

# WITH OPTIMISM, FORWARD TO THE ELECTIONS*

The forthcoming parliamentary elections will take place in an atmosphere of the general onslaught of the employers and banks on the living standard of the working people. In such conditions a success for the Communist Party, whose ranks are rallied closely as it enters the election campaign, would help improve the political situation in the country.

In its List No. 6 presented in all sixteen electoral districts, the Communist Party of the Netherlands has a central list which is headed by Party Chairman M. Bakker. Local lists have been entered only in Amsterdam and Limburg. In Amsterdam Party Secretary H. J. Hoekstra heads the list.

The elections to the Second Chamber, to be held on February 15, will be contested by 24 political groups, seven more than in the last elections of 1963. Considerable changes have taken place in the lists of all parties.

The Communist Party is resolutely opposed to the arbitrary wage policies pursued by the previous government.

In drawing up the lists of candidates the Central Committee endeavored to ensure the best coordination of parliamentary and extra-parliamentary struggle. At the same time it commended the useful activity of the Party's parliamentary group in behalf of the working people and instructed it to uphold this line in the new parliament as well. Comrade Marcus Bakker should remain at the head of the CPN parliamentary club.

The considerable changes in the CPN list are due to the fact that Comrade Paul de Groot does not come forward as a candidate any longer.

Instead, the list now has Comrade Annie van Ommeren-Averink, until now a member of the First Chamber. The CC considers that this will strengthen the Communist group in the Second Chamber. The presentation of local lists in Amsterdam and Limburg signifies a keener election battle than in the other regions. But since the central list of the CPN is entered throughout the country, not a single vote will be lost.

The present situation in the country holds out the promise of an electoral success.

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*Slightly abridged from **De Waarheid**, January 6, 1967.

# JOINT COMMUNIQUE* BY THE FCP AND USP

The delegations of the French Communist Party (FCP) and the United Socialist Party (USP) met to examine the conditions in which the Left must fight to eliminate the de Gaulle regime and establish a political and social democracy opening the way to socialism.

The two parties regard the agreement concluded on December 20 between the Federation of the Democratic and Socialist Left (FDSL) and the French Communist Party as an important and positive move creating a new situation and strengthening the Left opposition.

The two parties have agreed on the following measures in view of the forthcoming general election:

—In the first round each party will go into action with its own program and its candidates.

—In the second round, the two parties will, on the basis of the agreement concluded between the FCP and the FDSL, call on the voters in all electoral districts where the Left can win to ensure the success of the Left candidate who has polled the greatest number of votes.

—In the other electoral districts the two parties will prevent a return to the disastrous alliances of the past by jointly casting their votes for the Left candidate who has polled the greatest number of votes, and at the same time against the Gaullist and other reactionary candidates.

To implement these measures and study specific cases concerning them, the two parties will examine the situation after the first round.

★ ★ ★

The two parties are agreed that the elaboration of a common majority and government program by the two Left-wing parties remains the best means of strengthening the trend for popular unity and of establishing a democracy meeting the interests of the working people and the nation.

After the general election the two parties will carry forward the work they have begun with a view to overcoming existing differences and to increasing their contribution to the common program of the entire Left.

*Paris, January 7, 1967.*

The delegations were composed as follows:

*L'Humanité, Jan. 9, 1967.

*Waldeck Rochet, Etienne Fajon, Roland Leroy and Jean Burles for the French Communist Party;*

*Edouard Depreux, Pierre Beregovoy, Marc Heurgon, Gilles Martinet and Pierre Stibbe for the United Socialist Paty.*

# EXTRACTS FROM RESOLUTIONS*

## ADOPTED BY THE 13TH PLENARY SESSION, CENTRAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY OF ISRAEL, December 7-8, 1966

### 1. FOR DEFENSE OF PEACE AND DEMOCRACY

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel discussed, at its 13th plenary session, the present political situation in Israel and the crisis which the ruling circles' foreign and home policy is now undergoing, as well as the need to step up the struggle aimed at altering Israel's policy and regime.

It is the Central Committee's opinion that the November 13th military raid on the Jordanian village of Sammou—more than any other military action undertaken since the 1956 tripartite aggression against Egypt—has showed up the utter bankruptcy of the policy "from positions of strength." The repercussions of this raid have proved to many of our countrymen the total absence of wisdom and of a sense of national responsibility that characterizes the policy of Israel's ruling circles—a policy of leaning on the imperialist powers and ignoring the rights of the Palestinian Arab people and, in fact, its very existence. These latest development show that our Party was right in assessing that a policy carrying on the inglorious tradition of the Ben Gurion governments was doomed to fail.

The Israeli Army action against Sammou with the ensuing unanimously severe condemnation of Israel by the Security Council have aggravated the crisis affecting the policy of the Eshkol government. Increasing segments of public opinion in our country are now voicing doubts as to the correctness of official policy. There is growing realization of the fact that, far from resolving any of Israel's problems, the policy of relying on armed force and leaning on the imperialists is a dead-end course which does nothing but worsen our country's position. Political instability is growing, feelings of despair are current; these are the conditions breeding once again the danger of the extremist, militaristic Right.

The Middle East is passing through a period of profound changes. The Arab peoples are intensifying their fight against the imperialist powers' political, military and economic control, for the consolidation of the Arab countries' political and economic independence.

*Information Bulletin, December 1966. Tel Aviv.

The growing struggle against foreign domination over the area's oil resources as well as the recent wave of popular discontent that has recently swept Jordan and whose object was the regime of the imperialist agent King Hussein makes it possible that the imperialist powers might launch military intervention against Syria and other anti-imperialist Arab states and once again entangle our country, as they did in 1956.

The Central Committee resolutely condemns any plan providing for armed intervention in Jordan aimed at protecting Hussein's pro-imperialist regime. The nature of the regime is Jordan as well as that country's foreign and domestic policy are by right the exclusive concern of the Jordanian people.

Moved by a profound sense of national responsibility and concern for Israel's well-being and security, the Central Committee calls on all sections of the public to show vigilance, prevent military adventures and ensure the safeguarding of peace.

The Central Committee underlines the important role which the Soviet Union has played in the past and is playing now in safeguarding peace in this part of the world and preventing imperialist intervention and aggression against the peoples of the Middle East.

The Central Committee appeals to all democratic and peace-loving people to fight against the anti-Soviet slander campaign, in favor of a policy leading to better relations with the USSR, and a climate of friendship between Israel and the Soviet Union. The anti-Soviet propaganda conducted by Israeli ruling circles promotes alien interests and is detrimental to the national interests of the Israeli people.

The 18-year-old history of the State of Israel has taught us that traditional Israeli policy only serves to isolate Israel in the international arena and makes peace with the Arab countries more remote than ever.

The Central Committee is firm in its view that Israel has every possibility of extracting itself from its present state of crisis and isolation. There is certainly a way to arrive at an understanding with the Arab peoples and at the peace so earnestly desired. The way is to change official policy, ensure that Israel abstains from participation in imperialist schemes directed against the Arab peoples and interference with the historical struggle waged by the Arab peoples against Arab reaction and imperialism, for their national and social liberation and that the Israeli Government show willingness to acknowledge the legitimate rights of the Palestinian Arab people, and first and foremost the right of the Arab refugees to choose between returning to their homeland and receiving financial compensation. Such a policy would mean a thorough-going change in the whole of Israel's position in the Middle East, help to create a different climate in Israeli-Arab relations, pave the way to

negotiations and to the Arab states' recognition of Israel and its legitimate rights, and bring about a just peace settlement based on reciprocal acknowledgment for the national rights of both peoples concerned.

Our Communist Party opposes and deplores any statement calling into doubt Israel's right to exist as a sovereign state, condemns any terrorist activity carried out on Israeli territory and any plan to resolve the Israeli-Arab dispute by armed force. The soil on which these attitudes and policies grow is the policy pursued by Israel's rulers of lining up with imperialism against the Arab people's anti-imperialist movement of national liberation and of disregarding throughout the years the national rights of the Palestinian Arab people.

The Central Committee warns against the danger of a seizure of power by the extreme Right ("Rafi"—Ben Gurion's "Israel Labor List," and "Gahal"—the Right-wing "Herut-Liberal Bloc"); it appeals to all democratic forces to unite together and repel the threat posed to the parliamentary forms of government in Israel. The latest political developments have confirmed the correctness of the Party's evaluation, that by continuing Ben Gurion's policy, the Eshkol government would only bring failure on itself and prepare the ground for seizure of power by the Right. The best way to repel the Right's offensive is to alter the course of official policy toward peace, non-dependence on the imperialist powers, neutralism, friendship with the USSR, democracy and social progress.

The Central Committee calls for a struggle against the anti-democratic schemes hatched by certain circles in the Government Coalition and the "Herut" party to raise the "barrier percentage" in Knesset elections (the minimum percentage of votes entitling a political party to receive a Knesset seat), the aim being to do away with the Left-wing parliamentary opposition. This plan could mean the beginning of the end for all parliamentary forms of government.

The way out of the present political, economic and psychological crisis does not lie in the formation of a broad "from wall to wall' cabinet or by bringing the extremist militarists of "Rafi" and "Gahal" into the Government for a government so composed would merely aggravate the situation. The way out of the crisis consists in fighting for a change of policy and uniting all forces seeking a new progressive policy.

The need now is for a large national-democratic front aimed against the Government's policy of naked force and military raids and against the onslaught of the extremist militaristic Right as represented by the "Rafi" and "Gahal" parties, for an Israeli policy of peace, genuine independence and neutralism.

## 2. IN DEFENSE OF WORKING-CLASS INTERESTS

Far from helping the national economy to recover, the Government's New Economic Policy has actually worsened it, despite the claims made for the plan that it would put the economy back on its feet. It has led to a drop in the standard of living, extensive unemployment and even greater subservience to foreign capital.

The Government and the capitalists have stepped up their attack on the working people and the broad masses. Tens of thousands of workers and young people—Jews and Arabs—have been thrown into the arms of unemployment and distress. A wave of dismissals is sweeping the country, jeopardizing the daily bread of additional tens of thousands of families. The employers are taking advantage of the situation to reduce salaries and raise piecework quotas by intensifying sweating methods with consequent damage to workers' health. Encouraged by Government Ministers, they infringe on the social rights of working people, conquered through long years of struggle; they press for the cancellation of saary increments and C-o-L allowance payments due for the beginning of 1967.

The discontent and anger of unemployed workers and of the broad masses against the Eshkol government's anti-popular policy are demagogically exploited by "Gahal" and "Rafi." These parties deliver themselves of quite groundless statements concerning their supposed ability to find a way out of the present crisis. The great mass of Israel's working people know perfectly well from their own experience that these parties do the bidding of the big capitalists and defend in the Knesset the millionaires' interests, to the detriment of the working people's.

Instead of making use of organized labor's tremendous force to safeguard the workers' standard of living, the majority in the Histadrut leadership acts as an executive arm of Government policy, which is detrimental to the interests of labor just as it is to those of Israel.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel appeals to Israel's workers to unite and step up the struggle, refuse to put up with unemployment, dismissals and soaring prices, fight against the reduction of the quota of workdays allotted workers and rebuff the onslaught on the workers' conditions of work and standard of living unleashed by the employers and the Government. The Central Committee calls on all working people, regardless of political opinions and party affiliation, national or communal origin, to unite in the struggle to protect their interests, set up Action Committees in industrial areas, various branches of the economy and Labor Exchanges, reject any attempt to carry out dismissals and worsen conditions of work, and fight for a 5 per cent wage rise and for the payment of the Cost-of-Living allowance due us from January

1967. We insist that the Government provide work for all who seek employment and ensure the passing of an Unemployment Insurance Law. We shall oppose dismissals and the creation of partial unemployment through the reduction of the weekly quota of workdays at enterprises.

Let the workers of Israel set up unity of action in the fight to safeguard workers' wages and standard of living.

## 3. THE GROWING NAZI DANGER IN WEST GERMANY

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel, assembled in its 13th plenary session, warns against the growing threat to world peace posed by the disturbing increase in the strength of the neo-Nazi party registered at the latest parliamentary elections in the provinces of Hesse and Bavaria and highlighted by the fact that a former active Nazi, Kurt Georg Kiesinger, has been appointed Chancellor in West Germany.

The Social Democrats' joining this government is an act of camouflage and support for the big financial magnates, the revanchists and neo-Nazi militarists.

The West German monopolists' criminal plans, with their threat to world peace, have the backing of the NATO powers headed by the U.S. It is with their encouragement that war criminals and revanchists such as Liebke and Strauss have come to power in West Germany.

The Central Committee calls on the popular masses of Israel to wage an energetic and coherent struggle against these dangers to world peace and Israel's safety.

Let us remember the six million Jews and the many millions of other peoples who were murdered with the participation of those now in office in West Germany.

We reject statements made by Ben Gurion, Peres and Goldmann with the object of covering up for West Germany's neo-Nazi rulers.

We shall not allow the Eshkol government to minimize the extent of the threat, as was done by Foreign Minister Abba Eban in a recent Knesset speech. We insist that the Government make its voice heard and express the concern felt by our people in the face of the upsurge of Nazi forces in West Germany.

We demand that the Government put an immediate end to its arms deals with the neo-Nazi rulers of West Germany.

The Central Committee demands that the neo-Nazi organizations in West Germany be outlawed.

The Central Committee insists that a stop be put to the persecution of Communists in West Germany and that the Communist Party of Germany be given back its legal status, since it is the most consistent fighter against Nazism and the war danger.

## 4. FOR INCREASED SOLIDARITY WITH THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE IN ITS STRUGGLE AGAINST AMERICAN AGGRESSION

The 13th session of the CC, CP of Israel voices its indignation and protest at intensified U.S. aggression in Vietnam. A million American and other soldiers have been mobilized to carry out an operation of mass murder and extermination of the civilian population since the war-criminal rulers of the U.S. have been unsuccessful on the field of battle and failed in their attempt to subjugate the heroic and long-suffering Vietnamese people. In barbaric Nazi-style aerial bombardments of Vietnam's towns and villages and through the use of toxic gases and napalm bombs, women, children, old folk and babies are being killed off by the thousands. The U.S. aggressors have passed to a new stage in "escalating" the war, by bombing the capital Hanoi and hitting its civilian population.

American aggression in Vietnam endangers the peace of the whole world, the safety of all its peoples without exception.

All freedom- and peace-loving peoples are stepping up the struggle for the following demands: an end to the dirty war being waged by the U.S. imperialists in Vietnam! Get the American invaders out of Vietnam! Bring peace back to Vietnam on the basis of the 1954 Geneva accords!

The USSR extends considerable and effective assistance to the heroic Vietnamese people. The Soviet Union and other Socialist countries are stepping up their aid to Vietnam and are ready to send volunteers if need be. The peoples of the world on all five continents of the globe are intensifying their campaign of solidarity with the heroes of Vietnam in their fight to repel the American aggressors and free their country from the foreign yoke.

Within the framework of the activities carried out by the World Peace Council to mark solidarity with the Vietnamese people, the National Peace Committee in Israel has organized a campaign for the collection of medical supplies for Vietnam. Let us intensify this campaign of solidarity and initiate new mass actions.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel calls on Party members and sympathizers, members of the YCL and all peace-lovers in Israel to intensify the campaign of solidarity with the Vietnamese people, which is defending its homeland and protecting world peace as a whole.

## 5. ON THE NEED FOR A NEW CONSOLIDATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES

The 13th Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel puts on record its view that there is an objective need to convene, after suitable preparation, a new inter-

national consultation of Communist and Workers' parties. The Central Committee is of the opinion that conditions are now ripe for holding a new consultation of Communist and Workers' parties.

Over six years have elapsed since the last consultation in November 1960. This was a period marked by stormy developments all over the world. Fresh experience has been gained in the struggle for peace, democracy, people's independence and socialism. Life itself has given rise to new theoretical and practical problems, requiring a collective answer on the part of the entire international Communist movement. The 1957 and 1960 consultations of the international Communist movement proved their vital importance for every Communist and Workers' party and to all the forces of progress the world over. A new consultation is a vital necessity to strengthen the cohesion of the Communist movement as well as the ties of proletarian internationalism between all Communists in their struggle against the imperialist enemy, for peace and socialism. A new consultation would help to overcome difficulties, add strength, self-confidence, ideological and political clarity, would contribute to the creative development of the Marxist-Leninist theory and make for a greater mobilization of the peoples in the historic struggle to safeguard peace, and achieve national and social liberation.

It is highly regrettable that the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party are continuing and even stepping up their activity with its resultant damage to the unity of the international Communist movement, and conducting a campaign of anti-Soviet propaganda; inside China itself they have adopted a series of measures called "the proletarian cultural revolution," which cause grave harm to the cause of socialism. All these steps are used by bourgeois ideologists to inject ideological confusion among the working people and by the imperialist aggressors to step up their bellicose activity in general and against the Vietnamese people in particular.

The Chinese leaders' nationalist and anti-Soviet pronouncements are a source of encouragement for all kinds of nationalistically-inclined elements in the Communist movement to adopt positions contrary to the principles of proletarian internationalism and fall victims to the illusion that they can increase the influence of their parties by multiplying criticism of the Soviet Union. In the last account, these elements sever the internationalist roots of a Communis Party. And where there is no internationalism, there can be no patriotism, there cannot be a policy faithfully serving the national interests of the people, the cause of peace and socialism.

No amount of anti-Soviet propaganda can alter the fact that the Soviet Union bears the brunt of the fight to safeguard peace, against the imperialist aggressors, the defense of the world socialist system, and the provision of all-round assistance to the peoples of

Asia, Africa and Latin America, struggling for their national liberation, consolidation of their national independence and the prevention of imperialist intervention.

No amount of anti-Soviet propaganda can alter the fact that the USSR extends considerable and effective aid to the heroic Vietnamese people struggling to repel the aggression of the U.S. rulers —who by their evil deeds in Vietnam are continuing the Nazi tradition—and free their country from the American invaders. The stubborn refusal of the leaders of People's China to coordinate with the Soviet Union the extension of assistance to the Vietnamese people does not serve the needs of the people's struggle.

Our Communist Party will continue to do its best to contribute toward the unity of the Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

## STATEMENT BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ISRAEL

*The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel has conveyed to us the following statement, signed by its General Secretary S. Mikunis, for publication:*

The Communist Party of Israel declares that the recent sanguinary incidents on the Israeli-Arab borders make ever more imperative the solution of the malignant conflict, which is being exploited by imperialism for its aims of intervention and preservation of its strongholds in the Middle East.

The cause of peace, the interest of the anti-imperialist struggle and the principle of the right to self-determination for all peoples— all these make it necessary to solve the Israeli-Arab conflict by peaceful means, based on the mutual recognition of the just national rights of both peoples. For the sake of peace it is necessary that the State of Israel recognizes the right of the Arab Palestinian refugees to return to their homeland or to get adequate compensation, and that the Arab States recognize the right of existence of the State of Israel.

The Communist Party of Israel regards with sympathy and solidarity the progressive anti-imperialist and social features in the Arab National Movement. Alongside these most promising features, among the ruling Arab circles still exists a policy which denies the right of existence of Israel. This position finds expression in pronouncements negating the right of Israel to exist, in encouraging the reckless plans of the "Palestine Liberation Organization" and the "Palestine Army of Liberation" as well as in giving vent to definitions of the State of Israel as an "artificial creation of Anglo-American imperialism," "an imperialist base," or "an imperialist bridgehead" and "colonialism." Such a position contradicts the democratic principle of the right to self-determination as regards Israel. It contradicts the historical fact that the State of Isarel

came into being in accordance with a UN resolution aimed at destroying colonial rule in the Middle East and in other areas of the world. It is damaging to the cause of unity among the peoples of the region in the anti-imperialist fight. It strengthens the hand of chauvinistic and militaristic forces in Israel. It harms the very interest of the Palestine-Arab people. It obstructs a peaceful solution of the Israeli-Arab dispute.

The Communist Party of Israel, which is fighting for a change in Israel policy in the direction of peace, brotherhood and progress, for an end to dependence on imperialism, for neutrality and solidarity with the Arab National Liberation Movement, and which sees in this struggle its most important task, rejects and will continue to reject any manifestation of any Arab factor seeking to encroach upon the lawful rights of the people of Israel.

The CP of Israel will regard with full sympathy any democratic Palestinian Arab organization, or any general Arab organization, which will strive for a solution of the Israeli-Arab conflict by peaceful means and mutual agreement.

# NATIONAL COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS*

The National Council of the Communist Party of India shares the grave concern expressed by the overwhelming majority of tne Communist and Workers' parties of the world at the regrettable developments in the People's Republic of China, since June 1966 and particularly after the decisions of the 11th Plenum of the 7th CC of the Communist Party of China (beginning August 1966) on the so-called "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution"—developments which place a weapon in the hands of the imperialists and reactionaries to discredit communism.

It was supposed to eliminate old culture, ideas, customs and habits of the bourgeoisie and of the other exploiting classes and to establish the culture, ideas, customs and habits of the proletariat as the sound basis for building socialism.

In practice, however, the campaign started with a frantic campaign of destruction and attack on values of old Chinese and world culture, burning of books and destroying statues and sculptures.

This included condemning and banning classical works of Balzac, Tolstoi and Shakespeare, etc., as bourgeois, and the works of music by Beethovan, Bach, and Mozart, etc., as devoid of class struggle.

This included violent and unseemly mass demonstrations before the Embassies of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and even manhandling of diplomats of these countries.

This campaign has nothing in common with the Marxist-Leninist conception of the cultural revolution, as carried out in the Soviet Union or in the other socialist countries—and not even with the conception of the same as of the CPC itself.

This campaign of vandalism, being carried out in a socialist country, gives a weapon in the hands of the bourgeoisie and reactionaries to discredit communist and proletarian culture and has to be repudiated.

The "cultural revolution" at present taking place in China is said to be a revolutionary mass upheaval led by the Party and directed against the revisionists and bourgeois elements who have wormed their way into positions of authority in the Party and the state and in the cultural field, and are aiming at the restoration of capitalism and the subversion of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The developments are sought to be explained by stating that class struggle goes on sharpening after the victory of the socialist revolution until the question who beats whom—capitalism or socialism —is finally decided.

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*New Age, December 4, 1966.

The actual course of development does not fit into this neat scheme.

The "mass upheaval" is restricted to the teenage youth and students who are organized into a "Red Guard" movement.

These indisputable facts go to show that the Red Guard upsurge is neither proletarian nor is it a genuine cultural revolution.

In fact the turbulent movement of some nine million Red Guards who have to be recruited from teenage youth and students drawn from outside the pale of Party and Communist Youth organizations and organized and set in motion directly under the Mao-Lin Piao leadership, is not directed to solve any of the tasks of the cultural revolution as normally understood.

This rebellion of the mass of young students and immature youths, engineered and master-minded by the Lin Piao leadership, frantically inspired by the cult of Mao-Tse-tung's Thought, was directed against the numerous influential leaders and Party cadres, at all levels, who could not be easily removed by the ordinary Party methods and who were in recent times expressing their criticisms of the policies of the leadership, domestic as well as external, policies connected with problems of socialist development which had led to economic difficulties.

In particular were meant those cadres and leaders, who were critical of the policy of escalating the defferences with the Soviet Union and the CPSU and with other socialist countries, policies of launching slanderous and provocative attacks against them in the name of fighting revisionism, and taking them to the point of rejecting united actions with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in the defense of the Vietnamese people fighting for their freedom against U.S. aggression.

The criticism and opposition of these cadres and leaders became particularly marked against the background of failure of the Great Leap, people's Commune and other economic policies. It was further accentuated when policies of splittism began to meet with disastrous failures as in Indonesia and elsewhere and led to the growing isolation of China among the progressive forces of the world.

Considering that the cultural revolution and the activities of the Red Guards was preceded by a purge in the Army leadership and that it was initiated and led by the Lin Piao leading group of the Army, and in view of the facts stated above the conclusion is irresistible that these developments are in the nature of a coup directed against Party organizations and leaders and cadres who are opposing the policies mentioned above.

These developments underline the extent to which the present leadership of the CPC is abandoning Marxism-Leninism. They are putting more and more the Thought of Mao Tse-tung against Marxism-Leninism.

The most dangerous aspect of these developments in the PRC and inseparably connected with the same is the unprecedented escalation of the hostile campaign of lies and provocative actions against the unity of the socialist camp and particularly against the Soviet Union and the CPSU; the intensification of the splitting activities in the ranks of the world Communist movement and in the international mass organizations, in the ranks of world front against imperialist aggression, for peace and freedom of the peoples.

The communique of the 11th Plenum of the CC, CPC (August 1966) which adopted the 16 Point Resolution on the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" for the first time omits all references to the two unanimously adopted documents of the world Communist movement—namely, the Declaration of 1957 and the Statement of the Moscow Conference of 81 Communist and Workers' Parties, and puts in its place the document of the Chinese Communist Party of June 14, 1963, which it now claims was drawn up under the personal leadership of Mao Tse-tung and which represents an alternative general line for the world Communist movement.

The communique carries a stage further the campaign of slanders and lies against the CPSU and other fraternal parties, contained in the nine comments on the Open Letter of the CPSU and in the Comment on the Moscow Preparatory meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties of March 1965.

It has declared war in what it calls the "camp of modern revisionism at the center of which stand the leadership of the CPSU." It attacks the CPSU as "safeguarding imperialist and colonial domination in the world and restoring capitalism in the Soviet Union," and as joining with U.S. imperialism and reactionaries of all countries to form a "holy alliance" against communism, people, revolution and China.

Giving a case for drawing a clear line of demarcation against "modern revisionists" the communique declares that it is impossible to have united action with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries in the fight against U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

The leadership of the CPC is putting these declarations of its communique into practice, by organizing so-called "Marxist-Leninist" rival parties in various capitalist countries, by stepping up their disruptive and splitting activities in international mass organizations and above all by sabotaging the proposed joint action by all socialist countries for the defense of the heroic people of Vietnam, who are battling against aggression of U.S. imperialism and its present escalation.

Thus the events connected with the "Cultural Revolution" in China are not just an internal affair of that country but cause the greatest concern to the Communist and Workers' parties of the world, inasmuch as they represent a stab in the back of the world

front of anti-imperialist, democratic forces, of which the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union is an important contingent.

This blow, coming at a time when the U.S. imperialists are escalating their war of aggression against Vietnam, when they are stepping up their aid to the revanchists and neo-fascists of West Germany and intensifying their pressures and conspiracies against the independent countries of Asia and Africa, is a serious challenge.

The National Council of the Communist Party of India is of the opinion that the Communist and Workers' parties, who stand by the principles and the perspectives of the 1957 and 1960 documents of the world Communist movement must do everything to consolidate their unity and solidarity and intensify their efforts to unite all anti-imperialist and democratic forces in the world to defeat U.S. aggression in Vietnam and to fight back imperialist aggressive policies in Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin American and support the peoples fighting for their freedom and independence and defend world peace.

Positive actions to forge united actions of all anti-imperialist forces, of all forces fighting for the freedom of the peoples and for world peace, positive actions to coordinate the efforts of the Communist and Workers' parties in this effort, coupled with a principled stand against Left and Right opportunist departures from Marxism-Leninism, and against narrow nationalist departures from proletarian internationalism—that is the way to fight for restoring the unity of the world Communist movement.

The National Council of the Communist Party of India firmly believes that the forces which stand for the restoration of the unity of the world Communist movement and of the socialist camp, for solving all outstanding differences by a fraternal dialogue, and by mutual exchange of experiences, will ultimately triumph in the ranks of the great Communist Party of socialist China.

# STATEMENT*

## OF THE POLITICAL COMMISSIONS OF THE SOCIALIST AND COMMUNIST PARTIES OF CHILE

The principal events of 1966 were reviewed at a meeting of the political commissions of the Socialist and Communist parties. Considerable progress of the movement of the working people of town and country in defense of their demands was put on record, and the conclusion drawn that the past year had witnessed important successes in explaining the class nature of the Demo-Christian government, whose policy, obviously characterized by continuity, more and more contradicts the interests of the working people and is increasingly subordinated to imperialism.

Various problems were discussed pertaining to the working-class movement, the organization and struggle of the peasants and suburban dwellers, the President's trip to the United States (objected to by the parliament.—**Ed.**), the establishment of the National Committee of the Organization of Latin American Solidarity, and the forthcoming municipal elections.

On all these questions decisions were adopted aimed at improving the organization and intensifying the struggle of the Chilean people and making new steps to consolidate FRAP (Revolutionary Popular Action Front.—**Ed.**).

The Communist and Socialist parties call upon all workingmen, the entire people to make 1967 a year of struggle for the demands of the masses, for effective changes and for the consolidation and extension of the revolutionary alternative represented by FRAP.

The political commissions also decided to protest against the government's impudent actions in the matters of the scandal around the financing of the ruling party from the state treasury.

At the same time the political commissions declared their resolute opposition to the raising of prices by the Frei government at the beginning of 1967, not accompanied even by the miserly increase in the wages which the government proposed to effect some time ago.

The Socialist and Communist parties call attention to the fact that this price increase was adroitly carried out a few days after the end of 1966 so as not to affect the spurious retail prices index used as the basis for fixing wage raises.

*Political Commissions of the*
*Communist and Socialist Parties*
*Santiago, January 6, 1967*

*information bulletin* 37

*El Siglo, January 7, 1967.

# SUSPENSION OF CONSTITUTIONAL GUARANTEES A NEW BLOW OF "GORILLAS" AGAINST POPULAR MOVEMENT

## STATEMENT OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE CC, CP OF VENEZUELA

The Communist Party pointed out some time ago that preparations were under way to deliver a new blow at democratic freedoms, a blow aimed at setting up new obstacles to the just struggle of our people and intensifying the repressions and terror. All means were used to create an atmosphere favorable for this new reactionary offensive. These attempts were undertaken with the help of the "gorillas" and Betancourtists, and facilitated by the cowardice of the government. We declared that the encirclement and bombing of rural areas, the virtual state of siege established in the capital, the wave of searches and arrests by the repressive organs, and the campaign against university autonomy were part of this offensive.

We warned that one of the methods by which the reactionaries could achieve their main anti-popular objectives consisted in compelling the government to retreat under the pressure of imperialism and domestic reaction, to intensify the terror, comply with the "gorillas' " demand to curtail university autonomy, declare a state of siege, give a free hand to the army and other repressive organs in their punitive operations in vallages and towns, and suspend the already much-tapered constitutional guarantees. The "gorillas" have achieved all this with the help of the presidential decree of December 13 suspending the most important constitutional guarantees.

As we predicted, the government, retreating more and more under the pressure of the anti-popular forces, has suspended such vital constitutional guarantees as the inviolability of the home and correspondence, personal security, the freedom of travel, the freedom of thought, the freedom of the press, the right to hold meetings and demonstrations. The armed forces have immediately taken advantage of this to occupy the capital, seize the university campus and station troops there for an indefinite period. A ban has been imposed on any information about police activities and arrests. This has been done to facilitate the repressions and give full scope to the policy of kidnappings, mass arrests, tortures and disappearance of citizens which has become a standard feature of the activities of the present regime. Thus, all the demands of the "gorillas," presented through the armed forces command, have been satisfied, and

the government parties have in a cowardly manner supported them.

The recent armed actions in the capital have been used as the pretext for the "gorilla" offensive against democratic freedoms. In the first place, we consider them inexpedient, for they do not help fight the reactionary offensive but tend to isolate the liberation movement and discredit the legitimate use of non-peaceful forms of struggle. We do not even rule out the possibility of these actions having been organized by the reactionaries to facilitate, justify and secure support for their plans. It is to be lamented if they were undertaken by uncontrolled groups which pose as militants of the revolutionary camp but do not care to choose an appropriate moment, disregard the political situation, underestimate the political background against which any armed action is to be carried out and, being captives of an adventuristic and bellicose mood, strive to act at any cost, even if this helps the reactionaries find a pretext for launching anti-popular actions.

The offensive of the reactionaries, who have been encouraged by their successes, will be intensified. We should not rule out the eventuality of an open armed coup if the government does not satisfy all their demands or if they find that it cannot effectively assist in the realization of their anti-popular plans. Our Party, all democratic and progressive forces must warn the people, expose the preparation for a "gorilla" coup, and call for mobilization to prevent and frustrate it.

To foil the reactionary offensive by mobilizing the people and establishing a broad front of all those opposed to the present state of things—such is our chief task today. It is necessary to set up a front based on the following main slogans: struggle against the cancellation; struggle against the repressions and above all for the release of political prisoners; defense of university autonomy; defense of democratic freedoms and especially the freedom of the press and the right to hold meetings and demonstrations; an end to the terror and to the state of siege.

Only a powerful and broad mobilization of the masses will help frustrate this reactionary offensive against the popular movement. Our Party will take a worthy part in this struggle.

*Political Bureau, CC CPV*
*December, 1966*

# MAO'S SQUADS AGAINST MARXISM-LENINISM*

Members of our Party and the working people of the GDR have been following the latest developments in the People's Republic of China with justified concern. At a time of growing imperialist aggressiveness, exemplified above all by the U.S. imperialist war against the Vietnamese people and by the increasing threat to peace from West German imperialism and neo-Nazism, it is particularly important from the political point of view to heighten the militancy of the socialist countries and promote the unity of the socialist and anti-imperialist forces. But the Chinese leaders, who completely ignore this objective requirement of present-day international development, are aiming their main blow not at imperialism, but at the main force of the world Communist movement the CPSU—and the other Marxist-Leninist parties, instead of making a fitting and effective contribution to the fight against imperialism in united action on the side of the Soviet Union, the other socialist countries and all progressive forces. At the same time they are carrying on a campaign against all those forces in China which disagree with their policy of departure from the principles of Marxism-Leninism. In so doing they demagogically misuse Marxist-Leninist concepts. Thus the Chinese leaders' policy simultaneously brings international discredit to socialism and to Marxist-Leninist science. Imperialist propaganda is using the events in China as a welcome pretext for stepping up its anti-Communist campaign, and for "substantiating" and covering up the imperialist policy of aggression.

For these reasons the 13th Plenum of the CC SUPG declared that the developments in the PRC cannot be regarded as only an internal affair of China.* Like our Party, the Communist and Workers' parties of the world have dissociated themselves from the policy of the Chinese leaders and pointed out in no uncertain terms that that policy runs counter to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and is extremely harmful not only to the Chinese people, but also to the international working-class movement, the national-liberation movement, and the fight against imperialism and its policy of aggression.

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*Abridged from **Einheit**, (CC, SUPG), No. 1, 1967.

*See **Information Bulletin**, No. 83, 1966. Prague, Peace and Socialism Publishers.—Ed.

The groundwork for socialist construction in China was laid between 1949, when the PRC was founded, and 1957-58. China made considerable economic progress. It began to gain in international prestige and exerted a positive influence on the progress of the national-liberation movement and the policies of the new national states. This was achieved through a policy which essentially took into account the objective requirements of the transitional period of socialist construction in the specific conditions of China and included as an important factor close cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries in every sphere of public life.

But two years later, at the second session of the Eighth Party Congress (1958), the nationalist-hegemonist aspirations of the Chinese leaders came into the open. From then on these aspirations increasingly moulded the Chinese leaders' entire policy. The latter, developing steadily into a policy of great-power chauvinism and anti-Sovietism and isolating China from the Soviet Union, other socialist countries, the brother parties, and the peoples of the world, has had an exceedingly adverse effect on both China and the international working-class movement. Today, 17 years after the PRC was founded, the Chinese leaders see that their policy is in a deep, all-embracing crisis. They are faced with problems which affect the basis of their present policy line and the main content of their further policy, and which objectively call for immediate solution.

The Chinese leaders shaped their economic policy, too, in accordance with the objectives arising from their great-power chauvinism. Completely disregarding economic laws and the interests of the working people, they tried by military administration methods and through nationalist indoctrination to create in the shortest possible time a vast economic potential on which to promote their hegemonist aspirations. They embarked on the policy of the "Big Leap," which ignored all realities, economic proportions and objective requirements of the given stage of development and was carried on under completely subjectivist and nationalist slogans (e.g., "What other countries can do China can too, and what they cannot do China can too"). This policy conflicted also with the decisions of the Eighth Congress of the CPC, which defined the general line for the transitional period as follows: "During a fairly long period, to effect the socialist industrialization of our country step by step, and to complete step by step the socialist transformation of agriculture, the handicrafts, capitalist industry and capitalist trade."

The Party Congress also pointed to the danger of Right and Left deviations from the general line. The Left deviationists insist that socialism be made a reality "overnight," the Congress states. "They refuse to admit that we can arrive at socialism only step by step;

they do not believe that we can achieve the goal of the socialist revolution by peaceful means. Our Party has emphatically rejected and criticized both of these tendencies. It is perfectly clear that had the Party followed either of these opinions, we would be unable to build socialism, or to build it as smoothly as today."

It goes without saying that this economic policy, which violates every objective law of socialism, was bound to fail. The "Big Leap" threw China years back. As a result, the Chinese leaders have in late years had to correct certain aspects of their economic policy. The people's communes have virtually gone out of existence. The road taken in industry today is gradual development, with due regard to certain proportions. It is true that during this so-called adjustment period the economic setbacks were made up for in the main, and agricultural production increased thanks to the devoted effort of the working people, but economic progress was put roughly ten years back due to this political adventurism.

The Chinese economy has yet to take the road of guaranteed, harmonious development. The adjustments made have produced no fundamental change in the sense of bringing the economic policy into line with the objective needs of the socialist economy. For the Chinese leaders see the purpose of their economic policy not in meeting the material and cultural requirements of society, but in promoting their nationalist and hegemonist aspirations. This explains, for instance, the relatively slight attention being paid to the civilian branches of the economy as against the military branches. While some industries closely connected with the development of military technology have been making rapid progress in recent years, certain other industries in 1965 barely attained the 1957 level or surpassed it but slightly. As to the third five-year plan, which was to have been launched in 1966, no data have been published so far. Indeed, there is talk of a new "Big Leap." Economic isolation from other socialist countries is still an important component of the economic policy.

There is no overlooking the fact that this economic policy of the Chinese leadership has been criticized by Marxist forces and is resented by the working people. This is only too evident from recent events in connection with the "cultural revolution." Thus the economic siutation has become an important element of the complicated political situation in China today.

In the foreign policy sphere, too, the Chinese leaders have sustained telling reverses, and the international working-class movement has experienced a number of serious setbacks owing to the Chinese leaders' policy. For instance, the Chinese leaders' nationalist policy on India made for the split in the Communist Party of India and hence considerably sapped its combat strength. The nefarious influence of the CPC leaders on the policies of the Com-

munist Party of Indonesia enabled the reactionaries to rout the CPI. Nor can one refrain from levelling at the Chinese leaders the grave charge that only their disruptive anti-Soviet policy gave the U.S. imperialists a free hand to go on with and extend their aggression in Vietnam.

The ever more vicious attitude of the Chinese leaders toward the Soviet Union, other socialist countries and the Marxist-Leninist brother parties, as well as the devastating effects of their policy have led to the parties in the world Communist movement rallying closer together and resisting the Chinese leaders' disruptive policy. What is unanimously condemned is, above all, the Chinese leaders' refusal to take joint action against the U.S. aggression in Vietnam. This position of the Chinese leaders is contrasted by steadily increasing world-wide solidarity with the gallant Vietnamese people. The Chinese leaders' isolation in the Communist movement is seen in the fact that, except for the Albanian Party of Labor, they are backed by only a handful of opportunist splinter groups in some countries.

The Chinese leaders and the PRC have lost prestige also in the Afro-Asian countries. Their policy on these countries —a policy determined by nationalism, great-power chauvinism and adventurism—led in the end to the failure of the Second Afro-Asian Conference, and accounted for the loss of much of China's prestige and for the country's growing international isolation.

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The Chinese leaders' policy and its results gave rise in China itself to an increasing internal controversy involving the leadership of Party and state. The present leading group, headed by Mao Tse-tung, is trying to settle the controversy in its own favor through the so-called "cultural revolution." The Mao squads have no cultural tasks but are expected, by means of terror, to carry forward the policy of the group now in the saddle, a policy doomed to failure.

It is evident that the riots committed by the Mao squads, spontaneous as they may seem, receive systematic guidance. They are directed against all those who disagree with Mao's adventurous policy. Above all, they are directed against those members of the Party cadre who are loyal to Marxism-Leninism and want development to follow the laws of socialism. In recent months, a number of provincial committees of the CPC have been disbanded and the propaganda apparatus of the Party completely restaffed. Key military leaders have been replaced, the publication of many periodicals and newspapers suspended and the Communist Youth League virtually dissolved. Many Party organizations can no longer carry on their activities.

It is evident from various Chinese publications that Lin Piao, Minister of Defense, plays a first fiddle in the present campaign. This activity cannot be viewed in isolation from the direct support the Mao squads have been receiving from the Army ever since violent clashes took place in the Army itself and the critics were apparently penalized.

The reaction of the Chinese population to the terrorism of the Mao squads has been icy. The workers in the big industrial enterprises resist the incited young people and defend their enterprises and Party organizations. In many cases local Party secretaries led the resistance of the workers. In many places there were violent clashes between workers, who were joined by peasants, students and functionaries, on the one hand, and Mao squads, on the other. This resistance is indicative of the deep gulf that has developed between the policy of the Chinese leadership and the real interests of the working class and other working people of China.

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Following the failure of their attempts to raise themselves to a hegemonist position, first in respect of the socialist and Afro-Asian countries, through an ambitious foreign-policy offensive, the Chinese leaders, without giving up their objective, adopted more and more the policy of openly dissociating themselves from the world Communist movement and the socialist world system—a policy which the 11th Plenum of the CC, CPC virtually declared to be the official policy of Party and state. In pressing forward their disruptive policy, the Chinese leaders aggravated and restricted relations at state level between China and other socialist countries, particularly the Soviet Union. Yet it is precisely the attitude to the Soviet Union that is, in the 50th year of its existence as much as it was in the first, the touchsone of a genuinely socialist policy, a policy truly serving the interests of the masses, the peoples, and peace-loving mankind as a whole. There can be no fight for peace and socialism in the world *without*, let alone *fighting against*, the Soviet Union. For the Soviet Union, whose policy has always been determined by the principles of proletarian internationalism, is the main force in the socialist world system around which the other brother countries rally. Only in this way can the brother countries jointly resist imperialism, curb imperialist aggression in the world and solve the problems of maintaining peace and building socialism. The policy of the Chinese leaders, however, is directed, above all, against the unity of the socialist countries and their joint action on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and the Moscow documents of 1957 and 1960.

The Chinese leadership has pushed its anti-Soviet propaganda

very far, extending it to every political sphere. Slander against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries led by Marxist-Leninist parties has become a decisive component of the Chinese leaders' foreign policy. The latter reject even joint action against the U.S. imperialist aggression against the people of Vietnam. Their anti-Soviet policy and their destructive stand on every proposal of the Marxist-Leninist parties for uniting to carry on a common fight against imperialism are aimed at disorganizing the world Communist and working-class movement, at splitting it and undermining its theoretical foundations.

The Chinese leaders' refusal to send delegations to the 23rd Congress of the CPSU and the congresses of the Mongolian, Bulgarian and Hungarian parties revealed their desire to dissociate themselves from the community of Marxist-Leninist parties and their collective responsibility. They are trying with the aid of renegades from the Communist movement, anarchists, Trotskyists and other enemies of the world Communist and working-class movement to form in various countries anti-Soviet groups operating first of all against the CPSU and the Marxist-Leninist parties of the countries concerned and faithfully executing instructions from Peking. The Chinese leaders are evidently out to unite these groups organizationally and to counterpose them under their leadership to the world Communist and working-class movement. But they have been unable to achieve the aim pursued through this disruptive policy. Nowhere have these groups gained the importance they would require to effectively support the Chinese leaders' policy. Many of them are disintegrating due to the strong isolation into which the Chinese leaders have maneuvered themselves by their policy.

The Chinese leaders' policy on the Afro-Asian countries is designed to torpedo the alliance between the national liberation movement on the one hand, and the socialist world system and the international working-class movement, on the other, and to form an anti-Soviet Afro-Asian bloc under their leadership. These attempts could not but miscarry, being directed as they were against the most vital interests of young national states, for which cooperation with the Soviet Union, the politically and economically strongest socialist country, is of paramount importance. This, too, contributed in substantial measure to the present international isolation of China.

In line with their hegemonist ambitions, the Chinese leaders attribute international validity to the "ideology of Mao Tse-tung" and describe China as the "center of the world revolution." In so doing they ignore the laws governing the world-wide struggle between socialism and capitalism, which since 1917 has had a decisive effect on historical development and whose center still is the Soviet Union, now more powerful since it is allied with the

socialist brother countries.

The dangerous nature of the Chinese leaders' policy expresses itself also in their destructive position on the fight the GDR, Soviet Union and other socialist and peace-loving countries are waging against West German imperialism, for European security. The policy of the SUPG proceeds from the assumption that this fight is an important component of the fight against imperialism and its policy of aggression, for the preservation of world peace. The maintenance of peace in Europe is likewise an effective contribution to the fight of the people of Vietnam. The Chinese leaders, however, seem to believe that tension and conflict in Europe, and non-recognition of the status quo benefit their nationalist plans. But in this way they establish, unwittingly or otherwise, a community of interests with the West German imperialists. The question arises: what are the Chinese leaders, who pose as the most consistent fighters against U.S. imperialism, trying to achieve thereby? Do they by any chance want "to watch the fight of tigers sitting on a mountain"?

The Chinese leaders' vicious calumnies against the struggle the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are carrying on against atomic proliferation also lends strength to the West German imperialists, who covet atomic arms. The Chinese thesis that each country has a right to decide for itself whether or not it should possess atomic weapons plays directly into the hands of the West German imperialists.

In close alliance with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries the GDR will continue its fight against West German imperialism and the war danger emanating from it. Thus the GDR will serve the interests of the German people as well as those of all peace-loving peoples. Wherever the socialist and anti-imperialist forces act in close unity against the imperialist policy of aggression peace, progress and socialism will be successfully upheld. The SUPG will continue vigorously to oppose all attempts to impair this unity.

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The Chinese leaders claim that their policy expresses the will of the Communist Party of China. But what title do they have to that? The last congress of the CPC, which elected the leading bodies of the Party, was the Eighth Congress, held in 1956. But it adopted a general line which is a far cry from the present.

Besides, the CPC has no Party Program. In other words, it lacks a program of political action formulated by the elected representatives of Party organizations, one determining the policy line and establishing the standards by which the rank and file can verify and control the policy of the leadership. This development is sup-

plemented by the fact that the present leading group sets Mao's squads against the Party organizations, trying to destroy their militant force and to remove the functionaries, who make up its backbone.

At the Eighth Congress of the CPC the proportion of workers in the Party was given as roughly 14 per cent. Most of the members and functionaries are peasants. For years the leading group of the CPC, descended mainly from the petty bourgeoisie and the peasant class, have been advocating deliberate subordination of the policy of the Party to the ideology of the peasant movement. Today this group wants to abolish the Party's leading role altogether and to replace it by Mao's squads, which are not associated with Marxism-Leninism and can be used for any purpose. On this point as on economic, ideological and political issues, the Chinese leadership has completely abandoned Marxism-Leninism. It has violated the fundamental laws of the socialist revolution and scorned the real interests of the Chinese people. Thus it has weakened and endangered the positions of socialism in China.

But the policy of the Chinese leaders cannot hold up the advance of the revolutionary forces. The Moscow Statement said that the socialist world system in alliance with all anti-imperialist forces is increasingly becoming the decisive factor in social development. But if no efforts by imperialism, however frantic, can stop historical progress, as the Statement points out, neither can the policy of the Chinese leaders bring development to a halt. It can, however, make the fight of the socialist forces more difficult. Yet it is precisely now that the increasingly aggressive policy of the USA and West Germany necessitates a higher standard of cooperation among the socialist forces. "Our revolutionary epoch calls for strengthening the unity of the world Communist movement and for raising its international efficiency," said Comrade Walter Ulbricht at a Party meeting in Halle.* Loyal to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, our Party will continue to do everything for the attainment of this goal.

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*Walter Ulbricht, **Wo stehen wir bei der Verwirklichung des Programms des Sozialismus?** (How Far Have We Advanced in Realizing the Program of Socialism?) Three Speeches. Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1966,p. 77 and 78.

# ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

In **January** meetings of Party functionaries and activists of CPSU organizations of regions, territories and republics were held to discuss cardinal problems of the internal and foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet government in connection with the December, 1966, plenary meeting of the CC, CPSU.

Reports at the meetings were delivered by full and alternate members of the Political Bureau and secretaries of the CC CPSU: L. I. Brezhnev, G. I. Voronov, A. P. Kirilenko, A. N. Kosygin, K. T. Mazurov, A. J. Pelse, N. V. Podgorny, D. S. Polyansky, M. A. Suslov, A. N. Shelepin, P. Y. Shelest, V. V. Grishin, P. N. Demichev, D. A. Kunayev, P. M. Masherov, V. P. Mzhavanadze, S. R. Rashidov, D. F. Ustinov, V. V. Shcherbitsky, Y. V. Andropov, I. V. Kapitonov, R. D. Kulakov, B. N. Ponomaryov and M. S. Solomentsev.

In discussing their reports the participants in the meetings unanimously approved the work of the CC plenary meeting and the resolution adopted by it and supported the internal and foreign policy of the CC, CPSU and the Soviet government.

Expressing the opinion of Communists and all Soviet people, the Party functionaries and activists approved the Central Committee's stand on the question of Vietnam and declared resolute support for the heroic struggle of the people of Vietnam against the criminal aggression of U.S. imperialism.

They voiced pride in their Party, which undeviatingly fulfils its internationalist duty by doing its utmost to strengthen the cohesion and might of the socialist world system, the unity of the international Communist movement. The resolution of the meeting of Party activists of Moscow and Moscow Region reads in part:

"The meeting fully subscribes to the Central Committee's conclusion that in the present international situation it is more necessary than ever to strengthen the unity and might of he socialist world system, to promote political and economic cooperation between socialist states, to consolidate the international solidarity of the working class, to support the peoples fighting against colonial oppression and neo-colonialism, to steadfastly pursue the policy of cementing alliance with the forces of national liberation.

"The Communists of Moscow and Moscow Region unanimously support the resolution of the CC plenary meeting which fully approved the policy and pratical activities of the Political Bureau and the Soviet government in the field of relations between the CPSU

and the Communist Party of China, between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. The latest events in China, the decisions of the 11th plenary meeting of the CC, CPC show that the great-power, anti-Soviet policy of Mao Tse-tung and his group has entered upon a new and dangerous phase.

"Profound concern is evoked by the line pursued by the present leaders of the CPC in the international arena, their policy with respect to the socialist countries, the hostile campaign against our Party and the Soviet people and the splitting activities in the world Communist movement, which have nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism. This policy, these actions do harm to the interests of socialism and the international working-class and liberation movements and to the socialist gains of the Chinese people themselves, and objectively assist imperialism.

"The CC meeting reaffirmed the invariable orientation of the policy of our Party on friendship and internationalist solidarity with the Communist Party of China, with the People's Republic of China. At the same time, as the resolution points out, the CC meeting found it necessary resolutely to expose the anti-Leninist views and great-power nationalistic course of the present Chinese leaders, to step up the struggle in defense of Marxism-Leninism and the general line worked out by the Moscow conferences of 1957 and 1960.

"The CC is right in stating in its resolution that in the present conditions still greater importance attaches to the struggle for the unity of all the Communist and Workers' parties on the principled basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and that conditions are more and more ripening for a new world conference of representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties."

**January 17-18.** An unofficial friendly visit was paid to Poland on the invitation of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party by L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC, CPSU, and members of the CC Political Bureau A. N. Kosygin, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and N. V. Podgorny, President of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The Soviet comrades had talks with W. Gomulka, First Secretary of the CC, PUWP, and Political Bureau members J. Cyrankiewicz, Chairman of the Council of Ministers, E. Ochab, President of the State Council, Z. Kliszko, Secretary of the CC, PUWP, and A. Rapacki, Foreign Minister.

A. B. Aristov, member of the CC, CPSU and Ambassador of the USSR to the Polish People's Republic, and K. V. Rusakov, member of the Central Auditing Board of the CPSU and first deputy head of a CC, CPSU department, took part in the talks, in th ecourse of which opinions were exchanged on questions of Soviet-Polish relations and topical international problems.

Both sides noted with satisfaction the steady consolidation of

unbreakable friendship between the CPSU and the PUWP and political, economic and cultural cooperation between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of Poland.

The participants in the talks put on record full identity of views as regards the present international situation and the state of things in the world Communist movement. The mutual striving was expressed to continue to expand all-round cooperation between the two parties and the two countries in the interests of the Soviet and Polish peoples, for the sake of strengthening the cohesion and unity of the socialist community and the world Communist movement.

The talks proceeded in an atmosphere of complete mutual understanding, cordiality and sincere fraternal friendship.

**January 18-20.** Jean Terfve and Louis Van Geyt, members of the Political Bureau of the CC of the Communist Party of Belgium, visited Prague as guests of the CC of the CP of Czechoslovakia and had talks with V. Koucky, Secretary of the CC, O. Kaderka, head of a CC department, and other Czechoslovak leaders.

In the course of these talks, which passed in a spirit of mutual understanding, a comradely exchange of opinions was held on questions of interests to the two sides, mostly those of European security.

**January 20.** A delegation of the Party of Arab Socialist Revival of Syria (Baath) headed by Salah Jdeed, Deputy-General Secretary of the Party, arrived in Moscow on the invitation of the CC, CPSU. The delegation include dmembers of the Baath leadership Ibrahim Makhous, Habib Haddad and Muhamed Saied Talib and other functionaries.

At Sheremetyevo Airport the Syrian guests were met by A. J. Pelse, member of the Political Bureau of the CC, CPSU.

The delegation came to familiarize itself with the work of the CPSU and the life of the Soviet people.

**January 20.** The Swedish Communist newspaper *Norrs Kensflamman* announced that at the beginning of February the CPS will launch the publication of a new journal, *Soc'alist Debates.*

**January 20-21.** During his visit to Brioni Islands on the invitation of the CC of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Luigi Longo, General Secretary of the Italian CP, had talks with Josip Broz Tito, Chairman of the LYC, Edvard Kardelj, member of the Presidium of the CC, LCY, Mapalko Todorovic, Secretary of the Executive Committee of the CC, and members of the CC Presidium Meljko Vlakhovic and Milentije Popovic.

Relations between the two parties and some problems of international relations were discussed, with special attention paid to an exchange of opinions on topical problems of the world Communist and working-class movement.

The talks proceeded in a spirit of friendship, characteristic of the relations between the LCY and ICP.

In an all-round and frank exchange of opinions the sides stressed the usefulness of more frequent bilateral meetings and other forms of consultation between Communist and Workers' parties on concrete problems of international relations and the world Communist and working-class movement, when the need for a discussion of such problems is dictated by the interests of the parties concerned.

The talks also demonstrated complete mutual understanding of the positions of the two parties on problems of the present-day Communist and working-class movement, positions determined by the specific and different conditions in which the LCY and the ICP work.

Information was also exchanged on the main internal political, economic and social problems with which the two parties are confronted.

**January 21-22.** The CC of the CP of Finland held a plenary meeting to discuss a review of the political situation presented by the Party's Chairman, Aarne Saarinen, and the report Erkki Kivimaki, Secretary of the CC, on organizational matters. The CC adopted statements on the political situation in the country, the forthcoming presidential elections, and the attitude of the Party towards the question of convening a new international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties.

After discussing organizational matters the CC approved the previously appointed Secretariat of the CC consisting of General Secretary Ville Pessi, Chairman Aarne Saarinen, Organizational Secretary Erkki Kivimaki, Secretary on International Matters Olavi Poikolainen, and Secretary on Trade Union Matters Lars Junttila.

The statement on the political situation points to the need for serious government measures to improve the state of things in he field of employment, specifically those that would envisage planned controls against unemployment, greater influence of the state on the economic life of the country, renovation of fiscal policy, regulation of import, and new labor legislation.

In the statement on the presidential elections the CC approved the talks on this matter currently conducted with the Center and Social-Democratic parties and called upon the participants in the talks to go on working for solving this problem in such a way that Finland's home and foreign policy would continue to be ever more actively geared at strengthening peace and friendship among nations, the cooperation of working people on home policy issues, defending and extending democracy and implementing major social reforms.

**January 22** *Neues Deutschland,* central organ of the CP, SUPG, published the address to the citizens of the GDR issued by the

national committee for the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The address read, in part: "The Great October Socialist Revolution and the remarkable successes of the USSR have accelerated social progress in all continents. No other event in mankind's history has had such a great influence on the minds and actions of the masses in all countries. The fifty years of the Great October Revolution have proved irrefutably that the Marxist-Leninist doctrine is the true compass on the road to freedom and peace, to equality and fraternity, to the prosperity and happiness of all lands."

**January 24.** The leadership of the Italian Communist Party had a session, with General-Secretary Luigi Longo in the chair, to discuss the political situation in the country. The ICP Leadership condemned the criminal provocation of the fascist scum who had exploded the previous night a bomb at the Leadership's office. A group of Communist M.P.s, which included Luigo Longo, Giorgio Amendola, Pietro Ingrao, Giancarlo Pajetta and many others, addressed an interpellation to the Chairman of the Council of Ministers and the Minister of Internal Affairs demanding to know what measures they intended to take to guarantee the freedom and safety of the citizens of the country.

**January 24-25.** A delegation of the CC of the Italian CP led by E. Macaluso, member of the Secretariat of the CC ICP, met with members of the CC of the CP of Czechoslovakia headed by CC Secretary Vladimir Koucky.

The Italian and Czechoslovak comrades had a friendly discussions of questions of cooperation between the two parties and problems of the international Communist movement.

**January 25.** A delegation of CPSU functionaries headed by D. Rasulov, First Secretary of the CC of the CP of Tajikistan, arrived in Budapest on the invitation of the CC of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. The delegation will study the experience of the HSWP in giving guidance to government agencies, local organs of power and public organizations.

**January 25.** The delegation of the CP of Finland which had been on a friendly visit to Hungary left Budapest. Headed by Olavi Laine, member of the CC Political Bureau, it had talks with Zoltan Komocsin, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the HSWP, and other Party functionaries. The sides exchanged opinions on the position and activities of their parties and discussed problems of the world Communist and working-class movement.

In **mid-January** the clandestine weekly *Nuestra Palabra* reported that on January 22 and 23 the CC of the CP of Argentina had met to discuss the political situation in the country.

The report says that thanks to the Party's work to explain to the masses the reactionary nature of the present government and the

need to prevent its consolidation th eworking class and the entire people are fighting ever more actively for their economic and social demands, for democratic freedoms and national independence, for a democratic popular government.

**January 27.** Newspapers of the Korean People's Democratic Republic printed a statement of the country's Central News Agency. been authorized to state the following:

The Central News Agency of the KPDR, the statement reads, has

"Of late the newspapers, big-character posters and leaflets of the *hungwe:pings* ("Red Guards") of Peking and other regions of China have been spreading false propaganda to the effect that some 'coup' has taken place in our country, leading to political instability.

"These spurious propaganda materials are being utilized by the news agencies, radio and press of a number of capitalist countries.

"In this connection the Central News Agency of the KPDR declares that this propaganda in the newspapers, big-character posters less leaflets of the Chinese *hungweipings* is an absolutely groundless invention.

"This has never occurred and, in general, cannot occur in our country. This is nothing else but an intolerable slander against the Party, the Goverment, the people and the People's Army of our country.

"That is why the Central News Agency of the KPDR considers it necessary to introduce clarity into this matter.

"Today our Party is monolithically united in the ideological and organizational respects.

"The leaders of the Party and the Government, the entire people and the People's Army are closely knit together by a single ideology.

"Under the leadership of our Party headed by Comrade Kim Il Sung the entire Korean people have tackled the task of speeding up socialist construction and realizing an independent reunification of the country.

"Under the leadership of our Party the valiant People's Army reliably protects the socialist gains of the northern part of the KPDR and is fully prepared to repel any aggression of the enemy.

"Such precisely is the situation in our country.

"And this reality cannot be distorted by anything. As a rule, a lie is always refuted by facts. No false propaganda about our country can disorient world public opinion and detract from the high international prestige enjoyed by our Party and the KPDR Government.

"Repetition of such propaganda inventions is inadmissible."

**January 28.** Josip Broz Tito, President of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia and Chairman of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, arrived in Moscow.

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INFORMATION

# bulletin

92

*Included in this issue*

**NOTES ON CHINA**
E. Bondeson

**REPORT BY WILLIAM KASHTAN**
CP of Canada

**INTERVIEW WITH ALVARO CUNHAL**
Mundo Obrero

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# information bulletin - 92 (4)

contents


**RESOLUTION**
Of Political Bureau, CC, CP of Greece **5**

**MUNDO OBRERO INTERVIEWS ALVARO CUNHAL** **11**

**MORE YOUTH FOR THE PARTY!**
Document of Secretariat of Italian Communist Party **15**

**ELECTORAL PROGRAM OF SUPG—WEST BERLIN** **17**

**POPULAR UNITY FOR PEACE AND THE CONSTITUTION**
Report by **Max Reimann** **21**

**NOTES ON CHINA**
Article by **E. Bondeson** **26**

**TO END BOMBING: DISSOCIATE CANADA FROM U.S. WAR POLICY**
Excerpts from Report by **William Kashtan.**
Resolution of CC, CP of Canada **28**

**DIRECTIVE**
Of Central Committee of Party of Working People of Vietnam **32**

**INTERVIEW WITH Y. TSEDENBAL**
**Nepszabadsag.** Decision of MPRP **34**

**CULTURAL HERITAGE AND SOCIALIST PATRIOTISM**
Article in **Nodon Shinmun** **42**

**FOR FREEDOM AND NATIONAL PROGRESS**
Statement by Plenary Meeting of CC, Neo Lao Hak Sat **45**

**50th ANNIVERSARY OF GREAT OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION** **47**

**ACTIVITIES OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES** **55**



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# RESOLUTION*

## OF THE PB, CC, COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREECE, JANUARY 1967

1. The people's struggle for a way out of the present abnormal situation has entered upon a new phase. It will depend on the outcome of this struggle whether constitutional order and democratic normalcy will be re-established and Greece embarked on real democratization, which is what the people long for and the country needs, or whether the country will be made to maintain the abnormal situation, which is what home and foreign reaction seeks.

Developments inside Greece are taking place at a time when the international situation has become dangerously aggravated due to the aggressiveness of U.S. imperialism, which is extending its infamous war in Vietnam and trying to drag other countries, including our own, into the maelstrom of the war and to stir up unrest and create seats of war in other areas. Our people's fight for democracy is inseparable from the fight for peace, in defense of the heroic people of Vietnam, against the adventures of American imperialism.

The people, all democrats and patriots, must mobilize and fight to restore democracy and safeguard peace.

2. The principal and deeper-lying cause of the fall of the palace government of Stephanopoulos was that government's constant state of uncertainty and instability resulting from its opposition to the mass of the people, and from the unremitting and manifold economic and political struggles of the working class, the peasants and the people as a whole. This also accounts for the failure of that government's attempts to weaken the popular movement. Faced with an inexorable reality, the conspiratorial circles responsible for the abnormal situation—both national and foreign—resorted to an anti-democratic maneuver which produced the new, likewise palace, government of Paraskevopoulos. This government is transitional in character and has a markedly anti-democratic and anti-popular composition and objectives. The maneuver was made possible by a deal between the leadership of the Center Union (CU), on the one hand, and the royal court and the National Radical Union (NRU), on the other.

The conspirators' object is still to weaken the people's resistance

*Avgi, Jan. 15, 1967.

and struggle, undermine popular unity, prevent the unity of the democratic forces, isolate the Left, and complete the achievement of the aims of the July coup. Since, however, they cannot fully ignore the will of the people for immediate elections to be held by a caretaker government which all parties can trust, under a simple proportional electoral system, the King and the government have promised to hold elections at the end of May. The government has also announced that it will submit to parliament a bill to introduce the simple proportional system. This, of course, is a gain for the popular struggle. But there is no guarantee that the bill will be approved, the elections held at the appointed time, and the people enabled freely to express their will at them.

The policy statements of the Paraskevopoulos government, which add up to the program of a lasting political government, show that the mission the conspirators have entrusted to the government runs counter to the aspirations and will of the people and the democratic forces, to the interests of the nation. There is the danger that the Paraskevopoulos government, which is transitional in character and composed of people who have the confidence of the court, spokesmen of the oligarchy, Rightist leaders and U.S. and NATO agencies, will approach serious immediate and long-range problems of national significance from a standpoint detrimental to the people and the country. A particularly grave menace is that the Cyprus question may be settled against the national interest, in favor of NATO.

Contrary to its allegation that it wants to hold fair elections, the government is out to create, under the slogan of "promoting order and peace," conditions in which it can falsify the will of the people. That is why it says nothing about abolishing the emergency measures, refuses to disarm and disband the National Security Battalions (NSB's), replace the nomarchs and chiefs of police by magistrates and to afford every party equal opportunities for the election campaign and for freedom of movement. On the contrary, the government puts the armed forces and the security agencies under the charge of those who carried out the Pericles Plan.*

The dangers and difficulties are increased by the fact that the CU leadership, through its compromise with the Right and the court on the basis proposed by the Crown Council in 1965 (authorization of the elections provided the popular front is split) constitutes the basis on which to rule out cooperation with the Left, recognize the privileges of the Crown in the armed forces, etc., and provides backing in parliament to so reactionary a government, an agency of the conspirators. The CU statement that it can overthrow the government by withdrawing parliamentary support guarantees no-

*Plan under which a group of reactionary palace officers in 1961 persecuted and terrorized the people so as to falsify the election returns.—(Ed.)

thing, all the more because its leadership is tied by its compromise to the Right and the court.

3. Today there are in our country forces and opportunities making it possible to foil the plans of reaction, hasten the holding of free elections, and ensure normal democratic development in the country. This prospect is brought nearer by the manifold economic and political mass actions of the workers, peasants and other working people, and by the political shifts and realignments in favor of the democratic forces that have occurred since the July coup among the people and the political forces and parties.

Thanks to the struggle waged by the people, to the resistance put up by them in various forms, and to the economic and political actions of the masses, the conspirators were unable to achieve all the objectives of the coup. The fact that in this struggle the working people, irrespective of political convictions, established close bonds of militant unity, is highly important.

The gulf separating the court and the people has widened. The antagonisms inside the NRU and other Rightist parties and groups have increased and grown sharper. Noteworthy shifts have taken place in the social base and among the supporters and the cadres of the lower and middle echelons of the CU, who have entered into closer militant relations with the supporters and cadres of the Left and declare for a democratic policy, if not unanimously and not without hesitation. This is evident also among the leading cadres of the CU. The retreat of the group of CU deputies, who at first were against CU leadership compromising with the NRU and the court, shows that these shifts have not gone far enough to produce a tangible effect on the CU policy and to prevent CU deals with the Right. They still do not meet the demands of democratic struggle, which requires democratic unity.

Through their precise and consistent policy proved correct by reality, and through devoted work among their cadres, members and supporters, the Communist Party of Greece and EDA have won new positions among the people and in the mass organizations. Their prestige and influence have increased, and the people have greater confidence in the correctness of their policy. Increasingly large sections of the people rely on them for the realization of their hopes and aspirations.

Mass actions by the people and political shifts and realignments provide a solid basis and open up favorable prospects for the popular and democratic movement.

4. The CPG considers that to restore constitutional and democratic normalcy and pave the way for genuinely democratic public life, it is necessary to hold elections immedately and see to it that they proceed properly and without the use of force.

The CPG considers that to provide conditions for free elections,

it is necessary to form a caretaker government enjoying the confidence of all parties; immediately to introduce a simple proportional electoral system; to repeal the No. 509 emergency law and all other extraordinary measures and laws; to hold elections as early as possible; to exclude and disband the NSB's; to rule out Army interference in the election campaign; to replace the nomarchs and the chiefs of security units by magistrates; to lift the ban on freedom of movement in the border area; to provide all parties with equal opportunities for radio propaganda and equal conditions for the conduct of pre-election activities.

The CPG considers that it is essential, particularly since the July palace revolution, which distorted political life in the country more than ever, to enable all political forces in Greece to express their will in the elections. A prerequisite for this is to call off the ban on the free functioning and activity of the CPG and to enable it to participate in the elections. The legalization of the CPG, which is a political demand of large segments of the people, would constitute an important factor in re-establishing democratic normalcy and deliver a blow to the more reactionary forces, which take advantage of the illegal status of the CPG to prolong the abnormal situation and to pursue their anti-popular, anti-democratic policy. It is the duty of anyone who aspires to democratic normalcy to fight for a legal CPG, for CPG participation in the coming elections.

As early as February 1964 the CPG submitted to the people its program for democratizing the country, for struggle to restore and extend democracy, for economic and social progress. It believes, however, that the interests of the country require that the democratic forces and parties should enter the election campaign on the basis of a joint minimum program.

This joint program, the CPG suggests, could comprise roughly the following demands: upholding the sovereign rights of parliament; restricting the royal court to strictly constitutional bounds; ridding the civil service of fascist elements; abolishing all extraordinary laws and other measures; taking steps to improve the condition of the working people and the middle strata, and to safeguard the nation's wealth against foreign monopolies; following a national foreign policy for peace; supporting the fight of the Cypriot people to ensure that the Cyprus question is settled according to the interests and aspirations of the people.

The formation after the elections of a government which would assume the task of carrying out this program with popular support, aided by the people's mass movement and all the democratic forces in and outside parliament without exception, could clear the way for durable and consistent democratization.

5. A decisive factor in bringing about immediate and free elections, in effectively beating off the terroristic offensive of the Right,

and in frustrating every attempt at a new election coup, achieving victory for the democratic forces and opening the road to a durable and consistent process of democratization is to further the unity and struggle of the people, to promote economic and political actions on the part of every class and every stratum of the people, both now and throughout the election campaign, to extend and coordinate these actions on local and national scale, to properly combine political and economic actions and to raise them to a higher plane.

Of exceptional importance today is working-class unity, the alliance of the working class with the peasants, the urban middle strata and all anti-imperialist forces, and unity of the democratic forces generally. The evolution of the situation calls for an effort to extend and further this unity, for the cooperation of all political forces opposing the present abnormal situation and striving to embark Greece on normal democratic development.

There are a number of pressing democratic problems—a simple proportional system, a caretaker government, immediate elections, resistance to terror, and so on—which necessitate cooperation and joint action by all the democratic forces whose views coincide on all problems or on some of them, with a view to tackling them in common for the benefit of democracy, irrespective of whether and to what extent they will act in common at the elections. Furthermore, there are a number of more general issues on which cooperation can also be brought about during or even after the elections between the Left and all other democratic forces and parties. The chief obstacle to this cooperation and to the unity of all democratic forces and parties is the position of the CU leadership, which, having made a deal with the Right and the court and persisting in its anti-communism and in its fight "on two fronts," opposes the policy of democratic unity.

6. The CPG is doing all in its power to bring about popular and democratic unity. It calls on all democratic parties, groups and leaders and on every one who is concerned with ending the present abnormal situation and with embarking the country on normal democratic development to contribute their share to the attainment of this unity.

All working people, all democrats and patriots and all partisans of normalcy should work with might and main to foil the plans of the court, the plutocratic oligarchy and the foreigners who would like by means of unfree, rigged elections to perpetuate the return of the Right to power or, by isolating the Left, to provide conditions for the formation of a Right Centrist government in which the tune would essentially be called by the Right and which would be in the service of the national and foreign monopolies and execute the mandates of the U.S. imperialists and NATO.

The working people, first of all the working class, the peasants and the youth, should do their utmost to ensure that the Left, the genuine representative and consistent defender of their interests, and the most consistent democratic force, gains strength, that its links with the masses become closer, and that its strength and influence expresses itself also in the election returns—in a greater number of votes and seats won.

The stronger the Left, the greater will be the opportunities of achieving democratic unity and, consequently, the more favorable conditions will be created for thwarting the plans of reaction and for forming a democratic government which, relying on the democratic forces in and outside parliament, would implement a program for real democratization, meeting the demands of the people, for economic advancement and national independence and progress.

★ ★ ★

The people and the democratic forces are on the eve of new struggles for democracy, peace and progress. The fight will be hard, for the enemy—the foreign imperialists, the plutocratic oligarchy and their agencies, the court and the Right—are determined to stand their ground. They command ample means and are resolved to use any method in order to impose their plans. The position of the CU leadership creates added difficulties for the democratic struggles for democracy, peace and progress. The fight will be hard, They will win if they rally together and fight with determination.

The CPG calls on its cadres, members and supporters to take up positions in the front line of the democratic struggle and to devote all their energies to achieving unity of the democratic forces and parties, carrying on explanatory work, and mobilizing the people in the struggle for free elections, democracy and progress.

*January 12, 1967.*

# MUNDO OBRERO INTERVIEWS* ALVARO CUNHAL

## GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE PORTUGUESE COMMUNIST PARTY

**Q.** What is the situation in Portugal? What prospect does the Portuguese Communist Party offer to the national democratic movement in these conditions?

**A.** The concurrent struggle of the Portuguese people for democracy and of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies for independence has plunged the Salazar fascist regime into the gravest crisis in its history.

This regime, which pursues a policy of open, brazen and violent defense of the interests of the monopoly groups and latifundists, forces through centralization "plans" and measures in industry and agriculture, increasingly places the national resources at the disposal of foreign imperialism, makes Portuguese territory available for the construction of military bases (such as the big air base of Beja belonging to the Bonn revenge-seekers), and intensifies the colonial war in Angola, Guinea and Mozambique, has divorced itself completely from the Portuguese nation. It is opposed not only by the proletariat, but also by the peasants, the petty bourgeoisie, broad strata of the middle bourgeoisie, as well as intellectuals and young people. The regime has no mass following today. It owes its existence to support from imperialism and the activities of a strongly centralized and militarist machinery of state.

Salazar fears lest the new opportunities for political activity which are bound to appear as a result of a softening of repressions or any opening of the safety valve in the form of liberalization should provide an outlet for the irresistible torrent of popular indignation and rebellious unrest that came to a head in the course of 40 years of fascism. That is why not only no attempts at liberalization are undertaken in Portugal, but, on the contrary, the possibilities for legal activity of the opposition are being restricted in all spheres, methods of fascist rule are constantly applied and intensified, and repressions conducted on an ever-larger scale. The war in the colonies and the terror in Portugal itself testify to Salazar's determination to keep in power on the basis of complete suppression of freedoms and the employment of a thoroughly or-

*Mundo Obrero, Jan. 1967.

ganizeo and repeatedly purged machinery of repression.

We have always utilized and continue to utilize all possibilities for legal and semi-legal struggle, including the most limited and circumstantial ones. The democratic forces of the country have been trying persistently to find, within the framework of existing legality, the way to solving Portugal's political problem. An example of these efforts is furnished by the big political battles waged in the course of fascist "electoral" farces. But it is the ruling camarilla itself that has systematically blocked — and is resolved to continue to block through violence and terror — the possibility of a peaceful solution. Therefore we maintain that in the present conditions the overthrow of the fascist distatorship will call for intense revolutionary struggle, or, in other words, that a developed mass struggle will pose the question of a nation-wide uprising, an armed popular rebellion.

**Q.** What are the chief tasks of the Portuguese democratic movement at the present time?

**A.** There are three chief tasks: unity, organization and mass struggle.

As regards unity, we can say that it is realized in practice in the course of popular actions and that the need for the unity of action of all democratic forces is generally recognized. There are most diverse forms of cooperation and unitary organization of Communists, Socialists, Catholics and Liberals. To work in behalf of the unity of all anti-fascist forces—such is one of the permanent tasks of our Party's policy which has already borne rich fruit. Today our efforts are aimed primarily at making the existng broad unitary movement more effective and quicker to react.

This calls for exceptionally hard and multiform work to ensure guidance of both individual actions and general political activity.

As for mass struggles, as far as we know regrettably little is known in Spain about the persistent, intensive and heroic resistance of the Portuguese people to the fascist dictatorship. Although the popular movement against the dictatorship is developing unevenly and is constantly subjected to ruthless repressions, it has become a powerful national movement in which broad sections of the population take part. Not a single day passed without actions by industrial and agricultural workers led by semi-legal commissions. An exceptionally broad scale has been assumed by the students' movement for university autonomy and the independence of legal associations.

Intellectuals are raising their voice in defense of culture and for freedom. The thousands of desertions since the outbreak of the rebellion in Angola in 1961 are one of the most vivid manifestations of the resistance of soldiers and young officers to the colonial war.

The Communists are working tirelessly to stimulate popular ac-

tions for concrete immediate aims as well as open political struggle. We consider that mass struggles are the motive force of revolution and are, therefore, the prime concern of Party work.

There is no revolutionary upsurge in Portugal at present. Nevertheless powerful energy is accumulating which will not be long in manifesting itself in big political battles against the fascist dictatorship. The struggle is very difficult and claims—and will continue to claim—great sacrifice. But eventually the Portuguese people will sweep away fascism from their land, win freedom and accomplish the democratic and national revolution as defined in the PCP Program adopted by the clandestine 6th Congress in 1965.*

**Q.** What is your opinion of the cooperation existing between the PCP and the Communist Party of Spain? How do you appraise the prospects of this cooperation?

**A** Now as in the future, this cooperation is of vital interest not only for the Communists of both countries, but also for both peoples.

It is of interest now because, despite the differences in the situation in our countries which determine differences in the tactics of our parties, there are many common features in the nature of the two regimes, which collaborate in the struggle against the democratic movement. Exchange of information and experience, frank confrontation of opinions, cooperation between the two parties can, in our view, bring nearer the liberation of Portugal from the fascist dictatorship of Salazar, and Spain, from the Franco dictatorship.

The cooperation between our parties is of exceptionally great significance also from the viewpoint of the future: for the establishment of relations of fraternal friendship and close cooperation between socialist Spain and socialist Portugal.

Historical, geographical and political reasons as well as reasons rooted in the past and stemming from the demands of the future make friendship and close cooperation between our parties an indispensable element of the progress of our peoples.

We fervently advocate consolidation of the bonds of friendship and fraternity between the Portuguese Communist Party and the glorious Communist Party of Spain and consider that our cooperation can be further strengthened.

**Q.** In what way do you think is it possible to strengthen the bonds of friendship between our peoples and between the democratic forces of Spain and Portugal.

**A.** The governments of Salazar and Franco are trying to impart a reactionary political significance to all public manifestations of relations between the two countries, with the result that the uninitiated sometimes regard the relations between Spain and Portugal as relations between Franco and Salazar. This state of things can

*See Information Bulletin No. 67, 1966. Peace and Socialism Publishers, Prague, (North American edition)

be changed through persistent effort. The Franco-Salazar collusion can be countered with initiatives aimed at ensuring rapprochement and interchange between our two peoples.

The democratic movement in Spain and Portugal is really a mass movement. The predominance of progressive views among the intellectuals of both countries is so obvious that it is possble to overcome the obstacles put up by the dictatorships in the way of this rapprochement and interchange and to make good use of the big possibilities for such initiatives which exist against the will of the regimes.

On the other hand, the relative remoteness existing between the democratic forces of Spain and Portugal is regarded by us as an unfavorable factor for our common struggle. Establishment of regular contacts and relations between them will be of mutual benefit.

The peoples of Spain and Portugal are habitually called brother peoples. Reaction, fascism, bourgeois nationalism and the chauvinism of the ruling classes have prevented our people, as real brothers, from coming to know each other and establishing close relations and mutual understanding in the solution of their serious problems. In many respects our peoples, who are neighbors, live separate and estranged lives.

Let us, guiding ourselves by the principles of proletarian internationalism, work for the Spanish and Portuguese people to draw nearer together, strengthen their cooperation in struggle for freedom, and lay a solid foundation for their future close and indestructible mutual understanding.

Brothers we are, and we want, like brothers, to fight in common and march together to our future.

# MORE YOUTH FOR THE PARTY!

## DOCUMENT* OF THE SECRETARIAT OF THE ITALIAN CP

The 1967 card-changing and recruiting campaign has got off to a good start; since the beginning of the year 1,084,028 Communists changed their cards and 45,763 new comrades joined the Party. For the ICP youth organization, the respective figures were 78,729 and 13,207.

This is an important result, but it should be primarily regarded the basis and prerequisite for stepping up the campaign in the forthcoming weeks.

This month the Italian Communist Party will be 46 years old. It is the task of every Party federation and section to center each of the numerous demonstrations and activities to be organized this month around the demand to carry forward the great battle for peace, against the U.S. aggression in Vietnam, for the unity of all forces striving for the democratic and socialist renovation of our country.

Hence the need to stimulate and organize a sweeping and effective drive of the best Communist forces in the matter of card-changing and above all recruiting new members from among those ever more numerous groups of workers and peasants who, witnessing the failure of the experiment with the center-left coalition and the wasteful monopolistic reorganization, realize the need for deep-going changes in the economic and political life of the country.

In this campaign we should not lose sight of the younger generation, considering the role it is destned to play n the life and future of our country. Account should be taken of the young people's profound and severe criticism, which they level in different forms, at the injustice and morality of the manner and conditions of llfe of our society dominated by all-powerful monopolies.

The Communist Party must pay the utmost attention to this generation, whose role is decisive in all areas of production and social life. It must initiate a broad dialogue with it on such issues as democratic and socialist revolution in our country, the role of the Italian Communist Party, its national and internationalist policy of unity and struggle. Our Party should not only appeal to these forces, whose political participation is indispensable for the advance of the socialist ideals, to join its ranks, but it should also provide them with ever broader opportunities for applying a hand in the

*Unita, January 15, 1967.

elaboration and realization of the policy of the Party by contributing their own ideas and experience.

"To draw thousands upon thousands of young people — young workers, technicians and students — into the Italian Communist Party and the Italian Communist Youth Federation in the course of these weeks devoted to discussing and evaluating the historical and political missions of the ICP." Such is the concrete task facing the whole Party. To carry it out, every organization must prepare and adequate program of activity and mobilization of the necessary forces.

*Secretariat, Italian Communist Party*

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# ELECTORAL PROGRAM* OF THE SUPG-WEST BERLIN

## FOR PEACE AND MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING — FOR A GUARANTEED RIGHT TO WORK AND A BIGGER SAY IN MANAGEMENT — FOR SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC STABILITY — FOR GOOD-NEIGHBOR RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO GERMAN STATES

The trade unionists demanding stability and security, the Social Democrats who want their own, a distinctly Social-Democratic policy, the artisans and tradesmen unbearably squeezed by the big enterprises dominating the market, the students and lecturers striving for reforms that would conform to the spirit of the times, the opponents of the state-of-emergency policy and of the destructive U.S. war in Vietnam — all of them have been repeatedly compelled in recent years to put on record the absence of their voice in the parliament. The Senate of West Berlin, which owes its existence to their votes, has pursued a policy running counter to the interests of the majority of them.

Had the voice of the Communists, Social Democrats and many bourgeois democrats been heeded, there would have been no 1933, no 1939 and hence no 1945. After 1945 it was still possible to preserve German unity and, consequently, the importance of Berlin as the capital, provided the whole Germany took the road of peace, anti-fascism and democracy, of overcoming the power of the monopolies. Siemens and Flick, the bosses of AEG and Deutschen Bank and their friends from among the American financiers did not want that. Their policy led to the division of Germany. Now we in West Berlin, confronted with the existence of two German states, have to decide what position to take, how to contribute to security and to the establishment of reasonable relations with the GDR.

The champions of humanism and human contacts must come out for normal relations with the German Democratic Republic. Humanism is incompatible with cold war.

Given normal relations with its environment, West Berlin can solve many of its problems. At the same time, if it pursued a policy of common sense and good will, our city could serve as an example for the development of relations between the FRG and the GDR and thus help accomplish an important national task.

The Socialist Unity Party has been insisting on this realistic

*Abridged from the SUPG-West Berlin Board's **Informationen** No. 37, January 1967.

policy for many years now, meeting with increasing understanding and support on the part of the population. It was thanks to its actions that pass agreements* were concluded in 1963, 1964 and 1965 between representatives of the Senate and the GDR government.

It is to be regretted, however, that whereas the GDR respects the legal status of the Senate, the latter has followed in the footsteps of West German big capital and its Bonn government in claiming the monopoly right to represent the whole of Germany. It not only denies the legality of the existence of the GDR, but in 1966 put into operation the Bonn law, which it considers binding on GDR citizens as well. The impermissible interference of the West German government in the internal affairs of our city and the improper conduct of the Senate torpedoed the pass agreement proposed by the GDR for 1966.

The Christian-Democratic Union, the Social-Democratic Party and the Free Democratic Party made promises to look after the interests of the people. But last Christmas we had to give up passes because the Senate rejects normal relations with the GDR and constantly takes its cue from Bonn, whose only Christmas gift for us can be higher rents and taxes and the cold war climate, not passes. Instead of protesting against Bonn's sallies and undertaking its own steps towards progress, the Senate has returned to the cold war times.

But we are all fed up with the cold war. No West Berliner engaged in peaceful labor can be interested in the struggle against the socialist achievements of the GDR and against its workers' and peasants' government. All over the world, also in many NATO countries and in West Germany, tribute is paid to the striking progress made by the GDR in all fields. For how long does West Berlin intend to wait before drawing from these indisputable facts reasonable conclusions for its relations with the GDR?

Unless it establishes normal relations with its environment, with the GDR, West Berlin will be confronted with growing difficulties.

In the last election the CDU, SDP and FDP tried to outshine one another in fine oratory. They promised "general welfare and security." They said: "The workers are social partners of capital." Now the real meaning of "partnership" is becoming clear. The employers are handing dismissal notices to factory and office workers and imposing forced leaves and part-time work on their "social partners." Behind the back of the workers, their production councils and trade unions, old traditional enterprises are being deprived of their independence, relocated or closed down. And the "social partner" is not asked for his opinion.

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*Agreements between the West Berlin Senate and the GDR authorities on visits to democratic Berlin by residents of the Western part of the city.—**Ed.**

The SDP proclaimed on all its posters four years ago: "Trust in Berlin." Now Brandt has left our city for Bonn to occupy his ministerial seat in the CDU-CSU government, where Demochristian Kiesinger is his Chancellor and Strauss his colleague.

The Socialist Unity Party considers that our city should take from the FRG only what is useful for it and reject that which does us harm.

Normal economic and financial relations are useful. Bonn's rightward course and interference in the affairs of our city are harmful. The social regress and economic difficulties are negative phenomena. The signs of crisis in the electric and engineering industries are serious warnings against the one-sided orientation on West Germany, where the myths about a permanent boom and constant high employment are being blasted by grim capitalist reality.

The purchasing capacity of the population, mass consumption are decisive for sound economic development. Therefore stabilization* cannot be realized at the expense of social conditions. It is incompatible with growing prices of goods and services and higher rents and taxes on the incomes and consumption of the working population.

The interests of the workers and the entire population demand extension of democracy in the economy. A decisive step in this direction would be a bigger say for the workers, their production councils and trade unions in management.

The West Berlin Senate must guarantee that the city will tolerate no interference from Bonn and will not comply with any embargo ordinances and other measures discrediting trade with the East. Our Party is always ready to use its good relations with statesmen of the GDR and other socialist states to help expand trade and conclude cooperation agreements.

Everything that West Berlin needs, its tranquility, security and peaceful future demand a clear-cut decision against the unrealistic and crisis-fraught policy of the CDU, the party of West German finance capital and its Hitler generals, the party of armament and social regress. What the CDU is concerned with is not the joys and sorrows of the residents of our city, but solely the promotion of capitalist interests aimed against the GDR.

By pursuing a policy of nationalism and anti-communism, by giving former Nazi bigwigs leading posts in the state and the army, the CDU prepared the soil from which right extermism is sprouting today. The rise of the neo-Nazi menace is a signal for all democrats to unite in defending the common ideals of freedom against the rightist policy.

Can the voters bar the way to neo-Nazism by opposing the CDU

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*The law on "stabilizing" economic development currently being effected by the Kiesinger government.—Ed.

and voting for the Free Democratic Party? For 17 years the FDP participated in working out erroneous political decisions in Bonn. In West Berlin, that party has not shown its worth yet. Hence, those who want a clear-cut decision aimed at promoting the well-being of our population and against the CDU, cannot rely on the Free Democratic Party.

Can it be said that in this election the choice is to be made between the CDU and the SDP? That was not true even in the past, and is still less so now, when the Social-Democratic leaders have joined the Kiesinger-Strauss government. All hopes of the Social-Democratic voters who sought in the SDP an alternative of community between CDP and CDU leaders. Now they have experienced the bitterest disappointment: ex-West Berlin Burgomaster Willy Brandt and his fellow ministers are in the same boat with the CDU, with Kiesinger and Strauss at the helm!

The deputies of the SUPG-West Berlin will stand for job security and social and economic stability. They will support the demands of the workers, their production councils and trade unions for greater participation in the management of big enterprises. They will demand an economic policy in the interests of the entire society.

Purposeful measures and easy-teom credits must support the independent enterprises of the middle classes and artisans against the pressure of concerns and enable them to modernize, which they cannot do today for lack of means.

Our deputies will utilize their good contracts with the GDR and other socialist states for extending beneficial trade and economic relations with all states.

SUPG deputies will not put up with the acceptance of the reactionary and undemocratic laws of West Germany.

The SUPG-West Berlin respects and upholds the Constitution of West Berlin. Its deputies will oppose all state-of-emergency policies and practices. They will cooperate with all citizens to make West Berlin a democratic city with a responsible government and irreproachable administration.

The SUPG-West Berlin wants life and development in our city to keep with the times. It stands for the rights of the younger generation, modern education and equal opportunities for all. It agrees with the "Berlin model" and advocates a democratic education reform.

SUPG deputies, relying on their friendly relations with the GDR, will represent there the justified interests of West Berliners. The SUPG-West Berlin guarantees that as a result of equal negotiations normal relations will be established between the West Berlin Senate and the GDR government. This will open up new possibilities for trade and the economy, for culture and sport. Then it will also become possible to settle reasonably the problem of passes.

# POPULAR UNITY FOR PEACE AND THE CONSTITUTION

## MAX REIMANN'S REPORT* TO THE 9TH PLENARY MEETING OF THE CC, CPG, JANUARY 1967

A grave situation has arisen with the formation of the new government. The decisive role in this caretaker for industrial and banking capital closely linked with the armaments industry is played by the most reactionary forces of the CDU-CSU.†

As we see it, the essence of the course expounded by Kiesinger is to create internal-political, economic-political and socio-political prerequisites for consolidating the power of monopoly capital and the domination of the CDU-CSU and extend the field of action for nationalistic aggressive foreign and military policy and policy on the German question.

It is typical for the anti-social character of this government that all its first laws without exception are aimed at lowering the living standard of the working people.

By admitting the Social-Democratic Party into the government the CDU-CSU also wants to secure the two-thirds majority which it needs for adopting emergency legislation, effecting the so-called law on stabilization, changing the electoral system and enacting other dictatorial laws.

It is perfectly obvious that Kiesinger and Strauss as well as Wehner and Brandt cling to the untenable claim to monopoly representation of the whole of Germany and intend to go on whipping up hatred for the GDR.

The FRG government and the Bundeswehr Command ever more actively strive for participation in the nuclear target and utilization planning so as to gain access to nuclear weapons. This is a continuation of the old nuclear "forward strategy."

In the government of monopoly capital the Social-Democratic ministers remain captives of this monopoly policy. The formation of the Kiesinger government has not led to the solution of any of the problems responsible for the crisis of Bonn's policy and the fall of the Erhard government.

The proposals "For a Stable Peace Economy, For the Good of the People"§ with which our Party addressed the West German

*Slightly abridged from **Freies Volk**, January 1967.

†**CDU**—Christian-Democratic Union, **CSU**—Christian Social Union

§See **Information Bulletin** No. 86-87, 1966 Peace and Socialism Publishers, Prague. (North American edition)

public acquire great importance, and Communists should discuss them in the factories and trade unions with Social-Democratic and Christian workers.

Defense of the Constitution against emergency laws and against its replacement by an emergency constitution has become the most pressing task of all democratic and peace-loving forces.

Our Party considers that a new policy must be won for the FRG, a policy conforming to the national interests of our people and to the needs of the security of all European peoples. This calls for renouncing the idea of revising borders, as well as any form of nuclear sharing and the claim to monopoly representation of the whole of Germany; this calls for recognition of the existence of the GDR and establishment of normal relations with it.

This new policy presupposes putting an end to the support for the U.S. dirty war in Vietnam.

Communist-Socialist unity of action is essential for achieving the much-needed active cooperation of all the democratic and peace-loving forces of the FRG.

Development of the SDP will depend in decisive measure on the ability of its functionaries and rank and file to present alternative proposals to their party and to the public at large.

The policy of our Party remains centered on working-class unity of action and Communist-Socialist cooperation in the struggle for the democratic, social and peace-oriented interests of the working class and all our people.

The trade unions are to play a role of increasing importance in the debate against the anti-democratic, anti-peace and anti-social policy of the Kiesinger government.

A new element in the present-day situation is that the progressive forces agree on basic issues and, as the Frankfurt congress has demonstrated, are ready to cooperate.

It is becoming ever more clear that the success of the struggle for the legalization of the CPG will depend on how convincingly we will explain our policy to the population. Only then will the population realize that a legal CPG is essential for the defense of its interests.

Communist-Socialist unity of action is very important for securing the greatly needed cooperation of all democratic and peace-loving forces. Therefore we Communists must strive harder than ever to explain our policy convincingly in our statements and in discussions with Social Democrats, while subjecting to principled criticism the actions of the Social-Democratic leaders which run counter to the interests of the working people and benefit the monopolies.

Most Social Democrats reject the "grand coalition" government. They ask apprehensively: Who needs it? They are quite justified in

fearing that the coalition is useful to and needed by the CDU-CSU and harmful to the SDP. They say: The correlation of forces in the Bundestag remains such that the SDP can oust the CDU-CSU from government and rule jointly with the Free Democratic Party. The SDP can at any moment refuse to accept the burden imposed upon it by the CDU-CSU and rule on the basis of its own policy whose guidelines would be determined by a Social-Democratic Chancellor. It is up to the SDP leadership either to let the CDU-CSU utilize the party in its own interests or to strengthen its authority by advancing its own alternative.

Many people say that a Social-Democratic government pursuing a new policy would win the support of the majority of the FRG population and thus strengthen its authority and influence.

We should pay close attention to the fact that of late many Social Democrats and their organizations have been formulating proposals regarding the SDP's own alternative.

Thus, the South Hessen branch has demanded renunciation of nuclear weapons in any form, recognition of the existing frontiers, equal negotiations with the GDR, abolition of the majoritarian electoral system, and initiatives for disarmament talks and European security.

Great importance is attached by Social-Democratic comrades to the forthcoming party meetings and conferences. They are aware of Wehner's intention to have these conferences underwrite his coalition policy and to reassure party organizations.

Evolution of the SDP will depend in decisive measure on the ability of the party's functionaries and rank and file to submit alternative proposals for discussion by the party and the public. The prerequisites for this are now more favorable than before. These forces know each other's positions much better today, and this can facilitate their future joint actions.

With the intensive onslaught of the more reactionary part of the monopolies and their coalition government on the social and democratic interests of the working people the class struggle will continue to sharpen, which will have its reflection in the SDP as well. Every new anti-popular decision of the monopolies sanctioned by the Social-Democratic ministers will be followed by new clashes in the party around a Social-Democratic alternative policy. This will facilitate the development in the SDP of an increasingly strong opposition to the policy of community with the CDU-CSU.

The prime objective of the policy of our Party remains working-class unity of action, Communist-Socialist cooperation in the struggle for the democratic, social and peace-oriented interests of the working class and our people.

We know that the entry of the Social-Democratic leaders into the "grand coalition" government has caused not only discontent

but in some cases also disillusionment and withdrawal from the SDP. We say to the Social Democratic comrades: Resignation is not the way to struggle against this pernicious development. We want to come to agreement with the Social-Democratic functionaries and rank and file on how we can act—jointly or separately—in the same direction for the same demands. Thereby we shall help every Social Democrat to conduct political work in his party, in the trade unions, in the movement against emergency legislation, in the movement against atomic armament.

It is becoming clear that some Social Democrats entertain illusions regarding the participation of their leaders in the Kiesinger government. These illusions can only be overcome if we continue to aim the whole strength of the blow against the CDU-CSU policy, analyze the position of the SDP leaders and SDP ministers in the "grand coalition" government in a principled, business-like and critical way, and show on concrete examples whose interests it serves.

By forming a strong alliance with the Social Democrats and advancing joint concrete demands, organizing the struggle for their realization and repelling by common effort the anti-social and anti-democratic attacks, we shall help the Social Democrats to overcome these illusions.

A role of growing importance in the debate against the anti-democratic, anti-peace and anti-social policy of the Kiesinger government belongs to the trade unions. They are a great force in the fight to preserve the standard of living, save the Constitution and block emergency legislation. The Kiesinger government is aware of this, and in the forthcoming struggle it will try to bring strong pressure to bear upon the trade unions. The latter will effectively resist this pressure and strengthen their positions if they uphold their decisions, fight for their implementation and resolutely oppose any attempt of the government to integrate them.

In the conditions of the growing concentration of power of big capital and the offensive of the government against democracy, the struggle of the trade unions for co-management assumes decisive importance. In view of the rising prices and taxes on the workers, accompanied by attempts to freeze the wages with the help of "wage guidelines," the task is to press for an active wage policy and fight for the preservation of the autonomy of the trade unions in the matter of collective bargaining. This is particularly important in view of the expiration of the term of collective agreements in 1967.

We Communists want to act in the trade unions and among the working class in a way that would enable the German and foreign workers to repel jointly, in keeping with the principles of firm class solidarity, the attacks of the big employers on their living standard

and rights and resolutely reject any attempt to incite them against each other with the help of nationalistic propaganda.

The success of this struggle hinges on the strength and unity of the trade union organization in the factory. Therefore, to consolidate the trade unions is a duty of every Communist. In the nearest future it is important for Communists and Social Democrats to agree on the nomination and joint support of the best comrades in the forthcoming elections of trade union delegates.

# NOTES* ON CHINA

## E. Bondeson

Events in China loom large in the world press these days. High ranking Party workers and government functionaries are removed from or installed in office. Reports of street clashes, demonstrations and counter-demonstrations alternate with denials of such reports. This flood of contradictory despatches can hardly give the average reader a clear idea of what really is happening in this huge country.

It may be assumed that the serious changes taking place in China are of major importance not only for that country itself but for all people and nations, for the world political scene as a whole.

Some see the causes of the present developments in the conflict between the Communist parties of China and the Soviet Union which began to make itself felt in the late '50s and has since been carried further. This is an incorrect view. To think so is to confuse the cause and the effect. Obviously, the explanation for the internal political struggle in China today should be sought within that country itself. The conflict with the CPSU and the Soviet Union is not the cause but rather the result of China's internal contradictions.

China still remains a poor, peasant country. The worst manifestations of hunger and want were done away with as a result of the revolution and the victory won in the liberation war in 1949. The chronic hunger which was the lot of hundreds of millions in old China is now only a memory. But the people who order the destinies of the Chinese People's Republic should have fully realized that it will still take many years for China to reach the standard of living of the Western countries or the rapidly rising living standard of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. To catch up, China will have to advance far more rapidly than other areas of the world.

Hence, then, the "revolutionary itch" which is making itself felt, the striving to find new ways and means of heightening the efforts of the masses. The resurrection, or, if you wish, preservation of the revolutionary enthusiasm which played so great a part in the achievement of truly fantastic successes during the revolution, is an attempt in this direction. The so-called Red Guards are the tangible embodiment of the idea. The same applies to the propagation of the "Chinese orientation" on armed uprising as allegedly the only way the masses can free themselves from oppression by

*Abridged from **Ny Dag**, January 20-26, 1967.

capitalism and imperialism. It is claimed that this is the universal, the one and only correct tactic for all peoples, and that history itself has placed the responsibility for its realization on the shoulders of the Chinese people. The Peking leaders clearly assume that the unwillingness of the overwhelming majority of the Communist parties to adopt this tactic is a temporary phenomenon, the result of their backwardness in both theory and practical political activity.

In these circumstances the leading group in China could not but come into conflict with, say, the Russians, who had already advanced far beyond the first and second stages of the revolution—the capture and consolidation of power. In the course of the decades since the completion of these stages the Soviet Union, drawing on its experience, both its achievements and its setbacks, arrived at conclusions quite different from the Chinese views on what the home and foreign policies of the socialist countries should be. The theses concerning the possibility of peaceful coexistence, and that socialism can demonstrate its superiority over capitalism only by ensuring higher material and cultural standards in the socialist countries than capitalism can show, are incompatible with the present views of the Chinese leaders and hence cannot be accepted by the authors and supporters of these views.

If we eschew all sensational interpretations, the fact appears to be that there are serious differences in the Communist Party of China as regards assessments and lines of action. What is disturbing is that the "great proletarian cultural revolution" is being carried out mainly by the army and the student youth while the working class and the huge mass of peasants associated with it are opposed to this "revolution."

What is frightening in the Chinese events are the heavy overtones of hostility towards the Soviet Union, isolationism and persistent rejection of cooperation with the other socalist countries in rendering aid to Vietnam. The Chinese leaders responsible for this policy are shouldering a grave responsibility. There is no doubt that the Chinese people help Vietnam. But it is perfectly clear that the aid given would be more effective if it were coordinated, if it did not have to be extended on a bilateral basis with the attendant suspicions as regards the volume and efficacy of the assistance given and the motives behind it. The Soviet Union has on repeated occasions proposed that the question of coordinating aid to Vietnam be discussed, but these proposals have invariably found a cool reception in Peking. One cannot but suspect that in taking this negative attitude the Chinese leaders are prompted less by a desire to share the hardships and joys of the embattled people of Vietnam than by the Chinese People's Republic's own aspirations.

# TO END BOMBING: DISSOCIATE CANADA FROM U.S. WAR POLICY

## EXCERPTS FROM REPORT* BY WILLIAM KASHTAN, GENERAL SECRETARY, CP OF CANADA

Since our convention the international situation has become more tense and more complex, arising from increasing aggression by U.S. imperialism. Nowhere is this more evident than in Vietnam which has become a focal point of the struggle between crisis-ridden imperialism on one hand which is out to reserve the course of history, and on the other, all those forces striving for world peace, national liberation, democracy and socialism. The whole world sees the cruel and ugly face of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam in all its nakedness . . .

Opposition to the present course of the Johnson government is growing in scope throughout the world. What is required is that this growing opposition be transformed into active, organized and united effort, to compel U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam.

The complexity of the struggle to end U.S. aggression in Vietnam has led to some well-intentioned people posing the question —is peaceful coexistence still valid? Should not U.S. escalation of the war in Vietnam be matched by an armed counter-escalation of the socialist countries? Apart from the fact that the Democratic Republic of Vietnam has not asked the socialist countries to send volunteers to Vietnam and has restricted itself to requests for military and material aid which has and will be forthcoming in increasing measure, armed counter-escalation would at this time help the U.S. to knock together a united front of all capitalist states against the socialist countries, would hinder or prevent the utilization of the present situation to isolate U.S. policy and would lead to world nuclear war. This obviously will not help Vietnam.

There are other well-intentioned people who, echoing the line of some of the leaders of the Communist Party of China, propose that the Soviet Union undertake some military action in Europe to divert U.S. troops from Vietnam. But such a course too, would undermine the processes at work in Europe which are leading towards the break-up of NATO, the isolation and weakening of West German revanchism and the achievement of a European Security Pact which could prevent West Germany again becoming a source of war. Moreover, such military diversion by the Soviet Union could lead

*The **Canadian Tribune**, January 23, 1967.

to military conflict and perhaps nuclear war. How would that help Vietnam?

It is not unilateral action which the situation calls for today but united international action . . .

There is increasing awareness in Canada of the dangers of U.S. policy to world peace and to Canadian security. Opposition to U.S. aggression is growing and is merging more and more with the demand that Canada pursue an independent foreign policy. It has impelled the Pearson government, timidly it is true, to express criticism of continued U.S. bombing, even though only by indirection. However, the government has refused to publicly dissociate Canada from the U.S. dirty war in Vietnam and in fact facilitates the sale of war materials to the U.S. which is used to conduct the war against the Vietnamese people.

This shameful position of the Pearson government stands in sharp contrast with the opinions of a majority of the Canadian people. If the recent *Toronto Star* poll is correct, it shows that the government is not marching in step with a majority of the Canadian people who want Canada to pursue an independent foreign policy, an end to U.S. bombing, and an end to the U.S. war.

Our task and that of all Canadians concerned with the need to prevent world nuclear war is to compel the government to march in step with public opinion and disengage Canada from U.S. policy...

More and more economists and others too are asking: "Will 1967 be the year of recession?" . . .

If one takes these trends into account what are the prospects in Canada? There may not be a bust in the classical sense but there will be no continuation of the boom. In fact the bloom has gone off the boom. What appears certain is that we have entered a changing economic climate. What is equally certain is that the economic policies of the Pearson government is largely responsible for it. These policies have been directed to slowing down the rate of growth, ostensibly to combat the threat of inflation . . .

If this is so, then Canada will be confronted with growing unemployment this year, equivalent to 5 per cent or more of the labor force. This rise in unemployment coincides with a continuing growth of the labor force and will be affected likewise by automation in industry and offices with its consequent dangers to the jobs of large numbers of working people, clerical and office workers. Thus, as in Great Britain so here, we are confronted with a deliberate government policy of planned unemployment.

What are the reasons for this? The boom created a situation in which jobs were chasing workers instead of workers chasing jobs. Government economic policy has been designed to change this situation. With boom conditions and a strong trade union movement, it is more difficult to attack living standards directly. Govern-

ment economic policy has therefore been deliberately designed to slow down the rate of economic growth, create unemployment (not too much but enough to become a factor in negotiations), interfere in and restrict strikes and depress peoples' income. This is the essence of its anti-inflation program which Finance Minister Sharp has been so zealously pursuing in the interests of monopoly . . .

The Canadian people must oppose the position of government and monopoly that the way to combat rising prices and a threat of inflation is by promoting unemployment or limiting wage increases in conditions of high productivity, rising prices and taxes. If these policies are persisted in, it will accelerate the trend towards economic decline, in fact aggravate it.

Government policy must be reversed. The entire labor movement should declare, as we declare here, that it will not tolerate unemployment, be it 5 per cent or any other percentage, and that nothing less than full employment will satisfy the Canadian people and the real interests of Canada. Certainly there is enough to do in Canada to keep everyone who wishes gainfully employed . . .

As we have already pointed out, the most significant feature of present day development is a marked upsurge of military and radicalization, evidenced in the economic struggles of large numbers of workers and with it, a growing trend to the left which as yet finds its main expression in support for the NDP.

At the same time our party is also receiving some of the benefits of that trend. This was particularly noticeable in the municipal elections where our candidates increased their votes in most areas, and above all, in the breakthroughs we achieved in Vancouver and Metro Toronto.

An extension of our influence in the trade union movement is also to be noted. While they are still rather limited advances, they are nevertheless significant, indicating a change in mood, all the more so as they do not occur so far in conditions in which the party itself is growing.

It suggests not only that the bogey of anti-Communism is wearing thin and having less of an effect, but that more favorable conditions are opening up for systematic party growth. It would of course be wrong to exaggerate the changing mood. But our main danger today could be an underestimation of this change and therefore not taking full advantage and orientating the party on it . . .

In the coming period the party will be engaged in a discussion on a draft of a party program. An outline of the main points of the program is now ready and should serve as a useful starting point for such an intensive discussion, not only in our party but among socialist-minded people . . .

There are many positive experiences to report on and varied types of problems which should be dealt with . . .

A very good opportunity for advancing our position presents itself in this Centennial year when large numbers of Canadians will be thinking not only of Canada's past and present but its future as well in a rapidly changing world. Our best contribution to the Centennial lies in focussing on the great unresolved problems which will determine Canada's destiny and that of its people.

There can be no real future for Canada unless it is truly sovereign and independent, free of U.S. domination. There can be no future for a united Canada except on the basis of a new Constitution based on the full equality of the two nations. There can be no permanent progress for the Canadian people without coming to grips with monopoly control and by profound changes in the economic and social structure of capitalism. And there can be no prospects of advance without ensuring a peaceful world.

These truths and the battle of ideas around them needs to encompass our contribution to the Centennial and thereby give it meaning and depth. This is true patriotism and internationalism.

## COMMUNIST UNITY CRUCIAL FOR PEACE

*Text of resolution adopted by the central committee of the Communist Party of Canada on the Unity of the World Communist Movement*

(1) the Communist Party of Canada sees the unity and cohesion of all Communist and Workers Parties throughout the world as the decisive factor in the struggle against U.S. imperialism, the main enemy of peace, national liberation, democracy and socialism. This unity is even more decisive today when U.S. imperialism has stepped up its reactionary drive to halt the revolutionary processes at work in the world today and has intervened in the internal affairs of other countries. Nowhere is unity, solidarity and coordination of effort of all anti-imperialist and democratic forces so crucial as in the defense of Vietnam today with its ever present dangers of further U.S. escalation and threat to world peace, and in the struggle to prevent West German imperialism from acquiring nuclear weapons with which to pursue its revanchist policies against socialism. (2) In light of the prevailing situation and the responsibilities falling upon all Communist and Workers Parties to strengthen solidarity in defense of Vietnam, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Canada is of the opinion that a world conference should take place, well prepared, so that it will contribute to the cohesion and unity of communist and workers parties against U.S. imperialism and West German revanchism. (3) For such a conference to be successful all parties must be consulted in good time on the agenda and other matters pertaining to the convening and organization of the Conference and the subject matters and materials to be discussed.

# DIRECTIVE*

## OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF WORKING PEOPLE OF VIETNAM

**Mobilize the Masses for Successful Fulfilment of the 1967 State Plan**

The directive stresses the great importance of the 1967 state plan for the development of the national economy in wartime, for meeting the requirements of the life and struggle of the people. It points out that in the mass movement now under way all efforts should be concentrated on the achievement of the following chief aims:

1. to carry out successfully the tasks of the autumn-winter agricultural season, to perform all field jobs properly and in good time, to consolidate production and expand the sown area;
2. to consolidate and expand production in the local industry;
3. to ensure effective operation of the national and local transportation and communication systems;

Three chief demands are to be met in the course of this mobilization of the masses:

1. to carry on educational work to bring about a still deeper understanding by the Party functionaries and rank and file and the broad masses of the line of the PWPV and its approach to the economic problems dealt with in the state plan;
2. to make a new step forward in instilling in the masses the sense of being the collective master of the country;
3. to raise still higher the standard of guidance in all branches and at all levels.

The directive reiterates that all branches, the leading organs at all levels must carefully prepare the Party members for mobilizing the masses, and then mobilize the masses in discussing and fulfilling the tasks that have been set. The lower economic units (agricultural cooperatives, enterprises, construction projects, state farms, logging camps, etc.) should play the decisive role in the implementation of the tasks.

The directive generalizes the rich experience gained in the course of implementation of the state plans in recent years, namely:

1. Profound understanding of the line and policy of the Party; persistent collective study of this line and policy; deep knowledge of the state of things and correct application of the line and policy of the Party in the respective branches and localities.
2. The active militant spirit of our ideology, the ability to evoke

*Nhan Dan, January 21, 1967.

in the masses in all branches and localities the determination to defeat the U.S. invader, the ability to overcome all difficulties and obstacles, to ensure cohesion and cooperation in implementing the line and policy of the Central Committee of the Party.

3. The ability to mobilize the masses, to fortify their revolutionary spirit, to follow correctly the line of the masses, to respect the right of the masses to be the collective master of the country, to submit all problems for discussion by the masses and solve them under their control, to display concern for the life of the people.

4. Persistent mastering of scientific and technical know-how, the ability to adopt and apply scientific achievements and progressive experience.

5. Constant organizational consolidation of the Party and mass organizations, improvement of the functioning of their apparatus, and correct appointment of cadres. Correct style of leadership: constant direct contact with the lower production units, concentration of efforts on the principal sectors, the ability to utilize the professional knowledge of people and the initiative of the masses, to root out red tape, administration by decree and thriftlessness.

The directive stresses that the Party bodies of all branches and at all levels should draw upon this experience in their effort to ensure unfailing fulfilment of the 1967 state plan and first of all the plan for the first quarter of the year.

# INTERVIEW*
# WITH Y. TSEDENBAL,

## FIRST SECRETARY OF THE CC, MPRP, BY *NEPSZABADSAG*

**Q.** The decisions of the 15th Congress of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party on the Fourth Party Program and the Fourth Five-Year Plan have evoked keen interest in Hungary. How are these decisions being fulfilled?

**A.** After the 15th Party Congress held in June 1966, which adopted the new Program of the Party and the guidelines for the Fourth Five-Year Plan for the economic and cultural development of the MPR in 1966-70, our working people enthusiastically set about fulfilling these decisions. The new Program defines the aims, tasks, and main direction of Party activity to ensure complete triumph of socialism in the Mongolian People's Republic. The principal economic task of the Party is to transform Mongolia in the near future into an industrial-agrarian country through the further development of industry, mechanization of farm production and further technological equipment of the economy as a whole. The Fourth Five-Year Plan marks an important stage in the realization of this task which is part of the program charted by the Party, and hence all our efforts are directed towards successful fulfilment of the Plan.

Despite unfavorable weather conditions in 1966 our people won fresh success in the development of the productive forces and culture of the country. New factories and other enterprises have been commissioned, new hospitals, schools, community centers and cinemas have been opened, and new housing estates built.

According to preliminary estimates, the fixed assets of the national economy increased by 7 per cent in 1966 compared with 1965, and gross industrial output by 3 per cent. Output of electric power, coal, textiles, footwear and meal has grown appreciably. Overall transportation registered a 5 per cent increase.

**Q.** What are the main tasks of the MPR in 1967, and what factors have been taken into account in projecting them?

**A.** When determining the principal targets of the plan for 1967 we proceeded from the need to heal the damage caused by the floods, earthquake and other natural calamities, as well as the need to implement in time the directives for the Fourth Five-Year Plan

*Abridged from **Nepszabadsag**, January 22, 1967.

adopted by the 15th MRP Congress. The main task of the 1967 plan is to secure good rates of growth of agricultural and industrial production and construction, and—on this basis—to increase the national revenue and improve the material and cultural standards of the working people.

The volume of investments as well as construction and assembly work will considerably increase in 1967. Several factories and other projects being built with the aid of fraternal socialist countries will be put into commission. A major task is to replenish the head of cattle which has shrunk during the harsh winter of 1966. Some 100,000 sq. m. of new housing will be made available. Retail trade will increase by 5 per cent.

**Q.** It is common knowledge that Mongolia is rich in mineral resources. How are they being prospected and exploited?

Prior to the people's revolution of 1921 the only known deposits were those of gold, coal, copper and lead. Under the people's government, especially in the past 20 years, a large number of mineral deposits have been discovered in Mongolia and their exploitation launched. On this basis the development of the mining industry has been accelerated—due to the intensive and overall geological survey work conducted in varying degree practically all over the country. A geological survey service has been established and national cadres of engineers and technicians trained.

Thanks to geological survey big deposit sof high-quality coal have been found. Coal has been discovered in almost all the *aimaks* (regions). Prospectors found about 150 coal fields, twenty of which are already being worked. In addition to coal, an important fuel reserve is bituminous shale which can be put to good use as raw material for the chemical industry.

A large number of deposits of rare and non-ferrous metals and ores have been discovered in Mongolia, among them tungsten, molybdenum, copper, tin, lead and zinc. Some 160 deposits of fluorite have been discovered as well as deposits of vein and placer gold, iron ore, asbestos, chromium, graphite, phosphorites and mineral salts. All the *aimaks* are rich in raw materials needed for the building materials industry. Regular extraction of coal, oil, tungsten, fluorite, mineral salts, various raw materials for the building industry has been launched. For medical purposes we have at our disposal a number of hot springs. Accelerated search is being conducted for sources of underground water needed for the irrigation of pastures and for supplying water to the cooperatives, state farms, villages and industrial enterprises.

Great assistance in the study of the country's geological structure is rendered us by the CMEA (Comecon) countries whose specialists work side by side with their Mongolian colleagues. For one, Bulgarian geologists have been prospecting for lead and zinc ore

and some non-metallic minerals since 1966. Hungarian geologists are carrying on cartographic surveys of the little-known regions of Mongolia, looking for mineral wealth. Geologists from the GDR are prospecting for gold. Polish geologists have completed compiling a geological map of a major part of the hitherto little-known territory of Western Mongolia. Soviet experts are doing much for the geological prospecting of our country. It is with their assistance that we have conducted geological surveys and discovered most deposits of tin, tungsten, fluorite, gold, copper and molybdenum ores, coal, phosphorites, salt and other minerals. Czechoslovak geologists have helped us discover one of the deposits of copper and molybdenum ore and in prospecting for various other minerals.

**Q.** What do you think about strengthening the political, economic and military cooperation of the socialist countries?

**A.** The socialist world and its steadily growing might are the decisive factor having a revolutionizing effect on the entire march of history today. The might of the socialist commonwealth will increase still more thanks to the great advances made in the building of communism in the Soviet Union and the outstanding achievements of other socialist countries. The unbreakable bonds of friendship and fraternity linking the socialist countries and their many-sided cooperation and mutual aid rest on the granite-like foundation of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Therein lies the strength of the great socialist commonwealth.

The forces of international imperialism and reaction, and above all the U.S. imperialists, are trying to undermine this friendship of our peoples, to drive a wedge between them.

The peoples of the great socialist commonwealth consider the political, economic and military consolidation of the socialist world system their internationalist duty in regard to the peoples fighting for freedom, independence and social progress, against imperialism and colonialism. The peoples' struggle for the triumph of the cause of peace and socialism requires that the socialist countries constantly strengthen their unity in behalf of peace and socialism, in behalf of friendship and fraternity of peoples.

The MPRP and the MPR government consider it their paramount task to do their utmost to promote the unity and cohesion of the countries comprising the socialist commonwealth, to consolidate its power and might.

**Q.** What is your opinion on the present situation in the international Communist movement in the light of the congresses of the fraternal parties of Bulgaria, Hungary and France as well as in the light of developments in China?

**A.** In 1966 the overwhelming majority of the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties reaffirmed their proletarian, internationalist deter-

mination to carry on the fight for greater unity and cohesion of the world Communist movement on the basis of the general line elaborated jointly by the parties at the 1957 and 1960 Moscow meetings. This is evidenced by the decisions of the 23rd CPSU Congress and congresses of many other fraternal Communist and Workers' parties, including the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. These parties have again unanimously denounced the disruptive, reckless policy of the CPC leadership—a great-power, chauvinist policy which has nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism and plays into the hands of imperialists.

In view of the current situation in the international Communist movement the majority of the fraternal parties, including the MPRP, maintain that conditions are increasingly ripening for the convocation of an international meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties. The supreme task of such a meeting, in our opinion, is to help work out a common assessment of new developments and phenomena in international affairs, elaborate the common tactical and strategical line of the international Communist movement and coordinate measures for the further consolidation of the international Communist and working-class movement, all the revolutionary and progressive forces. Uphold the purity of the great ideas of Marxism-Leninism—such is the paramount task confronting all genuine Communists.

**Q.** How do you assess the situation in Vietnam and, in this connection, the basic problems of the Asian continent?

**A.** The criminal U.S. aggression in Vietnam presents a grave danger to peace, not only in Asia, but the world over.

The socialist countries, all peace-loving and progressive forces denounce the predatory war waged by the United States in South Vietnam and its armed aggression against one of the socialist countries—the DRV—as the heaviest of crimes against humanity, peace and the freedom of peoples. The U.S. military, finding themselves in isolation as a result of their aggression in Vietnam, are carrying on frenzied escalation of the war in South-East Asa, thus trying to find a way out of the impassé. The U.S. aggressors continue brutal bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and its capital, Hanoi. The inhuman crimes perpetrated by the U.S. rulers evoke profound indignation and resolute protest of all the peoples. Neither the barbarous air raids of the aggressors nor their so-called punitive operations will break the will of the heroic Vietnamese people who enjoy the great support and aid of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, of the progressive and peace-loving forces of the whole world.

The MPR Government has always maintained that the solely correct road to the solution of the Vietnam problem is the unconditional observance of the 1954 Geneva agreements and accept-

ance of the just demands advanced in the program of the DRV government and the proposals made by the National-Liberation Front of South Vietnam.

The verbiage of the U.S. rulers concerning their "peace efforts" will not deceive world public opinion. The peoples of the world are deeply confident that the just cause upheld by the heroic people of Vietnam will triumph.

It is important for the peoples of Asia to pool their efforts to uphold the cause of peace, national independence and social progress, and give a resolute rebuff to the reactionary forces headed by U.S. imperialists. The latter forces are striving to knock together new military-political blocs in Asia spearheaded against the national-liberation movements and use them as a spring-board for the realization of their aggressive schemes.

**Q.** What do you think about the dangers stemming from nuclear proliferation?

**A.** The peoples of the socialist countries and all people of good will emphatically demand that all states renounce steps overtly or covertly facilitating the intensification of the nuclear race and the further spread of nuclear weapons. Non-proliferation is an important aspect of the overall question of destroying nuclear weapons. This is all the more important in view of the fact that definite circles in the USA and FRG, bent on making the Bundeswehr the backbone of their military-political alliance in Europe, an alliance which they have equipped with nuclear arms, are striving to turn the Bundeswehr into a NATO nuclear strike force. That is why the socialist countries and all peace-loving states have advocated and continue to advocate the prohibition of the production, testing and use of nuclear weapons, the ban on the spread of this lethal weapon.

It would be of the uppermost significance for achieving tangible results in the solution of this vital issue to conclude an agreement on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

The U.S. military have miscalculated in their hopes that they will be able to intimidate the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist commonwealth by atomic blackmail. The present-day nuclear and missile defense potential of the Soviet Union is such that it is capable of dealing a deadly blow at any aggressor. It is a reliable shield for the entire socialist community.

## DECISION* OF THE MONGOLIAN PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

The October Revolution, which triumphed in Russia under the leadership of Lenin's Party, put an end, for the first time in history, to the rule of landowners and capitalists and established the rule of the working man. The rise of the world's first socialist state, and its 50 years of struggle and victory are inseparable from Lenin and his great doctrine, from the heroic record of the Communist Party founded by him.

The Soviet people, led by the Communist Party, have accomplished feats of undying glory in these past decades. At every stage of the development of the Soviet state—in fighting for the dictatorship of the proletariat, in industrializing the country and carrying out the Lenin cooperative plan for agriculture, in building socialism and in weathering the severe trials of war—the Soviet people coped with incredible difficulties and showed matchless fortitude, revolutonary devotion and staying power. The most important result of the unprecedented socio-economic changes brought about in the country of the October Revolution is the final and complete victory of socialism in the Soviet Union and the country's successful transition to communist construction.

The results of the October Revolution, the epoch-making victories of the Soviet Union, confirmed the invincibility and vitality of Marxism-Leninism and the indisputable superiority of socialism over capitalism.

The great Party of Lenin is advancing to the glorious jubilee of the Soviet state more powerful and united than ever before, armed with half a century of experience in leading the construction of a new society. The CPSU, which has firmly adhered to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and upheld its purity in uncompromising struggle against opportunist deviations and trends ever since it came into being, contributes in vast measure to the unity and cohesion of the world Communist movement and other revolutionary forces of today on the principles of proletarian internationalism. Carrying high the great banner of Lenin, it is confidently leading the Soviet people in the realization of the far-reaching plans of communist construction put forward by the new Program and the decisions of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU. The October Revolution was a powerful stimulus for the revolutionary movement all over the world, and united in a single stream the fight of the world

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*Unen, January 27, 1967.

proletariat and the national liberation movement of the oppressed peoples.

The ideas of the October Revolution roused the peoples of the East, including the Mongolian people, for the struggle against their oppressors, for their freedom and independence. The direct impact of the October Revolution, and all-round assistance and support by the Soviet Union were mighty factors helping the working people of Mongolia, led by their People's Revolutionary Party, to carry the people's revolution to victory, uphold its gains against external and internal enemies, and effect the transition from feudalism to socialism in a historically short time. The MPRP, which emerged as the revolutionary party of the working *arats*, adopted the ideas of scientific socialism and became, thanks to its ideological links and close cooperation with Lenin's Party and the world Communist movement, the militant Marxist-Leninist vanguard of the Mongolian masses striving for socialism.

The indestructible friendship of the Mongolian and Soviet peoples, founded by the great leader of the working people, Lenin, and the outstanding leader of the Mongolian revolution, Sukhe Bator, was a model of new international relations based on the principles of the October Revolution, the principles of complete equality, mutual respect and fraternal mutual assistance.

Human progress during the past half century has been marked by the triumph of the ideas of the October Revolution, which have thoroughly changed the world. The victory of socialist revolutions in many countries of Europe and Asia, as well as on the Latin America continent—in Cuba—the formation of the socialist world system, the rapid growth of national liberation revolutions in one-time colonies and semi-colonies, and the emergence of new national states in them all continue the revolutionary renovation of the world begun by the October Revolution.

The Soviet Union, which for five decades has been in the lead of world progress, is the bulwark of peace and the security of nations, the main force of world socialism, which honorably fulfils its internationalist duty to the revolutionary movement of today.

The Central Committee of the MPRP considers it necessary to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution as a great holiday of the working people of the country, as the triumph of Marxism-Leninism and the ideas of proletarian internationalism. Preparations for it and its celebration should be carried on under the badge of comprehensively demonstrating the significance of the October Revolution in terms of world history, the impact of its ideas on the activity of the MPRP, the revolutionary changes and the construction of the new society in Mongolia, and under the badge of strengthening and carrying forward the traditional friendship and all-round cooperation of the Mongolian

People's Republic and the Soviet Union, the fraternal links and internationalist unity of the MPRP and the CPSU, of working harder to execute the decisions of the 15th Congress of the MPRP and carry out the assignments of the fourth five-year plan, of active study by the Party membership and the working people generally of the Soviet Union's vast experience in building a new life.

The CC, MPRP calls on the Party membership and all working people of the MPR to mark the glorious 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution by new achievements in accomplishing the tasks set in the Party Program and in the decisions of the 15th Congress of the MPRP , for the fulfilment of the 1964 national economic plan.

# CULTURAL HERITAGE AND SOCIALIST PATRIOTISM*

To critically perceive and carry forward all that is best and most progressive in the heritage of our ancestors, to cultivate socialist patriotism among the working people, arm them with the ideas of our Party and thus contribute actively to the cultural revolution in the country is one of the unshakable principles of the policy on literature and art that our Party has upheld ever since the country won its freedom.

A new, socialist culture can be created only by analyzing the achievements of the progressive culture of the past, rejecting all that is reactionary, and assimilating and carrying forward—in keeping with the requirements of the new society—all that is positive in the nation's cultural heritage.

Ever since it was founded our Party has, with due regard to social developments in our country and the requirements of our revolution, followed the policy of perceiving the cultural heritage in a critical light and of developing a new, socialist culture on a natonal basis, dovetailing this policy with that of propagating socialist patriotism among the masses. This is one of the principles of building up a new, socialist culture to which our Party has invariably adhered. It is an important component of the ideological work the Party has been carrying on to overcome servility or dogmatism.

The implementation of this policy in the sphere of literature and art has come up against many a hurdle. National nihilists, restorers and other Rightist and "Leftist" opportunists have tried to check our progress.

In inculcating socialist patriotism in our people, it is very important to properly assimilate, disseminate and popularize the nation's cultural heritage. Such assimilation provides us, first of all, with real knowledge of our country's past, of the lives and struggles of our fortbears. Literature and art, in particular their protagonists, reflect people's lives and ideas. Many classics of our literature and art deal with the big social problems that are topical today. Their protagonists are vivid portrayals of the people's life, sentiments and aspirations.

The history of our literature and art is an account of the people's life and struggle.

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*Article in **Nodon Shinmun**. Its text was released by the news agency of the Korean People's Democratic Republic on January 20, 1967.

The classics of our literature and art are distinguished by profound patriotism and love of the people. They tell us of those who interfered with the development of our country and the progress of our society, and who doomed the people to poverty and hunger. They also tell us about those who courageously fought for the independence and prosperity of our country. Besides, education of the people based on the centuries-long history of our national culture, our cultural heritage and distinctively national character is an important means of enhancing the people's national pride.

Our national culture, which has a long history and a rich and distinctive heritage, has contributed its share to the world treasury of culture.

To be able to use national culture as an aid in cultivating socialist patriotism more effectively, we must discover and collect all cultural values of the past, analyze them from the scientific point of view, and accurately assess their merits and demerits.

When studying and estimating the nation's cultural heritage, the Party insists on fidelity to the historical and class principle. This is the solid methodological basis on which the nation's cultural heritage should be assimilated.

When a work is viewed in isolation from the historical period it dates from and in the light of present-day developments, its historical significance is misappraised and becomes useless. Disregard of the historical principle breeds nihilism with regard to national culture.

The historical significance of a literary production or a work of art should be estimated in terms of the faithfulness with which it reflects the life of society and the progressive sentiments of the people, in terms of the extent to which it overcomes the limitations of the culture and art of earlier periods and constitutes an innovation.

To assess the cultural heritage correctly, we must discern its positive aspects as well as its class and historical limitations, remembering that the historical principle is inseparable from the class principle. We must examine and estimate every literary or artistic creation in terms of the present-day Korean revolution, the interests of the people, and the development of modern art.

If we ignore the historical principle we are bound to lapse into national nihilism.

In the class society, culture and art have a class character. There is a reactionary culture reflecting the interests of the ruling exploiter classes, on the one hand, and a democratic and socialist culture reflecting the interests of the exploited masses, on the other.

That is why we should assimilate only the democratic and socialist elements of the cultural heritage of the past, that is what-

ever is progressive and vital. At the same time we should criticize whatever is outdated and negative.

A proper combination of the historical and the modern principle in perceiving the nation's cultural heritage will enable us to avoid all manifestations of national nihilism and prevent all attempts at restoration. It will enable us to reveal the real significance of this or that cultural phenomenon for the period concerned and for our own times, and will help us educate our contemporaries in the spirit of socialist patriotism.

# FOR FREEDOM AND NATIONAL PROGRESS

## STATEMENT* BY THE PLENARY MEETING OF THE CC, NEO LAO HAK SAT, DECEMBER 15-21, 1966

The plenary meeting, the statement reads, appraised the current situation and deeply analyzed the political course, orientation and immediate tasks of the struggle against the U.S. aggressors, for the national salvation of the people of Laos, for a peaceful, neutral, independent, democratic, united and prospering Laos.

It is stressed in the statement that the international conditions favor the revolutionary struggle of he Laotian people.

To expand their war of aggression in Indochina and give an impetus to their "special war" in Laos, the U.S. imperialists are feverishly preparing to move their infantry troops into Middle and Lower Laos in order to occupy these regions.

The plenary meeting considers that, although the U.S. imperialists have been hysterically stepping up their "special war," their war of destruction and their psychological warfare, the peoples of Laos have throughout the past year been constantly intensifying their struggle and scoring victories in the military, political, economic, cultural, educational, diplomatic and other fields.

The plenary meeting hails the development of favorable relations between the neutralist patriotic forces of Laos and Neo Lao Hak Sat, relations which have been forged in the fire of struggle against the common enemy of the nation. The plenary meeting pays tribute to the brilliant successes achieved at the political consultative conference held at the end of November last year.

In reply to the escalation of U.S. imperialism's "special war," the plenary meeting reaffirms that the immediate task of the Laotian people is to fight resolutely for national salvation, defeat the U.S. brigands and their henchmen, broaden the people's war undermine, step by step, the U.S. "special war," frustrate new U.S. gambles, to defend, build up and strengthen the liberated area, to consolidate the front of national unity, fortify the bonds of combat solidarity with the peoples of Indochina, secure the support and assistance of friends all over the world, achieve new successes in all fields of activity and create favorable conditions for new victories in the building of a peaceful, neutral, independent, democratic, united and prospering Laos.

To ensure success in implementing these tasks, the plenary

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*Vietnam Information Agency release of January 23, 1967.

meeting sets the following important aims on which the cadres, the freedom-fighters and the population of Laos should concentrate their efforts:

1. To go on strengthening the armed forces in order to frustrate any military plan of the enemy, to work for the utmost development of the people's struggle.

2. To consolidate and uphold the liberated zones, to continue political education of the population in order to raise the masses to a higher ideological and organizational level, to stimulate the people's war and the implementation of all other tasks.

3. To fortify and broaden the national front against the U.S. aggressors, to consolidate the national unity bloc, to counter the "psychological warfare" of the U.S. imperialists, to unite all nationalities, religions, forces, all political parties, all leaders, intellectuals, peace-loving patriots, champions of justice, against the U.S. imperialists in order to turn the national front into a great political force.

4. To intensify the political struggle of the population on the entire territory, to resist the maneuver of the U.S. mperialists and their lackeys, who are herding the population into "villages of unity" and "zones of welfare."

5. To multiply diplomatic actions, to step up propaganda work in the international arena and the political and juridical struggle in order to win the sympathies and support of the socialist camp, the young national states and world public opinion at large. At the same time, actively to support the struggle against imperialism, in defense of world peace; first and foremost to support the just struggle of the fraternal Vietnamese and Cambodian peoples and at the same time the patriotic struggle of the people of Thailand.

6. To train cadres, to instil in them political consciousness, patriotism and hatred for the enemy, to build up their endurance, to train cadres for local government and for women's and youth organizations.

The plenary meeting reaffirms that the four-point stand and the five-point decision defined at the political conference of national unity are the solely correct positions essential for solving the problem of Laos.

The plenary meeting is firmly convinced that by drawing on the splendid traditions of the valiant struggle of the nation fully believing in their strength and relying on the sympathy and support of the peoples of the world, the Laotian people will certainly overcome all difficulties, foil the insidious maneuver of the U.S. imperialists and win final victory.

## THE 50th ANNIVERSARY OF THE GREAT OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

# CANADA

### RESOLUTION ON 50th ANNIVERSARY OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

(Resolution submitted by the Executive and endorsed by the 19th Convention Communist Party of Canada May 21-24, 1966)

On November 7th, 1967, the people of the Soviet Union will be celebrating the 50th Anniversary of the Great October Revolution.

We join with all progressive mankind in greeting that event which marked a turning point in world history and began the process of realizing man's age-old dream of a world free of exploitation, a world free of war.

We believe the best way to celebrate the 50th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution is by strengthening peace, friendship, trade and cultural ties between our two countries and peoples.

Our two countries have a common frontier, great natural resources, huge territories. Above all our two peoples both desire to live in a world at peace, where all peoples and countries can develop independently without outside interference, control or domination.

Let us use the occasion of the 50th Anniversary to strengthen the bonds of friendship between our two peoples.

Our Party shares with all progressive Canadians great pride in the great economic, cultural, and scientific achievements of the working people of the Soviet Union over the past 50 years and the steps now being taken to lay the basis for a Communist society —the most just, humane and democratic society the world has ever seen. Every advance made by the Soviet Union strengthens peace and the working-class and democratic movements of our own country and inspires them to new advances against the power of monopoly and the drive of U S. imperialism to world war. The Soviet Union stands as a powerful force for peace, democracy, independence and socialism.

This Convention calls upon all progressive and socialist-minded Canadians to unite in celebrating the 50th Anniversary of the October Revolution, as part of the struggle for new democratic advance.

# FRANCE

## EXCERPT FROM WALDECK ROCHET'S REPORT TO THE 18th CONGRESS OF THE FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY

Our 18th Congress has convened at a momentous time for Communists, all progressives, the world over—on the eve of the 50th anniversary of November 7, 1917, when the salvo of the *Aurora* reverberated in Petrograd marking the triumph of the first socialist revolution in history and the founding of the world's socialist state under the guidance of the Bolshevik Party led by Lenin.

We are confident that in extending our very warmest greetings on this occasion to the delegation, led by Comrade A. J. Pelse, representing the great Communist Party of the Soviet Union at our Congress we are speaking for all the delegates present here and all the members of our Party. We ask them to convey to the CPSU and the Soviet people the French Communists' warmest congratulations in the 50th anniversary year of the October Socialist Revolution, the most important development of our time.

No other event can compare for significance and consequences with these "ten days that shook the world." The October revolution indeed ushered in a new era in human history—the era of socialism, communism, the liberation of men and nations.

Socialism has long been the ideal, the doctrine, the program of the working people, of the exploited and the oppressed, of all high-minded men and women. With the October revolution it was translated into living reality.

Progressive workingmen and intellectuals in our country welcomed the October revolution with enthusiasm and supported it by active solidarity. But the French bourgeoisie, together with other imperialist powers, on the contrary embarked on intervention against the young Soviet state and gave full support to those who unleashed civil war against the worker-peasant government.

Under the leadership of their Communist Party the Soviet working people repulsed the imperialist intervention. They overcome the exceptional hardships inherited from the previous regime, a regime of oppression and economic backwardness, and forged ahead a road that was to lead them, as Lenin foresaw, from poverty-stricken and weak Russia to the rich and powerful Soviet Union.

No system other than socialism could have enabled the people

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*L'Humanite, January 5, 1967.

to accomplish so much, within so brief a span of time and under such complex circumstances, in building the new society, developing the economy, science and culture, and improving the living standards.

The example set by the achievements of the land of the October revolution which has now embarked on the most momentous undertaking in human history—the building of communism—is of invaluable assistance to the struggle waged by all Communists.

The spread of the ideas of the October revolution, the creative labors of the Soviet people and the victory of the Soviet Union in the war against fascism have radically changed the balance of class forces on the international scale in favor of the working class and the oppressed peoples. These were the decisive factors that determined the emergence after the Second World War of a number of new socialist states, including China, and the rise of the powerful socialist world system which is exerting a decisive influence on the development of human society. At the same time these factors played the decisive role in the disintegration of the colonial system and enabled the overwhelming majority of peoples oppressed by imperialism to win independence.

And if today the possibility exists of transition to socialism along lines different from those followed by the Russian Communists, it should not be forgotten that it was the victory in November 1917 and its consequences that created this possibility.

We are proud to be Communists, proud of the path we have traversed since 1920 when, inspired by the finest traditions of our people and drawing on the lessons of the victory won by Lenin's Party, the working people of France founded their own Communist Party.

Our Party celebrates the 50th anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution full of enthusiasm and confidence. It will enlist in this celebration all the working people, all progressives, the broadest sections of our people, who know how much France owes to the heroism and sacrifices of the Soviet people in the war against Hitler Germany, and who see in friendship with the Soviet Union the most reliable guarantee of the security of our country and the triumph of the cause of peace throughout the world.

## EXCERPT* FROM THE POLITICAL RESOLUTION OF THE 18th CONGRESS OF THE FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY

In 1967 fifty years will have passed since the triumph of the October Socialist Revolution. The greatest event of our time, it ushered in a new era in world history—the era of socialism and communism, of the liberation of man and nations. Socialism ceas-

*L'Humanité, January 12, 1967.

ed to be only an ideal, a doctrine, a program; it was translated into living reality. With the victory of the October revolution, socialism transformed the formerly backward nations now making up the Soviet Union into the world's foremost country in the political and social respects, in the basic spheres of science and technology, and as regards the rate of development of the productive forces, education and culture.

The influence of the October revolution and the decisive role played by the Soviet Union in the defeat of Hitler fascism were the determining factors making for the rise of the socialist world system and the disintegration of colonial regimes. The new socialist countries and the new independent states could rely on the strength of the Soviet Union and its disinterested aid in consolidating their victories.

The October revolution introduced radical changes in the international positions of the working class. With the founding of the Third International, and after it, the place of the socialist movement of the beginning of the century, which extended only to a minority of the countries and was corrupted by opportunism and chauvinism, was taken by the Communist movement of today which extends to all continents and the activities of which are based on the tried and tested principles of proletarian internationalism.

It was in the light of the October Revolution, and drawing on the lessons of its victory, that the French working people founded in 1920 their own Communist Party, which since then has become a major political force in our country.

# VENEZUELA

## STATEMENT OF COMMUNIST PARTY OF VENEZUELA IN CONNECTION WITH 50th ANNIVERSARY OF THE GREAT OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

November 7th this year will be fifty years of the Great October Socialist Revolution which marked a turning point in world history and ushered in a new stage in its development, a stage which will inevitably culminate in the creation of a world free of hunger and misery, of exploitation and wars that lay waste to nations.

The October Revolution was the crystallization of the Marxist thoughts and ideas of Lenin who dedicated his life, unparalleled in its fruitfulness, to the noble mission of putting an end to capitalist plunder and opening wide vistas to the immense creative

forces of man, still fettered in many countries by the actions of the big imperialist monopolies.

For Venezuela, for its workers, peasants and middle sections of the population who were suffering under the brutal yoke of a semi-feudal dictatorship that rested on oil concerns, the October Revolution became a bright beacon showing the disinherited the way to final emancipation. It was the example of this great historical upheaval that inspired the working class of Venezuela to create their own Communist Party, the indisputable vanguard of our people and the basic instrument for effecting the revolutionary changes our country imperatively needs.

That is why we Venezuelan Communists have decided already now to underscore the significance of the approaching anniversary and to raise the question of carrying out extensive work to popularize the ideas of Marxism-Leninism; to defend its purity from the distortions which numerous hostile trends appearing under different guises are trying to introduce into its theoretical heritage; to diffuse the notable successes of the countries which in these five decades have become part of the socialist camp. In particular, this work should be directed towards restoring the unity of the world Communist movement which, unfortunately, is split at present by profound differences that weaken the common front against imperialism and make difficult united actions to combat the imperialist aggression against the valiant people of Vietnam.

The 50th anniversary, which will soon be celebrated with particular joy by revolutionaries all over the world, should serve as the occasion for further strengthening our ties with the great Soviet people and its glorious party, which are essential factors in this great turning point in human history and decisive forces in the long battle the people of the world are heroically waging against capitalism. The 50th anniversary should induce us to do everything possible, by using all forms of struggle, to liquidate the vestiges of feudalism in our land, to free our country from imperialist domination, to widen, in other words, the roads leading to socialism.

In making this statement the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Venezuela considers it necessary to point out that the best way of honoring the memory of Lenin and the other leaders of the epic of 1917 is to strengthen the internal unity of our Party; to smash the criminal maneuvers of those who by their factional activities are brazenly playing into the hands of the reactionaries; to rally, finally, those broad circles which, like us, want to see our country truly independent, completely free of the obstacles which imperialism and its local lackeys put in the way of its progress.

Long live the October Revolution!

Long live Vladimir Ilyich Lenin!

Long live Marxism-Leninism!
Long live the Soviet Union and its glorious party!
Long live the unity of the international Communist movement!

*Political Bureau of the Central Committee,*
*Communist Party of Venezuela*
*Caracas, January 1967*

## ARGENTINA

*The leadership of the Communist Party of Argentina appointed a commission charged with preparing the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.*

The commission drew up a plan the chief objective of which is to ensure that the celebration be held on the biggest possible scale with the participation of the broadest masses of working people, thus helping to stimulate ideological struggle and stressing the vanguard role of the USSR and the CPSU in the world revolutionary movement and at the same time the important role the Communist Party of Argentina plays in the struggle of the working class and the people genereally.

One of the members of the commission told a *TASS* correspondent that throughout the year the main aspects of the work of that ad hoc body would be as follows:

a. Publication and reprinting of novels, stories, short stories and other works devoted to the Soviet Union and the October Revolution. Some works by Vladimir Lenin will be reprinted. It is planned to publish a work by an Argentinian Communist on the subject: "The USSR in 1967, Fifty Years After the Revolution."

b. The Communist weekly *Nuestra Palabra*, the theoretical journal *Nueva Era* as well as *Quadernos de Cultura*, a journal of the intelligentsia, *Problemas del Marxismo*, *Juventud*, organ of the Young Communist League, and *Linea*, organ of Communist university students, will print articles and special issues devoted to the October Revolution. For instance, every week *Nuestra Palabra* will contain a chronicle of revolutionary events.

c. Depending on political conditions, meetings, conferences, festivities and other social events will be arranged.

d. All organizations of the Communist Party will mark events connected with the October Revolution. The plans for the festivities and propaganda activities will be drawn up with the participation of the working people and the population of the places where they are to be held.

# GDR

*A Preparatory Committee for the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution was set up in the GDR on January 21 last. It is headed by Walter Ulbricht, First Secretary of the CC, SUPG, Chairman of the State Council of the GDR. The Committee has published the following "Appeal to the Citizens of the German Democratic Republic":* *

The Great October Socialist Revolution was the most radical social change in human history. Its historical necessity is demonstrated by the scientific theory of Marx, Engels and Lenin. No other theory of the development of human society has passed the test of history. The fifty years that have elapsed since the Great October Revolution are incontrovertible proof that the science of Marxism-Leninism has become for the working people of all countries a genuine guide in their advance to freedom, peace, equality, brotherhood, well-being and happiness. History has assigned the peoples of the Soviet Union the role of pioneer of a new road of development for mankind. Led by the working class and its vanguard, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, they have honorably acquitted themselves of their historic mission. The CPSU, founded by Lenin and tested in thousands of battles, has succeeded in creatively applying the Marxist-Leninist doctrine to the conditions prevailing in its country and in enriching it with vast and valuable experience.

The Appeal devotes a great deal of attention to the impact of the October Revolution on the German working-class movement. The socialist GDR, it stresses, is a logical result of the struggle of the German revolutionary working class and all progressive forces of the German people against imperialism and militarism, for peace, democracy and socialism.

The Appeal underscores the tremendous significance of the Soviet Union's victory over Hitler fascism. It pays tribute to the courageous men and officers of the Soviet Army who made untold sacrifices in fighting the fascist invaders.

Led by the working class and its Marxist-Leninist vanguard, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the German people have for the first time in German history become the sovereign master of their destiny. The founding of the sovereign socialist German Democratic Republic was, and remains, a final decision taken by our citizens in favor of socialism whose era was initiated by the October Revolution and which is now being translated into reality in the homeland of Marx and Engels. No force on earth can alter this fact.

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*Abridged from **Neues Deutschland**, January 22, 1967.

Our achievements are a result of fraternal cooperation between the GDR and the Soviet Union. Our relations with the USSR are relations of growing friendship. Anyone who is allied with the Soviet Union is advancing with the vanguard of mankind, and will always be among the victors as history marches on.

The working people of the GDR continue full-scale socialist construction. They are preparing for the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution by strengthening the GDR politically, economically, culturally and militarily. The Seventh Congress of the SUPG will discuss the ways and means of further socialist construction and will open up the vista of socialism before every citizen of the GDR. Friendship between the GDR and the Soviet Union will become closer. It will be an earnest of new historical gains.

To accomplish common tasks in socialist construction, the Appeal points out, and to fight against the imperialist policy of aggression, which today expresses itself primarily in the U.S. imperialists' criminal war in Vietnam and in the revanchist plans of the West German imperialists, it is more imperative than ever for the world Communist movement and for the revolutionary and progressive forces of the world to achieve unity and cohesion. Lenin's Party has been, and remains, a model in the fight for the unity of the world Communist movement and of all revolutionary forces. There is a growing desire for the unity of the Communist and Workers' parties around Lenin's Party, for the unity of the revolutionary forces of the globe. This is contrasted by the conduct of the group of leaders of the Com munist Party of China, who are trying to split the revolutionary forces, and are following a policy of hostility to the CPSU and other Marxist-Leninist parties, instead of striving for the unity of the Communist and Workers' parties.

By promoting cooperation with the Soviet Union, the citizens of the GDR hsow the population of West Germany the way to a new foreign policy for the FRG. All peoples may rest assured that the GDR will never retreat before the West German reactionaries and imperialists.

# ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTY

**January 25-February 4.** A delegation of the Italian Communist Party headed by Ferdinando di Guilio, member of the Leadership and the CC, visited Poland on the invitation of the CC of the Polish United Workers' Party. The Italian Communists familiarized themselves with various aspects of the economic and political life of Poland and had meetings and talks at enterprises and in regional Party committees. The delegation visited Warsaw, Gdansk, Krakow, Oswiecim and Katowice. In conclusion it met with Artur Starewicz, Secretary of the CC, PUWP.

**January 28-31.** Josip Broz Tito, Chairman of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and President of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia, paid an unofficial visit to the Soviet Union on the invitation of the CC, CPSU.

During Comrade Tito's stay in the Soviet Union talks took place with the participation, from the Soviet side, of L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC, CPSU; A. N. Kosygin, member of the Political Bureau of the CC, CPSU and Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; Y. V. Andropov, Secretary of the CC, CPSU; A. A. Gromyko, member of the CC, CPSU and USSR Foreign Minister and A. M. Puzanov, member of the CC, CPSU and USSR Ambassador to the SFRY, and from the Yugoslav side, Josip Broz Tito; M. Todorovic, Secretary of the Executive Committee of the CC, LCY; H. Pozderats, Federal Secretary for Industry and Commerce; M. Pavicevic, Deputy State Secretary for Foreign Affairs; and D. Vidic, member of the CC, LCY and SFRY Ambassador to the USSR.

In the course of the talks, which passed in an atmosphere of frankness and friendship, opinions were exchanged on Soviet-Yugoslav relations and topical international problems.

Noting with satisfaction the successful development of Soviet-Yugoslav relations, both sides declared their striving to continue to broaden and strengthen all-round cooperation between the USSR and the SFRY and work actively for peace and socialism the world over.

**January 30.** The Board of the Communist Party of Sweden adopted drafts of the new Party Program and Rules, to be presented to the next congress of the Party in May 1967.

The Board also adopted statements on Vietnam and on the "military question" and urged all socialist Left forces to intensify political activity and cooperate in building organizational unity.

It is pointed out in the statement on the "military question" that

the international armaments drive increases the danger of a destructive war. Sweden must actively support the demans for the establishment of nuclear-free zones, for alliances of neutral countries, measures to limit armaments, liquidation of military pacts, creation of disarmament zones and prohibition of nuclear weapons and their tests.

**January 31.** During his visit to Italy N. V. Podgorny, President of the USSR Supreme Soviet and member of the Political Bureau of the CC, CPSU, met with Luigi Longo, General Secretary of the ICP, and other Party leaders.

**February 2-4.** Josip Broz Tito paid an unofficial friendly visit to Hungary as a guest of Janos Kadar, First Secretary of the CC of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

Josip Broz Tito and Janos Kadar informed each other about socialist construction in their countries, discussed the development of relations between Hungary and Yugoslavia, and exchanged opinions on topical problems of the international situation and the world Communist movement.

The visit and the exchange of opinions proceeded in a cordial, friendly atmosphere.

**February 4-5.** The CC of the CP of Belgium held a session when adopted a resolution stressing that the government's bill on new taxes would further worsen the economic and financial position of the nation.

The bill, the resolution says, envisages no concrete measure to ameliorate the economic situation in Belgium.

The CPB criticized the attitude of the Socialist Party of Belgium, which hopes that the adoption of the bill will evoke public discontent and contribute to the success of the opposition parties in the next general election.

The resolution stresses the need to replace the present reactionary government by a governmnt which would base its decisions on the proposals of workers' organizations.

Specifically, the CC proposes:

—a considerable reduction of military expenditures, to start with refusal to purchase new tanks; annulment of the credits for installing the European headquarters of NATO; withdrawal of Belgian troops from the FRG;

—legal action against rich tax-evaders;

—control by the parliament and workers' and democratic organizations over the implementation of these measures.

The Central Committee urged all Party members to launch without delay the struggle for the realization of these objectives.

**February 4-6.** A friendly visit was paid to Czechoslovakia on the invitation of the CC, CPC by L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC, CPSU, and Y. V. Andropov, Secretary of the CC, CPSU.

In friendly talks with Antonin Novotny, First Secretary of the CC, CPC, CC Presidium members Jiri Hendrych, Jozef Lenart, Bohuslav Lastovicka, Otakar Simunek and Oldrich Cernik and CC Secretary Lubomir Strougal, questions of further development of Soviet-Czechoslovak relations and major problems of world politics and the world Communist movement were discussed.

S. V. Cherovenko, USSR Ambassador to the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, also took part in the talks.

The CPSU and CPC leaders exchanged information about the building of communism and socialism in their countries. They noted with satisfaction the constant growth and consolidation of the unbreakable fraternal friendship between the CPSU and the CPC and of the political, economic and cultural cooperation between the two countries.

Both sides stated their complete unanimity of views on problems of the present international situation and the world Communist and working-class movement. They voiced their unanimous desire to carry on the struggle to strengthen peace and security in Europe on the basis of the principles laid down in the Bucharest Declaration, and their resolve to continue expanding and developing all-round fraternal ties between the two parties and countries in the interests of the Soviet and Czechoslovak peoples, of the consolidation of the unity of the socialist community and the world Communist movement, in the interests of the struggle for peace, freedom and independence of peoples, for democracy and socialism.

The talks proceeded in an atmosphere of cordiality and fraternal friendship.

**February 6.** M. A. Suslov, member of the Political Bureau of the CC, CPSU, and B. M. Ponomaryov, Secretary of the CC, CPSU, had a talk with a delegation of the Swiss Party of Labor consisting of Edgar Woog, General Secretary, André Muret, member of the Executive Committee and Secretary of the CC, and Etienne Lentillon, member of the Executive Committee.

In the course of the talk, which passed in an atmosphere of fraternal frankness and mutual confidence, opinions were exchanged on a wide range of questions pertaining to the situation in the world and in the international Communist movement. The need was stressed to develop the struggle of the masses against the aggressive policies of U.S. imperialism and to render internationalist aid to the heroic Vietnamese people fighting for their freedom and independence. An important task, in the opinion of the sides, is to bar the way to the aggressive policy of West German imperialism and to ensure European security.

The sides voiced the determination of their parties to strengthen the cohesion of the world Communist movement on the basis of the documents of the 1957 and 1960 international conference, to fight

against the splitting policies of the present leadership of the Communist Party of China.

The talks revealed the identity of views of both Marxist-Leninist parties on all questions discussed.

**February 7.** A delegation of the Italian Communist Party arrived in Moscow. It consisted of Paolo Bufalini, member of the leadership and of the Bureau of the ICP Secretariat (head of the delegation; Maurizio Ferrara, member of the CC and editor-in-chief of the Rome edition of *Unita;* Luca Pavolini, member of the CC and editor-in-chief of the journal *Rinascita;* Franco Ferri, member of the CC and General Secretary of the Gramsci Institute, and Roberto Bonchio, director of the Party's publishing house *Editori Riuniti.*

**February 8-9.** The CC of the CP of Czechoslovakia held a plenary session at which Antonin Novotny, First Secretary of the CC, reported on the talks with L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC, CPSU.

The CC also discussed the report of Jiri Hendrych, member of the Presidium and Secretary of the CC, "On the Unity of Socialist Society and Work Among the Youth."

An Address in connection with the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution was adopted.

The CC approved the appointment of Stefan Sadovsky as a Secretary of the CC.

**February 9.** During his stay in Britain A. N. Kosygin, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and member of the Political Bureau of the CC, CPSU, met with members of the Political Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain headed by General Secretary John Gollan.

**February 11.** *Pravda* printed the following telegrams of the CC session at which General Secretary Laurie Aarons reported on the internal and international situation and CC Secretary Claude Jones, on the preparations for the 21st Party Congress, which is to be held on June 9 through 12.

Mavis Robertson, member of the CC and National Secretary of the Eureka Youth League, spoke about work among the youth.

**February 11.** *Pravda* printed the following telegrams of the CC of the CP of Chile to the CC, CPSU and the CC of the CP of China:

"Central Com mittee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Moscow.

"The Communist Party of Chile most energetically condemns the extreme anti-Soviet actions of the Mao Tse-tung group and voices its complete solidarity with the Soviet Communists and all working people. Central Committee, Communist Party of Chile."

"Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, Peking.

"The Communist Party of Chile brings to your knowledge its most indignant protest against the infamous anti-Soviet provoca-

tions typical of ultra-anti-communists. We assure you that the Chilean working people are alarmed by the dangerous turn of your policy, which objectively facilitates the plans of U.S.imperialism and complicates solidarity with Vietnam. We demand an end to these provocations, which gravely injure the interests of the peoples. Central Committee, Communist Party of Chile."

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INFORMATION

# bulletin

93

*Included in this Issue*

**ON THE ANTI-SOVIET POLICY OF MAO TSE-TUNG AND HIS GROUP**
Pravda Editorial

**MARXISM IS NOT A CATECHISM**
Jean Kanapa

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# information bulletin - 93 (5)

*contents*


**ON THE RECENT PALACE REVOLUTION**
Statement by CP of Argentina **5**

**ON THE ANTI-SOVIET POLICY OF MAO TSE-TUNG AND HIS GROUP**
**Pravda** Editorial, Feb. 16, 1967 **9**

**POLISH UNITED WORKERS' PARTY—25 YEARS OLD**
**Zenon Kliszko** **18**

**MARXISM IS NOT A CATECHISM**
**Jean Kanapa** **20**

**NEW UNITED EFFORTS BY COMMUNIST PARTIES NEEDED**
Resolution of Leadership of Italian CP **25**

**DISASTROUS**
**Morning Star,** Feb. 2, 1967 **27**

**STATEMENT**
Of Political Bureau of CC, CP of Finland **28**

**STATEMENT**
Of Political Bureau, CC, CP of Austria **29**

**CHINA IS ISOLATING ITSELF** **29**

**STATEMENT**
Of CC, CP of Honduras **31**

**THE SITUATION IN THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT**
Communique CC, CP of El Salvador **34**

**BREAK BETWEEN CHINA AND THE SOVIET UNION**
Editorial in **Norrskensflamman,** Feb. 9, 1967 **36**

**BEHIND THE CHANGING CHINESE AND U.S. ATTITUDES**
**James E. Jackson** **38**

**ON THE PROBLEMS OF UNITY IN AFRICA** **41**

**50th ANNIVERSARY OF OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION** **55**

**ACTIVITIES OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES** **58**



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# ON THE RECENT PALACE REVOLUTION

## STATEMENT* BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ARGENTINA

The forced resignation of General Pistarini from the Army command, and his replacement by Julio Alsogaray, as well as the recent resignation—likewise forced—of Salimei, Martinez Paz and other high-placed officials were anything but a routine "relief of the guard," as Salimei put it. They were part of a palace revolution whose denouement has yet to come.

Current developments show that the military junta which led the June 28 coup, above all the General Headquarters of the Army and some of the generals, operated and continue to operate as a second authority seeking a decisive say in government decisions. This was made amply clear by General Alsogaray in taking office on December 14 last.

The government crisis came barely six months after the assumption of power. It confirmed what the CPA has always maintained, that the nefarious cycle of coups and counter-coups has not closed, in spite of the conspirators' boastful claim that they would give the country political stability.

Instead of political stability there is a situation in which the palace revolution may well develop into bloody clashes between reactionary camarillas contending for supremacy.

The Secretariat of the General Confederation of Labor (GCL), rather than warning the working class and the people as a whole against the reactionary, anti-popular and anti-national character of the reorganized government, is again trying, as it dod last June to sow illusions among them as to the significance of the change. It is doing so despite its verbal declarations against the policy of the government. "We hope," said the Secretary of the GCL in a recent statement, "that the crisis is not a mere reshuffle but a real and effective change of a wrong policy."

At this stage of development, to entertain the illusion that a dictatorial government of the corporative fascist type can "rectify a wrong policy," or that another equally reactionary camarilla of military leaders and civilians can follow a policy beneficial to the working class, the people and the nation is either an indication of incurable blindness or simply a surrender to the class enemy for which the working class and the people are paying as usual the heavy price.

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*Abridged from **Nuestra Palabra**, Jan. 3, 1967.

In view of the present government crisis the following warning issued by the CPA on September 30 last was particularly timely.

"The problem is not," it said, "to replace one team by a similar team, or one gorilla government by another gorilla government that would ultimately pursue the same policy of reaction at home and of national betrayal abroad."

It is safe to affirm that the statement of the GCL Secretariat does not express the sentiment and militancy of the working class. While on June 28 a statement of this kind could arouse a mood of "hopeful expectation" in some sections of the working class and the people, this can no longer happen because people realize that both the "corporativists" and the "neo-liberals" (such as Alsogaray) propose to carry out the selfsame plan of starvation, betrayal and repression. The rich and instructive if painful experience gained by the working class and the people in the brief span of six months through strikes and other struggles shall not have been in vain!

It was no accident that the government reshuffle, aimed at making it more acceptable to the U.S. monopolies, came a few days after Lincoln Gordon's visit to our country. Gordon is in charge of Latin American affairs in the U.S. government, and is well known for his direct participation in preparations for the gorilla coup in Brazil that brought Castelo Branco to power.

Gordon said his mission to Ongania was, among other things, to hasten Argentina's acceptance of an Inter-American Repressive Force against the peoples of the hemisphere that are fighting or might venture to fight, for genuine democracy and national independence. He also wanted, he said, to secure the Ongania government's support for the continuation of the dirty war in Vietnam.

One result of Gordon's visit was the disgraceful renegotiation of the oil contracts with the Panamerican International Oil Co., and the Argentina Cities Service Development Co. The ample indemnity granted to these companies aroused the most legitimate indignation among all Argentine patriots, civilian and military alike, holding different views.

It has been announced—also in onnection with the government reshuffle—that Argentina will soon be visited by missions of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. The principal aim of the missions will be to insist on reorganizing the railways, transferring the power industry to foreign companies, and lifting restrictions on the money market.

It is now more necessary than ever to form a broad front uniting all democratic and patriotic forces without exception—Communists, Peronists, Radicals, Socialists, Christian Democrats, Progressive Democrats, and others—factory and office workers, peasants, students, members of the professions· small and medium industrialists

and traders; civilians and military, believers and non-believers—on a common platform envisaging the following points:

—effective measures against the steady growth of the prices of necessities and against unemployment; higher wages and salaries in keeping with the cost of living; maintaining and extending the social gains won;

—protecting the nation's oil resources, railways, petrochemistry, power industry, iron and steel industry, all national enterprises and riches;

—safeguarding the peasants' land tenure; effecting an agrarian reform;

—reinstating university professors and stopping the persecution of students; re-establishing university autonomy and tripartite administration;

—abolishing the corporative fascist state and establishing a genuinely democratic and popular system in the country; winning full democratic freedom of speech, the press, assembly, association and strike; releasing all political and social prisoners;

—an independent foreign policy for peace; solidarity with all the peoples fighting for their freedom and independence; solidarity with the heroic people of Vietnam, and object of the U.S. imperialists' criminal aggression.

The main purpose of the broad democratic and patriotic front our Party advocates should be to form a broad democratic government coalition. This government should carry out a jointly adopted program of demands and leave to the people the final decision on the political, economic and social system of the country to be established through a constituent assembly.

The fight for unity of action should be waged from both above and below. But as long as there is no such unity we call for the organization of thousands of unity committees in the enterprises, residential neighborhoods, urban and rural communities, schools and universities—in short, everywhere—so as to mobilize from below the working class and the people against the policy of the present government, against hunger, national betrayal, and repression, for action to end the disastrous cycle of coups and counter-coups, coming out into the streets in the event of armed clashes between rival reactionary camarillas, for action to end the present situation by genuinely democratic and progressive means, through a broad democratic government coalition.

To counter the advance of reaction and fascism, we now need more than ever:

Trade union unity of the working class, with a GCL independent of the employers and the state, a worker-peasant alliance, and worker-student unity of action.

Unity of action of all democrats and patriots to fight for bread,

jobs and democratic freedoms, for economic independence, national sovereignty and peace!

*Central Committee of the*
*Communist Party*
*Buenos Aires, December 31, 1966.*

# ON THE ANTI-SOVIET POLICY OF MAO TSE-TUNG AND HIS GROUP

*PRAVDA* EDITORIAL

During the past half a century our Party and our people have had to withstand more than once vehement attacks of hostile forces on the first socialist state in the history of mankind. But excepting periods of war, of direct armed aggression against the Soviet Union, it can be said that never before has such a fierce campaign been conducted against it as that launched by the present leaders of China.

We persistently and steadfastly adhered to the line of normalizing relations with China· striving to secure a return to the road of friendship and cooperation, and did everything to secure united action by our two countries and parties in the struggle against imperialism and above all in the matter of rendering support to the Vietnamese people, who are heroically fighting back U.S. aggression.

This is the meaning of the numerous proposals and initiatives of the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet government for concrete measures to develop Soviet-Chinese political and economic cooperation, for talks and meetings which could pave the way to an improvement of relations both along state and party lines. This is the meaning of our policy, which is invariably aimed at safeguarding the lawful inteersts of the People's Republic of China in the international arena, at ensuring the most favorable conditions for the building of socialism in China, as in the other socialist states. This is the reason, finally, for our Party's restraint and patience, for the fact that for a long time we unilaterally refused to engage in open polemics, even when confronted with patently hostile sallies of the Chinese leadership.

It is common knowledge, however, that peace and accord require the good will of both sides and not only of one. What was the will of Mao Tse-tung and his group? All proposals of our Party and government aimed at improving relations are known to have been invariably rejected in an increasingly rude and impertinent form, while Peking's policy assumed an ever more hostile nature. Even where internationalist duty and the entire logic of events dictated the need to put the differences aside and unite for joint action against imperialism, struggle was instigated under all sorts

*Abridged from Pravda, February 16, 1967.

of far-fetched pretexts or without any pretext at all, inside the socialist community and the Communist movement, a struggle spearheaded against the CPSU and the Soviet Union. The Mao Tse-tung group openly set its course on thwarting systematically the steps taken by the Soviet Union in the international arena together with other socialist nations to safeguard the interests of world socialism, the revolutionary movement, universal peace, on splitting the Communist and liberation movements and the international democratic organizations. Moreover, Peking began to make ever more persistent attempts to conduct subversive activity against the socialist countries and the Communist parties, interfering in their internal affairs and organizing its splinter groups in some parties.

Slanderous propaganda is one of the main aspects of the Mao Tse-tung leadership's anti-Soviet activity. It maliciously distorts every step of the Soviet government in the international scene dictated by concern for the interests of peace and socialism. The Chinese press and broadcasting stations are going out of their way to smear our people and their Party. More than that, Chinese propaganda has for many months been calling on the Soviet people to overthrow the existing system, to hoist the "banner of Mao Tse-tung in Red Square," to establish in the USSR a "new order" patterned on the one now being implanted by Mao Tse-tung in China.

At present the "geography" of such provocations has been considerably expanded. Mao Tse-tung and his entourage are obviously endeavoring to carry out their adventuristic threat to transfer "red guard" methods of political hooliganism to the international arena. Chinese representatives acting on instructions from Peking, tried to stage anti-Soviet rampages in Hanoi, Paris, Baghdad, Algiers, Pnom-Penh and other cities. Furthermore, Moscow was selected as the venue for one such provocation, and in Moscow—Red Square and the Lenin Mausoleum, a sacred place for all working people.

Soviet personnel passing through China to Vietnam to assist the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people, is also becoming the target of Chinese provocations and insults.

The present leaders of China are seeking to create the impression of "popular indignation" by drawing scores of thousands of people into anti-Soviet actions, deceiving them by cock-and-bull stories about "bloody assaults in the USSR," fabricated by Mao's retinue. The entire propaganda machinery of China is geared at this goal today. It constantly inflames passions by tales about "unprecedented atrocities" allegedly committed against Chinese citizens in Moscow, and directly instigates juvenile mobs by the slogan "blood for blood," threatening to demand "payment of the blood debt in blood." But the true organizers of provocation, who control and

direct the actions of young peple and therefore bear full responsibility for them, will not be able to hide behind the backs of the "Red Guards" and "rebels."

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What are the organizers of the hate-Soviet campaign after? The facts show that the people who today direct the policy of China are out not only to instil in the Chinese people enmity towards the USSR, but to aggravate Soviet-Chinese relations to the limit and ultimately bring them to complete rupture. However, fearing responsibility for the consequences of this step, they do not dare to act in a straightforward manner, but strive to provoke the Soviet Union into a break-off in order to deceive world public opinion, to deceive the Chinese people, to convince them that it is our country and not the Mao Tse-tung group that is guilty of straining Soviet-Chinese relations.

Another question arises in this connection: Why does the Mao Tse-tung group need this aggravation and what goals does it pursue? The answer to this question should be sought in the entire nationalistic, great-power policy of the present Chinese leadership.

It became obvious already several years ago that this policy inevitably prods the Mao Tse-tung group to worsen relations with the Marxist-Leninist parties and primarily with the CPSU. Having embarked upon the nationalistic, great-power course, this group went out of its way to subordinate the socialist camp and the world revolutionary movement to its interests, to impose upon them its political line signifying a break with Marxism-Leninism.

The great international authority of our Party, its consistent struggle for Leninist relations in the Communist movement, based on equality and fraternity—this is what made the Chinese leaders regard the CPSU as the main obstacle to their great-power goals. It is clear that in its endeavor to subordinate the other socialist countries and fraternal parties, the entire revolutionary and liberation movement to its nationalistic, great-power interests, the Chinese leadership staked on discrediting the Soviet Union and our Leninist Party, cost what it may.

It is equally doubtless that one of the direct reasons for the anti-Soviet policy and propaganda of the present Chinese leadership is the desire to divert the attention of the Chinese people from their privations and difficulties, from the numerous mistakes and failures in the domestic and foreign policy of China. What we are actually confronted with is an old, hackneyed method of all unprincipled politicians suffering bankruptcy. If matters steadily grow worse, if their political actions fail one after another, the only way out, according to such people, is to place the blame at the door of

the "enemies," both "internal" and, especially, "external." This is precisely the principle according to which the Peking leaders are acting today.

As the scope of setbacks in domestic policy and the failure of the foreign-policy line pursued by the CPC leadership, which led the country to isolation, became clearer, the intensity of the anti-Soviet campaign grew more and more. The farther it departed from the principles of scientific socialism, the louder and more persistently Peking alleged that this departure is being effected by the Soviet Union, that our country "betrays the interests of the revolution," "restores capitalism." Before long purely nationalistic and even racialist notes began to be heard in Chinese propaganda. By advancing territorial claims to the Soviet Union the CPC leadership wanted to further incite chauvinistic sentiments among the Chinese people. The slanderous propaganda began to be augmented more and more extensively by various anti-Soviet sallies and provocations. By creating in every way possible the impression in the Chinese people that they are surrounded on all sides by enemies, the Peking rulers are seeking to rally them on a nationalistic basis, to divert the masses of the working people from the actual problems confronting the country and to justify the military-bureaucratic dictatorship of Mao Tse-tung and his henchmen.

Yet another important motive of Peking's anti-Soviet policy is increasingly coming to the fore. The essence of the domestic political line stubbornly promoted by Mao Tse-tung and those who think like him has become obvious now. Actually this is an all-out onslaught on the socialist gains of the Chinese people in the course of which the very ideals of socialism are being shamelessly distorted and trampled underfoot. It was precisely to cover up and substantiate this policy "ideologically" that the Peking rulers needed the fierce attacks on the countries where socialism is being really built and the slander against parties which really adhere to the teaching of Marxism-Leninism, to the ideals of scientific socialism. In the atmosphere of tense struggle inside the Party and the people, Mao Tse-tung's group needed this slander precisely for purposes of the struggle for power. Mao Tse-tung simply could not remain in power without such slander, because the Soviet Union's successes in building communism and the successes in building socialism in other countries expose his apostasy and the bankruptcy of his political line.

It is an obvious fact, for instance, that as a result of Mao Tse-tung's economic gambles the Chinese leadership has had in effect to give up plans of China's economic development, to give up the building of the material and technical basis of socialism and to openly renounce the course of raising the living standards of the working people. In these conditions the Peking rulers found nothing

better than to try to make a virtue out of necessity, proclaiming economic development and concern for improving the people's life as something altogether "anti-socialist" and "bourgeois."

They had little trouble substantiating this idea theoretically by firing against the Marxist-Leninist science another broadside of Mao Tse-tung's quotations ("In production to strive for high indices and in life to keep to a low level," "Poverty is good," "It is terrible to think of the time when all people will be rich," etc.). But since the practice of world socialism fully contradicts such precepts and notions of socialism, the Chinese leaders started a slander campaign against the USSR and other socialist countries, decrying the struggle for economic progress, for raising the living and cultural standards of the people as "revisionism," "economism" and even "restoration of capitalism." For the bigger the economic successes of the Soviet Union, the better the life of Soviet people, the greater is the fear of Mao Tse-tung and his group for the fate of their special line, the bigger the opposition to this line in China itself. And, consequently, the more vicious the slander against the Soviet Union and the more reckless the anti-Soviet provocations.

The same applies to other problems encountered by the CPC leaders. Having met with mounting opposition to their policy, they launched a fierce campaign of repressions and mass suppression of those who think differently. Obliging "theoreticians" from Mao Tse-tung's entourage declared lawlessness, arbitrary rule and violence against their own Party and the broad masses of workers, peasants and intellectuals to be "genuine" dictatorship of the proletariat, "genuine" socialism. But this, too, required slandering the Soviet Union and other countries of socialism which are consistently advancing along the Leninist road—the road of promoting socialist democracy, consolidating legality, expanding the participation of working people in the settlement of all social and state matters.

The entire practice of the CPSU and the other Communist parties, which consistently develop the Leninist norms of inner-Party life, strengthen collective leadership and strictly adhere to democratic principles in the activities of all Party organizations from top to bottom, naturally creates a danger to Mao Tse-tung and his power, for Mao Tse-tung's group has long been attacking its own Party. The most elementary norms and principles of inner-Party life—election of Party bodies, responsibility of leaders to the Party and its organizations, open discussion of the Party line, etc., have been trampled underfoot in China. Mao Tse-tung's personality cult has reached the absurd, has become a real idolatry.

The destruction of Party organizations, the hounding and annihilation of Party cadres is in full swing under the flag of the "cultural revolution," being carried out by detachments of Mao Tse-tung's storm troopers with the support of the army and the security

service. It was to justify all this, and to silence the Chinese Communists who cannot but compare the things happening in China with the practice of other Communist parties, that the Mao Tse-tung group had to smear the CPSU's Leninist line by levelling the absurd charges of "revisionism" against it.

The Mao Tse-tung group had similar motives when organizing the slander campaign against the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. It has reneged that cardinal principles of socialist foreign policy—internationalism, readiness to support other socialist countries and to struggle jointly with them against imperialism, striving to defend peace, struggle for the prevention of a world war, good-neighborly relations with all peace-loving countries and especially with countries which have freed themselves from the colonialist yoke. It is not surprising that the Chinese leadership has found it necessary to attack these Leninist principles of foreign policy, to declare them revisionist and to slander the policy of the socialist countries as a policy of "collusion" with imperialism, of "surrender to the class enemy."

The history of the working-class movement shows that renegades from Marxism have always fiercely hated the banner betrayed by them. The Mao Tse-tung group is not an exception in this respect. One of the chief aims of the anti-Soviet hysteria now fanned by it is to fence off the Chinese people from genuine Marxism-Leninism, from the experience of world socialism. In the present conditions this experience is not only alien but also dangerous to the Chinese leaders, because knowledge of this experience would only show the Communist Party and people of China how far their leaders have departed from the interests of the revolution and socialism. That is why the Chinese leadership has had to set about isolating their country, erecting a "Chinese Wall" to keep their people away from the socialist community, from the entire progressive public of the world.

We observe precisely such self-isolation. Peking pursues a hostile policy not only against the Soviet Union but also against other socialist countries. All fraternal parties, the entire Communist movement, the international democratic organizations and movements have become the target of the splitting intrigues of Mao Tse-tung's group. This group engages in subverisve activities also against young national states, against those forces in Africa, Asia and Latin America which are fighting for national liberation.

Mao Tse-tung's pernicious policy has led the country into an impasse. Seeing no way out, the Chinese leadership dashes from one gamble to another. Its anti-Sovietism is precisely one of such gambles.

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The anti-Soviet campaign of the Chinese leaders is carried on

in most insolent, truly hooligan forms. But this seeming offensiveness should not delude anyone. In effect, the actions of Mao Tse-tung's group are motivated not by their strength but by their weakness, by their fear of their own Party and their own people. The latest events show that the Peking leaders have sufficient grounds for this fear. The "cultural revolution" has brought to light the great scope of the discontent of workers, peasants and intellectuals, discontent which has spread even to the army and the youth on which Mao Tse-tung's group has banked. The events which started as the "cultural revolution" have actually developed into a fierce struggle for retaining power by Mao Tse-tung and his retainers. Their policy shows that for the sake of power they are ready to sacrifice everything—the interests of socialism, the interests of their people, the interests of the revolution.

This is vividly illustrated by the transition of Mao Tse-tung's group to the positions of rabid anti-Sovietism. This course signifies first of all a blow at the Chinese Communist Party itself, at the Chinese people. At all stages of the Chinese revolution, the Soviet Union's fraternal aid and support greatly contributed to the victories of the Communists and all working people of China. Friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries helped the Chinese people to launch socialist construction and to achieve considerable successes in this difficult job. Alliance with our country was always a reliable guarantee for China against imperialist intervention and aggression. By rupturing these historical ties and becoming mouthpieces of anti-Sovietism the Peking rulers doom China's working people to additional grave difficulties and isolate their country from its natural allies and friends. The conclusion suggests itself that Peking is now searching for new allies.

In this the world public correctly sees an important cause of the anti-Soviet campaign started by Mao Tse-tung's group: hatred for the Soviet Union has always been the common ground that united enemies of socialism. And it is not fortuitous that interest in China has grown so much among the imperialist reactionary circles, where the prospects and possibilities of rapprochement with that country are being discussed with growing persistence.

Many facts show that these intentions are meeting with a response from Mao Tse-tung's group. A re-orientation of China's economic ties from the socialist world to the capitalist one has been going on for several years now. Likewise, Peking's political contacts with imperialist powers, including the USA, are becoming increasingly frequent and regular.

But the main thing is that already today Mao Tse-tung and his retinue are rendering by their policy an invaluable service to the imperialists. This group has actually replaced struggle against imperialism by struggle against the Soviet Union, the other socialist

countries and the Communist movement. Thereby it weakens the front of the anti-imperialist forces and complicates the entire political situation in Asia. This is above all a stab in the back of the heroic Vietnamese people in their struggle against the U.S. aggressors.

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The latest events confirm once again the high degree of political maturity and restraint of our Party and the entire Soviet people. They have again demonstrated the lofty internationalism of our people, who are embittered and pained by the present events in China, who sincerely sympathize with the Chinese people, with their Communist Party which are now living through such a tragedy.

At the same time the latest events have confirmed once again the unanimous support by all Communists, by all our working people of the line of the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet government and the decisions of the December plenary meeting of the Central Committee, as well as their determination to give a crushing rebuff to all splitters and provocateurs.

These days the hearts of Soviet people are filled with wrath and just indignation. Words of stern warning addressed to the Chinese provocateurs sound at numerous meetings in towns and villages. The Soviet people unanimously support the position of their government outlined in the statements of February 4 and 9, containing a principled appraisal of the latest actions of the Chinese authorities.

By persisting in its anti-Soviet policies the Mao Tse-tung group will only further disclose how low it has fallen, how far its political regeneration has progressed. Literally every day witnesses growth of the international isolation of the Mao Tse-tung group and of the indignation of the world Communist movement, of upright people in all countries over Peking's adventuristic course and its anti-Soviet attitude.

There is no doubt that the Mao Tse-tung group will not be able to deceive the Chinese people, the Chinese Communists all the time. As Moscow workers correctly stated in their protest resolution presented to the Chinese Embassy in Moscow, "Mao Tse-tung and his clique will have to answer in full to the Chinese people and the Chinese Communists, to the entire progressive mankind for their shameful, criminal actions aimed at undermining the friendship of the Chinese and Soviet peoples."

The entire international Communist movement now asks: Where will Mao Tse-tung's group move?

Everything shows that it is preparing the People's Republic of China for further adventuristic actions in both domestic and foreign

policy, not excluding new provocations against the Soviet Union.

Having replaced struggle against imperialism by struggle against the Soviet Union, against the entire socialist community, against the international Communist and liberation movements, Mao Tse-tung's group is doing grave harm to the cause of world socialism and to the Chinese people themselves, to the cause of socialist construction in China. The anti-Leninist adventuristic policy of this group holds in store for the Chinese people only further growth of the economic difficulties, deterioration of the living standards, aggravation of the international situation, and the prospect of China's complete isolation from the socialist community.

But the Chinese people, the People's Republic of China, the Chinese Communist Party objectively have another prospect, that of an improvement of relations with the CPSU and the Soviet Union, with all socialist countries and Communist parties; the prospect of joint struggle in the ranks of the socialist community against imperialism; the prospect of economic progress and correction of the errors that have been made in agriculture and industry, and of raising, on this basis, the people's living standards; the prospects of affirmation of Marxist-Leninist norms in the life of the Communist Party and establishment of socialist legality in the People's Republic of China. In other words, the prospect of development along the road outlined by the Eighth Congress of the Communist Party, by the documents of the international conferences of Communist and Workers' parties. This is a Marxist-Leninist prospect which conforms to the vital interests of the Chinese people, People's China and the Communist Party of China.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the entire Soviet people want precisely this prospect to triumph, they want the People's Republic of China to take this correct road.

# POLISH UNITED WORKERS' PARTY 25 YEARS OLD*


## Zenon Kliszko

MEMBER OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU AND SECRETARY OF THE CC, PUWP


The development of the system of socialist states and the world Communist movement, as well as of the general situation in the world poses before every Marxist-Leninist party and before our movement as a whole highly important problems which can be solved only by joint concerted effort. The most important of these problems were raised at the international conferences of the Communist and working-class movement in 1957 and 1960. The decisions adopted then, the unanimously endorsed program of activities have been confirmed, in principle, by experience and remain valid today.

Specifically, this applies to the proposition that proper development of each contingent of the world Communist movement calls for struggle on two fronts simultaneously—against revisionist trends signifying capitulation before the pressure of anti-socialist ideology, and against dogmatic-sectarian trends threatening the creative forces of Marxism-Leninism. In recent years this second danger has manifested itself in the international movement with particular force as a result of the attempts of the leadership of the Communist Party of China to impose upon the entire movement its own ideological platform opposed to the platform which our movement, the CPC included, adopted at the 1960 Conference.

The chief task of our movement today is to fight for its unity and cohesion, against the divisive trends of which the CPC leadership is the chief fountainhead and inspirer. The CPC's splitting activities have done serious harm to our movement. They have found their most dangerous manifestation in the CPC's attitude towards the problem of assistance to the valiant people of Vietnam fighting against the U.S. imperialist aggression. By turning down the proposal for coordinated aid to Vietnam and subordinating the question of Vietnam to the narrow objectives of its great-power policy, the CPC leadership has assumed grave responsibility for the continued suffering of the Vietnamese people and for splitting the common front of the forces of socialism confronted with the aggressive policies of imperialism.

*Abridged from CC, CPSU journal **Kommunist**, No. 1, 1967.

Our Party, just as the CPSU and the majority of other Communist and Workers' parties, consistently adheres to the solely correct stand whose essence is that the vital interests of the entire Communist movement and of each individual party demand unity and solidarity vis-a-vis imperialism. In view of the intensification of imperialism's aggressive policies all parties should leave aside, relegate to the background all existing disagreements and give priority to everything that unites them—common defense of socialism, the freedom of the peoples, and peace. This is demanded of us by the development of the world situation which shows that the unity and solidarity of the forces of socialism is needed today more than ever before. This is demanded of all Communists by fidelity to Marxism-Leninism, to the principles of proletarian internationalism.

Of late many fraternal parties, ours included, have voiced the conviction that conditions are increasingly ripening for holding a new international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties. This attitude stems from the striving to restore the unity of our movement, from the conviction that in the struggle for its unity the world Communist movement cannot reject such an important and tested instrument as international conferences of our parties.

To be sure, a number of concrete problems have to be solved and corresponding preparations conducted before the conference can be convened.

Not only the outstanding problem of strengthening the unity and cohesion of the world Communist movement militates in favor of the new conference. Six years have already passed since the 1960 meeting. World developments have confronted our movement with a number of new major ideological problems which have to be discussed in common. These include, for instance, the problems of the development of the national-liberation movement in the Asian, African and Latin-American countries and of polycentrism in the imperialist world. But the paramount task is to rally and strengthen the common front of all anti-imperialist forces at the present stage of the struggle for socialism, the freedom of the peoples, and world peace.

The stand of our Party on this vital question is well known. The Polish United Workers' Party is unflinchingly loyal to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, it consistently works for the unity of the world Communist movement. In this, too, it continues the general line of the Polish Workers' Party which led Poland onto the road of socialism and brought it into the family of the socialist countries, and which combined its fervent patriotism with ardent internationalism and the cause of the independence and progress of its own people with the cause of socialism and the freedom of all the peoples of the world.

# MARXISM IS NOT A CATECHISM

**Jean Kanapa**

MEMBER, CC, FCP

Everyone knows that whatever is done in China, at least by the "Red Guards" and the "Maoists," takes place with reference to a collection of quotations from Mao Tse-tung. All the wisdom of the world and all revolutionary science would seem to have been concentrated in that collection.

This prompts a first comment: the very *idea* of this procedure is a striking proof that the "Maoists" have *broken* with Marxism and scientific socialism. Indeed, it is unthinkable for a Marxist and Communist that one book, whatever its merits, could constitute the bible of Marxism. Speaking of even the *Communist Manifesto* of Marx and Engels, a real turning point in the history of the working-class movement and in modern history, no Communist would ever say that one had only to read and memorize the Manifesto to know Marxism in all its richness and continuous development. The notion that there can exist a prayer-book of scientific socialism is contradictory terminologically, and is foreign to the *scientific* character of socialism. It stems from religiousness.

It leaps to the eye that the collection in question is a hodgepodge of quotations dating from vastly different periods. No historical reference sheds light on their context, the historical conditions of struggle at the given moment, the forces at work, and so on. Thus circumstantial estimations and guidelines formulated in situations as different for China as those of the '20s and the '60s are all given out to be non-temporal and hence eternal truths. And this is most typical of dogmatism.

## CARICATURE OF MARXISM

This is all the more striking because the quotations are *very* short, being generally made up of two or four sentences, and sometimes of only a few words. The purpose is evident—the reader is invited to use them as both prayers and recipes. And this means representing revolutionary theory as something oversimplified to the point of obscurantism.

Marxism is a (scientific) world outlook. It is not a catechism.

*L'Humanité, February 6, 1967.

Marxism is also a "guide to action." But it is not a travel guide. Incidentally, the level of this Mao bible is more than elementary. It is hard to see what good could come of memorizing (and reciting as an incantation), say, the precept which is supposed to furnish the best method of defeating imperialism. "Strategically," it says, "We are not afraid of taking a meal—we can cope with it. In practice we eat mouthful by mouthful. We could not swallow the whole meal at once. This is known as solving problems one by one." Is it, then, these kind of aphorisms that are the last word in revolutionary theory and the acme of Marxism? Is it this "theoretical rigor," this "doctrinal fertility," that inspires suddenly and in a rather unexpected manner observers who were never before known to be so drawn to socialism? In fact, is it not obvious that this caricature of socialism offered by "Maoism" plays into the hands of the opponents of socialism?

## SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY DOES NOT GIVE PREFERENCE TO REPRESSION

The collection of quotations from Mao provides, in effect, evidence condensed to a digest that the very peculiar theses the "Maoist" leaders would like to impose on their people and the international working-class movement have decidedly nothing to do with Marxism-Leninism, with our doctrine and our policy.

Here is, for example, how the functions of the "people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance" are defined: "Its *first* function is to exercise repression inside the country with regard to the reactionary classes and elements, as well as on the exploiters opposing the socialist revolution, etc. The dictatorship has a second function, that of defending our country against subversive activity and eventual aggression from without." These are the only functions the collection assigns to the dictatorship of the proletariat (the "people's democratic dictatorship" being no more than a form of the latter, according to Mao).

This is a far cry from Lenin, from the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat upheld by the world Communist movement, including our own Party. In Lenin's view, and in ours, coercion is only *one* of the functions (a temporary function) of the dictatorship of the proletariat, nor is it the primary function. At the recent congress of our Party, Waldeck Rochet stressed that the two functions of the new political power of the working people are: "(1) ensuring the great possible democracy for all working men and women and the people as a whole in order to enlist their participation in socialist construction and in managing government affairs in various forms; (2) defending the new regime of socialist

democracy against the acts of savotage organized by the former exploiter classes with a view to recapturing power and restoring capitalism." *To give preference to the repressive function of socialist power runs counter to Leninism.* True, Stalin maintained such an idea (and practice). But this does not excuse Mao. On the contrary, since Stalin's mistakes in this respect were disclosed for the enlightenment of all the Communists of the world, this aggravates Mao's responsibility.

## MAO'S "THEORY OF VIOLENCE"

To be sure, another quotation concedes that one of the "methods" of the proletarian dictatorship should consist in "enabling the people to participate in political activity." The very wording is condescending and restrictive in respect of the Leninist principle according to which socialist power should ensure the *greatest* democracy for the people. It will be noted, moreover, that Mao no longer speaks here of the "functions" of working-class power but of its "methods." The difference is appreciable. It is no longer a question of the nature of this power but merely of its "style."

Let us take another example.

"Every Communist," Mao contends, "should learn the truth that 'power grows out of the barrel of a gun'." Nothing is said before or after this—the sentence is presented as it stands, in isolation. In other words, it is no longer just a guideline given in definite circumstances to the People's Liberation Army of China in 1938 and valid in *that* context. It becomes something much more important—a non-temporal truth valid at all times and everywhere. Yet as such it is in glaring conflict with one of the central theses of Marxism. Exactly 90 years ago Engels devoted a whole section of *Anti-Duehring* to disproving this oversimplifying theory which says that violence is the origin and basis of political domination.

It may be argued that perhaps Mao has in mind another aspect of the matter, the one Marx stressed by saying that violence, too, plays a revolutionary role in history, the role of midwife "of the entire old society which bears a new one in its womb." But, first of all, Marx said that about past history, the history of the bourgeoisie to be precise. Secondly, it was amply demonstrated years ago that neither Marx, Engels, nor Lenin ever held that the proletarian revolution, the assumption of power by the working people, must *necessarily* take on the form of armed violence. Yet armed struggle is what Mao maintains on every page as the only possibility. The idea that "power grows out of the barrel of a gun" is spelled out in the following quotation: "The central task and highest form of the revolution is to win power through armed struggle, to *solve the problem through war.* This revolutionary principle of

Marxism-Leninism is valid everywhere, in China as in other countries." No, this is not a principle of Marxism-Leninism, which stresses, on the contrary, the need to use different forms of struggle depending on time and place. The principle advocated by Mao is a principle prompting adventurism. The Communists by no means consider civil war indispensable in every case to the victory of the socialist revolution. Indeed, they consider it highly desirable to dispense with it if possible.

## WAR AND POLITICAL STRUGGLE

The collection under survey suggests, in effect, that to Mto violence and war, is the predominant solution to every fundamental problem. He shifts *political* struggle, the Communists' main weapon, to the background. He even regards it as above all a curious moral and psychological action, a rather puerile form of education. To him, war is the key to everything.

That is why we are presented with the dogma: "War can be abolished only through war. If there are to be no more guns, one must take up a gun." In other words, while assuring us that the imperialists are "paper tigers," they regard them, nevertheless, as absolute masters of war and peace who cannot be prevented from unleashing war. They also tell us that war has an advantage, for it will make it possible to bury war. Let us dismiss this sophistry. Things become particularly serious when put plainly, for in 1967 the war in question would not be waged with rifles. Thus the inference should be: "If there are to be no more atom bombs one must use the atom bomb. This may "abolish" war. It is certain to abolish civilization in a large part of the planet. What, then, will one gain through this method of "abolishing war"?

Even more serious is the fact that this thesis essentially underestimates the political might of the popular movement of the world. This might is increasingly becoming capable of making the imperialists respect world peace, that is, peaceful coexistence—*Provided everything is done to promote, extend and stimulate still more this political struggle of the masses for peace.* The Chinese leaders, however, are doing the exact opposite. They are trying to undermine and demoralize this struggle. To them war is a *necessity.*

What we, all the peoples, regard as a necessity—and what we must make a necessity for the imperialists—is peaceful coexistence. We do want to abolish war, but not by taking up the rifle. We want to do it by beating guns into ploughshares, by fighting unrelentingly and consistently to impose disarmament on imperialism.

## UNDER COVER OF A REVELATION

One could cite any number of examples. All of them would confirm that it is a question of ideas entirely at variance with

genuine historical progress. Most of the theses do not even appear to be departures from a fundamental allegiance to Marxism, but the fruit of an ideology totally alien to scientific socialism.

It is understandable that those propositions are now coming up against serious resistance in China itself.

Besides, how can one trust this primitive prayer-book? While it assures that "our principle is that the Party commands the rifles and it is impermissible for the rifles to command the Party," the Chinese press and radio tell us that the Army is being used to enable heaven knowns what "revolutionary rebels" to "seize power," operating against the established bodies of the Communist Party of China.

It is well known that one can always do anything under cover of a revelation.

# NEW UNITED EFFORTS BY COMMUNIST PARTIES NEEDED

## RESOLUTION* OF THE LEADERSHIP OF THE ITALIAN C.P. ON THE EVENTS IN CHINA AND PROBLEMS OF THE WORLD WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT

The Leadership of the Italian Communist Party had a meeting, presided over by Comrade Luigi Longo, to discuss Comrade Natta's report on the internal political situation and the activity of the Party and Comrade Berlinguer's report on the international activity of the Party. The Leadership decided to put these questions on the agenda of the CC meeting to be held on February 15 through 17, and to instruct all Party organizations to step up the fight against the policy of the present government. The impotence and contradictions of the Center-Left majority and government further aggravate the acute problems facing the country whose solution calls for a new upsurge of all democratic and Left forces and the mobilization of the masses for unitary actions. To confront the Moro government with a crisis, to open the way to a new policy and to a new government—such is the imperative national and democratic necessity.

The Leadership also reviewed the present alarming development of the situation in China, characterized by the fury of an unheard-of campaign of hate and violence directed against the Soviet Union. This is a campaign whose most probable aim is to suppress the fairly widespread and strong resistance and discontent caused among the Chinese people and in the Communist Party of China itself by the absurd policy of break-off with the USSR pursued by the group now centred around Mao Tse-tung. The outrageous character this policy has assumed in recent days cannot but evoke among all Italian Communists not only grave alarm but also feelings of indignation and disapproval. All this seriously harms first and foremost the cause of socialism in China, and its international authority. The disagreements and misunderstandings of the past can in no way justify the anti-Soviet aberrations of the Chinese leaders and the provocative and insulting attacks on the Communist Party and government of the Soviet Union organized by them on an ever broader scale, all the way to trampling underfoot the most elementary norms of diplomatic representation.

*Unità, February 10, 1967.

The Soviet Union is the country of the October Revolution, the first and biggest socialist state. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has played and continues to play a role of intransient historic importance in the struggle for the liberation of the peoples and for socialism all over the world. The role of the USSR in the defense and consolidation of peace, the tremendous gains the Soviet Union has made owing to socialism are seen in increasingly bolder relief by the broad masses, also and especially in Italy.

The high sense of responsibility the Soviet government displays with regard to the events in China is highly appreciated by all democrats and working people today. The Italian Communists repudiate the anti-Soviet campaign launched by the Chinese leaders, denounce the grave dangers with which it is fraught, and reaffirm their pledge to do their utmost for the sake of achieving the unity of the international Communist movement, while paying due regard to the autonomy of every party and rejecting the dangerous theses of the present Chinese leaders.

The Leadership of the ICP also discussed questions connected with the preparation of the conference of the Communist parties of Europe and with the holding, on a broader plane, of consultations and meetings between Communist and Workers' parties. This is demanded by the growing complexity and urgency of the problems facing the Communist movement and calling for joint discussion. To reveal these problems—which pertain primarily to the development of international relations and the prospects of the struggle against imperialism, for peace in Vietnam, for peaceful coexistence —and to discuss them thoroughly in all possible forms and at all levels is necessary also for creating conditions for a world conference of the Communist parties and its success.

Efforts should be made to ensure that more and more Communist parties contribute to this work for unity on the basis of guaranteed independence of every party. It is in this direction that the ICP will develop its initiative and make its contribution.

# DISASTROUS*

Whatever may still be obscure about the situation in China, one thing is clear.

An episode in Red Square in Moscow which bore all the hallmarks of a political provocation is now being made the occasion for mass political hooliganism directed against the world's first Socialist State.

When hundreds of thousands are brought out to acclaim cartoons showing Kosygin and Brezhnev with ropes around their necks, when slogans like: "Down with Soviet fascist atrocities" are shouted, when the Soviet Embassy is besieged for days on end, it is the duty of all true friends of the Chinese Revolution to express publicly their revulsion at what is happening.

## BACK TO SANITY

These events only occur because a deliberate decision has been taken to fan the flames of anti-Sovietism and chauvinism, partly, no doubt, to divert attention from the increasing difficulties on the home front resulting from the so-called "cultural revolution."

Such actions are against the interests of the Chinese people, and only encourage the American imperialists and their accomplices.

Communists everywhere will hope that the Chinese people, and their Communist Party, which is now under heavy attack from Mao Tse-tung and those around him, will soon find a way to correct these disastrous policies and put the Chinese Revolution back on the course of sanity.

*Morning Star, Februory 2. 1967.

# STATEMENT*

## OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE CC, CP OF FINLAND

The latest news from China evokes growing alarm. The campaign let loose against the first socialist country—the Soviet Union—and other socialist states as well as against the Communist parties of other countries has become the pivot of the policy of certain Chinese leaders. The measures being taken under the motto of the "cultural revolution" are ever more openly aimed at splitting the Communist Party of China, the socialist camp and the world Communist movement.

The functions of socialist state organs and the CPC are increasingly taken over by shock detachments called "Red Guards," by Party and army leaders supporting and encouraging these detachments. And cannot but get the impression that violations of law and democracy in Party and State life have become a daily occurrence. The personality cult, alien to socialism, rules the roost.

The Communist Party of Finland cannot pass by these outrageous phenomena in silence. They have led to a still deeper derangement of relations between the CPC and the world Communist movement. They benefit imperialism and endanger world peace. Unity of the world Communist movement and of the socialist camp is the most formidable obstacle to the realization of the aggressive plans of the imperialist states. Our Party holds that every effort should be made to restore and strengthen this unity.

We hope that there are evident in China active manifestations of the sound spirit of socialist and proletarian internationalism. We are positive that the Communist Party of China will emerge from the current difficulties onto a road which will lead it to unity with the other socialist countries and the Marxist-Leninist parties in the struggle for peace and socialism.

*A DLP (Democratic Press Service) release of February 2, 1967.

# STATEMENT*

## OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE CC, CP OF AUSTRIA

The Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Austria has adopted the following resolution on the latest developments in China:

The Communist Party of Austria most resolutely condemns the recent aggravation of relations with the Soviet Union caused by the actions of the Chinese leaders. Evidently the purpose of Peking's sallies against the Soviet Embassy and its staff is to provoke the rupture of state relations between the Soviet Union and China. This aggravation of relations with the Soviet Union can benefit only U.S. imperialism. The Soviet Union not only shoulders the main burden of rendering economic, political, moral and military aid to the people of Vietnam valiantly fighting for their freedom; it is the chief bulwark securing China itself against the U.S. imperialists' plans to spread their aggression to China. The adventuristic policy of China's self-isolation pursued by the Chinese leaders obstructs all attempts to establish the unity and cooperation of all socialist forces in the interests of the heroic Vietnamese people.

*Volksstimme, February 8, 1967.

# CHINA IS ISOLATING ITSELF

The cultural revolution in China is producing queer results. Soviet women and children leaving for home are seen off to the accompaniment of juicy swear-words, shrill demands to "smash Kosygin's doghead" and other similar bouquets of hundreds of Chinese flowers which have now been given an opportunity to blossom. Women and children from the families of diplomats are molested even in buses.

But it is only a detail that citizens of socialist countries are jeered at and subjected to other indignities in the course of the Chinese "cultural revolution," and an insignificant one, considering that foreigners are entitled to protection on the part of the Chinese government but that this government itself has for more than a week been organizing bullying and caterwauling by hundreds of

*Land og Folk, February 7, 1967.

thousands of *hungweipings* outside the Soviet Embassy in Peking.

People keep asking themselves what exactly impelled some Chinese party and government leaders to resort to this rowdyism. It is said to be directed against enemies, and so enemies are seen in all and everything. Some bourgeois elements are pointed at, but what is the first to be out of the game is the Communist Party itself. Struggle is being waged against the workers and peasants and their Party and trade union organizations. But, it is admitted too, this struggle is meeting with their resistance.

Millions of *hungweipings* have requisitioned the means of transportation and premises and caused a decline in production. Instead of attending universities and schools they have learned to chant quotations from Mao. The impression is that China has made an unbelievable leap backward.

Attempts are being made to make good the failures in China by committing fresh errors whose correction is in no way helped by the fact that collective leadership has been liquidated in favor of an incredible personality cult, that the Party has been replaced by schoolchildren.

The struggle against U.S. imperialism has been relegated to the background. Almost nothing is heard about it, which cannot be said about the wild bellicose attacks of Mao's men on the Soviet Union. The outrageous provocative demonstrations in Peking seem to aim solely at severing the last links—diplomatic ones included—with the Soviet Union. The latest events, for which Mao and his guards are responsible, lead China to complete isolation from all other peoples and from the entire world Communist movement.

The current Chinese policy is not an exclusive Chinese affair. Those aspects of it which concern the international working class, international politics as a whole and solidarity with the embattled people of Vietnam in particular, compel Communists to criticize and resist it. Chinese policy plays into the hands of the U.S. aggressors in Vietnam, it weakens the liberation struggle and worsens the possibilities of establishing peace for the Vietnamese people. It is doing irreparable harm to the liberation struggle of many peoples. Never before have the U.S. imperialists been presented with so many opportunities to capitalize on a deliberately created split in the world Communist movement, as now. On the other hand, it can be stated that the application of "Mao Tse-tung's ideas" accelerates the process leading to clarification of the situation and establishment of unity in the rest of the world Communist movement.

# STATEMENT*

## OF THE CC, CP OF HONDURAS, ON THE "CULTURAL REVOLUTION" IN CHINA

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Honduras has examined the course of action of the CPC leaders in the process of development of ideological divergencies in the world Communist movement, in the light of the world revolution and the common interests of mankind.

Although these divergencies arose between the Chinese leadership and the CPSU, by virtue of their content and manifestations they have come to divide the Chinese leaders headed by Mao Tse-hung and Marshal Lin Piao, on the one hand, and the entire world Communist movement, including the proletarian base of the CPC itself, on the other.

Our Central Committee has drawn the following conclusions from an analysis of this situation:

1. Different objective factors and historical reasons may cause some or other vanguard contingents of the proletariat to differ in their appraisal of certain problems connected with the activity of these contingents or the Communist movement as a whole. The emergence of these differences as well as ways of overcoming them are foreseen by the general line of the world Communist movement collectively worked out by all the Communist and Workers' parties and concretized in the documents of the 1957 and 1960 Moscow conferences, which constitute a concise theoretical synthesis of the experience of the class struggle on the international scale in a historical period known as that of the general crisis of capitalism.

The Communist Party of China signed the documents of both conferences, and the Communist Party of Honduras signed the Statement of the 1960 Moscow Conference of 81 parties along with the other Communist and Workers' parties which make up the great family of the proletarian parties of the world.

In view of this we consider that unfailing fulfilment of these decisions by all the signatory parties is a manifestation of the proletarian spirit and the Leninist principles of party life.

2. Already at that time, the reticence of the Chinese leaders in defining the content of our epoch and the corresponding forms of class struggle constituted a difference in the appraisal in which

*Trabajo, end of December, 1966.

their dogmatism was manifested. It was hoped, however, that the exchange of opinions and verification by life, which is always richer than any theoretical formulation, would furnish the precision necessary for overcoming the nascent disagreements and consolidating the monolithic unity of the world Communist movement.

This view was correct at that time, and we hold that the activity of the CC, CPSU, its numerous efforts to iron out the differences with the Chinese leaders through exchange of opinions conformed to the interests of the world Communist movement and contributed greatly to the struggle to preserve the unity of the Communist ranks.

3. Whereas at one time the Chinese leaders hailed, in their CC organ, *Jenminjihpao,* the documents and conclusions of the 20th Congress of the CPSU regarding the possibility to avoid a world nuclear war, the criticism of the Stalin personality cult and the growing possibility for some capitalist countries to accomplish the transition to socialism without civil war, today it has become clear that all these statements of the Chinese leaders were not a product of conviction. In practice they rejected the concept of the main gain of the working class—the socialist system headed by the USSR —being a new element which influences the entire world development and determines the new content of our time and whose principal characteristic is that the socialist world system is becoming the decisive factor of development of human society.

This duplicity of the Chinese leaders was caused by their striving to cling to theoretical formulations fully justified in the past but rendered obsolete by the struggle of the masses. The statements they made at the time lacked the sincerity on which relations between fraternal parties should be based.

4. The Mao Tse-tung personality cult has been and remains an insurmountable obstacle to the ideological development of the Chinese comrades and a damper on the spirit of criticism and self-criticism which should be uppermost in the life of any Marxist-Leninist party. Had it not been stifled, this spirit would have prevented the Chinese leaders' departure from the basic tenets of Marxism-Leninism, a departure that led them to the theoretical concption and practical implementation of the "cultural revolution."

5. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Honduras maintains that the "cultural revolution" in China has nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism.

The alleged infallibility of the thinking of Mao Tse-tung, who is exalted before the Chinese people like a new Buddha, is used as the basis for negating the cultural heritage of the Chinese people and the best traditions of their struggle. Nationalistic chauvinism is being inculcated in the Chinese people by attacks on the Western peoples. The principal characteristic of this campaign is extreme

anti-Sovietism which, although based on leftist phraseology, abounds in concessions to U.S. imperialism.

In our opinion, these facts testify that the Chinese leaders are attacking the world Communist movement as a whole, its unity and the method which should determine the life of all the Communist parties of the world.

6. The concepts of the Chinese leaders, which initially manifested themselves as divergencies, have been assuming increasingly extreme forms and developed into contradictions between the Chinese leaders and the world Communist movement.

Suffice it to recall the time of the Caribbean crisis in 1962, when despite the threat of a direct USA-USSR confrontation the Chinese leaders kept silent about obligations stemming from the Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Assistance between the CPC and the USSR. That attitude was a direct concession to imperialism for it tended, in the final count, to facilitate the achievement of its aggressive designs against Cuba.

At the present time, counterposing the narrow national interests of the PRC to the interests of the world Communist movement, the Chinese leaders are obstructing—incredible as it is—the joint actions which could put an end to the imperialist aggression against the heroic people of Vietnam.

7. The activities of the so-called "Red Guards," who have been charged, in circumvention and over the head of the Party and the Young Communist League, with carrying out the "cultural revolution", are obviously directed against the Party and at subordinating it to an organization which is emerging as a shock force designed to throttle the manifestations of the proletarian masses and stifle the criticism of the leaders within the Communist Party itself.

8. In these conditions, when in different regions and on a world scale the Chinese leaders have launched a frenzied splitting campaign which only plays into imperialism's hands, it is necessary to take steps towards holding a new conference of all the Communist and Workers' parties of the world which would sum up the results of the revolutionary activity in the past years and analyze the situation in the world Communist movement with a view to restoring its unity, preventing ideological disarray in the masses as regards the fundamental objectives of the present moment, and reaffirming the role of the international working class and the Communist parties in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism on a world scale.

# THE SITUATION IN THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

## COMMUNIQUE OF THE CC, CP OF EL SALVADOR

1. In view of the increasingly grave and criminal acts of aggression of the U.S. imperialists in Vietnam, who in their reckless policy of escalation have gone as far as to bomb the capital of the DRV and confronted the world with the threat of a third world war, the prime duty of all the socialist and revolutionary forces of the world is to unite without vacillation in order to call a halt to the American aggression and requite the imperialists in that area.

2. The foregoing suggests the urgent and imperative need of united action by the entire world Communist movement. Unity of action of all the socialist countries and the Communist movement as a whole would enable them to give the courageous people of Vietnam all the assistance and support they need to make the U.S. imperialists stop their criminal acts of aggression against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and withdraw their troops from South Vietnam.

3. Fulfilment of this prime duty imposed by solidarity with Vietnam cannot be rejected on the pretext of differences in any particular field. Giving in to these differences merely makes the struggle against imperialism and solidarity with a socialist country under attack more difficult. Such an attitude, far from forcing the imperialists to retreat, helps and encourages them.

4. As early as three years ago our Party declared against the obvious deviations of the leaders of the Communist Party of China, who want to substitute a line of their own for the general line adopted by the enitre world Communist movement in 1957 and 1960. Life has forcefully brought out dire consequences of the CPC's erroneous line, which has done enormous damage to the world Communist movement, the unity of the socialist camp, the internal unity of some Communist parties, the revolutionary movement as a whole, and the progress of the fight against imperialism. The Chinese leaders stubbornly raise obstacles to military aid to Vietnam from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and persist in rejecting united action to resist the U.S. aggression in that country.

5. Now that the internecine strife in China has taken a turn for the worse, the CPC leadership has entered into a still more serious stage of its deviations. A section of it has stepped up to

an incredible degree its effort to promote the cult of Mao Tse-tung, trying to make his thought a supreme law of the Party and the country and carrying on a large-scale campaign to stifle all criticism of Mao's thought. This campaign, conducted in the name of the "cultural revolution," at the same time foments hostility to the Soviet Union and Lenin's Party, which are the most solid and powerful bulwark of the struggle of the peoples.

6. Our Party has already signified its support of the idea of a new world meeting to analyze the present situation, sum up the results of revolutionary struggles, study the wealth of experience gained since 1960, and open the way to new advances of the revolutionary forces of the world in the great decisive battles against imperialism, for socialism, national liberation, progress and world peace.

7. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of El Salvador considers that the conditions are ripe for convening before long a new world meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties, and resolutely aligns itself with all the Communist and Workers' parties that have proposed the meeting. It believes that all the Communist and Workers' parties of the world, including the Communist Party of China, should be invited to attend. But should any party refuse to attend, this should not be an obstacle to holding the meeting, provided the majority of the parties were willing to attend. The CC considers that a new world meeting is necessary if the forces of socialism, national liberation, progress and peace are to be consolidated, and that it would stimulate the struggle of the peoples against imperialism, for the revolution.

8. We are certain that the glorious Communist Party of China will succeed in overcoming the present deviations and that the day is not far distant when it will be able to wage decisive battles against imperialism and world reaction shoulder to shoulder with its Communist brothers.

*Central Committee, Communist Party*
*of El Salvador*
*San Salvador, December 1966.*

# BREAK BETWEEN CHINA AND THE SOVIET UNION*

There is no doubt that the relations between China and the Soviet Union have worsened to a point where rupture of diplomatic relations seems possible. The series of obviously provocative actions by the Chinese side show that it has deliberately striven for this state of things. The relations between the two countries have for a long time been cool, to put it mildly, but in the last two weeks development has reached a dramatic climax, clarifying the purpose for which all this is being done.

The incident at the Lenin Mausoleum exemplifies this provocative policy. The Chinese press has noisily reported on the mauling of Chinese citizens, who were demonstrating in the Chinese Embassy in Moscow. In reality, however, it was an obviously staged provocation.

Following this incident the torrent of vituperation has reached a high unexampled in the history of diplomacy. Leading Soviet politicians have been called fascists, imperialist lackeys, etc. This has been done in a declaration of the Chinese Foreign Ministry, and the language used in it also shows how far the conflict has gone. Clearly it has gone beyond all ideological and political bounds. To compare the Soviet Union with the bloodiest imperialist power in the world certainly has nothing in common with political realism or common sense.

The recent actions outside the Soviet Embassy in Peking and the attacks on Embassy workers and on their families leaving for home have created the danger of severance of diplomatic relations. The history of Soviet diplomacy has proved on more than one occasion that restraint and tolerance are its inherent features, but there certainly exist limits. To most countries the break would have appeared natural much earlier.

The Chinese people are discontented with the current developments, but those who govern them obviously consider that the blow should hit the domestic opposition, which, among other things, strives for rapprochement with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. A provoked break is intended to channel the dissatifaction with internal policy towards an external factor, more precisely the Soviet Union which would be held responsible for the rupture of diplomatic relations.

Resistance to these ill-advised actions has not been given much

*Editorial in **Norrskensflamman**, organ of the CP of Sweden, February 9, 1967.

publicity as other events, but there is no doubt that the policy of the "Red Guards," too, is strongly opposed in different parts of China, as is evidenced by the strikes in Shanghai and the bloody clashes between workers and "Red Guards." Reports from other parts of China testify to the growing magnitude of clashes between "Red Guards" and peasants.

The relations between the Soviet Union and China are connected with internal political development. An alarmed world is wondering what will come next. The Chinese do not have to change their attitude in a radical way to save these relations. What is needed is just a little of good will that can prevent a lamentable break between the two biggest socialist countries of the world.

# BEHIND THE CHANGING CHINESE AND U.S. ATTITUDES*

## James E. Jackson

Communist China and the United States: Are We On a Collision Course? This is the question posed in Number One of the Great Decisions discussion series sponsored by the Foreign Policy Association.

This is indeed a question of real concern. Currently, the crisis of leadership (which grows out of and reflects the long maturing crisis of policy created by the first "Great Leap" economic scheme of 1957-58- has made China the object of new attention from within the ruling circles of U.S. imperialism.

★ ★ ★

Washington's South Vietnam puppet Premier Nguyen Cao Ky made himself spokesman for the "preventative war" hawks within the Pentagon and about the Administration in regard to China when he said, "Sooner or later we have to face the Chinese Communists. And I think it's better to face them right now then in five or ten years."

On the other hand, Secretary of State Dean Rusk has been described as interested in softening the Administration's policy toward China somewhat—with more stress on "reconcilliation" and less emphasis on "containment." He feels that it is opportune to open channels of contact with and hopefully, to exert an influence upon China, now that the country is locked in the throes of a massive internal struggle over the decisive question of direction of the revolution.

★ ★ ★

There can be no question that the chaotic political situation in the leadership of China constitutes a major diversion of the political and moral forces of the Chinese masses, preventing them from making their maximum contribution to support neighboring Vietnam which is so heroically withstanding the waves of bombing planes and the hundreds of thousands of the imperialist's invaders, which the USA has sent against her.

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*The Worker, February 5, 1967.

The crisis of leadership and the chaos in policy inside China have been accompanied by a growing crescendo of wild declarations of vituperation against, and hatred of the Soviet Union's party and leadership.

The spectacle of a Communist Party leadership outdistancing even the sworn class enemies of communism in vilification and abuse of a sister party, certainly does not escape the strategic planners for extending the existence of imperialism.

The virulent campaign of anti-Soviet defamation as currently being broadcast worldwide by the prominent Chinese leaders is something of great value to the world imperialists. Anti-Sovietism is the cause in common which the followers of Mao and the camp of LBJ are pursuing relentlessly.

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Is it this common cause which Rusk has in mind for further development which leads him to speak of softening his China policy?

The Great Decisions background brochure of the Foreign Policy Association quotes the Secreeary of State as saying, in regard to China contacts: "We have been in touch with them on more serious subjects and more persistently than perhaps any government that has diplomatic relations with Peiping except perhaps the Soviet Union."

Is collaboration in ideological and strategic confrontation with the Soviet Union the price that Rusk is seeking to exact from Peking for altering U.S. imperialism's aggressive thrust toward a military confrontation with China?

Do some Chinese government figures entertain such a Machiavellian design for diverting the aggressive will of U.S. imperialism away from China and onto her Soviet brother? If so they are subscribing to a suicide pact with their worst enemy against hteir best friend. Already, some Chinese leaders have gone to absurd lengths to describe the Soviet Union as abandoning socialism and embracing capitalism under the guidance of their modern revisionist" leaders and Party.

Already, Lin Piao, who shares with Mao Tse-tung the leading responsibility for the rampaging reaction let loose against the position held by Marxism in the councils of the Communist Party, the Government, the trade unions and Young Communist League, has declared that the Chinese Communist Party can no longer have united action with "revisionists" as represented by the leaders of the Communist Party and the Soviet Union.

Such a pattern of moral deterioration, of the abandonment of sacred principles of working-class internationalism, is petty-bourgeois panic in the face of the provocative escalation of the Vietnam war of the United States close by the borders of China.

Clearly, China cannot secure an honorable relief from the grave menace of military confrontation with massive U.S. armed forces, already in position through the Vietnam war, through double-dealing with the enemy at the expense of the Soviet Union.

On the contrary, the sole route to salvation for China facing the threatening prospects of military confrontation with U.S. imperialism lies in an immediate restoration and solidification of its all-sided fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union. For its national salvation against the new dangers of U.S. aggressive design, as well as to safeguard its revolution from the wasting of its heroic fruits, to save it from the "Thermidor" of disintegration such as brought down the French Revolution of the radical bourgeoisie, the Communists of China must recover command of their Party from the careerists and adventurers who make use of the so-called "Red Guards."

The prime source of the unbelievable pressures heaped upon the people and leaders of China lies in the politics pursued by Washington for the past 17 years. U.S. imperialist policy has been dedicated to the proposition of defeating the revolution in China and recovering that vast country of over 700 million people for a "new field," in which imperialism can recoup its losses and into which it can expand.

Our countrymen need to be especially vigilant to the danger of a blitzkrieg drive by the "attack-China-now" crowd. An invitation to aggression is seen by the "war hawks" in the difficulties the Chinese people are currently suffering. Any attack on China could only stimulate a unity response within China and the solidification of the socialist community of nations in her defense against the imperialist aggressor.

A U.S. imperialist "sneak attack" on China during these days of her internal travail would unite the workers and peace forces of the whole world against U.S. imperialism. Not confrontation, but new initiatives to end the state of tension and antagonism between U.S. and the Peoples' Republic of China are urgently called for at this time.

The starting point is to stop the bombing and all military action against Vietnam and withdraw U.S. armed forces from this territory so near to China. Washington must recognize China diplomatically, support the restoration of the UN seat, and negotiate settlement of all disputed questions in the interest of world peace.

# ON THE PROBLEMS OF UNITY IN AFRICA*

The struggle for the ultimate liberation of Africa from colonialism has entered into a new and decisive stage. The greater portion of the continent is already free, but a number of countries are still languishing in the yoke of colonialism and being oppressed by the allies of the colonizers—the racists. The Portuguese and Spanish colonies, South Africa and Rhodesia are the main bastions of colonialism and racism which must be crushed to free Africa from forces hostile to her freedom and progress.

In this last phase of the struggle for Africa's survival, it is extremely dangerous to fall victim to illusions. The truth has to be looked straight in the face. It should be admitted that the task is devilishly difficult. The imperialists, stubbornly cling to their positions and intend to defend them with all available means. What is especially dangerous is that they are acting today not in isolation but jointly, co-ordinating their efforts.

The Fascist dictator of Portugal Salazar would never be able to wage a war of extermination in Angola, Mozambique and the so-called Portuguese Guinea if the USA, Britain, West Germany and other Western powers did not supply him with arms and money and did not render him diplomatic and political support.

Similarly,the racists from South Africa would not be able to powers imposed economic and political sanctions on South Africa. Instead, the USA, Britain and West Germany expand their eco- pursue their bestial policy of apartheid if the leading Western nomic ties with South Africa, invest their capitals in her economy, supply Vorster's army with arms and even help him to build armaments plants.

More than that, Salazar, Vorster and Ian Smith have formed a secret alliance the aim of which is to render mutual assistance to each other in struggle against the movement for the liberation of African peoples. This alliance has been formed with the blessings of Washington, London and Bonn.

The African nationalism, under whose banner the struggle for the freedom of the African continent is being waged, is thus confronted by the united front of colonial, imperialist and racist forces. The Africans should be fully aware of the fact that breaking this front and gaining a victory over it is a formidable task indeed. It will require utmost effort and sacrifice.

*Abridged from an **African Statesman** pamphlet, Nigeria.

All this, however, does not mean that the forces which oppose African nationalism are invincible. They can be overcome and crushed. But courage alone is not enough. Our most powerful weapon without which all talk of victory is but an empty phrase, is unity in the broadest sense of this word, unity within each individual country, unity of the whole of Africa, unity with freedom fighters in Asia and Latin America, unity with all forces which are waging a struggle against imperialism on all continents.

The enemies of Africa's freedom go out of their way to distort the essence and content of unity so as to baffle the Africans and make it difficult for them to unite. They ascribe to the advocates of unity the aims which are not pursued by them at all. All this imperatively demands that a serious discussion of unity take place, so that every African clearly understand its forms, significance and aims.

## NATIONAL UNITY

National unity means the unification of all tribes and clans residing in a given country, unity of all of its population: peasants, workers, intelligentsia and even the indigenous businessmen, provided the latter is made to realize the fact that its interest is indestructibly linked with the overall national interest of complete freedom.

The forms of national unity are different. In the countries with a multi-party system, the parties which advocate the struggle against colonialism and imperialism build up a united front. But there is, as a rule, a trend in modern Africa towards a one-party system. Thus, in the United Arab Republic the Arab Socialist Union is the leading political force, in Guinea it is the Democratic Party of Guinea, in Ghana before the Army take-over, the Convention People's Party, in Kenya it is the KANU, and so forth. These organizations are more in the nature of national fronts than parties since their membership is comprised of almost the entire adult population of the country irrespective of occupation, social status or political convictions. Apparently, such parties represent for the moment an acceptable form of national unity for most countries in Africa.

National unity has been the decisive factor in the victory of those African peoples which have achieved genuine independence. Especially strongly manifest has been the force of national unity in those countries whose peoples had to wage an armed struggle for their independence.

The people of Algeria could not have gained a victory over such a formidable enemy as France had her national forces been disunited. Only national unity represented by the National Liberation

Front helped the Algerian people to concentrate their efforts on reaching the long-coveted goal shedding the fetters of colonial slavery.

The force of national unity was fully understood also by the Egyptian people during those tragic days when their country was perfidiously attacked by Britain, France and Israel. The struggle of the Egyptians against this powerful enemy was made easier by the help they received from other countries of Asia and Africa, and also the Soviet Union. But that assistance was mostly of a moral nature. In combat operations against the aggressors, and in particular in defending the beleaguered Port Said, only the regular Egyptian troops and the units of home guard took part. In those days, the Government of President Nasser armed the entire people —workers, employees, students and even the housewives. The entire population, all its sections, all Egyptians as one man took up arms to defend independence, and it was their courage and unity that frustrated the plan of the aggressors to seize Cairo at one fell swoop.

In Guinea, the struggle for independence has not reached the stage of an armed conflict. After coming to power in France, President de Gaulle decided to hold a plebiscite in all the French colonies south of the Sahara, during which the peoples of these colonies had to give their answer to the question whether they want to remain in the so-called French-African community, i.e., preserve a semi-colonial status, or whether they want complete independence. It was the people of Guinea alone that mustered enough courage to tell de Gaulle that Guinea wants to be independent. This answer was convincing enough since ninety per cent of Guinea's population voted against joining the French-African community. Over ninety per cent, mind you! And this is what national unity should be against which the colonizers are powerless.

These facts are extremely useful to know for the peoples fighting colonial and racist regimes. They are confronted by a strong enemy backed by all NATO member states. This enemy can be overcome solely if the forces of African nationalism in each of the struggling African countries are united and have one leadership.

And yet, in the majority of these countries such unity is non-existent. Two, and even more political parties or organizations often operate in these countries. They not only fail to co-ordinate the actions against the enemy, but, on the contrary, quite often war with each other. In Angola, for example, there is the Angolan Popular Liberation Movement Party and the Angolan People's Union which contest the right of leadership in the war of liberation. In Rhodesia there are also two parties—the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) and the Zimbabwe African People's (ZAPU)

which, no matter how hard they try, cannot find a common tongue and create a united national front.

The Committee of the Nine of the OAU has been quite right in demanding that the fighters for freedom should unite. It is extremely difficult to render assistance to the forces of liberation when they are represented by several rival parties and leaders. But what can be done if some groups of nationalists oppose unity, Besides, it is impossible to unite with the known traitors who have secretly come to terms with the imperialists. It should not be forgotten that the division of naional forces is, as a rule, a result of imperialist intrigues for whom this division is highly profitable. Herein, they resort to the most devilish methods which have to be exposed.

It is well-known that the patriotic forces of Angola are divided. The man guilty of this division is the leader of the Angolan People's Union, Holden Roberto. However, it is also known that he is backed by the United States of America. Knowing that it was more convenient for the Angolan nationalists to wage their struggle from the territory of the Congo (Leopoldville), the Americans had given the former Congolese Prime Minister Cyril Adoula an order to allow Holden Roberto to station his headquarters in Leopoldville. Soon, Leopoldville was visited by the U.S. Under-Secretary of State Harriman. He had a secret meeting with Holden Roberto who, in Harriman's words, produced a very favorable impression upon him. Harriman approved Holden Roberto's intention to break all ties with the Angolan Popular Liberation Movement and promised him American support. Later on, American diplomats brought heavy pressure to bear on some of the members of the Committee of the Nine so that they recognize Holden Roberto's "government."

The British and American Press have been waging an incessant campaign against Kenya's Vice-President Aginga Odinga trying to put him at loggerheads with President Kenyatta. The USA and Britain want to set the Kenya leaders against each other so as to spit the national unity of the patriotic forces of that country. All these facts demonstrate that wherever there is a split in national unity, the cause of this split should be sought in the intrigues and maneuvers of the Western powers, the USA first and foremost.

Despite all this, it would be wrong not to render assistance to the movement of rebellion until a time when there is unity in it. In such cases assistance should be rendered to such an organization or party which is above suspicion with regard to its connections with the imperialists and which really leads the masses.

The Committee of the Nine have demonstrated real political maturity by their decision to help the African Party for the Independence of Portuguese Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands, while they refused such aid to other nationalist groups which indulge in

political maneuvers and intrigues instead of heading combat operations. This decision of the Committee of the Nine has greatly bolstered the prestige of the African Party headed by Amilcar Cabral and has been instrumental in rallying around it the fighters for the liberation of this portion of Guinea from Portuguese domination. At the same time, the Committee of the Nine have made a grave mistake by recognizing the Angolan "Government-in-Exile" led by Holden Roberto.

It is most significant that despite the recognition of Holden Roberto's "government" by the Committee of the Nine, the Angolan People's Union, of which he is chairman, has failed to attract the Angolan nationalists. On the contrary, it has sunk into the quagmire of strife and intrigues and has consequently lost whatever shreds of authority it has once had. During the same period, the influence of the Angolan Popular Liberation Movement has considerably increased. This party is considered by many African leaders today as the true representative of the Angolan people able to unite all their forces and create national unity.

The second conference of the organizations fighting for the independence of Portuguese colonies in Africa which took place in Dar es Salaam in October 1965, adopted resolutions calling for the unity of all forces which should create a joint camp of fighters who would co-ordinate all military actions against the colonizers.

The problem of rallying the forces of the fighters for the freedom of the Portuguese colonies and the liquidation of racist regimes in Rhodesia and South Africa is the most burning problem of today. Creating national unity does not at all mean that one political movement will be absorbed by another. National unity can be achieved in the form of a united front of various parties and organizations. To create such a front, however, it is indispensable that political differences between the various groups and units of the liberation movement be forgotten, and instead all efforts should be concentrated on achieving political freedom. The ability and readiness of political leaders to remove all obstacles, be they political or those of a purely personal and ambitious nature, to achieve national unity is a measure of sincerity of their patriotic sentiments, their loyalty to the cause of national liberation.

Most African countries suffer from tribalism which is one of the major factors working against national unity. During the colonial era, the colonial powers employed diverse methods and propaganda to create basic fears, distrust and lack of confidence among the various ethnic groups and tribes. The minority groups suffered most after independence, since the dominant ethnic group or tribe continued to dominate the seene. Tribalism is the main enemy of national unity. It is the mainstay of colonialism and a powerful deterrent to national progress and survival.

## UNITY AFTER LIBERATION

The role of national unity as the indispensable condition for achieving political freedom is so obvious that it is no longer a debatable issue. When, however, the question of national unity in conditions of independence is discussed, voices are heard which assert that it is not necessary. Many politically unsophisticated people take these assertions at their face value. This happens due to the following reasons.

All sections of the population suffer from colonialism: workers, peasants, the intelligentsia and bourgeoisie. That explains also the common hatred of colonialism. So as to arouse this hatred there is no need in special propaganda. The people of an enslaved country confront the colonizers in their daily activities: on plantations, in mines, in administrative offices, in the courts of law. In the colonies, the colonizers never wear a mask. No special methods are needed to recognize a colonizer. It is this common hatred of the latter which is the objective basis for national unity.

The true nationalists are sure that independence will free them from exploitation and create conditions for a drastic improvement of the living standards. Other people think of quite a different thing. They believe that national independence will give them unlimited business possibilities and will be instrumental in enriching individual members of society, in helping to seize key positions in an independent state.

It is these people, who are dreaming of using independence in their personal interests, that are the main opponents of national unity. The imperialists have a sharp eye for such people. They quickly find a common tongue with them by encouraging their greediness and ambition. They promise them their support, bribe them so that they betray national unity. And so these people begin to assert that democracy is incompatible with national unity, since democracy rests on a multi-party basis, on the freedom of the individual. But all this talk of democracy is but a mask worn by people with predatory intentions who have betrayed their countrymen, their interests and who are afraid of national unity because it requires strict discipline and sacrifices in the name of the entire nation.

The differences in the interests of various sections of the population which appear after gaining political power do not preclude the possibility of preserving national unity in the future. They do not preclude this possibility because apart from differences there are also common interests which do not divide, but on the contrary unite the nation.

The possibility of preserving national unity in these conditions is provided by the vital interests of all sections of the population

in strengthening the achievements of independence, in developing the national economy and ousting from it foreign monopolies.

During the years of a long domination of foreign monopolies over the colonies, the former grow long roots in the economies of the latter. When the colonizers see that they can no longer administer the colonies they recognize their independence but strive to preserve an opportunity of exploiting and plundering them by all possible means. The mercenary interests of the monopolists come into collision with the interests of the peoples of the liberated colonies. For the development of the national economy and its plunder by foreigners is incompatible with each other. That is why the development of young states occurs in conditions of a fierce struggle with the colonizers.

The power of foreign capital is felt especially strongly by the national bourgeoisie which often finds itself facing a situation when it cannot invest its capital since foreign capital has filled all the pores of the economy of the newly-liberated countries. That is why the national bourgeoisie is interested in the economic liberation of its country in no smaller degree than the working masses. And this is what creates an objective basis for strengthening national unity.

There is a number of countries in Africa governed by African governments but which economically are fully dependent on foreign monopolies. Here belong many of the former French colonies such as the Ivory Coast, Senegal, Niger, the Upper Volta, Gabon, the Malagasy Republic and others. These countries are not free politically either: the imperialists bring strong pressure to bear on their policies and in fact determine them. Only this can explain why these countries sometimes oppose African unity, oppose the consolidation of the OAU.

The solution of the problem of economic liberation depends on the particular way of development of a given country. But the way of development should be chosen by the entire people. The lack of agreement in these questions is probably one of the greatest dangers facing the young African states. It is a source of internal conflicts, an extremely convenient pretext for imperialist interference, aiming at aggravating the division of the national forces. This can be prevented only by rallying the national forces and leading them along such a road of development which is supported by the overwhelming majority of the African population. And this particular road is the road of socialism.

In its attempts to compromise the policy of national unity in those countries which are successfully struggling for their economic freedom, the imperialist propaganda is circulating a false version that this policy suppresses personal initiative which, allegedly, has no place in national economy. Facts, however, refute this lie.

Even the governments which have made socialism their ultimate goal recognize the private sector in national economy and attach an important significance to it in the national construction. It is quite a different matter that in these countries the authorities control the private sector. This is quite natural, since in the developing nations the state should guide the development of national economy in the interests of all people.

## AFRICAN UNITY

The peoples of the countries which are already free should not remain indifferent to the fate of their brothers languishing in the colonial and racist states. The already liberated peoples should help them to break the shackles of the colonizers and racists. This is their duty and also a vital necessity. Not one of the African countries which has achieved independence can consider herself completely secure if there is even colonial or racist regime preserved on the African continent. For these regimes are the bastions of imperialism and neo-colonialism which help keep the Africans in check, and at the same time serve as the bridgeheads for new offensives against the sovereign African states.

So as to defend the freedom of Africa wherever it has been won, and fight for it where violence and colonial oppression are still holding sway, the Africans must take up their one and only effective weapon—African unity.

Africa should become a zone free of foreign military bases or troops, a zone beyond the sphere of the cold war. So as to compel the imperialists to count with the will of the Africans and force them to respect their demands without reservations, the Africans must act from their own positions of strength which they can attain solely through achieving unity.

Instead of seeking support and leaning heavily on African unity, some African states are trying to strengthen their security with the assistance of foreign troops and military agreements with former metropolies. But this sort of security is tenuous and illusory. More than that, it is fraught with a very grave danger for these countries and the whole of Africa. What is important to know is not only that military bases are the strong points of imperialism on the African continent, but that they render the non-alignment policy null and void, makes it a fiction through and through. And if the thunderstorm of a nuclear war breaks out, foreign military bases on the African continent will inevitably become targets for nuclear strikes. How can security be achieved in this manner? To all intents and purposes it looks more like suicide than security.

Africa does not need foreign troops and military bases. She can provide her security by pursuing a policy of non-alignment. Besides,

she can create her own pan-African defense forces based on the general desire of the Africans that they should not be influenced by foreign dictate. This is an effective method of abrogating the existing military agreements between the African and non-African countries which would help to burst the chain by means of which the West keeps some of African countries in the sphere of its influence. African armed forces should be used for putting an end to provocations and military interference of the imperialists. They should not be used, however, for interference into the internal affairs of other African states.

## UNITY AND ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE

The struggle against colonialism does not stop after the declaration of independence. The latter is but a prelude to a new and more complicated struggle of the Africans for the right to administer their own affairs, develop their economy and build a new society in accordance with their aspirations and without the humiliating control on the part of the imperialists. But whenever the Africans try to go along this particular way, the encounter the resistance of neo-colonialism.

Africa has vast resources. She is rich in gold and diamonds, iron and copper, uranium and cobalt, oil and coal. Africa occupies the first place as regards power resources which comprise half of the world power resources. Experts have calculated that the basin of the Congo River alone can yield crops sufficient to feed the whole of Africa.

But the Africans are poor because their riches are shipped beyond the borders of the continent and enrich the American and West European monopolists. The gold reserves of the United States consist of half of the gold mined in Africa which yields sixty per cent of the world gold.

The African leaders understand that their task is to put an end as soon as possible to the economic methods which have been left to them by the colonizers. Undoubtedly, every African nation can develop her economy. But alone she will be unable to withstand the constant pressure and opposition of neo-colonialism. No sporadic actions or noble determination can help a country solve the problems facing her. Nothing will help, except joint actions of a united Africa.

Heavy industry alone — i.e., a combination of metallurgical, machine-building and metal-processing enterprises — can build a basis for the economic liberation of Africa from the West. But that is not enough. All these enterprises need power which can be provided by oil and coal, and better still by the electric power stations utilizing the energy of the rivers. Africa can solve this problem

only by planning on a scale of the entire continent. If all African nations start building plants and factories for the manufacture of steel and cast iron, copper or aluminium, different machine-tools and so forth, in other words if they build similar enterprises, no matter whether the construction of such enterprises will be justified from the point of each individual state—an industrial anarchy will set in which will only harm Africa.

Cooperation between African states would be instrumental in rationalizing the work, in making it mutually profitable, will help concentrate capital and technical equipment. The division of labor could be achieved in ccoradance with the resources of individual African countries. For example. Zambia and the Congo could at first specialize in the production of copper, cobalt, tin and rare metals, while Guinea and Ghana could produce aluminium, because they are rich in bauxites. Liberia and Mauritania could become the African centers of steels and cast-iron production because they have plenty of iron ore.

The scattering of resources and economic division are extremely harmful because Africa should develop at a rapid tempo.

At the present time, the per capita G.N.P. of African countries comprises one twenty-fourth that of the developed states. At the present tempo of development it will take approximately seventy years to close that gap. The African peoples will hardly want to wait so long. Unless the living conditions of the popular masses change within the next few years, it is quite probable that all the wrath of the Africans caused by colonialism may turn against African leaders. It may well be that the colonizers count on it while doing all in their power to hamper the development of Africa.

Africa needs a more rapid tempo of development which can be achieved solely by economic cooperation on a scale of the entire continent. By pooling their resources, energy and talents, the Africans wil be able to transform their continent, get rid of poverty and become rich so as to satisfy the needs of the people. Only on this continental scale will African resources be used correctly and in the interests of all African nations. Only on this basis is it possible to obtain the capital required for the development of Africa, for the establishment of a common African market for overcoming customs and currency barriers.

Such are the tasks facing Africa today and the role of African unity in the solution of these tasks.

African unity is no longer a dream. Its foundations lie beneath the Organization for African Unity which has already demonstrated its power. It has proved possible within the framework of this organization to settle the conflicts between Morocco and Algeria, between Somalia and Ethiopia. African unity has undoubtedly influenced the decision to depose Moise Tshombe. The boycott de-

clared by the OAU on the Tshombe regime put his country in isolation. So as to break this isolation, Tshombe had to be sacrificed.

The successes achieved through African unity would be even greater if all African leaders were true to the Charter of Addis Ababa. But not all of them are true to it. For many of the African leaders it is simply a piece of paper.

They will be wise if they remember Tshombe's fate. No imperialist power will be able to save an African leader if the people will see that he has betrayed their ideals and become an imperialist henchman.

## IMPERIALISM AND THE SOLIDARITY BETWEEN THE PEOPLES OF ASIA, AFRICA AND LATIN AMERICA

The imperialists have become especially brazen in the past few months. They have launched a counter-offensive against the liberation forces in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Events in Ghana, Rhodesia, Vietnam and the Dominican Republic testify to that.

Unfortunately, one can hear an opinion voiced by some Africans that the events in Vietnam or the Dominican Republic have nothing to do with Africa. This is a grave mistake and to think so is to play into the hands of the imperialists. Nothing suits the imperialists better than a split in anti-imperialist forces. The imperalist propaganda tries to make the Africans assume an indifferent attitude toward the events in Asia and Latin America. What actually is going on there is the same struggle between the peoples and the imperialists which is going on in Africa.

The solidarity of the peoples of Asia and Africa is of great importance. Today, the countries of these continents are confronted by similar economic problems which can be successfully solved on the basis of cooperation. Cooperation is necessary not only for an exchange of experience but also for organizing joint actions against neo-colonialism.

It is often forgotten that while the countries of Asia and Africa depend on the West, the West also depends on these continents. Asian and African countries are the suppliers of mineral and agricultural raw materials to the advanced industrial countries of the West. Without these raw materials their industries cannot function. If Asian and African countries reached an agreement not to supply the West with raw materials they would be able to bring the colonizers to their knees.

But we do not want to engage in blackmail. We are generous. Let those who are using our raw materials continue to use them. But let them also pay a fair price for them. However, Western monopolies have never been just in their dealings with African

countries. What they are thinking about is profits. Every year they try to lower the prices for Asian and African raw materials, thus perpetuating the exploitation and plundering of these two continents. Can this situation be altered? Of course, it can! And that is why close cooperation between the two continents is indispensable.

Trying to divide the nationalist forces of Asia, Africa and Latin America by all available means, the imperialists, at the same time act unitedly and coordinate their efforts to struggle against the movements for national freedom. Thus, the USA, Britain and West Germany are the chief helpers of Salazar in his struggle aimed at suppressing the rebel movement in Portuguese colonies in Africa. The same powers render all-round assistance to the racist regimes in South Africa and Rhodesia.

Britain and West Germany support the U.S. aggression in Vietnam, while the USA supports the dirty war of the British against the peoples of South Arabia and Aden. The Western powers are also at one with the USA in the latter's brazen operations in the Dominican Republic.

As regards the monopolies, they also unite with the aim of plundering not only individual countries but entire continents. The European Common Market is a vivid example. This organization created in the interests of the West European monopolies, is instrumental not only in the enrichment of the imperialists at the expense of the peoples of Western Europe but also Africa. The establishment of the European Common Market is one more argument in favor of Africa's economic unity. If the powerful industrial states think it imperative for them to coordinate their economic efforts and even remove the customs barriers between them, how can economically weak African nations survive if they continue to act single-handed in this world! This will lead to nothing else but their final re-enslavement.

While protecting their sovereignty and their inalienable rights, the African peoples should coordinate their efforts with the people of other continents so that the joint front of imperialists and colonizers be met by the total might of anti-imperialist forces of the world. Then, the imperialists will simply not be able to hold their positions in various parts of the world.

If the United States succeeds in defeating the Vietnamese people, the imperialists will undoubtedly step up their offensive in other world areas, in particular in Africa where serious crises are brewing up in Angola, Mozambique and Rhodesia. It is the duty of the Africans, therefore, to demonstrate their solidarity with the heroic Vietnamese people and render them assistance in the struggle against American imperialism.

Naturally, it is not easy to achieve unity of all African forces.

The colonizers have left it to the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America to decide a number of controversial territorial, religious and economic problems. On the basis of these problems conflicts break up between countries vitally interested in waging a war against imperialism. Such conflicts only gladden the imperialists who consider them as the time-bombs placed under the edifice of unity of all anti-imperialist forces.

It would be wiser to forget the controversial problems for some time and solve them in conditions when Western powers will not interfere. The burning task of today is to crush imperialism and weaken it so that it can no longer interfere in the affairs of others.

Unity of anti-imperialist forces is also harmed by the current mania of some countries to force their will on others. Apparently the leaders of such countries forget that the policy of dictate is direct interference into the affairs of others, and no sovereign nation can allow this to take place. The policy of dictate can only weaken the brotherly ties between nations and hence undermine the joint anti-imperialist front. The spirit of fraternal agreement and equality when the interests of individual nations serve the lofty ideals of the common struggle against imperialism—these are the cornerstones of our unity.

A grave danger for Africa is constituted by theories currently in use on the division of the world into the rich and the poor, the white and the colored nations. The essence of these dangerous theories boils down to the isolation of the peoples of Africa from socialist countries, from the Soviet Union first and foremost, and also from workers' and progressive movements in the countries of Western Europe and the United States.

Those who support the theory of eternal strife between poor and rich countries are putting in the same boat the imperialist powers and the socialist countries. Every conscientious African should clearly understand that socialism and capitalism are two opposing social systems and that they have nothing in common with each other.

Only the enemies of Africa want to isolate her from the democratic and progressive part of the world. It is they who are spreading slanders about the alleged contradictions between poor and rich countries, between the colored and the white.

The great division line does not run here. It is not drawn on the basis of the color of the people's skin or the degree of development of this or that country. The world is divided into two opposing camps. In one camp is imperialism with imperialist monopolies, colonizers, neo-colonizers, racists and fascists. In the other camp are forces opposing imperialism. Here belong the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the socialist-bloc countries, the working class and the progressive elements in the West. If these forces are

united, all the brazen and aggressive imperialist plans will be crushed. Leaning heavily on the unity of all these forces, Africa will achieve her freedom and will implement all the sacred aspirations of the African peoples.

# PROCLAMATION*

## OF THE CC, CP OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA ON THE 50th ANNIVERSARY OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

This year marks half a century of the Great October Socialist Revolution which called into being the world's first socialist state.

This historical anniversary will be an outstanding event in the political and ideological life of not only the CPSU and the Soviet people but of the entire international Communist movement and the progressive public of the world. It will also highlight the political and ideological life of the Communist Party and all people of Czechoslovakia.

The cause of the October Revolution, its theoretical foundation and legacy have stood a thorough test of life in these fifty years. The events of this period testify that the October Revolution initiated an epoch-making process of social and political emancipation of man and mankind. The will, intelligence and labor of the working people led by the CPSU have transformed the agrarian country Russia was into a powerful state with a tremendous economic potential and developed science and culture.

October 1917 was a great turning point in history.

The Soviet Union's victory over Hitler fascism, the emergence, after the Second World War, of a socialist world system and the disintegration of the colonial system—all these momentous events have their roots in the October Revolution.

The working class, the progressive democratic and socialist forces and the Communist parties realize that their attachment to the Soviet Union, the first country of the proletarian revolution, is the decisive criterion of their internationalist stand and duty and an important prerequisite of their free democratic and socialist development.

The past fifty years have confirmed the power and potentialities of the fundamental ideas of Marxism-Leninism. The Communist parties have been and will go on learning from the Leninist theory and the Bolshevik experience of the revolution, socialist construction and struggle against war. They creatively apply and develop this experience in the conditions of their own countries. A great stimulus was given in this direction by the historic 20th Congress

*Abridged from **Rude Pravo**, February 12, 1967.

of the CPSU, which provided new inspiration to creative concrete and critical Marxist thought and increased the appeal of the ideas of socialism in the struggle of the revolutionary forces of the world for peace, social progress, democracy, national liberation and communism.

Marxism-Leninism has struck deep roots in the history and present-day life of many countries and become a living force in all continents.

The increased pressure of the working class in the capitalist countries, the influence of the USSR and world socialism, the disintegration of the colonial system and the internal contradictions of capitalist economy all lead to changes in the social structure and bring nearer the doom of imperialism.

The present industrial system of capitalism cannot fully meet the interests of society, it has proved too narrow for the full development of the scientific and technological revolution and especially for its social consequences.

In search of a way out the masses led by the Communist parties, the progressive forces in all countries will find the road to the defeat of the power elite of the monopoly bourgeoisie, the liquidation of the vestiges of the colonial system of imperialism and the elimination of social and economic inequality, social insecurity and fear of misery, the road to a new, more just arrangement of social relations.

The entire history of capitalism has been characterized by military gambles. The growing political, economic and military might of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries, their consistent policy of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems strengthen the cause of world peace, constituting a real force and the chief obstacle to all aggressive plans.

In the present complicated political situation in the world exceptional importance attaches to the unity of the countries of the socialist community, the cohesion of all the contingents of the world Communist movement. World reaction finds encouragement in everything that undermines the unity of action of the revolutionary forces in the struggle against imperialism. That is why the fraternal parties resolutely condemn the splitting policy of the leaders of the Communist Party of China, their attacks on the CPSU and other Communist parties. The policy of Mao Tse-tung has nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism, it discredits the ideas of socialism and communism in the world.

In the fight for the unity of the movement we highly appreciate the role of the CPSU and jointly with the Party of Lenin and the Soviet Union oppose the rude attacks and pernicious anti-Soviet actions of the Chinese leadership.

At the present time the overwhelming majority of the Communist

and Workers' parties feel an urgent need for a new international conference as the most suitable forum for making a joint appraisal of recent world developments and defining new tasks in the struggle against imperialism, for socialism and communism.

Life confirms that despite the considerable harm done to the world Communist movement by the policies of the Chinese leadership, the spirit of proletarian internationalism—one of the basic behests of the Great October Socialist Revolution—lives on and continues to underlie the present-day complicated development

The cooperation between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has its history, its traditions and new features. Since its very inception our Party has had the closest and most sincere relations with the CPSU.

Within a short space of time we have achieved fundamental social transformations. The 12th and 13th congresses of our Party outlined the main direction of the comprehensive development of our socialist society, our peoples and national groups. The tasks set by us can be carried out only in close internationalist alliance with the revolutionary forces which strive for social progress, freedom, democracy and peace and oppose world reaction. That is why the 13th Congress of our Party stressed that "fraternal alliance with the USSR is for the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic a guarantee of security, sovereignty and freedom. Cooperation with the Soviet Union creates the best conditions for further harmonious development, for the successful building up of socialism and communism in our country."

The aim of our extensive political and educational work will be above all continued promotion of the ideological unity of the Communist Party and people of our country, enhancement of the spirit of proletarian internationalism and socialist patriotism among the broadest section of the working people and especially among the youth, consolidation of relations between our peoples and nationalities, and further development of fraternal friendship with the Soviet Union.

# ACTIVITIES OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

**February 13.** *Unidad Sindical*, the MUCS (Movement for the Unity and Coordination of Trade Unions) newspaper published in Argentina, carried an article on the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution. The socialist revolution of 1917, the paper wrote, had opened a new era in history. The achievements of this revolution were gains for the international working class. This was why the Argentine working class also regarded the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution as its own holiday.

**February 13 and 14.** Edgar Woog, General Secretary of the Swiss Party of Labor, and Etienne Lentillon, member of the Leading Committee, were on visit to Poland, where they held talks with comrades from the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party.

**February 14-17.** Raymond Guyot, member of the PB CC FCP, and A. Jourdain, member of the CC, were on stay in Yugoslavia.

The French representatives exchanged views with the LCY leaders on bilateral cooperation and current issues, in particular European security.

**February 14.** *Volksstimme* carried a report on the plenary meeting of the CC, CP of Austria. Erwin Scharf, Secretary of the CC CPA, reported to the plenum, describing the latest congress of the Socialist Party of Austria as a certain swing to the left. This was increasing the role of the CPA, he said.

In the next few months the CPA will campaign to win new members.

**February 14.** The CC, CP of Ecuador sent the CC CPSU a telegram supporting the dignified position taken by the CPSU in face of the chauvinist and anti-Soviet campaign led by Mao Tse-tung and other CPC leaders. The CC CPE hailed the correct policy line of the CPSU and the government and people of the Soviet Union aimed at extending effective aid to the Vietnamese people, who are waging a heroic fight against imperialist aggression.

On the same day the CC CPE sent a telegram to the CC CPC saying that the CC CPE protested against the anti-Soviet campaign led by certain Chinese leaders. This campaign was injuring the cause of proletarian internationalism, as could be seen from the fact that the Chinese authorities tried to prevent the Soviet Union from helping the heroic people of Vietnam, blockading the Soviet Embassy in Peking, etc. We hope, the telegram said, that in accordance with a long-standing tradition the CPC will reconsider

its attitude with a view to preserving world Communist unity and the friendship of the peoples of the socialist countries, and to promoting the victory of the Vietnamese people.

**February 14.** The *Information Bulletin* of the CP of Belgium published a statement by the Political Bureau of the CPB saying that the opposition should have a right to state its point of view on the new draft law regarding Belgian radio and television. The PB considered that the public was entitled to impartial information, and insisted on the right of the opposition, in particular the CPB, to make its opinion known on radio and TV.

**February 15.** The CC HSWP held a regular plenary meeting, with Janos Kadar, First Secretary of the Party in the chair. Zoltan Komocsin, Secretary of the CC, presented a report on pressing international issues, and submitted a plan for international links and proposals for the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution.

Bela Biszku, Secretary of the CC, informed the plenum of the preparations for the elections to the State Assembly and local government bodies.

The CC discussed guidelines for the position of the Communists who are going to attend the congress of production cooperatives. Rezso Nyers, Secretary of the CC, submitted relevant proposals.

The CC unanimously approved the reports, proposals and guidelines presented, and resolved to publish a resolution on the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution.

**February 15.** A national seminar was held in Bologna in February to discuss problems of the Catholic movement, according to a *Unita* report. The seminar, sponsored by the Marabini Institute of Problems of Communism, was attended by more than fifty leading members of the ICP and Italian Communist Youth Federation, members of leading bodies, representatives of ICP federations and major sections in various parts of the country.

**February 16-18.** The CC CP of Japan held its Third plenum.

On behalf of the CC Presidium Kenji Miyamoto, General Secretary of the CC, presented a report on the results of the recent election campaign. He analyzed the situation at home and abroad following the elections, and spoke of the Party's policy at the coming elections to local government bodies.

The Plenum discussed and unanimously approved Miyamoto's report and the policy to be followed by the Party at local elections.

**February 17.** *Dia* reported that a few days earlier the CC of the Mexican CP had held its Ninth Plenum to decide on the convening of the next Party congress. The 15th Congress of the MCP, to be held from June 16 to 20, 1967, is to concern itself with the problems of the Mexican people's struggle for democracy, against imperialism, and elect the leading Party bodies.

**February 21.** The CC, CP of Germany published a statement expressing the hope that the talks going on in Geneva would soon result in signing a nuclear non-proliferation treaty. The CC emphatically condemned attempts by the Kiesinger government to block agreement on the issue.

The statement stressed that these attempts of Bonn were prompted by the desire to leave the way to atomic arms open.

The CC CPG noted that a ban on the proliferation of nuclear weapons would meet the interests of the West German population, and voiced its support for the West German progressives advocating a non-proliferation treaty.

**February 21-24.** The CC ICP met in Rome. The items on the agenda were: mobilization and activity of the Party to extricate the country from the crisis caused by the Center-Left coalition; the fight for peace and freedom in Vietnam, and the ICP commitment to strive for the unity of the world Communist movement.

Alessandro Natta, member of the ICP Leadership, reported on the first item. He stressed that the policy line of the Center-Left government had pushed the country to the brink of crisis.

The Communists must maintain and build up the organizing force of the Party, he said, particularly among the workers and youth. The Party should retain and promote its character as a mass political organization to accomplish what others cannot, that is, lend significance to the participation of the masses in political life, and ensure the growth of the Party.

In the closing part of his report Natta formulated a number of specific tasks facing the Party in the struggle for the interests of the working people, for the democratic and socialist development of Italy, for peace.

Enrico Berlinguer, member of the ICP Leadership, presented a report on the struggle for peace and freedom in Vietnam and the tasks of the ICP in the fight for the unity of the world Communist movement.

Luigi Longo, General Secretary of the ICP, took the floor to reply to the debate.

**February 22. The** CC, CP of Spain published a document reading as follows:

*"To the CC of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*

"Dear Comrades,

"The tragic events taking place in China are causing deep concern and anxiety to the world Communist movement and to every Communist.

"It is hard to understand and to get to the root of the reasons inducing the present Chinese leaders to organize and launch an unprecedented campaign of nationalist and anti-Communist xenophobia. Like a mud flow, that campaign is sweeping the cities and

provinces of China, which is playing into the hands of the worst enemies of communism, the U.S. imperialist aggressors, making it easier for them to wage their criminal war against the heroic people of Vietnam.

"We Communists have always taken a stand against reactionary arbitrariness wherever it manifested itself. With all the vigor of our revolutionary conscience, we have denounced the crimes of fascism, and have taken up arms when it became necessary to fight the fascist aggressors and defend the democratic gains of our peoples and countries.

"Today we cannot remain silent and impassive when the Chinese leaders are injuring and mocking at human dignity, flouting the most elementary principles of friendship and proletarian internationalism. They insult the revolutionary fighters of all countries who refuse to accept the monstrous distortion of Marxism-Leninism the Mao Tse-tung group is trying to impose. They insult the Spanish workers, peasants and students, the whole of our people, describing their heroic fight against the Franco regime as 'revisionist.'

"It is impossible to look indifferently on the destruction of the Communist Party of China, the persecution of and violence against veteran revolutionaries who founded the Communist Party, fought home reaction and the foreign invaders, and gave many long years of their lives to laying the foundations of socialism in China.

"We cannot keep silent at a time when the Soviet people, their government and the CPSU are being insulted and provoked, when diplomatic representatives of the Soviet Union and their wives and children are treated so basely and infamously as to arouse shame and indignation.

"Protest against injustice and infamy is a natural reaction of anyone who has not lost his human dignity and his sense of justice. But it is also a duty that cannot be neglected without incurring responsibility for omission.

"We most emphatically condemn the anti-communist, anti-revolutionary policy of the leading group of China and express our fraternal solidarity with the Soviet people, the government and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, who in the face of every manner of provocation have shown firmness, dignity, political wisdom, and a desire to prevent an aggravation of the situation that could and can benefit only the enemies of socialism, first of all the imperialist aggressors.

"We trust that truth and reason will triumph and China will again march with the other socialist countries along the road of solidarity and mutual assistance, against the disruptive maneuvers of the enemies of socialism in which imperialism has a hand.

**Dolores Ibarruri,**
**Chairman, Communist Party of Spain."**

**February 22.** The Drafting Committee of the meeting of the European Communist and Workers' parties of European security began its deliberations in Warsaw. Represented on the Drafting Committee are the CP of Austria, CP of Belgium, Bulgarian CP, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, British CP, Socialist Unity Party of Germany, CP of Germany, SUPG-West Berlin, CP of Greece, CP of Denmark, Italian CP, CP of Spain, Polish United Workers' Party, Portuguese CP, CP of the Soviet Union, CP of Finland, French CP, CP of Czechosloviakia, and Swiss Party of Labor.

**February 24.** Janos Kadar, First Secretary of the HSWP, Bela Biszku, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC, Karoly Erdelyi, member of the CC, Deputy Foreign Minister, left for Moscow on an unofficial visit at the invitation of the CC CPSU.

**February 25.** L. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, received the government delegation of the Korean People's Democratic Republic led by Kim Il, member of the Presidium of the PB CC, Korean Party of Labor, Secretary of the CC KPL, First Deputy Chairman of the Cabinet of Ministers of the KPDR.

Discussion was concerned with the development of economic relations and all-round cooperation between the Soviet Union and the KPDR. It proceeded in a cordial comradely atmosphere.

**February 25.** L. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, and Marshal of Poland Marian Spychalski, member of the PB CC PUWP, Minister of National Defense, paying an unofficial visit to the Soviet Union, met to discuss a number of questions of mutual interest.

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INFORMATION

# bulletin

94

*Included in this Issue*


**REPORT TO CC, ICP**
Ernesto Berlinguer

**RESOLUTIONS OF SOUTH AFRICAN CP**

**INTERNAL SITUATION IN VENEZUELA**
CP of Venezuela



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# information bulletin - 94 (6)

*contents*


**THE FIGHT FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM IN VIETNAM**
Tasks of ICP in Struggle for World Communist Unity,
Report to CC, ICP, by **Ernesto Berlinguer** 5

**SPEECH BY NICOLAE CEAUSESCU** 17

**NEITHER PROLETARIAN, CULTURAL, NOR A REVOLUTION**
Statement by CC, CP of Australia 22

**STATEMENT**
Of the Executive Committee, CC of CP of Uruguay 26

**AS WE SEE THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN CHINA**
Statement of CC, People's Vanguard Party, Costa Rica 27

**SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE**
Resolutions 28

**THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION**
Text of Statement by Irish Workers Party and CP (North Ireland) 32

**EXTRACT FROM SPEECH BY W. ULBRICHT**
At the Party Active, Berlin, Feb. 13, 1967 36

**THE INTERNAL SITUATION AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY**
Statement by Political Bureau, CC, CP of Venezuela, January 1967 39

**RESOLUTION ON VIETNAM**
Council of Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization 45

**50th ANNIVERSARY OF GREAT OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION** 48

**ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES** 58



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# THE FIGHT FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM IN VIETNAM, TASKS OF ICP IN THE STRUGGLE FOR WORLD COMMUNIST UNITY

## REPORT* TO THE CC, ICP BY ERNESTO BERLINGUER

With the resumption of the U.S. bombing of the DRV—an extremely grave step because it was decided on after the Vietnamese side had affirmed that discontinuance of the bombing would pave the way for talks—the war has resumed its inexorable course.

The bombing has done severe damage to North Vietnam. Nevertheless, the Americans have not succeeded either in destroying or in seriously disrupting the economic and defense potential of the DRV.

The attempt to intimidate and demoralize the population has failed completely. Air defense is becoming ever more effective, as the 1,700 U.S. aircraft shot down over North Vietnam testify. (The U.S. has admitted the loss of 2,273 aircraft and 973 helicopters in North and South during the last two years. This figure is close to the number of military aircraft manufactured in the U.S. in the same period.) A great deal has already been said on other occasions of the calm, discipline and courage inspiring the resistance of those people, one of the rarest examples of collective heroism ever seen. The unity of the whole people around the government and the Party is most solid. Besides, the Vietnamese have already taken a series of measures to prepare themselves politically, militarily and organizationally for an eventual change in the nature of the war. This change could result from an intensification of massive bombing or from a direct attack on the North by land and sea.

As regards the reaction of world opinion, it is becoming increasingly unfavorable to the leading imperialist groups of the United States. The American aggression is condemned more widely, and solidarity and sympathy for the people of Vietnam have grown. Lastly, there is greater awareness of the danger the continuation of the conflict spells for world peace.

The main factors for these changes are, first of all, the fight of the Vietnamese people, who have shown that they are upholding a just cause and that the Americans cannot win the war; secondly, the valuable and decisive economic, military and political assistance of the socialist countries, above all the Soviet Union. Lastly, there is the vast impact of the solidarity struggles and movements orga-

*Abridged from l'Unità, Feb. 24, 1967.

nized by the Communist parties and progressive forces in many countries, as well as the many political actions and initiatives taken by political and governmental forces of various trends in the capitalist countries and the third world, and by authoritative international personalities.

Account should also be taken of the substantial value of the diplomatic offensive the Vietnamese comrades launched early in January to show everyone that they really are willing to seek a reasonable peaceful settlement of the conflict on the basis of the Geneva agreements. The United States, by contrast, has never made a proposal for solving the problem. The Vietnamese proposals, above all the statement that unconditional discontinuance of the bombing of the North was the only condition for starting talks, were met with widespread approval everywhere. They were seen as the famous "signal" which the American leaders had said so many times they were awaiting to call a halt to their raids and start talks.

It is particularly interesting to note that the Vietnamese comrades want national reunification to be achieved by the people of North and South Vietnam autonomously and peaceably, on the basis of the Geneva agreements. The Vietnamese leaders of North and South alike have made it perfectly clear that since there exists in the North a socialist system and a state which is part of the socialist community even though it is not committed to any military alignment, while in the South the task is to form a government of democratic and national unity committed to a neutral policy, unification does not have to be effected by annexing the South to the North. It can come about gradually, through a process that may take many years and forms affording every guarantee of respect for democratic principles and of a stable peaceful equilibrium in that region of Southeast Asia.

Naturally—and this is a fundamental aspect of the Vietnamese position—the National Liberation Front should participate as a decisive representative and autonomous force of the people of South Vietnam in any discussion regarding a settlement in South Vietnam.

We know that U.S. leaders have replied by rejecting the Vietnamese proposals out of hand, ignoring even the appeal to merely prolong the bombing pause, and resuming the raids. Does it follow that the matter may be regarded as closed? We do not think so. The prospects and signs of a peaceful solution seemed too near for the aggression to be viewed as inevitable. But first we must try to understand why attempts to bring about talks have so far failed.

Among the reasons for U.S. intransigence are not so much strategic and political considerations relating to the defense of America's

positions in that area of Asia, as the resolve to make clear to the peoples of that region and other parts of the world that the United States is determined to resist the advance of liberation movements by every means.

The U.S. is having to wage an increasingly costly war in Vietnam. While it is true that powerful industrial groups are making huge profits out of the conflict, it is just as true that in recent months financial and monetary difficulties have increased enormously, compelling the U.S. to give up important economic plans and initiatives at home and abroad, and that the economic consequences of the war have begun to tell in a new way. (Almost half the American merchant shipping is taken up with carrying troops and supplies to Vietnam.) The political and ideological rifts caused in American society by the continuing aggresison are becoming increasingly grave, and perhaps no postwar American government has seen its prestige sink lower than the Johnson administraion has. Internationally, this is affecting the relations with the neutral countries and an important section of America's own allies, and leading to serious isolation from ever larger sections of public opinion.

Thus there are many weighty reasons for which the U.S. leaders should have begun to search for a way out of the war. Why, then, do they persist in the war? There are two reasons that may account for this. One is the differences among the socialist countries resulting from the Chinese position, and the aggravation of these differences to the point of rupture. The Chinese leaders' rejection of every form of unity and coordination in rendering material and political aid to Vietnam has encouraged the Americans.

Besides, the events in China may have aroused in the U.S. leaders the hope that in the long run there may occur a more radical and favorable turn in the Chinese situation and policy which could reinforce their resolve to keep a war near the Chinese frontier going. This war seems to have already become—owing also to the absurd Chinese refusal to help restore, if only in the fight against this aggression, the solidarity of all the socialist countries—an important cause of the tension that has developed in China and the Communist Party of China.

The second cause is that the political and moral isolation of the United States in the world, while becoming increasingly serious, has not yet advanced far enough to put the American leaders in a politically impossible situation. The U.S. can still count on substantial support, not only from the ultra-reactionary governments of Far Eastern and Pacific countries, but from such governments as the Japanese, West German, British and unfortunately, even the Italian. We must add that the positions and actions of other major national and international forces, including the Catholic Church,

while prompted by a fundamental desire for peace, and fairly effective at certain moments, have not always been sufficiently consistent and resolute. Lastly, it has to be admitted that even the popular movement and the trend of public opinion in all countries of the world, including the U.S., has yet to reach the degree of mobilization which at present is both necessary and possible.

The situation is so critical that we must not rule out the possibility of a more or less rapid intensification and extension of the war. However, a steady if partial change in one of the fundamental aspects of this situation could open up the prospect of a reverse process. This makes the direction in which our activity should develop quite clear. The main lever to be used is growing mobilization of the masses, encouragement of all the peace forces and pressure on the governments. The task is to stop the U.S. aggression and bring about talks leading to recognition of the rights of the Vietnamese people and to peace. Each step toward a just settlement of the conflict may influence all other factors in the international situation. It may make for the development of new relations of peaceful cooperation among nations further the progress of the working-class and liberation movements and even influence the situation in China and, China's attitude. Conversely, if no headway is made along these lines every aspect of the international situation will become aggravated. In short, Vietnam is something more than the battlefield of a vast national-liberation fight. It is also the main pivot and turning point of the international situation.

This implies that the only correct strategy for us to use in this struggle should be one inspired by the great principles of peaceful coexistence, that is, what we have always maintained—a struggle to establish international relations ruling out the prospect of atomic conflict, foil every attempt at resorting to the policy of aggression, and create that atmosphere of peace and détente that is particularly favorable, as the experience of the past two decades has shown, to the advance of the liberation movements and to democratic progress.

Efforts today should be devoted above all also to isolating the extremist imperialist groups of America still further. Important steps in this direction can and must be made throughout the capitalist world to set new large segments of public opinion in motion.

We reject the theses contradicting this strategic objective. One of them calls for "counter-escalation," and we consider it absurd. It is absurd because it reveals the tendency to see only the military aspects of imperialism and its material strength, forgetting that imperialism is also a political system, a system of alliance and hegemonies having a foothold among the masses. Anyone who forgets or underestimates these elements is virtually renouncing the struggle, which is difficult, of course, but indispensable for

defeating the policy of imperialism, and in the final analysis is laying the whole burden of the struggle on the socialist countries.

That means also declining the principal request the Vietnamese comrades are addressing to their friends all over the world, asking them to press forward the political movement aimed at increasingly isolating the extremist groups of U.S. imperialism and at stripping them of the support they are getting from governments and various political and social forces. In practice, all application of the theory of "counter-escalation" is sheer folly because its end result could be nothing but an atomic world war.

Another erroneous thesis is that so long as the imperialist aggression in Vietnam goes on every initiative to improve the relations between the socialist and capitalist countries and ease tensions in other parts of the globe, including Europe, should be given up. Those who uphold this thesis are trying to conceal the fact that the Soviet position on this issue is perfectly clear, for it maintains that Soviet-American relations can begin to develop on a new basis only if the U.S. abandons its war of aggression against Vietnam. This line in no way conflicts with the search for international agreements, such as that banning the military uses of outer space, or the agreement on nuclear non-proliferation, which has now become so essential and urgent. Such agreements are intended to make it ever more difficult to unleash an atomic world war. As regards the Soviet policy in Europe, it is striving for two objectives which are particularly important for the struggle against the aggressive trends of imperialism and for peace. One is to combat the danger of West German revanchism and the other is to promote every advance and every process that can bring nearer the prospect of a Europe which will be peaceful, increasingly united and at the same time more independent of the United States. This policy, which is providing more favorable conditions for the independent development and advance of the working-class and democratic movements in Western Europe, is a substantial contribution to the entire world-wide struggle against the forces of aggression and war.

Imperialism and reaction have succeeded in delivering telling blows to the liberation movements and revolutionary forces in various Asian, African and Latin American countries, especially in Indonesia and Brazil. But even in those areas the situation varies from country to country. In many countries the liberation movement resists imperialist attack and pressure, and there are signs of an awakening of national and revolutionary forces. Worthy of note was the meeting of a group of Central African countries in the Congolese capital, which adopted a common program of struggle against colonialism and neocolonialism. Also worthy of note, and highly important, is the electoral success scored by the Communists and the Left in India.

Major gains have been registered by the Communist parties of Europe in election campaigns and in unitary policy (France, Finland). The democratic struggle is entering a new stage in Spain.

The chief drawback is that the Communist parties and other sectors of the anti-imperialist front have been unable to join forces to resist the American aggression in Vietnam. Indeed, it is in these years that the split with China has gone deeper. And this is the most serious fact. The harm which the Chinese position is doing to the advocacy and spread of socialist ideals is enormous. To top it all, there is the concern about the evolution of the situation in China itself.

Three big problems arise here. We must try to understand better what goes in China. Secondly, we must study and carry out measures aimed at limiting the adverse repercussions of the situation in China and the Chinese position. Lastly, there is a problem which will hardly become pressing for some time to come but which certainly cannot be dismissed, and that is the problem of overcoming the break with China and the CPC.

As regards analysis of the Chinese situation, some elements can be established. First of all, there is a rather sharp and tense struggle going on in the CPC and the whole Chinese society. It is so confused and chaotic that it cannot be explained by a "rational plan" of the group leading the "cultural revolution."

The second element is the political and ideological substance of the position upheld by a group which cannot be said to be leading China in the full sense of the word but which at the moment is at the head of China and speaks for it.

All this undoubtedly has its roots in growing serious difficulties arising from the internal development and international position of China. First to blame for these difficulties is the policy of the U.S. imperialists, a policy of threats, provocations, and isolation based on the criminal attempt to make the Chinese people renounce the historical national and social gains of their revolution, and to prevent full recognition of the international rights of People's China. The struggle against this policy remains therefore an important point of our entire orientation.

And yet China's internal and international position would not cause so much concern if the CPC leadership had not made serious, fundamental mistakes in recent years.

It is clear, for instance, that the policy and prospect of "changing the face of China in a few years of hard work" have failed. The attempt to forge ahead to communism by skipping a whole phase of economic and social development has proved illusory, even though there is no denying some great historical achievements of the revolution and people's power.

Ever since a certain juncture there has predominated a trend

marked by voluntarist and subjectivist errors. The forced rate of growth prompted by this trend had grave consequences, as in agriculture, in the years when all national resources were concentrated on effecting the "Big Leap" in industry. In the international field, the policy which enabled China to play a vastly important role both in the socialist community and among the new independent countries (witness the Bandung Conference) has radically changed. The prospect of peaceful coexistence has been replaced by the advocacy of a strategy opposing the oppressed peoples of the third world to the rest of the world. The conflict with India was pushed further, and then came the anti-Soviet propaganda of today. Now developments have shown that this line has led to the failure of the very same goals the Chinese leaders had set themselves.

These failures were one of the main reasons for deep and widespread discontent among the masses which, in turn, gave rise to attempts to reconsider and review things in the Party and the leading group. It is significant that at the CC, CPC meeting last summer many comrades stressed the need of a united anti-imperialist front against the policy of U.S. imperialism and the aggression in Vietnam.

It is also indicative that the Chinese press and leaders are continually referring to widespread "economist" trends, which we may presume urge a more correct consideration of the objective and material factors in economic development.

In the light of these facts, the "cultural revolution" seems to be an attempt to avoid, block or prevent every trend toward rectifying the policy pursued so far, and at the same time to mount some major diversions so as to turn popular discontent in that direction.

The struggle is in full swing. Resistance to the Mao group appears to be growing. It would hardly be wrong to regard this struggle as a great contest for "power," which means not only a struggle between individuals or groups, but a struggle to ascertain the organized and social forces on which power in China should lean for support. Are these to be the Communist Party, the working class and its organizations or the Army, or some other forces?

The turns that the situation may take cannot be foreseen. They might be very serious, such as a sharpening of the situation, division and strife between autonomous bodies and, in the long run, a gradual polarization of reactionary forces around one of the warring factions. On the other hand, it is legitimate to believe that a Communist party like the CPC will hardly allow things to take such a headlong course. It is therefore right to carry on our work always bearing in mind the prospect of a straightening out of the situation.

Be that as it may, there remains the necessity for laying down a line that would make it possible to limit and overcome the adverse

effects of the positions and actions of China's present leaders. We therefore reject — as we have always done — every tendency to defer judgment. While reaffirming our pledge to combat U.S. imperialist policy in Asia and toward China, and our solidarity with the Chinese people in this struggle, we renew our severe criticism and condemnation of the present Chinese stand. This has been our position from the outset. It has been absolutely firm and unambiguous even though we have always distinguished between our criticism and the anti-Chinese campaigns carried on by the reactionaries, including those in our country.

What we now regard as particularly serious is the Chinese leaders' rejection of every proposal for united action against the U.S. aggression in Vietnam and Asia, and their present absurd and slanderous campaign of anti-Soviet provocation. In this way the Chinese leaders are reducing their opposition to imperialism to hollow, pointless utterances. To go as far as to consider the Soviet Union the chief enemy of the Chinese people means rendering a service to imperialism which could derive a new stimulus for its policy of war out of a further deterioration of Sino-Soviet relations. It also means raising more obstacles to the very search for a negotiated and peaceful settlement of the Vietnam conflict. It neither meets the national interests of Vietnam nor promotes peace.

For all these serious reasons—apart from the fact that it reflects on the ideas of socialism—we criticize and reject the Chinese position. This is not to say, of course, that we are launching an anti-Chinese campaign, for we always remember that the common enemy on whom the full fire must be concentrated in U.S. imperialism. However, we openly dissociate our line from that of the Mao group. At the same time we must reaffirm and give an ever higher estimation to the policy and role of the Soviet Union, which is proving itself, also in the present international situation, as the main bulwark of the struggle of all peoples for freedom and peace.

The Italian working-class movement and our Party have a solid and long-standing internationalist tradition that has never been lost. The principle and practice of autonomy to which we firmly adhere have never been regarded or applied by us as renunciation of the general vista of the common and permanent general interests of the world proletariat, or of deep and militant solidarity with the working people and revolutionary forces of all countries or with the socialist countries. The supreme document expressing the thought and line of our Party on these issues—Comrade Togliatti's "Memorandum," which so emphatically stressed that the autonomy of each party has now become a requisite for its political development, and which so precisely underlines the need to bear in mind, with regard to internal relations in our movement and to the initi-

atives it takes, the diversity of situations and concrete political positions corresponding to the position and degree of development of each country—is wholly inspired by concern for the unity of the working-class and Communist movement, and by the desire to show the ways and means of upholding and promoting this unity and solidarity.

That has been, and is, the invariable axis of our policy line toward the working-class and Communist movement. In the present situation and at this particular moment we consider in fact, that the problem of restoring and promoting the unity of our movement is of special and increasing importance. The attitude to the issue of unity of the Communist movement and the anti-imperialist forces is becoming the touchstone of the internationalist spirit and line of the various parties. It is no longer enough to swear allegiance to Marxism-Leninism. The experience of recent years and the position of the Chinese comrades, who keep on declaring that they are the most loyal and consistent supporters of Marxism-Leninism, show, in effect, that declarations are not enough to prove that one is combatting imperialism by deeds and not merely by words. The position on the issue of unity is now acquiring the value and significance of a real discriminant.

Unity today—unity despite and above differences—can mean only unity in respect of the main line of the fight against imperialism and for peace.

Differences do exist and they are serious and to a certain extent inevitable, and we are as agreeable as ever to any effort to lessen and overcome them, in particular through open discussion and an objective confrontation of positions. Experience has show, however, that the tendency to exacerbate differences on the pretext of combating so-called "modern revisionism," to the point of slander and rupture, is bound to lead to renunciation of the indispensable solidarity in struggle against the common imperialist enemy.

It goes without saying that the unity of the working-class and Communist movement should manifest itself and find specific expression in forms and methods corresponding to different situations. One of the most important and difficult problems facing our movement today is precisely to choose and test new forms of unity corresponding to the present period.

There can no longer be a question of reconstituting an international organization that would lead the entire Communist movement by centralized methods, or of reverting to the concept and practice of leader party and state (however, the Chinese comrades may be thinking of this). The unity we should seek should therefore recognize and take into account the different conditions of work and struggle, as well as the particular points of view of each party. It should guarantee the autonomy which today is a condition, not

only for the development of each party, but for the strength and progress of the movement as a whole.

But reaffirmation of these immutable positions, now widely recognized—and the arduous effort to determine the method of inter-party relations meeting these requirements — should by no means assign a secondary place to the fundamental issue of unity and struggle for unity. In fact, this issue is becoming particularly important now. We therefore oppose and criticize every tendency, coming from any one, to minimize the importance of the issue of unity so as to bring to the fore particularist and narrow-minded concern for one's own national or party interests.

What we actually need today is to reaffirm the unity of our movement in political terms, that is, in terms of the fundamental objectives of the struggle against the aggressive policy of imperialism and for peace. It is for these reasons that the Party Leadership stated, in its resolution published on February 10 last* that we must work to "create conditions for the convening and success of a world conference of the Communist parties." We would expect the conference to have this characteristic and to set itself this principal aim. We would expect every effort to be made at it, with ourselves actively participating, to surmount the difficulties and solve the complex problems arising from this initiative.

To achieve that we must, of course, take into account certain things and provide adequate conditions. The first problem is that of the character and content of the meeting. We think it would be wrong in the present situation to look forward to a meeting that would try to answer and bring system into all the various and difficult questions facing the Communist movement and specific parties. We must work on these questions, but the method to use if we are to make progress in dealing with these questions should be rather bilateral and multilateral meetings and conferences, as well as public discussions making it possible to tackle each question from time to time in concrete terms. A general meeting of the Communist parties should be mainly political and should bear on the main current issues of the fight against imperialism and for peace. We must therefore make a proper estimation of the political impact such a meeting would have in the actual international situation in which it would be held or, in other words, its impact on the enemy and on the masses and the revolutionary forces of the world.

Closely linked with this question is that of the parties that will or will not be able to attend. The number of participants is neither the only nor the most important question. Besides, it is clear that the convening of an eventual meeting can no longer be made

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*See **Information Bulletin**, No. 93(5), 1967, Peace and Socialism Publishers, Prague. (North American edition)

conditional on the participation of CPC delegates, which in the present situation is apparently out of the question. There are, however, other major parties which are against attending a meeting that would be called at present. Obviously, the attitude of these parties toward the meeting, and their eventual non-participation are estimated very carefully and with a sense of responsibility, in particular and precisely in view of the important role they play in the fight against imperialism. For these reasons we think there is a need for thorough discussion and serious effort to bring the positions of these parties on the contemplated meeting closer together. This is not excluded also in view of eventual new developments in the international situation and in the relations between parties. We ought also to consider the possibility of the meeting being attended by observers from certain parties and labor and progressive movements of the capitalist countries and countries in the third world. In preparing for and holding the meeting, we should use a method corresponding to the present composition of our movement and taking into account the requirements of the various parties. What I mean is not only the necessity for extensive and manifold consultations making it possible to ascertain, compare and specify the positions and proposals of the various parties, but other aspects as well. It would be right, for example, to begin with bilateral and multilateral exchanges and confrontations of views on every question relating to the date of the meeting and the method of preparing for it, including the nature and content of the documents to be adopted in conclusion.

The points and reservations we made when, between 1963 and 1965, the question of a new meeting came up for discussion were not due to fundamental opposition (we have never adhered to such a line) but to political considerations and doubts as to the opportuneness of a meeting in the conditions prevailing at the time. We are convinced that the line we followed was correct. The facts have shown that a meeting held in those conditions would not have benefited the unity and struggle of our movement, nor the struggle of the movement as a whole against the position of the Chinese comrades. The conditions obtaining today are largely new and different. It is becoming increasingly necessary to counter the disruptive processes of division, centrifugal trends, and the dangers of disintegration with a reverse process, by strengthening and carrying forward the cohesion of our movement in the common fight against imperialism and for peace. Consequently, the situation has to be re-examined.

We must strive, however, to avoid possible false steps if we are to surmount existing difficulties and advance to a meeting that would really promote the objectives we all seek. In any case, it is clear that since we can hardly expect an international meeting to

be called before the end of this year whereas there is a pressing need for the parties to cooperate on various urgent international problems, the next few months and the whole of this year should be devoted to intense and manifold international efforts to strengthen unity, with the collective participation of the greatest possible number of parties. These parties should take the initiative of carrying on vast struggles and joint campaigns, and of holding bilateral and multilateral meetings aimed at a thorough study of burning issues, such as problems of collective security (with which the first meeting preparatory to a conference of the European Communist parties is concerning itself in Warsaw these days*), meetings of the Communist parties of the capitalist countries and the liberation movements to formulate a common program of struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism, and theoretical conferences (for instance, on the changes that have occurred in almost all the socialist countries due to the reforms effected in recent years).

The important thing—and the conclusion we must draw from our entire assessment of the present situation in the Communist movement—is that our whole Party, being fully aware of its international responsibilities, should now begin working earnestly and on a large scale to make an effective contribution to the struggle for freedom and peace in Vietnam, to every struggle against imperialism and for peace, to the unity of the working-class and Communist movement all over the world.

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*The reference is to the meeting of the Drafting Committee, of the conference of the Communist and Workers' parties of Europe, February 1967.

# SPEECH* BY NICOLAE CEAUSESCU

## EXTRACT

In this period of deep-going revolutionary change there is a close interconnection between national tasks in socialist construction and the task of promoting international solidarity with the fraternal peoples of the socialist countries, the working people of the world, and the anti-imperialist and peace-loving forces of the globe. These tasks impose a special responsibility on every party and every socialist country. The greater a country's progress in socialist construction, the greater the contribution that country makes to the common cause of socialism and to the struggle for peace and progress throughout the world.

Central to the foreign policy of Rumania are friendship, fraternal alliance and all-round cooperation with all socialist countries. The meetings and contacts we have lately had with the Party leaders and statesmen of socialist countries, and the exchanges of Party and government delegations, and the expansion of relations in the fields between Rumania and other socialist countries are a valuable contribution to the fraternal friendship and solidarity of the countries in the socialist world system and to the unity of the socialist countries.

The Communist Party of Rumania, which is aware of its responsibility to the Rumanian people and of its international responsibility to the Communist and working-class movement and the anti-imperialist forces generally, resolutely opposes a deeper split in the world Communist movement. It actively contributes to the unity of the socialist countries, the world Communist and working-class movement, and the forces of progress and world peace.

While guiding itself by the exigencies of present-day international relations our country is expanding and carrying forward cooperation with every country of the world irrespective of their social systems. Rumania has lately taken numerous political and diplomatic steps in the international arena. There have been reciprocal visits and talks between representatives of Rumania and those of a number of European, African, Asia and Latin American countries. We have had useful exchanges of views, held in the spirit of mutual respect and understanding, on the relations between Rumania and the countries concerned, as well as on some fundamental issues of

*Translated from Agerpres release. The speech was delivered by N. Ceausescu, General Secretary of the CC, CPR, to the Sixth Conference of the Union of Student Associations of Rumania in February.

the social and political development of the world and of international relations today. This, of course, is bound to further the cause of peace and international security, improve relations between states and increase trust between nations.

The Party and government of Rumania devote primary attention to creating a climate of peace, cooperation and good-neighbor relations between all countries in the Balkan and Adriatic area irrespective of their social systems. Rumania is striving to extend cooperation with the Balkan countries in many fields with due regard to the vital interests of the nations which want to live in peace and concord, build up their traditional cooperation and thereby help to ease political tensions in Europe.

At present Rumania has diplomatic relations with numerous countries on all continents. It is steadily multiplying its economic and diplomatic relations, and normalizing its relations with other countries as it promotes mutual interests and the cause of peace, which is common to all.

The Party and government of Rumania have repeatedly stressed that respect for the sacred right of every nation to shape its own destiny, to choose its own road of development and its form of social organization without foreign interference and according to its will and aspirations. is the solid basis on which new relations of international cooperation can be built making it possible to create a healthy international climate and do away with tension and distrust between countries.

With regard to relations with other countries and to international affairs, Rumania firmly advocates the inviolability of the principles of national independence and sovereignty, equality, non-interference in the affairs of other countries, and mutual benefit. In applying these principles today, the basic condition for normal relations between countries is to avoid international conflicts and to foil imperialist plans of aggression. Developments invariably bear out the soundness of policy based on these principles, which are gaining ever greater international recognition, asserting themselves in the relations between states and becoming the motto of international politics.

Emphasizing the importance of the meeting of the member countries of the Warsaw Treaty organization in Bucharest last year, the speaker said that subsequent international events showed the correctness and vitality of the principles of the Bucharest Declaration and the fact that the ideas and proposals put forward by socialist countries were winning the minds of the peoples who want to base their cooperation on new principles, eliminate the danger of a new devastating war, and promote peace and security. They have roused a strong echo in public opinion, among politicians and in the ruling circles of the West.

The reactionaries and imperialists, above all the American imperialists, and the neo-Nazi and revanchist forces of West Germany, trying to hold their positions, resist the process of international détente. They would like to maintain the principles of cold war and distrust between European countries, preserve and reinforce aggressive blocs, and continue the arms race.

Analysis of the political situation in Europe, the new conditions and the present balance of forces reveals a further isolation of the reactionaries, a strengthening of the positions of the forces calling for a realistic policy to safeguard European security and prevent a new war.

An important peculiarity of contemporary development is that more and more countries, realizing the responsibility they bear for the fortunes of the world, are actively contributing to the search for ways of settling outstanding problems in the spirit of mutual understanding and international security. The Bucharest Declaration is a constructive program in this sense. It underlines the need of gradually removing the causes of tension existing on the continent. Peace and European security would benefit from the abolition of military bases on foreign soil, the withdrawal of American troops from Europe, the withdrawal of all troops stationed in foreign countries into their own national territories, and the barring of West Germany from nuclear arms. Of vast importance are further efforts for concrete progress toward disarmament, primarily effective measures for nuclear disamament. The idea that the abolition of the aggessive NATO and simultaneously of the Warsaw Treaty organization—an idea supported by the socialist countries—would have a particularly beneficial effect on international relations in Europe and elsewhere is gaining ground. The Bucharest Declaration stresses that the inviolability of the frontiers established after World War II is an important requisite for peace and security in Europe.

Reality shows that every new measure eliminating obstacles and artificial barriers to European cooperation weakens the positions of the reactionaries, lends new energy to the progressive forces, infuses them with new hope, and rallies increasingly large sections of the public to work for European security and peace.

Rumania upholds the principle that to improve the international climate in Europe it is necessary to recognize the real situation created since World War II on the European continent, first of all the fact that there exist two German states, the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany. The Hallstein doctrine and the presumptuous attempts of its authors to speak for the whole people of Germany raises artificial hurdles to cooperation between European and non-European countries, on the one hand, and the two German states, on the other. With the passage of

time this policy has been discrediting itself more and more in the eyes of world opinion, revealing its anachronistic and utterly unrealistic nature, which contradicts present-day international needs and requirements.

Rumania, like other countries, considers that an international imperative and an important condition for a healthier political climate in Europe are to establish and foster many-sided relations with both German states. This would enable the two German states to contribute to European cooperation and to the safeguarding of peace, progress and civilization in Europe.

Rumania maintains close fraternal cooperation with the GDR, the first German socialist state, for which the working people of Rumania have shown international solidarity ever since it was founded.

Not long ago Rumania and the Federal Republic of Germany established diplomatic relations making it possible to expand cooperation between the two countries in many fields. This move, seen favorably by world opinion, is a contribution to European cooperation, to the effort that is being made to clear the grounds for lasting peace and security in Europe. This policy helps the progressive forces of Europe, including the more realistic elements in the FRG that declare for a sound policy. It is important to stress that key political figures in a growing number of countries in Europe and other continents openly express the opinion that there is no longer any point in diplomatic discrimination against the GDR, and call for normal relations with it.

Many a difficulty and obstacle has yet to be removed from the path of European détente and security. The Party and government of Rumania therefore think it is necessary to continue working steadily for the gradual elimination of the causes of tension, and carefully and patiently to use every opportunity for closer relations between countries, for closer cooperation and a more durable peace in Europe.

The Socialist Republic of Rumania concerns itself especially with promoting friendly relations with the new free countries. It supports their fight against neo-colonialist policies, against all pressure from the imperialists and reactionaries. It supports the efforts of their people directed toward independent development, toward achieving their national objectives—socialism and economic, scientific and cultural progress.

The Rumanian people identify themselves with the peoples fighting for freedom from colonial tyranny, for national independence.

The intensification of the U.S. war of aggression against the Vietnamese people is a development causing deep concern to the peoples.

The immediate, final and unconditional discontinuance of the U.S.

air raids on the DRV is one of the legitimate demands world opinion has been advancing more and more insistently to make a settlement of the Vietnamese question possible. It is an imperative necessity that all American and other foreign troops be pulled out of South Vietnam. The Vietnamese people should be enabled to settle questions relating to their internal affairs and the problem of their unity without foreign interference. The Rumanian people fully support the Vietnamese people's just struggle and feel confident that the noble cause of the people of Vietnam will triumph.

International developments today are confronting every country, every government and people, and the whole of public opinion with formidable problems.

Rumania, prompted by the awareness of the great international responsibility it has to bear as a socialist country, will continue energetically and steadfastly to advocate the removal of the causes of international tension and distrust. It will champion normal cooperation and mutual trust between nations, and lasting peace and security in Europe and the rest of the world.

# NEITHER PROLETARIAN, CULTURAL, NOR A REVOLUTION

## STATEMENT* BY THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY OF AUSTRALIA

A recent meeting of the central committee of the Communist Party of Australia heard and endorsed a report by general secretary Laurie Aarons on events in China, and authorized a statement setting out the Party's view on the present position of the Chinese leadership. The statement appears below.

Developments in China are extremely serious and dangerous, threatening the very basis of socialism in China, disrupting unity of the socialist countries and aid to Vietnam, harming the struggle for national liberation and the work of Communist parties everywhere.

The so-called "great proletarian cultural revolution" is in fact a bitter and ruthless internal power struggle.

This is by no means just a struggle for personal power, despite appearances and the way it is reported in the daily press.

The power struggle reflects a contrast between two opposing lines of policy to decide the way forward for China.

Building socialism in China is extremely complicated and difficult, taking into account the country's size, the inherited economic problems and the relatively very small modern industry and scarcity of experienced workers, trained technicians, scientists and administrators.

All this is greatly affected by the unyielding hostility of the United States, with its policy of encirclement and provocation.

The policies of those opposing the Mao-Lin group are not clear since they are denied the right to publicize their views.

These have to be deduced from attacks launched against them.

They appear to want national policies of socialist construction, based upon large-scale industry; to raise living standards gradually, stimulating production by material incentive as well as socialist education; to learn from other countries' experience and technique, socialist and capitalist; to modernize the Army.

### UNITY

For all these things, they would need a quite different internal

*Tribune, Feb. 22, 1967.

policy and a foreign policy aimed at restoring relations of cooperation with the USSR and other socialist countries.

This would create conditions to restore the unity of the socialist countries and the international Communist movement and would redevelop trade and cooperation vital for the Chinese economy.

The main targets for attack by the dominant faction are everywhere leaders of the Communist Party itself, and the elected People's Councils.

They include such men as Liu Shao-chi (who has made no public statement since July 22 last year, though Chairman of the Republic), Teng Hsaio-ping, Peng Chen and other leaders elected by the CP Eighth Congress.

In addition, in at least 27 major cities and provinces of China—from Peking to Shanghai to Harbin and Lhasa—attacks have been launched on Party and government leaders.

In each case, the formula is the same. The attack is launched against "a handful of people in authority in the Party and the State who are taking the capitalist road . . ."

Invariably, the targets are the municipal and provincial committees of the Party, and equivalent local government bodies.

Far from being "a handful," these committees have considerable mass support everywhere.

The method of attack also appears very similar. Instead of fighting the issues out democratically within party and government bodies, a minority in the leading party committees enter into a "three-way alliance" with "revolutionary rebel" organizations (nowhere including the millions-strong Communist Party, Young Communist League, trade union or women's organizations) and with leading groups in the army.

When this "alliance" is formed, the newspapers, radio stations and public security bureau are seized by force, the elected organs of power are overthrown, and opponents are "dealt with according to law."

The industrial working class is nowhere leader of this "revolution." The national trade union leadership was removed, the Communist Party by-passed and split.

Indeed, the Chinese press often speaks of workers being "misled," of strikes and stoppages inspired by "economism," and of "masses opposing masses."

Shanghai was almost paralyzed in early January and leaders since attacked as "economists" signed agreements amounting to 30 million yuan for wages and welfare.

The army itself is by no means united. In Harbin, the "August 8" regiment and the Red Militia had to be disbanded, and reports of other divisions are persistent.

China's 500 million peasants are not active in the "revolution." Indeed, reports suggest that there is unrest among them.

The traditional "Spring Festival" for the Chinese New Year celebrated for over 4,000 years, was banned — a sign of serious problems.

It is impossible to accept this as a "revolution to overthrow the bourgeois reactionaries," when the capitalist class has lost most of its power, and targets of the attack are tested revolutionaries who passed through the fires of China's 25-year revolutionary war.

Culturally, the "revolution" has brought the close-down of higher education, the denigration and even destruction of the classics of world and most Chinese literature, drama, music and art, and punishment of writers and intellectuals for daring to criticize any of Mao's precepts.

The great prestige of Mao Tse-tung has been distorted into deification of Mao as an individual and his "Thought" as holy writ.

Yet Mao himself rarely signs an article, has made no public speech during the past 12 months and appears as an oracle whose thoughts are interpreted and explained by others.

The irrational, non-Marxist worship of Mao leads to references to him as "the greatest . . . the most, most respected and loved . . . our great leader, great teacher, great supreme commander and great helmsman."

These absurdities, far removed from Marxism-Leninism, are unfortunately only fantastic reflections of the harsh reality that party and socialist democracy have been suppressed.

The 11th Plenary Session of the Central Committee in July, 1966, was the first meeting since September 1962 although it should meet twice a year.

And when the Central Committee met, it was very different from that elected in 1956. Peng Te-huai, Peng Chen and several other Political Bureau members had toppled, others were missing, and it was attended by many non-members of the C.C.

The last congress was held in 1956, although there should be one every five years. Surely, if a "great cultural revolution" was needed, the Party should have decided it at a Congress.

This was not done, because too, many Maoist policies had failed —the Great Leap with its slogan "Three Years Hard Work Ten Thousand Years of Happiness," the communes which were to leap China straight over socialism into communism, the reverses of China's foreign policy and its isolation in the international Communist movement. These policies are now splitting the Chinese Communist Party.

The Chinese leadership's extreme nationalism finds it main, though not its only, expression in attacks upon the Soviet Union.

Violent attacks on the Soviet Embassy and diplomats are accom-

panied by strident abuse and threats, far worse than ever levelled against U.S. imperialism.

They seem to aim at diverting attention from internal problems and forcing a break in diplomatic relations.

This would be a further terrible blow at socialist unity, already so crippled by Chinese refusal to join in common action in support of Vietnam.

It would imperil the supply of Soviet aid to Vietnam, so important to defense of the Democratic Republic against U.S. imperialist aggresion, and already hampered and obstructed in many ways by the Chinese Government.

Chinese attempts to disrupt relations, and implied threats of conflict, are a further help to U.S. imperialism.

The Communist Party of Australia condemns these anti-Soviet actions and welcomes and supports the restraint and patience of the Soviet Union, in face of obviously stage-managed incidents as a pretext for anti-Soviet attacks.

These actions harm the struggle of all world anti-imperialist forces, and encourage U.S. imperialism and associated forces to intrigue against the socialist countries and step up their aggression against Vietnam.

The Communist Party of Australia fully supports Premier Kosygin's rejection of any possibility of conflict between the USSR and China and hopes for a similar statement by the Chinese People's Republic.

It rejects Peking's attacks upon the policies of fighting for peaceful coexistence, its rejection of the call of common action in support of Vietnam, and its absurd charge of capitalist restoration.

## IMPERIALISM

Excesses and absurdities inherent in the "cultural revolution" strengthen imperialist propaganda against China and indeed against communism everywhere.

The Australian Government and the daily press use these developments to justify intervention in Vietnam and their anti-China and anti-Asian policies.

Still another danger lies in the incipient split in China's armed forces, encouraging the most agressive elements in Taipeh and Washington to take even more hostile attitudes and actions against China.

The Communist Party of Australia completely opposes and will continue to organize opposition to the anti-China policies of the American imperialists and the Australian Government. This is vital for world peace and Australian security.

# STATEMENT*

## OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE CP OF URUGUAY

The Executive Committee of the Communist Party has examined at its meeting the various questions connected with the development of the struggle for world Communist unity with a view to strengthening solidarity with the fight of the Vietnamese people against the U.S. aggression.

The Executive Committee considers that unity of the world Communist and working-class movement is the central factor in rendering joint aid to the struggle of that people in defense of national independence, and also in safeguarding the independence of all peoples and the community of socialist countries.

Solidarity of the Communist movement implies its cohesion and obliges us — disagreements on many issues notwithstanding — to find ways of ensuring, by common effort, closest unity of action.

The current events in the People's Republic of China are creating complex obstacles to both unity and solidarity. Underlying this crisis is the retreat of a group of CPC leaders from the general line of the Communist movement, from the program documents jointly adopted in 1957 and 1960, from the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The failure of the line which the CPC tried to impose upon the world Communist movement has led to isolation of the CPC in the international revolutionary movement, to the economic and social difficulties which could not but imperil the future development of socialism in that country. On the other hand, the current events, designed to help replace the proletariat as the leading force by the so-called "Red Guards," the dissolution of the trade unions and their central body and of the Young Communist League, the humiliation and insults to which veteran heroes of the Chinese revolution, leaders of the Party, the state and Party organizations are subjected, are accompanied by an unprecedented anti-Soviet campaign directed against the Communist Party of the Soviet Union—the Party of Lenin—and against the entire world Communist movement.

In these conditions the executive Committee of the Communist Party regards as timely the initiative of a number of Communist parties to convene an international conference of the parties to discuss new problems of the development of the revolutionary struggle and new ways of securing the cohesion of the world Com-

*El Popular, February 1, 1967.

munist movement, to strengthen combat solidarity with the people of Vietnam.

This conference should be instrumental in bringing about the unity of the world Communist movement. Therefore preparations for it should be geared to this need and this basic aim.

The Executive Committee expresses its confidence that to that end fresh efforts will be made aimed at finding ways to the unity of the entire movement based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

# AS WE SEE THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN CHINA

## STATEMENT OF THE CC, PEOPLE'S VANGUARD PARTY OF COSTA RICA

In its struggle against the best forces of the Chinese people and in its desperate effort to escape the inevitable collapse, the Mao camarilla relies on gangs of juveniles called "Red Guards." The actions against the staff of the Soviet Embassy in Peking are assuming the character of a foul provocation designed to lead not only to the rupture of diplomatic relations but to an armed clash.

We Costa Rican Communists see what great harm the Chinese proponents of Mao's dogmas cause to the Chinese revolution, to the Chinese people and to the world Communist movement. We protest against the anti-Soviet provocations of the "Red Guards," who enjoy the support of the camarilla now in power. These acts of provocation endanger world peace, benefit imperialism and injure the interests of the embattled people of Vietnam. We denounce the policy of the Mao camarilla as betrayal of the cause of the world working class and the national-liberation movement. We declare our solidarity with the Soviet people, the CPSU and the USSR government, which are undertaking highly praiseworthy efforts to prevent the provocations from causing still greater harm to the interests of the revolution and peace.

# SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE

## RESOLUTION ON THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

The Central Committee of the South African Communist Party declares that all Communists everywhere are faced with a most urgent need to come together and collectively evaluate the serious new problems facing our movement, such as:

(a) the U.S. aggression in Vietnam;

(b) the counter-revolutionary offensive of imperialism on a world scale, particularly the attempts to re-colonize Africa;

(c) the need for unity of all anti-imperialist forces and in the first place of the Communist vanguard.

We appeal to all fraternal parties to support the convening of an international meeting for this purpose. This historic year, 1967, which commemorates the 50th anniversary of the great October Socialist Revolution, should be the occasion to strengthen more than ever the unity of the International Communist Movement, the working class and national liberation movements—the united front against imperialism and war.

## RESOLUTION ON THE EVENTS IN CHINA

The revolutionary movement in South Africa has long been inspired by the Chinese Revolution and the achievements of the Communist Party of China. In the face of the fascist police terror and anti-Communist legislation in our country, we ceaselessly expressed the solidarity of the workers and oppressed people of South Africa with their Chinese brothers and sisters in their long and heroic struggles—against Japanese imperialism; against the Chiang Kai-Shek regime of reaction and subservience to imperialism. We rejoiced at their victories, especially the establishment of the People's Republic of China and the laying of the foundations for the advance to socialism in this vast, economically underdeveloped country.

It is with deep regret, therefore, and the gravest anxiety, that we have witnessed the ever-widening departure of the Mao Tse-tung leadership from the principles of scientific communism. Ever since the dominant group in the Chinese Communist Party repudiated the correct and unanimously agreed policies adopted at the

world meeting of 81 Communist and Workers' Parties in 1960, it has step by step moved towards policies and actions whose consequences have proved damaging to the cause of peace, freedom and socialism, and to the interests of the Chinese people themselves.

In their external policy, the Chinese leaders have undermined and jeopardized the unity of the anti-imperialist front, of the Communist movement and of the socialist countries. Their factional and disruptive activities in the trade union, national liberation, peace and many other international organizations, have diverted these movements from their tasks and impeded their progress. South African representatives at African, Afro-Asian and other solidarity and progressive meetings and conferences have time and again experienced the disruption, unprincipled maneuvers and even racialist appeals instigated by delegations from China.

What causes the gravest concern is the mounting campaign of vilification directed against the leaders of other socialist countries and especially against the Communist Party and the Government of the Soviet Union. Claiming to defend the purity of Marxism-Leninism from the danger of "revisionism," the Chinese Government is in practice conducting a venomous and unscrupulous anti-Soviet campaign. It has even gone to the extent of staging a series of provocations obviously designed to bring about a breach of state relations with the USSR.

Inside China, the anti-Marxist practice of adulation and irrational glorification of a single person has grown to absurd proportions. The theoretical and practical work of Mao Tse-tung and the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on the problems of the Chinese revolution has always been held in general esteem. But to hold up Mao's "thoughts" as the source of all wisdom, is to attempt to convert Communism into a sectarian cult. There is no indication that the youth of China are being encouraged to study directly and to absorb the classical writings of scientific socialism, the works of genius of Marx, Engels and Lenin. Instead they are trained mechanically to parrot formulae by rote, to memorize selected passages from the works of a single person. Ignoring the bitter lessons of the period of the personality cult, with its stultifying effects and other harmful consequences, the Chinese leaders have resorted to a similar practice today.

Clearly widespread opposition to the Mao group's policies has developed in China, extending to all levels of the Communist Party, the Young Communist League and the trade union movement. It is to be regretted that this opposition has not been met, nor differences of policy resolved, within the framework of socialist legality provided by the constitution of the People's Republic of China, nor on the basis of democratic centralism within the Communist Party of China. Instead the Mao group is acting in a factional

manner. It has set up, outside the Party and especially among the teenage youth, a new organization of so-called "Red Guards" which, in conjunction with the dominant army leadership, takes it upon itself to oust Party and State leaders. It is now eleven years since the Party held a National Congress. It has been reported that the Young Communist League and the trade unions have been dissolved. It is astonishing to read in the official Chinese publications that what is supposed to be occurring is no longer only a "cultural revolution" but a "rebellion" aiming to "seize power" from "those in authority." Until now, "those in authority" in China have been the elected leaders of the Communist Party. It is hard to avoid fears that under the cover of "revolutionary" slogans such tactics and methods are leading to the undermining of the Communist Party, the sacrifice of its leading role, and the eventual replacement of the democratic rule of the workers and peasants by an arbitrary dictatorship.

These tragic distortions of Communist theory and practice, are far from being of mere academic interest or the exclusive concern of China. The wrong policies within China endanger the gains of the Chinese Revolution and weaken the world anti-imperialist front. The anti-Soviet external policies of China today benefit no one but the imperialists. To a large extent these wrong policies have already been responsible for unnecessary setbacks and reverses. The imperialists have been emboldened and encouraged by the division within the socialist camp to intensify their counter-revolutionary offensive from Vietnam and Indonesia to the Congo and Ghana.

The oppressed people of our country and the whole of Southern Africa are vitally concerned with the strengthening and consolidation of the progressive, anti-imperialist forces of the world. We, the victims of a vicious anti-African regime of white minority domination backed by and dependent upon the big imperialist powers, are sharply conscious that the splitting of the international force of freedom and socialism are against our interests, prolonging our suffering and humiliation. The oppressed people of our country and all honest revolutionaries are indignant at the unprincipled backing given by the Chinese Government to certain discredited splinter groups of Southern Africa. These groups are known to all, including the Chinese Government, for their racialism, anti-communism and disruption of the liberation struggle. By associating with them, the Chinese leaders only expose their own opportunism and lack of principle.

The Central Committee calls upon all members and supporters of the Party and upon all the revolutionary democrats of our country, to expose the anti-Marxist policies put forward in the name of the Communist Party of China which have already done a great

deal of harm to the working class and liberation movement. We call upon all our members to fight energetically for the unity of the world Communist movement as the heart and soul of the world-wide anti-imperialist fighting front against colonialism and aggression, for peace, national freedom, democracy and socialism.

# THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

## TEXT OF STATEMENT BY THE IRISH WORKERS' PARTY AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY (NORTH IRELAND)

1. Internationalism has long been a feature of our people's fight for national and social liberation. The Internationalist tradition was forged in the course of the Irish struggle because of the realization of the vital inter-connection and identity of interests of all peoples fighting against tyranny. Such an Internationalist attitude reflected the best interests of the Irish people themselves. We assert that in the world of today this attitude is even of greater importance than ever.

2. In their review of the current international situation, the Executive Committee of the Irish Workers' Party and the Communist Party of North Ireland express their indignation at

—The continous extension of the criminal efforts of the American imperialists to crush the brave and resolute people of Vietnam.

—The tactics of terror being used by the British imperialists in Aden.

—The recent open manifestations of Neo-Nazism in West Germany.

—The war of the Portuguese colonialists against the people of Angola.

—The Apartheid policy of the South African Government.

—The suppression of majority rule in Rhodesia.

—The imperialist intrigues and plotting in many of the newly freed African countries.

3. Two of these developments, viz. the U.S. aggression in Vietnam, and the accession of the nazi Kiesinger to the position of German Federal Chancellor, constitute *grave threats to the peace of the world.* Ireland included.

4. At a time when the forces of Labor, democracy and peace have been making powerful progress on a world scale; these two retrograde developments have occured, assisted particularly by the existence of disunity in the International Communist and Workers' Movement.

5. In our opinion, the blame and grave responsibility for this disunity lies with the leadership of the Communist Party of China.

6. This dissension has brought extreme relief and comfort to the forces of imperialism. It has encouraged them to embark on bloody adventures involving death and destruction for the Vietnamese

people. This disunity has obstructed and frustrated the effective united mobilization of the power of the world socialist states and the strength of the peoples in the capitalist, newly-independent, and colonial states — both on the issues of all-out aid for Vietnam, and on the solutions of their own problems.

7. We further note the current events in the Chinese People's Republic itself. The present happenings in our opinion are but a still more dangerous development of the policies of the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party when it set out to split deliberately the International Communist and Workers' Movement, as well as the alliance between the world socialist system, the movement for national independence and the working class of the capitalist countries.

8. Though the picture of the current events in China may be hazy and confused there is nevertheless sufficiently clear evidence from official Chinese statements and publications to see that the splitting policy of the CPC's leadership has now developed to the point of splitting the Chinese people themselves, thereby damaging further progress in the advancement of the great gains and achievements won on the basis of the Chinese people's revolution of 1949,

Which was a historic event not only for the people of China but also for the peoples of the world.

9. Whilst the forms of building socialism in China, or in any other country for that matter, are the sole concern of the people there, we cannot but comment on certain developments in China because of their effect on our own and the international struggle for socialism. We consider that "the great proletarian cultural revolution" set in motion by Mao Tse-tung is a gross distortion of a socialist attitude to mankind's heritage of culture. Carried out by teenagers and students, it is being directed against the Chinese working class and its organizations, leading even to the dissolution of the Trade Union Center there: it cannot be regarded as revolutionary. Its deification of Mao Tse-tung and "his thoughts" are an insult to scientific socialists everywhere, who have long rejected the cults of the personality of any one leader.

10. The splitting of the International Communist and Workers' Movement, and the refusal of the Chinese leadership to join in united action with the other socialist states on the issue of Vietnam has been welcomed by the imperialists as helpful to their policy of military aggression. Likewise, for political reasons, they welcome the "great proletarian cultural revolution" presenting as it does a caricature of what socialism should be, and is, thereby alienating the peoples of the non-socialist world from supporting the great ideals of socialism.

11. It is understandable that there should be a subjective reaction of the world's biggest state and nation to the long years of humilia-

tion and exploitation by the Western imperialists; and to the obstruction by the U.S. imperialists to the Chinese People's Republic taking its rightful place in the United Nations Organization. This reaction, however, with its great-power nationalist expression is doing tremendous damage to the united fight against imperialism and to the success of the Chinese revolution.

12. Nothwithstanding the grave developments we have mentioned, we express our confidence in the ability of the Chinese people who made the great People's Revolution to correct these developments and to bring about the reunification of its powerful revolutionary force with the world socialist movement.

13. Arising from our review of the international situation, and because of the differences that exist in the world Communist and workers' movement, alongside the increased military aggression of the imperialists, our two parties support the calls made by many fraternal parties for the convening of an International Meeting of all Communist and Workers' Parties.

14. We consider such a meeting necessary in order to

—Strengthen the unity and cohesion of all the Communist and Workers' parties.

—Further develop solidarity and aid for Vietnam.

—Curb the nazi revival.

—Fight for the admittance of the Chinese People's Republic to UNO.

—Examine the problems of building working-class unity against the monopolies.

—Assist the growing people's unity in Latin America against the U.S. imperialists.

—Defeat the aggressive aims of the imperialists in the whole region of Asia.

—Combat the imperialist intrigues and plotting in the newly independent states.

—Advance the cause of national independence.

—Analyze the present developments in the world capitalist system.

15. As participants in the 1957 and 1960 international meetings, our two parties consider that the time has come for an examination of events and developments since then: for an analysis of current problems and for an estimation of the future. This would be of immense value to us, and we consider, likewise for all parties.

10. Whilst there has been great progress since the last international meeting, there have also been

—Fresh imperialist aggression, plotting and intrigue.

—Economic developments in the capitalist system with growing unemployment and lack of security for the working people.

—The direct interference of the capitalist states in industrial relations.

—The attempts to impose "incomes policies."

—The development of automation.

—The greater concentration of monopoly capital on a world scale and the particular strengthening of the monopolies of West Europe in the E.E.C.

17. The Irish people in the two states of the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland are still divided by the continuing imperialist partition of our island. North and South the people face great problems such as growing unemployment. Progress towards full national independence has been halted. Economic dependence on British imperialism has been strengthened by the signing of an Anglo-Irish Free Trade Agreement. Attempts to build an independent economy have been jeopardized. The foreign monopolists have tightened their grip on our country. The proposal that we should follow Britain into the Common Market holds out the prospects of further damage to the Irish people's cause of national and economic independence.

18. Faced with this situation, our two parties believe that the fullest unity of the international anti-imperialist forces is an indispensable factor for the advancement of the economic and political well-being of our country. It would be a tremendous contribution to the growing unity and militancy of the working-class and national movements in our country.

19. An International Meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties would be of great assistance in further advancing the cause of socialism, the fight for world peace, the achievement of national liberation, and the struggle of the workers against the monopolies. Such a meeting would be a great blow to the imperialists.

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# EXTRACT FROM SPEECH BY W. ULBRICHT

## AT THE PARTY ACTIVE, IN BERLIN, FEBRUARY 13, 1967, ABRIDGED.

In his speech Walter Ulbricht, First Secretary of the SUP and Chairman of the State Council, dwelt on European security and other foreign policy issues. He stressed that the Bucharest Declaration of July 1966 has not lost its significance and influence. The recent Warsaw meeting of Foreign Ministers of the Warsaw Treaty member-countries summarized the results of the measures taken by some of the member countries in the interests of European security. It also discussed the further possible measures.

He gave the lie to the hostile conjectures regarding the venue of the meeting. The GDR, he said, has not suggested Berlin. On the contrary it had proposed Warsaw thereby underscoring that the decision of the Warsaw Treaty member-countries remained valid and were steadfastly being put into effect.

The meeting, he went on to say, bore out the correctness of the GDR's policy. Its proposals aimed at achieving a detente and understanding between the two German states, submitted to the public in the New Year's Message of the Chairman of the State Council, are in keeping with the content of the Bucharest Declaration; they also fully coincided with the proposals advanced at the Warsaw Meeting.

The underlying idea of these proposals is "recognition of the GDR and all existing European frontiers." The main problem is to ensure European security, reduce tension and secure peace and normalize relations between the two German states and their governments. The Bonn government must recognize the reality of the GDR just as the GDR government recognizes the reality of the Federal Republic of Germany.

Walter Ulbricht noted that there can be no normalization of relations unless the Bonn government renounces its claims to being the sole representative of the whole of Germany.

The problem of European security cannot be solved without the participation of the GDR, without the establishment of normal diplomatic relations between all European states.

Touching on the "legal aspect," advanced by West German Chancellor Kiesinger, in the Bundestag, Ulbricht declared that the Bonn government was using this to cover its claims to having the sole right to represent the whole of Germany, its refusal to re-

cognize existing frontiers, that is, its "right" to dismember other states, to control nuclear weapons, not to mention the many other claims contained in the notorious revanchist policy.

The meeting of foreign ministers of the Warsaw Treaty member countries, the First Secretary of the SUP said, unanimously and emphatically declared against this policy of revenge.

We are very satisfied with the results of the meeting, Ulbricht went on to say, for it consistently adhered to the position outlined in the Declaration on European Security adopted in Bucharest by the member states of the Warsaw Treaty.

This document, it will be remembered, specifies the conditions for ensuring European security. It declares that "the territorial claims of the West German revanchists must be resolutely rejected...

"One of the main prerequisites for ensuring European security is stability of the existing frontiers between the European states, including the frontiers of the sovereign GDR, Poland and Czechoslovakia. The states represented at the present Meeting confirm their determination to crush any aggression against them by imperialist and reactionary forces . . .

"The interests of peace and security in Europe and throughout the world, just as the interests of the German people, demand that the ruling circles of the FRG reckon with the existing situation in Europe. This means that they must proceed from the fact of the existence of the two German states . . .

"The GDR, an important factor in ensuring European peace, approached the FRG government and Bundestag with the following constructive proposals: to renounce, on a mutual basis, nuclear weapons, reduce the armies of the two German states, renounce the use of force on either side, sit down at the negotiation table to settle urgent national problems of interest to both the GDR and the FRG."

The Bucharest Declaration, Walter Ulbricht continued, fully supports the GDR proposals. As for the conjectures in West Germany about "what was discussed at the different meetings that was important," he cited Kosygin's statement in England, the statements of Gomulka and Novotny and the Note of the Soviet Government regarding the danger of neo-fascism in West Germany. All these documents, Ulbricht continued, flatly reject the shameless and absurd claim of the Bonn government to having the sole right to represent the whole of Germany. We are grateful to the CPSU and the Soviet government, to our Polish and Czechoslovak friends and also to our friends in the other socialist countries for making clear their attitude on this issue and for further elucidating the Bucharest Declaration.

The Kiesinger-Strauss government, Ulbricht noted is embarking on an imperialist expansionist policy, on a policy of whipping up

revanchism and is altering its tactics accordingly. Adenauer's frontal attack tactics having failed, Bonn is remembering Hitler's tactics when preparing for aggression. Recalling the old times when he worked under Ribbentrop and Goebbels, Kiesinger and others along with him think that maybe things will run more smoothly if they differentiate between the socialist states, try to make them more compliant, so to speak and then launch a general offensive against the GDR.

Hence the timely warning sounded by the GDR and the Soviet government and the firm opposition to all revanchist demands.

Ulbricht noted that if European security is to be achieved Bonn will have to renounce its claim of having the monopoly on representation.

The struggle against Bonn's claim and revanchist demands is at the same time a struggle against West German imperialism's striving for European hegemony. Our people, and the same goes for the peoples of France, Italy, Belgium and the Scandinavian countries are equally interested in this struggle, even though different social systems exist in our countries.

The Bonn government, Ulbricht noted, wants to preserve the essence of the Halstein doctrine precisely because it upholds the claim to having sole right of representation.

Thus, Bonn's foreign policy can be summarized as follows:

First stage: to isolate the GDR by applying differentiated tactics, to preserve the Federal Republic's claims to sole right of representation;

Second stage: general offensive on the GDR and removal of its workers' and peasants' government;

third stage: clear the way for realizing the strategy directed against the East.

The Warsaw Treaty member-countries have seen through this strategy in good time and insist that the Bonn government give it up.

# THE INTERNAL SITUATION AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY

## STATEMENT BY THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, CP OF VENEZUELA. JANUARY, 1967.

The year 1966 is just over, with a plainly adverse balance for the national interests. Among the more salient facts characterizing the situation early in 1967 are the suspension of constitutional guarantees — a move aimed at ensuring the establishment of a virtual state of emergency — the brutal irruption into Central University, the arrest of more than 700 students, massive raids on numerous neighborhoods, accompanied by violence and detentions, and lastly, the bloody repressions carried out by SIFA, Digepol,* and the already notorious State Security Corps, set up on the initiative and under the guardianship of the CIA (this has resulted in more assassinations and in an increased number of people who are said to have "disappeared" and whom their relatives look for desperately and fruitlessly in every prison). In other words, the year 1967 is beginning in the atmosphere of the abolition of civil liberties, the frank suppression of freedom of speech, a rapid decline in the people's standard of living due to a telling increase in the prices of necessities, greater domination of every area of public life by the gorilla-Betancourt camarilla, and the brazen intensification of the process of handing over our natural resources to the imperialist monopolies.

In view of so grave a situation, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Venezuela considers it necessary to acquaint public opinion with its estimations.

The gorilla offensive, supported by the Pentagon, the oil companies and the big bourgeoisie, has scored new gains, as we had foreseen and pointed out. Once again the government has been forced to its knees and made to jettison some of the surviving outward elements of token democracy.

The occupation of the university campus by the Army and police, with all its implications — the violation of university autonomy, mass arrests, evidence forged by servile investigators and their police masters to justify the encroachment on culture and legality that has been committed — was merely the culmination of the pressure which the State Department brings to bear throughout the Latin American continent to crush the student movement.

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*SIFA and Digepol are the names of two police forces.—**Ed.**

However, the gorillas refuse to content themselves with imposing their terms on Leoni. Nor are they appeased by the government's major concessions to the oil companies and the oligarchy they represent. Their leaders continue to exert increasing pressure to ensure that terror is stepped up and that there is complete surrender to the demands of reaction. In November 1966 we clearly stated the political outlook as follows:

"In this grave political situation there are two alternatives equally injurious to the interests of the people: either the government will again yield to the pressure of imperialism and home reaction, intensify the terroristic regime established since the beginning of Betancourt's term in office, and comply with the gorillas' demand for curtailing university autonomy and declaring a state of emergency, suspending the Constitution and taking harsher repressive measures in town and country; or it will be removed through a military coup, with the result that the tatters of democracy long used by the Democratic Action and Republican Democratic Union parties will be cast away."

Recent developments have fully borne out our forecasts, for terror has gained in intensity, university autonomy has been violated and constitutional liberties suspended. But the two alternative indicated by us are still there: either the government will make even greater concessions to the gorillas and the Betancourt group on all points, or the Supreme Command of the armed forces will proceed to establish the regime of force aspired to, in the same way as this was done in Brazil and Argentina.

Thus the country is still faced with the prospect of a new crisis at the top to which the democratic sections of the nation cannot remain indifferent.

Tortures, shootings and "disappearances" are the order of the day again. These facts shocked and aroused the nation, especially when last year the monstrous assasination of our dear comrade, Alberti Lovera, revealed the criminal background of the repressive policy of the present regime. The names of those sentenced to death by the police agencies have now been added to the long list of people who were kidnapped or "disappeared." It includes Comrades Rafael Guerra Ramos and Domingo Sanchez (members of the National Leadership of our Party), Rafael Celestino Chavez, Hector Gimenez and many others whose whereabouts are unknown in spite of the numerous inquiries made in government quarters by relatives and friends, and even by such official bodies as the Municipal Council of the Federal District. Most of the revolutionary leaders have been entered in the list of those sentenced to immediate physical destruction.

All this is a tangible reality which the most hypocritical de-

clarations of Leoni and other spokesmen of the regime cannot conceal from public opinion. The reason why the gorillas have imposed restrictions on press and radio information that are still in force is precisely that they want to commit these crimes, and others planned long ago, with greater ease and behind the back of the nation, as well as to let the assassination of Alberto Lovera, Donato Carmona, Soto Rojas, Burguillos and many more go unpunished.

What is befalling the revolutionaries today is bound to happen tomorrow to all other democrats who refuse to be reconciliated to the present state of affairs. To call a halt to this spate of bloodshed and brutal persecution is, therefore, the bounden duty of all who sincerely champion respect for human life and human rights, which the gorillas today trample underfoot.

The new stage of the development which reached its climax in December was preceded by a well-coordinated campaign of the most reactionary elements of the country whose most characteristic spokesman are Carlos Andres Perez, a Betancourt man, and Edecio La Riva, the ultra-reactionary of the Christian Social (COPEI) Party. It was they who singled out the university as an immediate target. But Washington and the local reactionaries were supplied with the best pretext they could have wanted by the acts of terrorism commited by factionalist adventurers and other Leftist groups in various parts of the capital in the weeks preceding the suspension of constitutional guarantees.

In this connection we declare emphatically that individual terror has nothing in common with the methods we Communists use to achieve the liberation goals we have set ourselves. Such methods are completely alien to revolutionary tactics. They contradict Marxism-Leninism an dare extremely harmful to the popular movement. This is why our Party vigorously condemns and firmly rejects them. Decades ago Lenin, in keeping with the dialectical method typical of genuine revolutionaries, demonstrated the negative aspect of terrorism. "We cannot kill the system by killing the tsar," he said. "They can always find a worse tsar."

Leninism teaches us that those who try to create artificial stimuli in order to set the masses in motion from the top, solely through vanguard actions, are denying, in practice or in theory, that the masses have sufficient reason to rise, being daily plundered and humiliated by their masters and the landowners. They are denying that real revolutionary work consists in providing political and organizational conditions, both objective and subjective, for bringing the masses into the fight against the iniquities they suffer from inasmuch as more or less daring individual actions supply no solutions whatever to the problems of the working class and the people as a whole. If we act in close unity with the masses, we

can and must use every form of struggle until we bring the masses to victory.

When, last November and December, the Communist Party fought together with other democratic forces for amnesty, against the terror exercised by the regime, it helped to put the puppet government in a difficult position and won widespread support. In that way the revolutionary forces surrounded themselves by friends and allies while neutralizing major intermediate groups and steadily isolating the enemy by pillorying him for his crimes, repeatedly proved by public opinion. On the other hand, the adventurous actions of the Leftists created a situation unfavorable to the interests of the revolution. Friendly individuals and groups are compelled to keep silent, the masses are confused and cowed, the wavering and the neutral are giving in to the government, and the latter is finding it easier to strike at the popular movement. When the enemy attacks the democratic camp without any justification, this angers and brings protests from the bulk of the population, and enables us to rally the most diverse progressive groups and to take the offensive with a fair chance of success. But when the enemy uses arguments like those we have indicated and which carry weight with certain segments of the population that have not grasped the essence of the problem, the exact reverse occurs. Terror, it should be remembered, has two sources. On the one hand, it is used by the government to suppress democrats and revolutionaries, nullify the gains of the masses and stamp out mounting popular discontent. On the other hand, terror is resorted to by those who have lost faith in themselves, in their ability to carry on a protracted struggle, such as the national-liberation movement calls for.

For all these reasons, the Political Bureau, expressing the opinion of the Central Committee of our Party, says without beating about the bush to the Venezuelan people and, in particular, to our allies and friends that that absurd form of struggle weakens the revolutionary movement instead of reinforcing it, and is bound to lead to defeat. This specification of our position does not mean that we renounced our policy line of offering armed resistance to government violence. It is a necessary reaffirmation of those principles of our doctrine which regard individual terrorism as ineffective and harmful, and direct action in isolation from the masses as contrary to the interests of the revolutionary movement.

The definitive establishment of gorilla terror in our country and complete subservience to foreign monopoly are not fatally inevitable, and we wish to stress this for the benefit of those who are at one with us in the desire to regain and consolidate democratic freedoms. In the new situation that has been created, with the prospect of new gorilla advances and of even a coup d'état, of new

outrages and assassinations, with the imminence of a second phase of Operation Trap that will carry the blood-bath into the rural areas where the guerrillas are heroically resisting the troops trying to close in on them, there is only one way. It is that of joint mobilization of all democratic and nationalist forces, of those members of the opposition parties who want real progress for the people, and lastly, of those members of the government parties who disagree with the activity of the gorillas and are likely to be hard hit by them sooner or later.

This exceedingly grave situation does not affect the Communists alone. While the offensive today is spearheaded against us, there can be no doubt that it is directed also against the democratic interests of the nation and against the parties and groups vitally concerned with maintaining these interests. The best proof of this affirmation is what happened in Central University, the house raids against such distinguished Venezuelan intellectuals as Rector Bianco and Dr. De Vananzi, as well as the affront to the Association of University Professors, not to speak of numerous other cases. All those who sincerely desire a radical change in the situation must therefore take prompt action against the new dangers looming on the political horizon.

To unite this front, which is what the situation imperatively demands, the Political Bureau of the CC, CPV addresses this appeal for united action, to be aimed above all at:

1. Fully restoring constitutional guarantees, including freedom of the press and the principle of inviolability of the home.

2. Ending the bloodbath being carried on by the repressive agencies, ranging from SIFA to the recently established State Security Corps.

3. Immediately investigating the increasingly numerous "disappearances" of fair-minded citizens, who afterwards turn out to have "committed suicide under mysterious circumstances" in the dungeons of some repressive agency, thrown into the sea, as was the case with Alberto Lovera, or buried in an out-of-the-way spot in the mountains.

4. Immediately releasing the prisoners in particular, the student leaders and other persons unlawfully arrested on the university campus; stepping up the fight for an amnesty, which is a prerequisite for any attempt to pacify the country.

5. Restoring university autonomy, consolidating the university, and providing conditions for the proper maintenance of its rights against new encroachments, which are bound to be attempted as long as the present team, represented by the reactionary camarilla of Betancourt and his followers, is in power.

6. Coordinated action by the democratic forces to thwart the

plans of the gorillas aimed at strengthening their rule and stepping up terror.

We submit these proposals to the masses and the democratic groups and leaders interested in real progress of the nation, for we believe them to meet the serious exigencies of the present critical situation in our country.

# RESOLUTION ON VIETNAM

The Council of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization in its 8th session, Nicosia (Cyprus), February 13-17, 1967, has heard and fully approved the two reports by the delegations of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

The Council notes that:

(1) For more than 12 years running now in utter violation of the Geneva Agreement on Indochina, the U.S. imperialists have been persistently pursuing their scheme of aggression and enslavement in Vietnam as well as neighboring Laos and Cambodia. During the last six years, and especially the past two years, in furthermore of their neo-colonialist enterprise in South Vietnam, they have been waging the broadest war of aggression, the biggest of its kind in the world today.

After suffering bitter defeats in South Vietnam the U.S. imperialists openly extended their war to North Vietnam, mustering air and naval forces in round-the-clock raids and at present are preparing for new escalation steps, fraught with the greatest dangers. The air and naval war of destruction against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, an independent and sovereign country, is de jure as well as de facto, a war of aggression against the Vietnamese people.

(2) The present war of aggression of the American imperialists in Vietnam is the most barbarous and the most brutal war ever known in history. The U.S. imperialists surpassing the Hitlerite fascists in barbarism, have stopped at no barbarous and vile methods, including toxic chemicals, poison gases, phosphorous bombs, marble bombs, napalm bombs, prohibited by international law. They have even resorted to mass massacre such as in Binch Son, Son Tinh (Quang Ngai province), and Ben Sue (Thu Dau Mot province). In so doing they have committed most odious war crimes and crimes against humanity and have been unanimously condemned by all the world peoples, including the American people.

(3) The Vietnamese people in the South and in the North had to struggle, arms in hands, for their own survival and to safeguard their fundamental national rights. They have defeated the U.S. imperialist aggressors in their "special war" and in the first stage of their local war. Their heroic struggle is day by day proceeding towards final victory.

The Vietnamese people, by the heavy blows inflicted upon U.S. Imperialism — the common enemy of Asian and African peoples, as well as the peoples of the world at large — bring a great contribution to the safeguarding of world peace, and to the liberation movement of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America and, accordingly, supporting the Vietnamese people means supporting Afro-Asian peoples themselves, consolidating Afro-Asian Solidarity and defending world peace.

(4) The U.S. imperialists though suffering bitter military and political defeats have not given up their aggressive design. On the one hand they make hasty preparations to bring new reinforcements, intensify and "internationalize" their aggressive and destructive war and commit most serious crimes against the Vietnamese people. On the other hand, they resort to new "peace talks" maneuvers in order to camouflage these dangerous plans and to soften the anger of the American people and the world peoples.

The council unanimously:

(1) Warmly congratulate the Vietnamese people for the brilliant victories they have scored and expresses the firm conviction that U.S. imperialism is bound to fail in Vietnam and that the Vietnamese people will triumph in their legitimate struggle.

(2) Strongly condemns the odious crimes perpetrated by U.S. imperialism against the Vietnamese people and against humanity.

Strongly denounces and condemns all "peace talks" maneuvers concocted by the U.S. government.

(3) Wholeheartedly supports the 4-point position of the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the 5-point declaration of the South Vietnam National Liberation Front, the sole and genuine representative of the South Vietnamese people.

(4) Strongly demands that the USA should:

—Put an end to its aggressive war against the Vietnamese people;

—Definitely and unconditionally cease bombings and all acts of war against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam;

—Completely withdraw all U.S. and statellite troops from South Vietnam, dismantle all U.S. military base in South Vietnam, end U.S. military alliance with the puppet regime, let the Vietnamese people free to settle their internal affairs without foreign interference.

(5) Fully upholds the Vietnamese people in their heroic struggle to resist the aggression of U.S. imperialism with a view to freeing South Vietnam, defending North Vietnam and safeguarding the sacred and inalienable rights of the nation to independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity as stipulated in the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam;

The Afro-Asian Solidarity Council adopts the following decisions:

1—The Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee will organize a "Week

of solidarity with the Vietnamese people" which will take place in March 13-19, 1967 and during which will be organized meetings and demonstrations grouping the trade unions, peoples' parties, youth, students and women movements, etc.

2—The Solidarity Committee will collect during one month and during the current year, funds in money and goods to help the Vietnamese people in struggle.

3—Solidarity Committees will prepare the lists of volunteers ready to fight by the side of the Vietnamese people, when this will be decided by the National Liberation Front.

4—Request the Solidarity Committees to undertake with the mass organizations, every action to hinder in their country the transport of U.S. troops and equipment.

5—Urges all organizations of Afro-Asian People' Solidarity to form in their respective countries committees for denouncing the crimes committed by U.S. aggressors and their lackeys in Vietnam.

6—Urges all anti-imperialist forces to strengthen their unity and co-ordinate their efforts both on the regional and on the international level in their struggle against U.S. aggression and in the rendering of practical assistance to Vietnamese patriots.

The Council urges all Afro-Asian Solidarity Committees in the various countries and peoples of both continents to undertake urgent actions and unleash large scale mass movements to support the Vietnamese people in all fields and by all means until their final victory.

# RESOLUTION*

## OF THE CC, HUNGARIAN SOCIALIST WORKERS' PARTY ON THE CELEBRATION OF THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

### I

Half a century ago, on November 7, 1917, the Great October Socialist Revolution triumphed and the world's first state of workers and peasants — the Soviet Union — emerged, signalling the beginning of the decline of the rule of oppression and exploitation in the world.

With the victory of the first proletarian revolution the theory of Marxism-Leninism, the ideology of the working class acquired practical expression. There came into being the first workers' and peasants' state which under the leadership of the revolutionary party of the working class, under the leadership of the great Lenin established the dictatorship of the proletariat, the power of the socialist revolution. The ideas of Marxism, which had been "haunting Europe" a mere three quarters of a century ago, became living reality on one-sixth of the globe, became a world-transforming force.

The October Revolution signified an epoch-making turn in the history of mankind. There began liquidation of the millennia-old rule of exploitation, and the contemporary history of mankind commenced. In half a century the outlook of the world has changed.

The October Revolution pointed the way to the solution of the acutest problems facing mankind, and since then the world revolutionary process has been irresistibly progressing. Owing to the existence, struggle and revolutionizing example of the Soviet Union 13 countries have already established people's power.

In the years of the Second World War the Soviet Union, bearing the brunt of the struggle, routed the shock force of imperialism — German fascism. Its victory provided a fresh impetus to the worldwide struggle for social progress and national independence. In the past two decades there has emerged a socialist world system, a decisive factor of world history today. The vitality and superiority

*Abridged from **Nepszabadsag**, February 16, 1967.

of socialism are reflected in an unprecedentedly fact pace of historical development.

The October Revolution, and following it the rise of the socialist world system and the support provided by it have enabled the peoples fighting for national liberation to defeat the infamous colonial system. Ever new peoples have been entering upon the road of independence, and the Soviet Union and the socialist world system are their mainstay in the struggle for independent development.

The ideas of the Great October Revolution and socialism dominate in our epoch, winning the minds and hearts of increasing numbers of people. The Soviet Union and the socialist world system constitute the most important base of the worldwide struggle against imperialism and exploitation. Their struggle and victories serve the interests of all mankind. Imperialism is compelled to reckon in all respects with socialism, which has become a reality, and this creates favorable conditions for the struggle of the working people of the capitalist world for their political rights, for a better life, for peace and social progress.

The peoples of the Soviet Union are making great sacrifices in the struggle against imperialism and in the titanic constructive labor to ensure the prosperity of their country. Upon becoming a reality the most progressive social system has turned a backward country into a great socialist power, one of the most developed countries of the world which is in the lead in a number of vital fields. Its production is developing rapidly on the basis of modern science and technology.

The world's first socialist state is the most reliable bulwark of universal peace. Its army, the strongest in the world, stands guard over peace, and its colossal might restrains the aggressors.

Imperialism is doing its utmost to check the impetuous advance of socialism and regain its positions. Imperialism's reckless drive for profits and world supremacy can plunge the world into the abyss of a nuclear war which would jeopardize the very existence of man. The aggressive imperialist circles can be curbed only by the struggle of the peoples, by mankind's will for peace and above all by the might of the Soviet Union and the socialist world system.

The Soviet Union is a model for and the mainstay of the forces striving for human progress, democracy and socialism. The facts of history more and more convince the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America which have won independence or are fighting for it that they can count on the unselfish aid of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

Today, when an irreconcilable struggle is being waged between the forces of socialism and imperialism, the Soviet Union has at its side not only the vast army of Communists, but hundreds of

millions of upright people who cherish peace, progress and national independence. Mankind's greatest asset — the unity of Communists and non-Communists — is coming into being and gaining strength in the fight for peace, progress and national independence.

## II

The life and struggles of the Hungarian working people have in the past half-century been indissolubly linked with the Great October Socialist Revolution. Our people heeded the call of October. They saw that the revolution showed the way to the working people of all countries. We can justly pride ourselves on the fact that after Russia the Socialist revolution scored its second victory in our country, with the establishment of the Hungarian Soviet Republic in 1919, and that up to 100,000 Hungarian internationalists took part in the battles of the October Revolution in Russia.

Our independence and national sovereignty had more than once been in jeopardy. After liberation we found in socialism, in the example of the October Revolution the road to strengthening national independence, to the advancement of our people, to the building of a prosperous and cultured life for them.

Our fraternal friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union are unbreakable, for they are based on the principles of proletarian internationalism and conform to the vital interests of our people. We have common aims and principles, and the prosperity of our country, the consolidation of our socialist gains and the realization of our plans are guaranteed by the close fraternal friendship and political, economic, scientific, cultural and military cooperation with the first socialist state of the world, the 50-year-old Soviet Union.

The destinies of the entire mankind are decided in the great historic battle between the two world systems. In this battle we can see both great advances and victories and temporary setbacks of the revolutionary movement. But the outcome of the struggle is beyond doubt. In the half a century since the Great October Revolution cardinally changed the outlook of the world the prospect for the future has become clear—victory of socialism throughout the world. The struggle will not be easy in the future either, but we will carry into reality the dream of mankind's finest sons and daughters and build a happy world of peace and socialism.

## III

The Central Committee and the appropriate state and public organizations are cooperating to arrange a worthy celebration of the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. By

way of preparing for the anniversary these organizations should organize exhibitions showing the development of the Soviet Union, issue popular-science publications and works of fiction, hold demonstrations of outstanding Soviet films and plays and arrange the performance of the best works of Soviet composers. The press, radio and television should also make their contribution.

The Central Committee calls upon all Party, state and public organizations and movements to take part in the nationwide celebration by holding festivities in their localities and places of work.

They should acquaint the biggest possible number of people with the life of the Soviet Union, with its political, economic and cultural achievements and with the role the first socialist state plays in the world today; they should tell them about our common aims and problems, about our joint struggle for peace and socialism, and show them the great role developing Soviet-Hungarian relations play in the life of our people.

The CC urges the working people of Hungary to launch a special anniversary emulation whose successes will contribute to the further advance of our country and to the triumph of the ideas of the October Revolution, peace, progress and socialism. Together with the peoples of the Soviet Union and the progressive forces of the whole world the Hungarian people will celebrate the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution in an atmosphere of constructive labor.

*Budapest, February 15, 1967.*

# RESOLUTION*

## OF THE CC, BCP ON THE CELEBRATION OF THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE GREAT OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

The Bulgarian people, by joining the fraternal peoples of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and the workingmen of all the world in celebrating the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, will express their boundless gratitude to those who blazed for mankind a trail to the radiant communist future.

The October Revolution has for fifty years now been a bright lodestar for fighting mankind. These fifty years have witnessed

*Abridged from **Rabotnichesko Delo**, Februory 22, 1967.

the constant growth of the international authority of the great Land of the Soviets as the main source of hope, strength and inspiration for all fighters for freedom and happiness, for the right of the working people to decide their own destiny.

For half a century the Soviet Union has been an indomitable material and political mainstay of the world revolutionary process. By the very fact of its existence, by its example in all areas of life the Soviet Union tremendously accelerates social change in the world. No other party, country or people have done so much for the good of mankind and suffered such great sacrifices and hardships for the sake of its happiness and freedom, as the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Soviet country and the Soviet people. The Soviet Union and the CPSU have always fulfilled with honor their internationalist duty; they have invariably been in the van of the struggle against the aggressive forces of imperialism and held high the banner of peace and social progress, the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The Great October Socialist Revolution initiated a new type of international relations. The Soviet Union has always abided by the principles of proletarian internationalism and championed respect for sovereignty, equality, non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. It has waged an irreconcilable struggle to expose and frustrate imperialism's aggressive action, in defense of the freedom and peace of the peoples.

Imperialism is desperately trying to thwart the revolutionary struggle of the peoples, to stem historical progress. The dangerous policy of U.S. imperialism has found its outrageous expression in the brazen aggression against the people of Vietnam.

In these conditions it is the supreme internationalist duty of the peoples of the socialist countries and the Communist parties to strengthen the cohesion and might of the socialist system, the unity of the world Communist and working-class movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, to consolidate the alliance of all revolutionary forces in the struggle against the common enemy — imperialism.

In its effort to build socialism the Bulgarian Communist Party draws upon the experience of the CPSU and the Soviet Union and enjoys their tremendous unselfish assistance. Bulgarian-Soviet friendship is one of the main motive forces of Bulgaria's development towards communism, a guarantee of the blossoming out and independence of our socialist motherland.

In this anniversary year, following the behests of Blagoyev and Dimitrov, the Bulgarian Communists will demonstrate once again their unshakable loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, their love for and

profound gratitude to the great Soviet Union and the Leninist CPSU.

The Bulgarian Communist Party and all our people indignantly repudiate the slanderous attacks of the Mao Tse-tung group on the vanguard of the international Communist and working-class movement — the CPSU — and resolutely condemn its anti-Soviet course and provocative actions. The Bulgarian Communists and all working people consider that the attitude toward the CPSU and the Soviet Union remains the chief criterion of genuine revolutionism, of fidelity of individual leaders, parties and movements to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, to the emancipatory cause of the Great October Revolution.

The unity of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is indestructible, for it is based on common views and interests, on common aims and tasks of their great cause.

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# RESOLUTION*

## OF THE PLENARY SESSION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY OF ISRAEL, JANUARY, 1967, TOWARDS THE HISTORIC OCCASION OF THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE GREAT OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

## I

1. On November 7th, 1967, 50 years will have elapsed since the outbreak of the greatest revolution in the annals of humanity — the Great October Socialist Revolution. This 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution is indeed a day of great rejoicing for working people of the world over, a festive occasion for the working people of Israel.

Fifty years of the October Revolution are 50 years of Socialism in active construction and the laying of foundations for Communism.

Construction of socialism in the Soviet Union took place under extremely harsh historical conditions (both at home and abroad), in a backward country, after a trail of destruction had been left by a World War, a Civil War and foreign intervention, under the conditions of a menacing capitalist encirclement which lasted no less than 20 years.

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*Abridged from **Information Bulletin**, No. 1, 1967, Tel Aviv.

In these 50 years, the homeland of the October Revolution — led by Lenin's glorious Party — has travelled a splendid road of achievements and victories. No difficulties or mistakes (some of them inevitable in view of the very difficult conditions in which socialism had to be built in a single country, some of them due to the cult of the individual) can possibly hide the main and essential point —the general line of the CPSU which has remained correct throughout these last 50 years that have changed the face of our whole planet.

All honor, appreciation and respect for the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, for the Soviet working class and the peoples of the USSR who — under the most difficult circumstances — were able, by dint of self-sacrifice, to build up a society that brought light to the exploited and oppressed of all lands and gave a powerful impetus to the world's revolutionary movement.

2. The Soviet Union's victory over Nazi Germany in the bloodiest of all wars man ever fought, the Soviet Army's liberation of the peoples from the Hitlerite regime of terror showed all peoples the great strength and liberating mission of the socialist regime.

The speedy rebuilding of the USSR's economy after the terrible destruction wrought it by the Nazi beast, the impetuous development of that economy despite all difficulties, the tremendous successes achieved by Soviet science and technology in conquering outer space, the further strengthening of the USSR's defense potential — all these reinforce world peace and deter the imperialist warmongers.

The 50th anniversary of the October Revolution will be celebrated at a time when there exists a world socialist system, counting 14 states — a third of the whole human race.

The USSR's victory over Nazi Germany and militarist Japan, the Soviet Union's political-moral, economic and military might, the assistance it gives all peoples fighting for peace, national liberation and socialism — were a factor of major importance in the victory of a number of socialist revolutions in Europe and Asia, as well as in the Latin American country Cuba, the collapse of imperialism's colonial system, the liberation of many peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America and the establishment of a large number of independent states.

This new development gave a powerful impetus to the national-liberation movement, while several former colonies put into action social measures of a progressive nature, which placed them on the road of non-capitalist development.

The 50th anniversary of the October Revolution will be celebrated in a new international situation which has, to an overwhelming extent, been brought about thanks to the October Revolution and the historic victories won by the USSR—conditions where a world

war is no longer inevitable but where there nevertheless persists a great threat to world peace as a result of American imperialist aggression (above all, in Vietnam), and the reinforcement of neo-Nazism in West Germany.

3. It is the USSR — the land of the October Revolution — that constitutes the main bastion for all the world's forces of peace, for all the forces of revolution. It is the Soviet Union which bears the brunt of the socialist system's defense efforts, the main responsibility for the defense of socialism and people's freedom in the face of imperialist aggression. The Soviet Union is the main force protecting world peace, peaceful coexistence between states which differing social systems and the principle of peaceable negotiated settlement for disputes between states.

At their 1960 Consultation, the Communist and Workers' parties confirmed once again that the "recognized vanguard of the world Communist movement has always been, and will remain so in the future, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, as the most experienced and best steeled detachment of the international Communist movement."

Historical experience goes to show that there is — and indeed cannot be—any such thing as anti-Soviet communism and that proletarian internationalism contains within itself the most consistent defense of the peoples' national interests. It is therefore regrettable that the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party have taken the path of anti-Sovietism, jettisoned the internationalist principles of the October Revolution and, in their descent down the path of nationalism, have done serious damage to the international Communist movement, the cause of socialism in China and throughout the world.

The Communist Party of Israel remains, as before, faithful to the principle of proletarian internationalism, proudly holding aloft the banner of solidarity with the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, with all the forces of socialism and peace the world over. In so doing, our Communist Party serves in the best possible way the interests of the Israeli working class and the national interests of Israel.

## II

The Great October Socialist Revolution has brought the torch of liberation to the peoples of the East — among them, the peoples of the Middle East. As for the masses of the Jewish people in the USSR — the October Revolution freed them from persecution and anti-Semitism, from pogroms and the "Pale of Settlement." The Soviet Union was the very first country to outlaw anti-Semitism. During World War II, the USSR saved millions of Jews from exter-

mination at Nazi hands as well as the Jewish community in Palestine from the threat of Hitlerite invasion and annihilation. Following World War II, the USSR took a clear stand in favor of the peoples of Syria and the Lebanon and other Arab peoples in their struggle to rid themselves from the yoke of British and French colonial rule; it also backed the Jewish and the Arab peoples of Palestine in their fight to overthrow the yoke of colonial rule and came out in favor of their right to self-determination and national independence.

The Soviet Union conducts a principled Leninist policy — in the Middle East, as in all other parts of the world. The Soviet Union has always stood — without fear of favor — by the side of the Arab and Israeli peoples in their defense of their national independence. There is no anti-Israeli policy on the part of the USSR; it is Israel's rulers who pursue an anti-Soviet policy and it is they alone who must bear the blame for the fact that the outstretched hand of the Soviet Union is in fact rebuffed. This results from Israel's ruling circles' waging an anti-Soviet campaign and tagging up with the colonialist Western powers in their machinations against the cause of peace and peoples' independence, as well in the Middle East as in the international arena.

The Soviet Union fights to avert a new world war and to ensure peace in our areas, to the benefit of all peoples. The USSR upholds the legitimate rights of the Palestinian Arab people, just as she upholds the national rights of the State of Israel.

In struggling to prevent imperialist intervention in Syria's international affairs and Israel's entanglement in a military adventure, the Soviet Union acts to the benefit of all Middle Eastern people, whose national security is endangered by imperialism's interventionist designs.

Just like the Arab peoples, the people of Israel have no more loyal friend than the Soviet Union. Friendship with the Soviet Union — where the working people are masters — is vitally important for Israel's working people, a supreme national interest for the Israeli people. Those who sow hostility and suspicion toward the USSR work, in actual fact, to the detriment of the Israeli working class and Israel's national state interests. A policy of independence from imperialism in both the world and Middle Eastern arenas would make for better relations between Israel and the Soviet Union.

## III

The Central Committee, Communist Party of Israel, calls on Party members and sympathizers, members of the Young Communist League of Israel, all working people and seekers of peace and progress in our country to publicly celebrate that memorable event

—the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

To this end, the Central Committee resolves as follows:

1. The year 1967 shall, for the Communist Party of Israel, be a year of celebration of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

2. In 1967, the Party's political-ideological education shall center on subjects connected with the history of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the achievements made by the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, policy in the Middle East, Israel-Soviet relations, the USSR's struggle to ensure peace in our part of the world and in the entire globe.

3. To hold a festive national Party conference to mark the October Revolution's jubilee.

4. The Party Press shall publish special festive issues to mark the event. Our Communist Press shall, in preparation for the occasion, publish special issues devoted to the topic. As from April 24th of this year (Vladimir I. Lenin's birthday), Party newspapers shall carry a permanent column devoted to the October Revolution's 50th anniversary.

5. The Party shall publish a book (in both Hebrew and Arabic) on the occasion of the anniversary.

6. The Party's District and Branch committees shall draw up District and Branch programs for the October Revolution's 50th anniversary celebrations, to be put into effect both within the Party and in activity of a broader nature. Care must be taken to organize study-days, exhibitions, festive evenings and parties and other activities.

7. Party members shall actively participate in — and themselves initiate — activities carried out within the framework of the Israel-USSR Friendship Movement.

8. Efforts shall be made to achieve cooperation with other political forces and public figures as well as scientific and cultural personalities to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution and associate the broadest possible sections of the Israeli public in marking this jubilee.

# ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

**February 23-March 6.** A group of functionaries of the Polish United Workers' Party headed by E. Karelius, deputy chief of the heavy industry and transport department of the CC PUWP, visited the Soviet Union to familiarize themselves with the experience of CPSU organizations in guiding the development of geological prospecting and oil extraction.

On March 6, the Polish comrades were received by M. S.Solomentsev, Secretary of the CC, CPSU.

**February 27-28.** Preparation for the municipal elections in April was the subject of a plenary session of the CC of the Socialist Party of Chile.

The political situation in the country was analyzed by Aniqueto Rodriguez, General Secretary of the Party. He expressed confidence that the Popular Action Front, which unites Communists, Socialists and a number of other democratic parties and organizations, would achieve success in the elections and increase its influence among the masses.

The session was addressed by Luis Corvalan, General Secretary of the CC of the Communist Party, who called for stronger Communist-Socialist unity.

**February 28.** A. N. Kosygin, member of the Political Bureau of the CC, CPSU and Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, received the government delegation of the Korean People's Democratic Republic headed by Kim Il, member of the Presidium of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC of the Korean Party of Labor, First Deputy Chairman of the Cabinet of Ministers of the KPDR.

During a talk which passed in a comradely, cordial atmosphere questions of the further development of economic contacts and cooperation between the Soviet Union and the KPDR were discussed.

**February 28.** Ugo Pecchioli, member of the Leadership and Political Bureau of the Italian Communist Party and head of the ICP delegation to the Warsaw meeting of the Drafting Committee of the Conference of the European Communist and Workers' Parties on European Security, made a statement of *Unita*, in which he said

"A prominent place in our discussion was occupied, naturally, by questions of the struggle against the imperialist aggression in Vietnam, for the close connection between the struggle for peace in Vietnam and the struggle for European security, such as the German question, East-West relations and economic cooperation, the

unity of the working-class and democratic forces in Western Europe, etc., have for the first time found uniform systematic expression in the materials drafted by us. These materials will be submitted to all the European Communist parties and then to the Conference, to be held in Karlovy Vary at the end of April. We thoroughly discussed and compared viewpoints in an atmosphere of genuine fraternity and reached substation community of views on a number of basic issues."

**February 28-March 2.** President Antonin Novotny, who is also First Secretary of the CC, CP of Czechoslovakia, headed the Party and government delegation which visited Poland in connection with the signing of the Treaty of Friendship Cooperation and Mutual Assistance between Poland and Czechoslovakia.

**March 1.** *L'Humanité* printed the statement of Raymond Guillot, member of the Political Bureau of the FCP, concerning the convening of the Conference of the European Communist and Workers' Parties.

It is truly an important initiative, Raymond Guillot stated. The idea of convening such a conference was suggested by our Party and other parties at the conferences of the Communist parties of the European capitalist countries in Brussels in 1965 and in Vienna in 1966. The parties represented at the meeting of the Drafting Committee, held in Warsaw over February 22-26, had entrusted our Party with undertaking preliminary steps in this direction. A characteristic feature of the forthcoming conference is that, on the one hand, it will concern itself with European security, that is, with a concrete topical theme the interest in which is confirmed by the development of the situation on our continent with the approach of 1969, the year of expiration of the term of the Atlantic Pact; on the other hand, the conference will discuss for the first time a problem common for the Communist parties of both capitalist and socialist countries.

The Polish United Workers' Party, in turn, had received a similar mandate from a number of Communist and Workers' parties of socialist countries.

Preliminary contacts had confirmed the generally positive attitude to the project, and it became possible, after last autumn's meeting between Comrades Gomulka and Rochet, to start practical preparations. After a new meeting, at the end of December, the French Communist Party and the Polish United Workers' Party were able to work out and make proposals on holding a meeting of the Drafting Committee, having a preliminary draft of documents and ideas regarding various questions connected with the organization of the Conference. I want to express satisfaction over the excellent cooperation between our parties throughout the months of common work.

The recent meeting in Warsaw has been a decisive stage of the preparations. It was marked by an atmosphere of fraternal and constructive debate testifying to the desire of all its participants to contribute to the success of the Conference. As a result of a cordial invitation of the Czechoslovak comrades the time—April 24-27—and the place—Karlovy Vary—were fixed. The draft documents on the subject with which the Conference will concern itself—European security—have been sent to the European Communist parties, including those which for various reasons were not represented at the Drafting Committee meeting. The representatives of the PUWP and the FCP, who were co-chairmen of the Committee, were instructed to continue the necessary contacts. In addition, the Italian and Czechoslovak comrades were entrusted with drafting a statement expressing solidarity with the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people.

The Conference promises to be of great significance. As the Warsaw meeting has shown, it will not fail to advance constructive ideas regarding the need to replace the existing military blocs with a collective security system embracing all states, both capitalist and socialist. It will help towards recognition of the realities of the situation in Europe. The Conference will be able to suggest both overall solutions, and proposals envisaging partial progress towards security and disarmament. Being a reaffirmation of the unity of the European Communist and Workers' Parties, it will be able to call upon all the peace-loving forces of the continent to work in common.

The decision on convening the Karlovy Vary Conference has already evoked active response among European and world public opinion. But a few days ago the Bonn revenge-seeking circles—and some organs of the French press as well—did not conceal their wish that obstacles should arise to make the convening of the Conference impossible.

All who cherish progress of the cause of peace and European cooperation and who know that nothing constructive and realistic can be done in this as well as other fields without the contribution of the Communists, will join us in rejoicing over this positive event.

**March 1.** *Kansan Uutiset* printed an interview with Hertta Kuusinen, member of the Political Bureau of the CC, in connection with the Warsaw meeting of the Drafting Committee of the Conference of the European Communist and Workers' Parties.

"Both the atmosphere of the Warsaw preparatory meeting and the draft documents for the Karlovy Vary Conference provide excellent initial positions for the participation of all parties in the forthcoming Conference," Hertta Kuusinen declared. "The meeting in Warsaw was a working assembly at which all representatives of

the parties stated their views on the most important problems of Europe.

"From the viewpoint of European security of utmost importance was the question of problems connected with the destinies of the German people. The Warsaw meeting noted that recognition of the established borders and the existing states is a decisive prerequisite for the security of the continent. Along with this, the meeting discussed, of course, many other problems pertaining to European security, such as meetings of representatives of parliaments and states, economic cooperation, and so on. . . .

"The meeting found it highly important to enlist the cooperation of all forces which can influence European security. In this respect Social Democracy occupies an important position for Social-Democratic parties shoulder governmental responsibility in many European countries and enjoy influence among the masses precisely in this part of the world. Since new trends have become apparent in some Social-Democratic parties, this question figured prominently at the meeting. . . .

"In our opinion, the Warsaw meeting has been highly promising from the viewpoint of the development of inter-party cooperation, and it gives ground to hope for good results in Karlovy Vary."

**March 2.** Speaking at a Party conference in Donawiz, Chairman of the CP of Austria Franz Muhri declared that unilateral attachment of Austria to the Common Market does not conform to the economic and political interests of the country. The Common Market demands that Austria discontinue extension of trade with the socialist countries. But this trade with the socialist countries, whose economy is crisis-free, can be highly beneficial to Austria. Unilateral attachment to the Common Market, Muhri said, will lead to further growth of import from the Six, and especially from Federal Germany. Therefore Austria should confine itself to concluding a trade treaty with the Common Market.

**March 3.** The Political Bureau of the Italian CP issued a statement criticizing the stand of the Italian government on the problem of nuclear non-proliferation. This stand, expressed in the speech of the Italian representative in the 18-nation Committee which is discussing an international treaty against proliferation, coincides in many respects with the attitude of the FRG ruling circles, which openly oppose such a treaty.

The Political Bureau of the ICP urged the democratic forces of the country to press resolutely for a cardinal change in Italy's stand at the Geneva conference and for her positive participation in the drafting and signing of the treaty.

A group of parliament members from the Italian Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity headed by Tulio Vecchetti demanded that the Foreign Ministry explain the attitude adopted by the Italian repre-

sentative in Geneva and declared that the Italian government should dissociate itself from the objections and claims of the FRG government. The latter has always striven to take part in nuclear armament, which would jeopardize European security.

**March 4.** The Hungarian MTI news agency reported on the election speech of Zoltan Komocsin, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party in Szombathely (West Hungary). Z. Komocsin declared that at a time when America is carrying out aggression in Vietnam and the crisis in China is deepening, increasing importance attaches to the attempts of the European socialist countries and Communist parties to achieve peace and security in Europe. Recent developments fully corroborate the appraisal of the European situation given in the joint declaration signed by the Warsaw Treaty states in Bucharest last year. West-European states display great interest in and pay close attention to the Bucharest declaration and the proposals contained in it. The idea of convening a conference to discuss European security meets with increasing approval everywhere. Our common stirvings have received particularly strong support as a result of the trips made by the head of the Soviet Union and its Prime Minister to other countries.

"Our Party and government," Komocsin continued, "want to contribute—to the best of our ability—to the consolidation of European peace and security in order to achieve the objectives outlined in the Bucharest declaration. The Central Committee of our Party attaches tremendous importance to the forthcoming Conference of the European fraternal parties. . . . We would like all the fraternal parties to attend the Conference, but we favor convening it even if this proves impossible. Like other fraternal parties, we hold that the parties should decide independently whether or not to take part in the Conference. If it is convened, it should proceed in such a way so as not the slightest injury is inflicted on the positions of non-attending fraternal parties. Its final conclusions should give us new strength in our efforts in behalf of effective unity of parties, regardless of whether they attend the Conference or not."

**March 4-5.** Ideological work of the Party was discussed at a session of the Central Committee of the CP of Finland in Helsinki.

In addition to CC members, the session was attended by secretaries of regional Party organizations, secretaries for propaganda and CC workers. Erkki Salomaa, Vice-Chairman of the Party, was the main speaker. The CC also discussed the condition of office workers and the political situation in the country.

**March 5.** A joint communique was published following the visit of a delegation of the CP of Greece to Rumania. The delegations were headed, respectivly, by K. Kolyannis, First Secretary of the CC, CPG, and N. Ceausescu, General Secretary of the CC, RCP.

The two delegations expressed profound anxiety in connection with the escalation of the U.S. war of aggression in Vietnam, and voiced complete solidarity with the just cause of the Vietnamese people. When discussing the situation in Europe they noted the correctness and viability of the principles of the Bucharest declaration of the Warsaw Treaty states.

Both sides consider that European security cannot be ensured without the recognition of European realities, first and foremost the existence of two German states.

The representatives of the two parties consider that in the present conditions consolidation of the unity and cohesion of the socialist world system, of the international Communist and working-class movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism is vitally important for the destinies of mankind.

**March 9.** *Pravda* reported that the CC of the People's Party of Iran had sent a telegram to the CC of the CPC expressing indignation over the outrageous campaign conducted by the present Chinese leadership against the CPSU and the Soviet Union, and condemning the actions of the CPC leaders weakening the effect of the support being given to the embattled people of Vietnam.

The CC, PPI also sent a telegram to the CC CPSU in which it approved the restraint and firmness of the CPSU in the face of the Chinese provocations, and voiced high appreciation of Soviet assistance to the heroic people of Vietnam in their struggle against the U.S. aggression. The CC PPI expressed complete solidarity with the stand of the CPSU and declared that it "can rely on the moral support of all peoples fighting for their liberation, including the peoples of Iran."

**March 8-9.** According to a communique published in Budapest, an unofficial visit was paid to Hungary by Wladyslaw Gomulka, First Secretary of the CC of the Polish United Workers' Party, and Jozef Cyrankiewicz, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic. They had talks with Janos Kadar, First Secretary of the CC of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Gyula Kallai, member of the Political Bureau of the CC HSWP and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic, and Zoltan Komocsin, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC HSWP.

The Party and government leaders of Hungary and Poland discussed the possibilities of further development of contacts between the two fraternal socialist countries and topical international problems and exchanged views on the situation in the world Communist and working-class movement and ways of strengthening its unity.

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INFORMATION

# bulletin

95

*Included in this Issue*

**SPEECH BY
LEONID BREZHNEV**

**TOWARDS A PEACE TICKET
IN 1968**
Gus Hall

**SPEECH BY
LUIS CORVALAN**

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# information bulletin - 95 (7)

contents


**TOWARDS A PEACE TICKET IN 1968**
Report by Gus Hall 5

**SPEECH BY LUIS CORVALAN** 14

**SPEECH BY LEONID BREZHNEV** 22

**RESOLUTION**
CEC, Communist Party of India 41

**OUR POSITION ON THE CURRENT EVENTS IN CHINA**
Secretariat CC, Dominican Communist Party 44

**ON THE ANTI-SOVIET CAMPAIGNS**
Statement PB, CC, CP of Venezuela 47

**RESOLUTION**
Of CC, Syrian CP 49

**SPLITTING ACTIVITIES IN ORGANIZATIONS DEALING WITH QUESTIONS OF JAPANESE-CHINESE RELATIONS**
**Misaburo Kawasaki** 55

**50th ANNIVERSARY OF THE GREAT OCTOBER REVOLUTION**
The **African Communist**, CC Syrian CP, Afro-Asian Council 59

**ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES** 60



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# TOWARDS A PEACE TICKET IN 1968

## Defeat the Forces of War and Racism

### REPORT* BY GUS HALL, GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A., TO A MEETING OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY IN DECEMBER 1966

In the total scene, what is coming into ever sharper focus is that the catalyst that sparks all phenomena in the United States—political, economic, cultural, social, financial, or ideological—is the persistent policy of imperialist aggression and war.

More than any other factor it now molds and shapes all external as well as internal policies. The policy of war now takes top priority. War measures are now the main factors molding our economy. We are in the midst of a war-induced inflation, of runaway prices and rents. We have wartime taxes, war-disguised attacks on standards of social security, war-camouflaged attacks on civil rights and civil liberties, war-hysteria attacks on labor—on the right to strike.

That U.S. capitalism follows a policy of imperialist aggression is not unique or new, however. What is new is that it has so quickly become the dominant factor influencing all other matters. What is also new is the kind of world in which the U.S. policy of aggression is being pursued. It is this that has created some unique by-products.

For U.S. capitalism these past war periods have been moments of its greatest expansion—expansion of its productive facilities, markets, investments, sources of raw materials. They have been moments of its greatest opportunity.

What is new, what is unique for U.S. imperialism is that this old formula based on the old world relationships is no longer working. The tables are being turned. This is the result of a serious miscalculation—a miscalculation of the present stage of history, of the direction of events molding the 20th century.

For U.S. capitalism the moment of opportunity is turning into a period of extreme isolation. Governments which have even ordinary dealings with the United States find it necessary to apologize to their own people.

In this dirty war it is the United States alone that must carry

*Abridged from a **New Outlook Publishers** pamphlet, New York, January 1967.

the burden. Now it is U.S. imperialism that is preoccupied with war production, war mobilization, war economy, war finances, war investments. And as a result it is the United States that is in the midst of wartime inflation, wartime taxes, wartime shortages. Now it is the U.S.A. that is sinking ever deeper into the quagmire of a policy that cannot win.

Of course, the aggression against Vietnam does not compare in size to world conflicts, but because of the new factors, its domestic effects do compare.

Some of the unique by-products began to appear already during the Korean War. But their present development is at a much higher level. Let me briefly indicate some of them.

1. It was in periods of war and war-created relationships that the U.S. gathered the lion's share of the capitalist world's gold reserves. It was symbolic of the unequal burdens and one-sided distribution of the imperialist loot. Now gold is being withdrawn and the scale of withdrawal is related to U.S. war escalation and U.S. war involvement.

2. During past war periods, because of expanded foreign markets as well as the need for war production for domestic and foreign purposes, the U.S. experienced a shortage of industrial capacity. Now, partly because of automation and partly because of war-induced inflation, but also because of the new world relationships, an unprecendented wartime over-capacity is developing. The steel industry is operating at about 75 per cent of capacity. There is a cutback in production of automobiles, home appliances and housing.

3. During the past war periods the U.S. balance of trade always turned "bullishly" favorable. Now we have a wartime trend in the opposite direction. In 1964 the surplus of exports over imports was $6.9 billion. In 1965 it dropped to $4.8 billion. In 1966 it will drop to below $4 billion.

4. The new situation forces the U.S. increasingly to import strategic materials to be used in its own war production, for its own use. These materials will not go into exportable items to offset the adverse trend in the balance of trade.

5. War-stimulated inflation has created a price situation that works to the advantage of the competitors of U.S. capitalism.

War production remains very profitable for the monopoly groups that are its main base. But it has not turned into a "moment of opportunity" for all sections of capitalism.

Because U.S. capitalism is finding it difficult to shift the burdens of the war onto the backs of other nations and peoples, it is forced to attempt to place them on the backs of our own people. This explains why the domestic consequences of the escalation appeared so swiftly and dramatically. Thus the new world relation-

ships have changed the nature and the weight of the burden carried by our people.

When we assess the consequences of the war, it is always necessary to include the fact that fear of the war's escalation into a world and even a nuclear war is one of the new factors that has made the issue of war so influential politically. Nuclear power has made war or peace a very personal, life-and-death issue for our people for the first time in our history. Two years ago the war was a vaguely remote conflict. Now it is a war with serious consequences for the everyday lives of our people. Its economic and social effects are in inverse ratio to where one stands on the economic ladder. The lower one stands, the heavier the burden, the more serious the effects. Whether it is a matter of taxes, prices, rents, anti-poverty funds, housing, cutbacks on road building and other construction—the hardships are with the poor. The victims are in the first place the Negro people, the Puerto Ricans, the Mexican-Americans, the unemployed, the old folk, the working class as a whole.

We turn now to the war policy and its consequences as a factor in the November 8th elections.

The sentiments of the masses did not shift to the Right. On this most crucial point, the elections indicate the shift is in the direction of a broader and deeper concern about the war policies. What had changed since 1964, and even since the primaries, was not the mass trends but the possibilities of expressing those sentiments in the November elections. The alternatives became ever more blurred. As has been the case so many times in our history, the voters were "boxed in." A clear-cut alternative was not present in most cases. But where even the slightest opportunity presented itself, the trend of opinion against the war expressed itself. In spite of the limitations, it became the single most influential factor in the elections.

Wherever there was the slightest choice, the vote was for an end to the escalation. The greatest single handicap for any candidate was a defense of the Johnson war policy.

The issue of support for the war policies by the leadership of the trade union movement became a dilemma in the elections. The effectiveness of the trade unions was drastically cut. Labor simply could not utilize the other issues as effectively as long as it was weighted down with its position on the war issue. To support Johnson's war policy while taking a position against the war-induced inflation, higher taxes, wage restrictions, the Johnson-instigated anti-strike legislation, the scuttling of the fight against Section 14b,* is a contradiction in positions. This contradiction the trade unions could not overcome in the elections, except where

*A section of the reactionary Taft-Hartley law restricting trade-union rights.—**Ed.**

they took a stand against the war policy.

There is a very important lesson in this when it is contrasted with the victories of the Negro candidates. The most successful Negro candidates were those who presented an opposition to the war unified with the struggle for civil rights.

What is the lesson here? Had there not been the dilemma, the contradiction of policies, labor could have been a much greater influence in many of the campaigns. This is the answer to Meany's question as to why the money and efforts of labor did not pay off. They did not pay off because the union membership did not follow Meany in his backing of war-supporting candidates. They did not pay off because one cannot ride two horses, especially when they are going in opposite directions.

When apprehensions, frustrations and opposition to the war and all of its consequences has become a mass phenomenon, you cannot build a movement of support for a candidate who sets himself in opposition to this mass trend.

In 1966, wherever it was tried, it failed. This fact pinpoints the concept of what is the main link in the given situation.

The second most discussed issue in the "battle of interpretation" is the effectiveness of the appeal to racism. That it became a factor in the electoral picture is itself serious enough. That it influenced the outcome of elections in the North and West only adds to its seriousness.

The widespread use of racism adds a new dimension to the danger of the ultra-Right. In this election we witnessed a coming closer together of those ultra-Right forces who have their origins in racism and those who start from other reactionary positions.

Racism is an insidious ideological factor with deep roots, one that can be exploited by reactionary forces. It is an ideological influence that must continuously be fought. But this is a struggle that can be won. The fight to eliminate racist ideology will be a longer-range one, but the struggle to curb it, to keep it from spreading, to cut down on its effectiveness as a weapon by reaction, can be won now. If we cannot win this struggle, we cannot win the struggle for democracy. If we cannot win this struggle, we cannot win the struggle against the war policy. If we cannot win this struggle, we cannot win the struggle for unity of the working class. And this struggle is the very essence of the struggle for Negro-white unity, for the labor-Negro alliance.

The coming together of the different groupings of the ultra-Right and their increased use of racism has increased the danger of both the ultra-Right and of racism. This union also adds a new dimension to the use of anti-Semitism as a tool of reaction. It points to the inherent unity of the struggles for civil rights and

civil liberties, of the struggles against ultra-Right, fascism and anti-Semitism, and the key role of these struggles in the over-all battle for democracy.

In this sense we must reject the concept and the phrase of white "backlash" or "whiplash." This concept is a weapon of reaction—of the racists. It is a justification for racism, which is said to be only a reaction to the so-called extremes of the civil rights movement.

We must similarly reject as slanderous such petty-bourgeois drivel as is expressed in phrases like "the racist blue collar anti-democratic vote." That such a phrase appears in the pages of the Left press is, I think, impermissible even by the most liberal yardstick.

Racism as a weapon is most effective among the illiterate poor whites in the South. There are many of these people who have been left at the level of eking out a living, originally from the remnants of feudalism, and more recently from the polluted backstreams of capitalism. They are among the poorest of the poor, with a high proportion of illiteracy. The struggles of the working people for democracy and for a higher living standard have to a large extent passed them by. Large numbers of them have moved into the cities of both North and the South. While they now work in industry, one cannot yet classify them as a section of the working class ideologically. They have brought their fears and prejudices with them. This has given a new dimension to the ideological problem of racism in many of the industrial centers.

We must take more seriously the task of countering the ultra-Right policy of concentrating on the white workers. This must be viewed as a new drive by capital to divide the ranks of the working class, as an attempt to halt the process of the development of class unity and the labor-Negro alliance.

Racism is also a more prominent factor in areas inhabited by small home owners. Real estate operators create and use the weapon of block-busting,* and then employ it as an ideological weapon in all such areas.

The use of racist ideology is as old as U.S. capitalism. It has deep roots in the ranks of white America. Yet it is a fact that much headway has been made in the struggle against it. We must intensify this struggle.

A total of 139 Negro candidates were elected to state offices. However, there was no breakthrough in the lower house of the U.S. Congress.

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*A method used by real estate profiteers who use the settlement of one of several Negro families in a "white" block to declare the block "colored," beat down real estate prices, then buy up houses and plots to resell or lease them to Negroes at high prices. Hence the panic among house-owners when a Negro settles in their block.—Ed.

The victories in 1966 should become the basis for a fresh look at this question. For a breakthrough, what is needed is early initiatives. It will not happen if the progressives continue with the old song, "Let it go this time, but come next election we will do it." The election of Negro congressmen must become a task for every state—now.

The escalation of the war has greatly complicated the struggle against the ultra-Right. The war tends to create an atmosphere in which bigotry breeds. The brutal murder of colored peoples in Vietnam breeds racism at home. A war policy tends to attract ultra-Right forces into the government apparatus.

In a new sense the two issues—the war policy and the ultra-Right—have become fused. It is becoming more difficult to separate the struggles against them.

Because of this, I think that you cannot effectively fight against the war policy without conducting a fight against the ultra-Right. And conversely, you cannot conduct an effective struggle against the ultra-Right without conducting a struggle against the imperialist war policy. What is new is the greater degree of interrelationships between the two. Here we have the same relationship between the struggle against the war policy and the ultra-Right as that which existed between the struggle against fascism and the reactionary measures supported by bourgeois politicians. Parties made mistakes in both directions because they did not see the interrelationship between the two struggles.

As struggle develops, we are more and more forced to get away from the generalities and deal with specifics. This is true in all fields—the struggle against the ultra-Right, the civil rights movement or opposition to the war policy. It is here, in the field of concrete battle, that the unity and the inter-relationships between the issues become more obvious. It is not difficult to see that the struggle against poverty, against high taxes, for wage increases, for housing, etc., includes all three areas of struggle—peace, the ultra-Right and civil rights.

There are specific groups in which opposition to the ultra-Right position can be the starting point of struggle for unity of action. With labor it can be the anti-labor position of the ultra-Right. With Negro Americans the starting point can be the ultra-Right's extreme racist position. With Jewish groups, it can be the open anti-Semitism and the similarities to the fascist developments of the past.

In the struggle against the ultra-Right, it is not possible or advisable to ignore its extreme pro-war position. If correctly handled, the war issue is not a narrowing factor. It is not an obstacle. In the context of the present deep concern about war and war-related problems, a stand against the war policies is not going to isolate

either the Left or the Party from the masses. To say the opposite is a reversal of realities. Opposition to the war is a bridge to the masses.

Finally, on this point, our struggle against the ultra-Right, to have meaning, must be so led that it results in pressure against and exposure of the war policies of the Johnson Administration. Otherwise the fear of the ultra-Right and the struggle against it will become a smokescreen for reactionary politicians.

Our struggle against the Johnson war policies must not become a breathing spell for the ultra-Right, and the struggle against the ultra-Right must not become a smokescreen behind which the other reactionary elements of U.S. capital can snugly hide. We must never permit either to think they can get away with anything, on the excuse that the masses "have no place to go."

The level of independent political action is very closely related to the issues we have been discussing. The fact that there are tactical differences on this question within the Left, including our Party, only means there are differences on the estimate of the main political trends. Let us consider the problem within the context of our overall policy concept.

Independent political action by the masses is a necessary and inevitable path of struggle. Hence our policy is to struggle for, to urge, to agitate for, to initiate every possible form of organization—the very maximum that each stage of development and each specific political level permit. Our policy is to struggle for the most advanced understanding and crystallization of thought and organization outside of the straitjacket of the two old-party machines. We are for the maximum expression of independence that each level permits—not more, not less. Ours must be a policy of constant probing—testing new forms of political independence.

We are against skipping stages, not because we are against big leaps but because it doesn't work. While we work for a new party because it is a political necessity, and while we work to create the conditions for such a party, today's political realities must be faced. Therefore, we are not for a new party now.

We must ask again: Is it correct or is it false to say that political independence is a process that is proceeding on many different levels, in many different forms? And are there not periods when the process takes on a qualitative surge? We are at such a moment now.

This characterization dictates two tactical considerations. One is that our leadership must consider problems of work on all levels. The second is that the qualitative shift calls for more initiatives, more boldness, more experimentation with independent forms.

I would summarize the three levels of independence as follows:

1. Independent movements within the two parties.

2. Independent movements politically and organizationally outside of the two parties, but still using the two parties' electoral process, especially in the primaries.

3. Broad, Left independent movements, which very often include ourselves, the Communists.

We should not try to build walls between these levels. We cannot ask independent forces who work on the first level to raise the same problems in the same form as can be done on the other levels.

In considering campaigns, it seems to me we should never start with the assumption that there will not be or cannot be an independent candidate. That seems to me to be an error to start with. If that is the final conclusion we come to, it should come only after a struggle. It should be a conclusion we arrive at together with other forces who have proved with us the possibility of having such a candidate. In this sense we must start now to work for an independent peace candidate for President in 1968.

In all too many places we have also started with the assumption of not having Negro candidates. This we must change if we are to be instrumental in breaking through the stalemate in Negro representation in Congress.

We must have the same approach toward Communist candidates. There has to be a struggle for Communist candidates. I think we can take some satisfaction from the candidacy of Dorothy Healey with 87,000 votes, from that of Herbert Aptheker with 3,800 votes, and from the write-in campaigns in Illinois and Wisconsin. This is a beginning. These candidates have added to the influence and standing of the Party. The effects go far beyond the area of the campaign on the electoral arena as whole. This is a necessity in the struggle for our legality. I'm afraid too many districts simply started out with the assumption that it was not possible to have Communist candidates.

The 1966 elections had their share of the rearguing of old cliches and generalities. Once again the concept of "the worse, the better" and the theory of "the lesser evil" got a going over. As theories or as positions of policy or principle, we must reject both. With "the worse, the better" one rides to the oblivion of "Left" isolation. With the "lesser evil" as a policy. one rides to "nothingness" in a sea of general politics without any means of independent identification. That we are forced to pick a lesser evil at times is one thing, but to make that the basis of a policy is quite another. If there is no struggle for independent forms or candidates, then the question emerges whether the lesser evil has not in fact become a matter of policy. The lesser evil as a policy will guarantee that there never will be a struggle for independent candidates or for independent forms.

The theory of "the worse the better" leads either to a position

of opposition to all struggle for improving the lot of the people or to merely demagogic support of such struggles. Such a position leads neither to struggle on the immediate issues nor to a struggle for socialism. It is a political dead-end street.

The escalation of the war and its domestic consequences is forcing everyone to take a fresh look at political positions and alliances. For individuals and groups the war policy can be a catalyst acting in either political direction. However, in a general sense it is an influence for greater struggles, for a deeper understanding of the nature of monopoly, for greater activity in the political arena. Alliances will change. It will be more and more difficult to establish alliances on other matters with forces committed to the imperialist war policy. On the other hand the war policy has created new possibilities for broader alliances, in the struggle against the war as well as against its domestic consequences.

This can become an ever widening mass base in the struggle against the ultra-Right. The struggle against the war policy will increasingly become intermingled with the struggles on all fronts —economic, civil rights, civil liberties. This struggle has given the fight against monopoly domination a new scope. This development will force a fresh look at postures and alliances.

As the full consequences of the war policy make themselves felt, the possibilities for drawing into struggle an ever widening sector of the people increase. The cutback in anti-poverty funds, the crisis in housing, the crisis of the cities, the ever-increasing taxes, rents and prices are new areas for united struggle. The war has added a new quality to the problems faced by the working class. The drive for new anti-labor legislation only pinpoints the new issue. Progressives must see this arena of struggle in a new way.

The elections brought many of the issues to the surface. They all point to movement and struggle, to new movements and new struggles. The test of leadership is one's ability to sense the new trends, the new mass moods, and to be able to initiate movements and struggles on the issues that are of deep concern to the masses.

The 1967 and 1968 elections can be the electoral expression of these new movements and struggles. But this will not happen if we start preparing for the elections only when the date for the circulation of nominating petitions is already close at hand. We must start now.

The key words are struggle, initiative and unity.

# SPEECH* BY LUIS CORVALAN

The President has said that the country is going through an institutional crisis.

That is true. But it is only part of the picture, for the crisis is institutional, economic, structural, and above all political.

As far as its institutional aspect is concerned, the crisis does not affect Parliament alone. It involves the antiquated judiciary, the municipalities with their curtailed powers, the all but omnipotent executive authority, the entire machinery of the state, the constitution and the laws generally.

Let us, therefore, tackle the institutional crisis. Let us change all that is outdated and archaic, all that is no longer useful. Let us renew the present Parliament. But let us do something besides. Let us establish that the duties of MP's and ministers are incompatible, although they are combined by many, with the office of head of bank or joint-stock company, or even of lawyer, in imperialist enterprises. Let us go still further. Let us resolve that Parliament shall have one chamber. Let us empower the electorate to recall MP's. Let us transfer to the state administration the irrelevant functions now performed by the National Congress, and in exchange vest the Congress, which, after all, is and can be a more democratic authority, with the full powers of popular sovereignty. Let us amend the Constitution and the laws. Let us put all government enterprises—the railways, ENAP, ENDESA, IANSA, etc.—under the control of councils on which blue- and white-color workers will be duly represented. In short, let us bring every institution into line with the new times. The Communist Party is willing to do this, and much more.

We Communists have accepted the idea of renewing the present Parliament. We did so when, early last year, Senator Patricio Aylwin, Chairman of the Christian Democratic Party (CDP), made this challenge.

Some have said that we agreed to a renewal of Parliament for electoral reasons. We did not. We are not prompted by electoral considerations, nor do we put them first. We are prompted by the principle that the people has to be consulted and should contribute to the search for a democratic way out.

The Communist deputies and senators have entered Parliament to serve the people and not to be served by them. They do not profit from their salaries. These salaries belong to the Party, which

*Abridged from **El Siglo**, Feb. 10, 1967. The speech was delivered by Luis Corvalán, General Secretary, Communist Party of Chile, to a CP meeting in Santiago in February.

draws them in full and uses them, allotting each Communist MP a much smaller amount than his salary. The Communists do not cling to their seats in Parliament. They are there to carry out the assignments of their Party with the same modesty and personal disinterestedness with which they carried them out before or can carry them out later in other fields of struggle.

While supporting the idea of renewing the present Parliament, we have declared against granting future Presidents a permanent right to dissolve the Congress, for that would affect the independence of this public authority, which would be threatened with dissolution whenever it failed to legislate as La Moneda (the Presidential palace—**Ed.**) pleased.

We have proposed that the law authorize agreements between kindred parties. The Conservatives and Liberals have united by fusing into the so-called National Party. The Social-Democratic Party, a multi-class party that includes ex-Falangists, ex-Conservatives and ex-members of the Agrarian Labor Party, virtually represents several trends. This being so, why cannot the Socialists and Communists reach agreement throughout the country?

Our suggestions are aimed at democratizing the elections. Nevertheless, the Christian Democrats reject them, approving instead anti-democratic, revolutionary and unconstitutional provisions limiting the right of assembly.

The government and the Christian Democratic leadership show arrogance and a desire to impose their will on other parties, mostly those in FRAP.* They would like to force all organizations to their knees, to make them accept this reform and other projects without discussion, and without trying to offer any ideas other than those originating at La Moneda.

Let them know that no one has ever succeeded or will succeed in forcing us Communists to our knees. We see no reason why we should unquestioningly accept the initiatives of the government or the CDP. Not we. Under no circumstances will we renounce our principles or rights, nor will we stop doing our Communist duty.

The general situation would be better if the government and the CDP pursued a policy of restoring the nation's riches, a policy really beneficial to Chile's economic independence, instead of joining hands with the imperialists, promoting the interests of the American enterprises producing copper, nitre and iron, and opening the doors of the national economy to international banks.

We have said that the crisis is not only institutional but economic, structural, and above all political. The political crisis, which is the principal, is due to the fact that the required changes are

*Revolutionary Front for Popular Action.—**Ed.**

not being effected and that the government does not comply with the wishes of the majority.

That is the crux of the matter.

Some good things have been done since the CDP came to power. It would be absurd to deny that. The recent agreements with the Soviet Union and the expropriation of more than 800,000 hectares of land were important steps in the interest of the nation. They were definitely fruits of the struggle that the progressive forces have been waging for a long time.

Nevertheless, the main feasures of the revolutionary orientation of the past are still there.

There are the rising prices. In January the cost of living went up by 2.8 per cent before the new and inadequate readjustments were made. Some of the price rises are scandalous. In transport, for example, the night fare becomes effective not at 10 p.m. as before but at 9 p.m., when many people still have to use means of transport. From this hour on the bus fare, which was 140 pesos, rises to 300 pesos.

The promise of good pay and jobs for all has gone up in smoke.

The banking, factory-regulations and tax reforms have been shelved. There is no sign of the 60,000 new homes a year that were to have been built. Less than 10,000 homes were built in 1966.

Some 100,000 new proprietors were to appear on the land between 1964 and 1970. This target has been cut to 58,000, or almost by half. The government has made not a few concessions to the landowners on the agrarian reform.

There is retrogression in readjusting wages and salaries.

Over 6 per cent of the workers are unemployed.

Social injustice persists. Out of every 100 escudos they earn, the working people pay 23 in taxes, while the capitalists pay hardly 14 escudos out of the same amount. A small trader has to pay taxes for his boat whereas the shipping companies pay no taxes for their ships. Anyone who owns a patch of land estimated at more than 5,000 escudos must pay land taxes, while the owners of huge timber forests are exempted from tax.

American business is as brisk as usual. Foreign investors — Americans almost all of them—took out of the country in profits and in interest $103m. in 1964, $118m. In 1965 and $149m. in 1966. With the resumption of payments on the foreign debt resumed, this year's drain will approximate to $250m.

Yet, the commercial banks and joint-stock companies continue to rake in fabulous profits. Credits are still in the hands of a few. The outrageous tax exemptions are still intact, whereas the taxes borne by the people are going up, particularly the sales and purchase tax, which this year will yield almost 500m. escudos more than in 1966.

The government tends to cooperate with imperialism and to give in to the oligarchy.

In this situation, the imperialists are stepping up pressure. The Braden Co. wants to run the enterprise for twenty years although 51 per cent of the shares are controlled by the Chilean state. The Pentagon and the State Department are maneuvering to secure the Chilean government's acceptance of their plans for military intervention.

The traditional Right, for its part, is becoming more unscrupulous as it seeks to regain political power by hook or by crook.

The reactionary elements in the government are strengthening their positions. The "tough" policy toward the people persists. There is a real danger of putschist ventures by both the government and the bourgeois-oligarchic opposition.

The crisis can be overcome only by solving the problems facing the nation, meeting the pressing needs of the development of society, leading the country along the road of independence and progress, and ultimately to a genuinely revolutionary, popular and national government.

After more than two years of CDP government a Left trend is emerging among the Radicals. Many Radicals are looking to FRAP.

What do we Communists think of that?

We have registered the prospect of an understanding between the Radicals and FRAP with interest, but we also have certain reservations to make.

We are absolutely convinced of the need to form the broadest possible united front against the enemies of our people. The U.S. imperialists, faced with the concrete fact that their dominion in Latin America has been declining, especially since the glorious Cuban revolution, have again resorted to the worst methods, those of undisguised intervention. They have been taking every step, including military ones, to prevent the emancipation of any other people of the continent. The criminal war they are waging against the noble, heroic people of Vietnam and the invasion of the Dominion Republic show that the U.S. imperialists are ready to ignore if they can every principle and every standard of international law. And painful as it may be, we must admit that they use for this purpose the revolting anti-Soviet conduct of the Mao Tse-tung group.

The American imperialists are trying to commit the governments of all the OAS countries to U.S. policies. It is above all to this end that they intend to go ahead with the formation of a continental interventionist army. They plan to raise this question themselves or through a gorilla at the next meeting of heads of government and the proposed meeting of presidents of American states.

In this situation, to defeat the imperialists' policy and carry forward the revolutionary liberation movement in every country, it is necessary to muster as many forces as possible against imperialism and its agents in the countries concerned. It is necessary to rally to the working class 90 per cent of the population, all those who can take part in this struggle in one form or another, and not the most consistent revolutionaries alone.

That is why we are interested to note the possibility of an agreement between FRAP and other political forces, meaning the Radicals in this particular case. But we note it with reservations because some of the Radicals are thinking of nothing but a resurgence of the Popular Front, which performed its role in a historical period that is over, and regard an alliance with FRAP as merely a means of returning to power so as to form just another government instead of establishing the popular and revolutionary system the country needs.

On the other hand, while agreement with the Radical rank and file is possible, there can be no agreement with people like Gonzalez Videla, Duran or Pico Canas, who have become nouveaux riches and members of the oligarchy, are opposed to reform, and hence are enemies of the people.

We admit that the Radical Party sees eye to eye with FRAP on such important issues as the protection of the social and economic rights of the industrial and office workers, or the rejection of the government bill to grant greater tax exemptions to the Compania de Acero del Pacifico. It would be impermissible, however, to overlook the fact that the Radicals differ with FRAP over fundamental issues and that some Radical leaders, including their chairman, hold anti-Communist views fit for the worst reactionaries.

Such a state of affairs is not conducive to agreement.

We prefer, at least at this stage, to concentrate on strengthening FRAP without prejudice to the joint actions FRAP can take with other forces in support of a big policy sincerely promoting the interests of the people, a policy of firm and active opposition to the present government.

We also wish to make it clear that the Communist position has nothing to do with the game the secular bourgeoisie is playing against the Catholic bourgeoisie. In fact, it is contrary to this game, which does not meet the interests of the people and is likely to breed division. Therefore, while declaring in principle for united action with the Radicals, we want to stress that we favor unity of action with all those Christian Democrats who are thoroughly dissatisfied with the policy line of their government.

Our policy is, essentially, to open the way to advance, to open the prospect of immediate joint action and of an agreement for the future with all popular and democratic forces. We will allow

the greatest latitude but no confusion. We want no safe-conduct given to political jugglers, to those who only yesterday were flying the flag of anti-communism and might try to board the ship of the popular movement with a false passport.

Our policy is aimed at strengthening the positions of the proletariat and at achieving a new balance of forces under which the working class would play its historical role as the focus of anti-imperialist unity and the motive power of the fight for revolutionary change.

Communist-Socialist understanding must be carried forward. An occasional difference could develop between our two parties, but nothing should make us lose sight of the fact that what unites us today and can unite us tomorrow far outweighs all else and that this unity is the key to the people's victory.

Worthy of special attention is the task of strengthening our Party. Our influence on the masses has grown, chiefly with regard to the working class and the student movement, and there is a real possibility of considerably increasing it.

The development of the CP, the growth of its influence, its membership and the number of its sympathizers, along with the ideological and political progress of the Communists and the growth of the Socialist Party, will improve the outlook for change and broaden the revolutionary alternative represented by FRAP.

Central to the national policy is the issue of power, of the struggle for power.

The struggle between various groups of the ruling classes, as well as the contest between the majority of the nation, which wants change, and those who are against change, has been gaining in sharpness.

The Rightists are in what may be called a revanchist opposition. They want a government that would pursue an even more markedly pro-imperialist policy than the present government. Sometimes the Right and the CDP leadership clash, but they are agreed on the main points: the agreements on copper, the anti-labor policy of the Minister of Labor, and whatever else concerns the common interests of the classes they represent. The Right wants to regain power while the Christian Democrats are anxious to retain it, but the two groups are in effect playing a game aimed at holding power in turn leaving things practically unchanged.

The Chilean people must stop the Right, break the vicious circle in which the country finds itself and advance to power. This is the great objective which should rally the people.

With power in the hands of the ruling classes, whatever the group in power, no problems can be solved and all hopes will be dashed as in the past.

The tragedy of the people is practically the same as ever. Last

year saw the death of 9,600 children under one year of age. At least half of them died of diarrhea and dehydration, and prompt medical treatment could have saved their lives. Over 70,000 Chilean mothers bear children in the same conditions as in the period of barbarity, according to the head of the National Health Service.

Wages and salaries are still meagre. The housing crisis is going from bad to worse. All these problems can be solved—not through propaganda or anything like it but by ending the domination of the imperialists and the oligarchs and by carrying on an uncompromising fight against the enemies of the people. And this can only be done by the people themselves provided they are in power.

The pessimists are wrong. Those who say they "do not want to hear of politics" and refuse to draw any distinctions are wrong. So are those who look back on a ruler of the past, thinking that things were better at that time and so it would be well to go back to the old days. Still more wrong are those who are afraid to take a bold step forward, resolutely to support the Communists and FRAP.

The country has to advance and it shall advance. The people will lead it to a better destiny.

We say that the road to take is that of organization, unity and struggle. No one should sit on his hands.

We must organize, unite, and fight for common interests. This must be done in every community, neighborhood or village, in the trade unions, mothers' centers, and wherever else people live and work.

Success goes to those who fight. That this is true, has been demonstrated by the medical workers, teachers, railwaymen, the academic staff and other employees of the University of Chile, the workers in the major industries, the Colchagua peasants.

This year, 1967, should become a year of great battles and of progress in the agrarian reform, to be achieved through the effort of the peasants and others who want to do away with the latifundium.

The people must take part in every struggle—in the election campaign to defeat the Right and the government, in the fight for higher pay, in the movement against rising prices, for bread for our children.

We must prevent the 25 per cent increase in rent in the CORVI houses.

The manifold and militant activities of the masses should assume so vast a scale as to influence the life of every man or woman, lead to a new balance of forces, and pave the way for the decisive victory with the formation of a revolutionary government.

We believe in the people, in the working class, in the ability of FRAP.

We feel certain that our glorious Communist Party will be equal to its historical mission.

# LEONID I. BREZHNEV'S SPEECH

## AT A MEETING OF THE BAUMAN ELECTORAL AREA IN MOSCOW

Under the leadership of the Party our country has risen from age-old backwardness and poverty, from the abyss of people's downtroddenness and the most severe social and national oppression to the summits of world progress. Under the guidance of the Party, the Soviet Union has grown into a powerful country of victorious socialism, a state of free and equal brother nations, the standard-bearer of communism. The greatest gain of our Revolution, of which our Communist Party is rightly proud—is the new Soviet man, the new look of our people. The overwhelming majority of Soviet people today are the children and grandchildren of October. They have been brought up by socialist society and are the world's first builders of communism. Soviet people today comprise more than 12,600,000 Communists, 23,000,000 YCL members, tens of millions of trade union members. The Soviet people today means some 80 million factory and office workers, almost 27 million collective farmers, millions of well-educated qualified workers in education and public health, gifted workers in science and culture.

All of them—Communists and non-Party people—are tireless, skilful workers, people who deeply love their socialist Motherland, active builders of communism. It is these people—our contemporaries, our comrades and friends, our brothers and sisters, fathers and mothers—who form the bloc of Communists and non-Party people in living embodiment. This precisely is the foundation of our Party, the source of the strength of our state, the earnest of all our victories!

The bloc of Communists and non-Party people, the multi-million masses of working people—that is the foundation of the Soviet state created by the October Revolution. "Soviet power," Vladimir Ilyich Lenin said, "is the road to socialism that was discovered by the masses of the working people, and that is why it is the true road, that is why Soviet power is invincible." Our Party has displayed continuous concern for the development of socialist democracy.

A few days ago the Central Committee of the CPSU carried a decision on improving the work of the rural and village Soviets

*Pravda, March 11, 1967.

of Working People's Deputies—the greatest unit of local organs of power. This decision which takes into consideration the numerous wishes and proposals of deputies and officials of the Soviets, provides for the perfection of the style and methods of the entire administrative work of the local Soviet, for better training of the officials of village and rural Soviets, for increasing their salaries.

The Central Committee of the Party has been guided by the consideration that these measures which are directed towards improving the conditions for the operation of local Soviets, shall stimulate still more their activity. This is particularly important because the local Soviets of Working People's Deputies have a big part to play in fulfilling the tasks set by the 23rd Congress of the CPSU in economic, social and cultural development, in the field of enlisting still broader cooperation of the working people in the management of public affairs.

Comrades, in eight months our people, the peoples of fraternal socialist countries, our class brothers in the countries of capitalism and all progressive people in the world will observe the 50th anniversary of the Soviet state. Every day of our life and work seems now to be illuminated by the radiance of the October Revolution.

Your meeting shows how deeply Soviet people feel the approaching 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The comrades who spoke here—people of different occupations and different ages—all mentioned the coming historic anniversary and shared their views on how best to honor it.

Workers in industry and agriculture, workers in science and culture, all Soviet people are thinking today of how best to observe the great holiday and how best to serve the Motherland in the anniversary year. Whatever is best that today is done by Soviet people, whatever labor achievements they score are dedicated to the 50th anniversary of the Great October. There is an unprecedented upsurge of constructive energy of the masses throughout the country.

The first among those who in the days of October 1917 had stormed the old world, who responding to the call of Lenin's Party had hoisted the banner of the Socialist Revolution, were the workers of Petrograd and Moscow. And today, again, the workers of Moscow and Leningrad were the first to issue the militant call—to unfold nationwide socialist emulation in order worthily to observe the 50th anniversary of October, thereby giving the impetus to a mighty pre-October labor movement of the Soviet people. The collectives of industrial enterprises in Moscow have decided to exceed the targets of the current year for output and productivity by 50 per cent and effect a number of measures to further improve

production efficiency.

As a candidate from the Bauman constituency, I wish all Baumanites every success in this emulation.

High pre-October pledges are assumed by working people in all Autonomous Republics, regions and territories of the Russian Federation. The working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia of Russia are displaying models of labor heroism. The program for industrial output in the Russian Federation was fulfilled successfully last year. During the current Five-Year Plan the volume of industrial output in the Republic is to grow 50 per cent. Particular attention will be devoted to the development of the productive forces in Siberia and the Far East. In those parts work has begun on the development of unique deposits of oil and gas; power engineering, non-ferrous metallurgy, the processing of the riches of the forests are developing at a fast rate. In their pre-October emulation the working people of the countryside of the Russian Federation strive to consolidate and multiply the fine results recorded last year in crop and livestock husbandries.

Workers in industry and agriculture in the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Moldavia, Kirghizia, Tajikistan and Turkmenia are making a special effort to honor the jubilee.

"Shock Work for the Anniversary Year!," "Bumper Harvest for the Anniversary Year!," "No Lagging Behind!"—such are the mottoes of Soviet people today.

Comrades, it is impossible in one speech to describe the labor enthusiasm of the Soviet people. I shall mention but several instances.

The workers of ferrous metallurgy have undertaken to produce hundreds of thousands of tons of pig iron, steel, rolled metal, pipes and other valuable commodities in excess of plan.

The working people of the fuel industry have set themselves the task of extracting 1.5 million tons of oil, 800,000,000 cubic meters of gas and approximately seven million tons of coal in excess of plan.

The machine builders have decided to produce in the anniversary year hundreds of millions roubles' worth of additional commodities, hundreds of new machine models, machine tools and equipment.

The workers of the Soviet chemical industry wish to honor the anniversary by putting out 700,000 tons of mineral fertilizer, 200,000 tons of apatite concentrate and lots of other chemical goods in excess of plan.

The collectives of enterprises of the light and food industry should supply Soviet people with almost 4,500 million roubles' worth more goods than they did last year. Besides, they have pledged to produce in excess of the set 1967 program a consider-

able amount of clothing, footwear, cotton, silk and woollen fabrics and other commodities.

The collective farmers, workers and specialists on state farms are working hard to assure further progress in agriculture on the basis of the economic policy in the countryside formulated by the Party. They are resolved to mark the anniversary by improving the standards of crop husbandry, increasing crop yields and productivity of livestock husbandry, and reducing costs of agricultural production.

The socialist pledges taken by the people in anticipation of the glorious anniversary is striking evidence of the loyalty of Soviet people to the revolutionary traditions of the older generations which have carried the banner of October through the fire of class battles to the triumph of socialism.

But today, comrades, we may speak not only of the pre-holiday obligations. Reports are beginning to arrive about the progress of their fulfilment, about the translation of the promises made by Soviet people into concrete deeds.

Reports on the overfulfilment of plans, on the first achievements in implementing the anniversary pledges have come from the metallurgists of the Urals and the South, the machine-builders of Gorky and Sverdlovsk, coal-miners in the Donbas, oil workers in Bashkiria and Tataria, hundreds of thousands of light industry workers who have upheld the initiative of Valentina Nikolayevna Pletnyova, Hero of Socialist Labor, weaver of the Kostroma flax mill, to complete the two-year production program by the 50th anniversary of Soviet power.

The collectives of enterprises in Moscow hold high the banner of emulation. The planned targets for the first two months of this year have been overfulfilled considerably by Moscow industry and the rate of growth exceeds that assumed in the obligations. During this period the volume of industrial production in Moscow has grown 8.2 per cent, productivity—7.8 per cent. Successful fulfilment of the set plan enabled Moscovites to produce in January-February industrial goods over and above the program to the tune of tens of millions of roubles. As you see, Moscow industry is making a worthy contribution to the country's anniversary.

Dear Moscovites, may I congratulate you with the first achievements and wish you complete success at the finishing line of this emulation.

The country's collective and state forms have made a good start in the anniversary year. The preparations for spring sowing are proceeding in a more organized way. Livestock breeders are working well too. Many collective and state farms and complete districts have fulfilled their quarterly programs of states sales of meat, milk and other livestock products.

This is good news from the labor front for Soviet people. They signify that thanks to the patriotic revolutionary enthusiasm of the working people, the fulfilment of our development plans, as outlined by the 23rd Congress of the Party, is progressing successfully.

This means that the historic cause of building up the material and technical basis of communism in our country is making steady headway. This means that the work of Soviet people is creating new opportunities for improving the life of our people. And this is the prime objective of the policy of the Communist Party. In the final analysis, the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the building of socialism in our country—once the people had been freed of exploitation and oppression—were directed at creating all the opportunities for a free, prosperous, cultural and interesting life, a life worthy of man and all that great word stands for.

The decisions taken by the Central Committee of the Party on the development of agriculture and on improving industrial management create prerequisites for the implementation of measures for further improving the welfare of Soviet people.

You know, comrades, that important measures have been taken in this field in recent years. I shall recall some of them:

—higher wages for 20 million people engaged in the service industries;

—pensions for collective farmers;

—higher minimum pensions for invalids and additional grants to war invalids and families of men killed in th war;

—price reductions on a number of consumer goods.

The welfare of the people is growing at an increasingly rapid pace.

The real per capita income has grown on an average annually by 3.2 per cent from 1959 to 1964, and by 6.5 per cent (twice as much) in the years 1965-66. The incomes derived by collective farmers from the publicly-owned economy of the collective farms has grown even more.

The same is true of the growth of wages of factory and office workers. In 1950-1964 the average annual growth of wages was 2.5 per cent while in the past two years it was roughly 5 per cent a year.

The supply of food and consumer goods is improving. It is noteworthy that the volume of retail trade, that is the volume of goods sold to the population, has grown in the past two years by practically 20 per cent in the country. This is quite a big growth, comrades.

However, we are well aware that we still have difficulties in providing supplies of certain commodities, that there is sometimes

a noticeable shortage of some consumer goods. Industry is not always able to keep abreast of the growing demand, the growing purchasing power of the population. Let us take the following instance: in 1966 our factories produced more than 500 million pairs of leather footwear, approximately 40 linear metres of diverse fabrics per person — and yet there is a shortage of these goods. The shortage is felt above all in high-quality goods which meet the rising requirements, tastes and material opportunities of the customer.

We are tackling all these problems. The Central Committee of the Party and Government are taking measures to eliminate the shortcomings in the field of supply. Big funds are allocated for the development of light industry, measures are taken to improve the quality of commodities and to expand our foreign trade. There can be no doubt that after some time the present shortcomings in supplying the population with certain commodities will also be done away with. All the more so since they are not so great compared to the difficulties our country had to surmount in the earlier stages of development.

Questions concerning the welfare of Soviet people are always this field for the next few years are stipulated in the decisions of this field for the next few years ar stipulated in the decisions of the 23rd CPSU Congress, in the Directives for the Five-Year Plan approved by the Congress. At present the Central Committee of the Party and the Council of Ministers are considering the program of implementing new measures for improving the welfare of the people with due consideration to the available and anticipated resources and opportunities. Of great importance will be such measures as further wage rises for the lower paid brackets, better pensioning for specified categories of the population, improvements in the system of social insurance and a number of other measures.

I wish to tell the electors, at least in brief, about two questions of great importance in the life of Soviet people.

A huge housing program is under way throughout our country. Almost 22 million people have moved into new homes or improved their living conditions in the past two years alone. All this, however, notwithstanding there is a shortage of housing. Therefore we will expand housing construction with unflagging vigor, will increase it with every year. The Central Committee of the Party and Government give priority importance to this question.

Furthermore, almost two million factory and office workers in our country have begun working a five-day week with 2 days off while maintaining the previously established work hours for the week. Experience has shown that this is an important undertaking which in most cases is advantageous for production and improves considerably the working conditions and life of factory and office

workers. At present the Central Committee of the Party, the Council of Ministers and the All-Union Central Council of Trades have adopted a decision enabling practically all workers and employees of enterprises and institutions where the conditions of work make this transition feasible, to go over to the five-day week this year. I believe that this decision of the Party and Government and of our trade unions shall have the support and approval of all Soviet people.

It can be said with confidence, comrades, that our country will honor its 50th anniversary with both new labor victories and new undertakings for the improvement of the welfare of our people, who have certainly deserved this by their heroic struggle for the cause of October, by their devoted work for the sake of communism.

Preparations for the anniversary are in evidence in every aspect of Soviet life, they have enriched the content of all political life in our country. At present this is expressed in an ardent desire to comprehend more profoundly, as a single, interrelated process the entire difficult and glorious road of struggle and victories covered by the Soviet people: the heroism of the October Revolution and the Civil War, the devoted selfless work during the first five-year plan periods, the epic of the great Patriotic War, the splendid labor exploits of Soviet people in the post-war years. All this helps the Communist Party to cement the continuity of the generations, to update the militant spirit of the Revolution. The historic meaning and the significance of the accomplishments of the present generation of Soviet people—the generation of builders of communism —can be more easily grasped in the light of the heroic events of the past.

For our historians, publicists, workers in the arts and culture, the 50 years of Soviet power is a significant and joyous occasion. Scientific conferences are being prepared and held, articles are published on topical questions of Marxist-Leninist theory, books are printed summarizing the vast experience of the development of the Soviet State and of the creative work of the Party and of the entire Soviet people.

Writers, composers, artists, film and theatre workers endeavor to mark the jubilee by creating works properly reflecting the historic exploit of the Communist Party and the Soviet people. New works of fiction are being put out, contests are held for the best plays and productions dealing with the Revolution and the contemporary times. Art exhibitions are organized in the Republics, territories and regions, and a USSR Jubilee Exhibition of the best works of fine arts is being prepared. Many million Soviet citizens are taking part in the USSR festival of amateur art devoted to the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution.

The creation of a new kind of culture, a genuinely people's culture, is one of the most important gains of socialism. Together with the people, Soviet artists took part in routing the White Guards and interventionists, helped to restore the country and build socialism. They fought in the Great Patriotic War together with the people, and today they actively participate in the construction of communism and in educating the man of the new society.

Soviet art is profoundly internationalist in spirit and multinational in form. The treasures of our culture derive from the creative mutual enrichment of the cultures of all the peoples of the Soviet Union. Our country's multi-national socialist culture has to its credit quite a few excellent achievements which the peoples of the world will remember for ages.

Naturally, we do not close our eyes to the shortcomings in the creative work of some artists, literary magazines and art institutions. We say so openly in our press. However, this criticism is prompted exclusively by concern for the fruitful development of our socialist culture, concern which has always and invariably been displayed by the CPSU.

Recently, as you know, some prominent Soviet writers—Alexander Korneichuk, Leonid Leonov, Nikolai Tikhonov, Pavlo Tychina, Mirzo Tursun-zade, Andreij Upits, Konstantin Fedin and Mikhail Sholokhov—were awarded the high title of Hero of Socialist Labor. Apart from being known in the Soviet Union, the works of these writers are read by millions of people abroad, their books reflect the life of several generations of Soviet people.

The country has decorated these men of letters, respected and loved by the people, for their outstanding services in the development of Soviet culture and for their fruitful public activities. This is a sign of respect which the Party, the Government and all our people show for the work of the creative intelligentsia. It is a high assessment not only of the major creative achievements of separate men of letters, but also of the role of the whole of Soviet literature in our common cause of communist construction.

Congratulating from the bottom of my heart the men of letters who have been granted the high title, I would like to wish them and their fellow writers, as well as all workers of Soviet culture, great and magnificent successes that would be worthy of the country's jubilee year and would help to raise still more the standards of Soviet art as a whole in keeping with the requirements of society building communism.

On the eve of the jubilee each one of us reviews in his mind's eye the path traversed. We were certainly not pampered by history. Bitter class battles, bloody encounters with numerous enemies attacking us from outside and tremendous difficulties in the

construction of a new society in a hostile capitalist encirclement fell to the lot of the Soviet people. Our people, guided by ehe Leninist Party, has withstood all these trials.

The transformation of a formerly backward country into a mighty industrial power with the most progressive social system, the rout of the shock force of world imperialism of those days—the bloc of the aggressive fascist states headed by nazi Germany, the complete and final victory of socialism in the USSR and the transition to the construction of communism—such are the main results of the Soviet people's heroic struggle. We may well be proud of these results, comrades!

That the Soviet people today are able to live in happiness is the outcome of the sustained effort and unparalleled heroism. Extensive and hard work, daily achievements at the labor front coupled with constant vigilance with regard to the intrigues of the imperialists—this is the key to the bright communist future towards which our people are confidently advancing under the guidance of its Leninist Party. And happiness won through labor and struggle is most precious. That is why the Soviet people love their socialist homeland so devotedly.

Soviet patriotism is inseparable from proletarian, socialist internationalism. Our people are blazing the trail to a bright future for the whole of mankind. This is their revolutionary, international mission. The Communist Party instils in Soviet people the sense of being at one with the interrational army of labor waging a world-wide stubborn struggle against the forces of imperialism. That is why the Soviet people entertain both ardent love for the Soviet Motherland and the desire to make it still mightier and more beautiful, and feelings of fraternal friendship toward other countries of socialism, feelings of militant solidarity with all fighters against social and nationai oppression.

On the eve of the great jubilee we see particularly keenly the international significance of our October Revolution, the unbreakable connection of our Revolution and of our communist construction with the development of the world socialist system as a whole, with the liberation struggle for our class brothers all over the world. This is evident from the special decisions adopted by the fraternal parties of most socialist countries and of many capitalist countries on the preparations for the mass-scale celebrations of the 50th anniversary of the first victorious socialist revolution on earth. This is evident from the speeches of a number of figures of the revolutionary-democratic parties of Afro-Asian countries stressing, in connection with the coming anniversary, the historic significance of the October Revolution. We are thankful to our friends abroad for this new manifestation of international solidarity of the revolutionaries. This is for us a new source of inspiration in the

struggle for the cause of communism.

Comrades, we are steadily advancing toward the goal for which generations of revolutionaries gave their lives. Not all of our contemporaries fought on the barricades against the autocracy, struggled for the establishment of Soviet power, laid the foundations of socialist industry or defended the country against the fascist invaders. It is quite natural that in their everyday work Soviet patriots, the youth in the first place should strive to follow in the footsteps of the heroic sons and daughters of our homeland who glorified it by their labor or on the battlefield.

Our youth launched a mass-scale patriotic movement on the eve of the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution. We shall never forget the enthusiasm of our boys and girls who solemnly vowed in Red Square to follow the road of their fathers. Reared by the Leninist Party, the youth, as ever, march in the forefront of the struggle for communism.

In the struggle for socialism, in defense of the Motherland, in the work for the good of the country and of the entire socialist community, there emerged and took shape the glorious revolutionary traditions of our people. A distinguishing feature of these traditions is that they are characteristic of the Russians and Ukrainians, Byelorussians and Moldavians, the peoples of the Caucasus, Central Asia, Kazakhstan, the Baltic Republics, all nations and national groups of our boundless country. Whatever the language and the national features of the peoples, all are at one in the main thing—all are eager to work for the common goal. The friendship of the peoples has become so much a part of our life that we regard it as a natural phenomenon. The Soviet people hold aloft the banner of the brotherhood of the working people of all nations, the banner of peoples' friendship.

Our people are one and monolithic, they are building up the might of our country by selfless labor. That is precisely why we fear no threats or provocations. From the patriotic deeds and aspirations of the people the Party draws fresh strength and the confidence that the problems facing our country will be successfully solved.

The positions of the Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries in the international arena are strong and continue to grow stronger. The influence exerted by the socialist countries on the course of world events increases. You all realize, comrades, how important this is for ensuring favorable external conditions for the construction of socialism and communism in our countries. We can say that this foreign-policy task, the importance of which was stressed again by the 23rd CPSU Congress, is being carried out successfully.

As you know, the situation in the world is far from being sim-

ple. Increased tension caused by the activization of the forces of imperialist aggression and reaction demands that special attention be paid to the problems of international policy by the Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries.

The December 1966 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee was an important landmark in this respect. It reaffirmed the consistency of our Leninist foreign policy, the firmness of our rebuff to the aggressive schemes of the imperialists and, at the same time, the flexibility of foreign-policy tactics, the indefatigability of our Party's struggle for the cohesion of the world Communist movement. The Party's Central Committee made a thorough analysis of the current world situation and, on that basis, outlined the next tasks of our foreign policy and activities in the international Communist movement.

Allow me briefly to deal with several key problems of the international situation and our present-day foreign policy.

First about Europe. The past few years have witnessed an increased desire on the part of most European countries to relax tensions, and establish peaceful good-neighborly relations with each other. There has been growing realization that Europe can and must solve the problem of its security by its own efforts. As to our country, it is not only vitally interested in a durable peace on the European continent, but is pursuing an active policy towards this end.

What are the aims of the Soviet Union's European policy? Firstly, to strengthen and consolidate the gains of the peoples obtained as a result of the hardest-fought war in human history and the fundamental social and class changes in Europe that followed it; secondly, to isolate the forces of imperialist aggression, not to prevent arbitrary actions by the West German militarists and revanchists and, above all, not to give them access to nuclear weapons; thirdly, to consolidate on this basis the security of our Western frontiers and the frontiers of our allied socialist countries and to create conditions for broad and fruitful cooperation in Europe between countries with different social systems. It can be said with confidence that these aims are appreciated by other European peoples since our struggle to ensure peace and security for socialist countries is at the same time a struggle for peace and security in the whole of Europe.

The confident and consistent efforts made by the socialist countries in the European arena are producing tangible results. It can now be said that no West European state shares the revanchist claims of the FRG's ruling circles for recarving the postwar borders in Europe. Actually all of them proceed from the fact that the existing borders must remain unchanged, but, unfortunately, many are not consistent and avoid stating publicly their views on the

matter. A fairly large coincidence of views between Eastern and Western Europe has also been achieved on such an important issue as preventing the Federal Republic of Germany from access to nuclear weapons in any form.

The favorable influence of our peace-loving policy on the entire situation in Europe today is even admitted by those political leaders in the West, who but a couple of years ago thought only in terms of the cold war and missed no opportunity to harp on a certain "threat from the East."

We Communists believe that good intentions alone, appeals for cooperation and even a readiness to develop such cooperation between the socialist and capitalist countries of Europe in conformity with the principles of peaceful coexistence, are not enough to ensure European security. Equally necessary is active, resolute and persistent struggle against everything that endangers peace in Europe.

As the idea of ensuring peace, security and peaceful cooperation in Europe gains ground in the European states, it becomes increasingly clear that the aggressive policy of West German imperialism, the policy of the FRG, is the main obstacle to the solution of this all-important problem.

The main factor behind the Erhard Government's political bankruptcy was its hostile attitude to any steps aimed at easing tension, its stubborn refusal to reckon with the real state of affairs and its frank allegiance to revanchist and militarist aims.

It would seem that the leaders of the new FRG Government should draw appropriate conclusions from the lessons life gave to their predecessors. But what is really happening? The new FRG Government has been in office for three months. During this period it published its policy statement, made clear its stand on many issues of international and home life and to a certain extent showed its face also in practical activity.

Of course, we are not at all inclined mechanically, so to say, by inertia, to transfer to the Kiesinger Cabinet the attitude we had toward the former Government of the Federal Republic of Germany. But no one can expect the Soviet people to judge the policy of the new Government of the Federal Republic of Germany only by its pronouncements. West German ruling circles have for years been erecting a wall of alienation, separating the Federal Republic of Germany from the peace-loving states of Europe and the world. If they want the world to believe that Bonn has abandoned its revenge-seeking aggressive course, they will have to start dismantling this wall with their own hands, will have to show by deeds that the political complexion of West Germany and, especially, her foreign policy have really changed.

Obviously mistaken are those who believe that if they couch the

former revenge-seeking and militaristic concepts in a new, more flexible phraseology and make a couple of non-committal general assurances on a desire for peaceful cooperation, that such a policy would be taken as a kind of constructive contribution to the cause of peaceful construction in Europe.

Unfortunately, so far the practical actions of the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany clearly show that there are no real changes in Bonn's political course.

One cannot help seeing that the forces of nazism and militarism have precisely lately raised their head in the Federal Republic of Germany, that the Federal Government has not abandoned in the least the revenge-seeking positions on the question of the existing European frontiers, the claims to West Berlin. It is stepping up subversion against the German Democratic Republic, a solid barrier in the way of the aggressive aspirations of West German imperialism.

The FRG Government is trying to use each foreign policy move to support its absurd claims to the right to speak on behalf of all Germans. These claims alone are sufficient proof of the aggressive nature of West German policy. To act from such positions is to encroach on the sovereign rights of another German State, the German Democratic Republic, and try to strike out the vast social and political changes that have taken place in Europe in the post-war years.

The aggressive and reactionary nature of the position of the Federal Republic of Germany on this question is still further emphasized by Bonn's continued clinging to the notorious "Hallstein doctrine." This "doctrine," it will be recalled, aims at preventing the recognition of the German Democratic Republic by other countries, it expresses the hostility of the ruling circles of the Federal Republic of Germany not only to the German Democratic Republic but also to all its friends. The "Hallstein doctrine" is a policy of Bonn's intervention in the affairs of other states, above all, the Afro-Asian countries, a policy of international blackmail and threats.

To those who today shape the foreign policy of the Federal Republic we should like bluntly to say this: if you wish to win the confidence of the European peoples, if you genuinely desire to assure the peaceful future of your country, abandon the illusions that you can speak on behalf of all German people, acknowledge the real state of affairs in Europe, including the fact of the existence of the two German states, clearly and unequivocally renounce the claims for access to nuclear weapons.

Or let us take such a question as the conclusion of a treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. The peoples have long been awaiting this treaty which is to safeguard the world against

the further spread of nuclear weapons and thus relieve the danger of a nuclear war and help disarmament. Yet in FRG ruling quarters the prospect of concluding such a treaty seems to have been received as a real calamity, as the collapse of the most cherished aspirations and hopes. There came from Bonn a spate of all kinds of objections, preliminary conditions and reservations, backstage maneuvers were undertaken to create ever new complications to the conclusion of the treaty.

The real nature of the policy of the present Government of the Federal Republic of Germany is also eloquently borne out by the following facts. It is common knowledge that West Germany, following the example of such fascist countries in Europe as Spain and Portugal, has banned the Communist Party, the Party of courageous fighters against reaction and fascism, for the vital interest reaction and fascism, for the vital interests of the working people, for peace among nations. And though Social Democrats now hold a number of ministerial posts in Bonn, the new Government has already managed to express its intention to continue the ban of the Party of the German working class. Meanwhile ample opportunties are offered in the Federal Republic of Germany to semi-fascist or openly fascist-type parties and organizations to develop their activity.

One must be extremely naive to view these manifestations of Bonn's present policy as signs of a changed foreign policy course. In any case we, in the Soviet Union, are not as naive as that.

We have said more than once that we should like to see the relations between the Soviet Union and the FRG considerably improved. But to make this possible the policy of revanche and militarism, now pursued by this German State, should give place to a genuinely peaceful policy. This is not the case so far.

The unity of principles and actions of European socialist countries is having a tremendous impact on the whole course of events both in respect to German affairs and in other important European matters. The unanimity and fraternal solidarity of socialist countries is a tried and tested weapon of struggle against the aggresive forces of imperialism, for preserving and strengthening peace.

Our Party attaches great importance to working out a joint course of socialist countries in the international arena and highly appreciates unity of action in pursuing the agreed line.

It will be recalled that the Warsaw Treaty countries last year worked out in Bucharest an extensive program of struggle for improving the situation in Europe and agreed on their position for rebuffing the U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

The Soviet Union has exerted great effort to implement the program jointly worked out by the allied socialist countries. The Soviet representatives were guided by this both during their fre-

quent meetings and talks with leaders of the fraternal socialist countries and parties and during the state visits to France, Britain, Italy, Austria, Turkey and other countries.

The meeting of Foreign Ministers of the Warsaw Treaty countries, held last month, marked a new stage in harmonizing the foreign political efforts of the socialist states.

At present Communist Parties in Europe have started preparations for a meeting of European Communist Parties to discuss the problems of struggle to ensure peace and security in Europe. The CPSU is taking an active part in this work.

The CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government will continue to do everything in their power so that the relations between the Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries, permeated as they are with a spirit of revolutionary solidarity and mutual profound respect, become ever richer in content.

In its relations with the capitalist countries of Europe, the Soviet Union is undeviatingly applying the principles of peaceful coexstence of states wth different social systems. We are tirelessly working on the development of mutually advantageous relations and the strengthening of cooperation with those states wishing for such cooperation. Our contacts with governments of West European countries are becoming ever more active and varied and we believe that this paves the way for wider and more fruitful cooperation between the states on the European continent.

The situation in South-East Asia, where the U.S. imperialists are waging a criminal war against the freedom-loving Vietnamese people, merits as before special mention.

By their selfless struggle in the north and south of the country the Vietnamese people showed to the whole world their unshakable determination to uphold their scared rights. The courageous South Vietnamese patriots deal one blow after another at the American interventionists. Fighting courageously together with the armed forces are the workers and peasants of the DRV who by their labor are making a great contribution to the struggle against the aggressor.

It is now clear even to the most gullible that the U.S. ruling circles had been hoodwinking the peoples of the world and the people of their own country when they talked of their desire for a peaceful settlement in Vietnam. The DRV Government stated clearly: end unconditionally bombings and other military actions against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and then talks between the DRV and the USA will become possible. It would seem that the way was clearly indicated, the only thing that remained was to follow it. But Washington seemed to have suddenly forgotten all its former "peace" assurances. Instead of heeding the voice of reason, the United States hastened to put an end to the tempo-

rary truce, which was established on the fronts last month on the occasion of the Vietnamese New Year and demonstratively resumed the barbarous bombings of the territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

Moreover, as if challenging the peoples of the world, who demand an end to the war against Vietnam, the U.S. Administration a few days ago publicly announced an expansion of its aggression. The aggressors are not content with the piratical bombings of the towns and villages of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The United States now added to this the bombardment of the territory of this small country with its long-range guns, and mines have been dropped into the rivers of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam to obstruct shipping.

The professions of peace uttered by the U.S. leaders to mislead the naive, have miscarried. People can now see the ugly face of the imperialist beast. The interventionists' atrocities in Vietnam have aroused the anger and indignation of the world.

The people of Vietnam are replying to the U.S. escalation with increased resolve to fight for and win their freedom and independence.

The Vietnamese are a peaceable people. They want peace and are prepared for peace, as was repeatedly stated by its leaders. But the 20-year heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people against foreign interventionists should make it clear to all that this people will not bow to the foreign invader and will not be intimidated by any Pentagon methods of brigandage.

The Vietnamese people have growing international support for their just cause. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries are displaying in actual deeds their solidarity with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, with the fighting Vietnamese people by giving them all-round assistance in their struggle against American aggression. This line of our Party and our Government was clearly defined by the 23rd CPSU Congress and approved by all Soviet people. It expresses our allegiance to the cause of socialist internationalism, revolutionary solidarity, and we shall consistently adhere to this line.

Comrades, it is necessary, if only briefly, to dwell on political developments in China.

It is now absolutely clear that these events, which began under the flag of the "cultural revolution," were engendered by the deep crisis of the Party and state leadership of Mao Tse-tung and his group. It is not accidental that their current political eccentricities began after the failure of Mao Tse-tung's adventuristic economic policy inside the country and the failure of his sorties in the international arena with claims to ideological and political world hegemony. The setbacks were lost on the men in power in Peking. On

the contrary, the failure pushed them to fresh gambles inside the country and in international affairs.

It is now already clear to the world at large that the legend of the "proletarian cultural revolution" is but a clumsy disguise designed to screen the policy alien to Marxism-Leninism which Mao-Tse-tung has been carrying through.

When groups of schoolchildren and students with no political background, no experience of life, no understanding of Marxism-Leninism, bonded together in "Chairman Mao's assault detachments" and dizzy with impunity and instigations from above, shout quotations from Mao Tse-tung, ransack Party committees and state agencies; when they beat up workers, peasants and intellectuals and jeer at people; when concern for the vital interests of the working class and all working people is declared to be a crime, what kind of proletarian revolution is this? This is rather like the suppression of the socialist revolution.

When army units, supporting the assault detachments of the Hung Wei Ping "rebels," on an order from Peking, use weapons against all whom the Mao Tse-tung group regards as its enemies, who question the attempts to depict "Mao's ideas" as the "summit of Marxism-Leninism"; when the army by force disbands lawful organs of power and replaces them by new bodies in which it holds key positions, what kind of defense of the cause of socialism in China is this? It is rather like a reactionary military coup.

When people are arrogant, rude and impudent towards other states and peoples and in relation to Communist Parties of other countries; when official representatives of foreign states and, first of all, of socialist states that are friendly to China, are subjected to mockery, insults and even physical violence; when any Communist Party, which does not kowtow to the so-called ideas of Mao Tse-tung and does not obey Peking's dictates, is abused in every way and mud is slung at its leaders, what kind of revolutionary solidarity is that, what kind of proletarian internationalism? Is it not clear that this disregard for the rights and dignity of other peoples is a manifestation of the most disgusting great-power chauvinism which is organically alien to Communists?

This is how the events in China look if we are to call a spade a spade.

The "seizure of power" declared by Mao Tse-tung is meeting in many places with a resolute rebuff of the population and is often accompanied by bloody clashes. The frontal attack of the Hung Wei Ping and the "rebels" on Party and government offices in the center and provinces ran into serious resistance. It appears that the resistance turned out to be stronger than Mao Tse-tung had anticipated. Political chaos and economic dislocation in China have

assumed such dimensions that Peking has to maneuver and change tactics.

Lately they suddenly started speaking of the necessity to take a "correct attitude to the cadre," started, at least in words, to denounce crude forms of interference by the Hung Wei Ping into the operation of enterprises and state establishments. Many Mao Tse-tung opponents are even promised "absolution" and appointment to new organs of power.

These tactical maneuvers by the Mao Tse-tung group testify evidently to the fact that it understands the weakness of its positions, but they, of course, change nothing in the anti-revolutionary essence of its policy.

The future will show what course later developments in China will take. However, it can be said with certainty that the events of the last six months started by the Mao Tse-tung group are a great national tragedy for the Chinese people, for the Chinese Communist Party with which we sympathize with all our hearts. The revolutionary gains of China, its internal integrity and stability, its international prestige are in jeopardy. We would be bad internationalists if we did not deplore this deeply.

Besides, the excesses inspired by the Mao Tse-tung group are, as he knows, aimed directly against our Party, our people and our Soviet state. The present Peking leaders have broken all records of rabid lying anti-Soviet propaganda exceeding the imperialists, the open enemies of socialism and communism.

It stands to reason that the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government cannot ignore the provocations and threats of the present Chinese leadership. They have done and will continue to do everything necessary to protect the legitimate state interests of our country, the interests of the Soviet people.

The world Communist movement also draws conclusions from the anti-Soviet line of the Mao Tse-tung group. The isolation of the Peking dissidents is growing. The pernicious nature of the course taken by Peking is too evident to find followers.

The Chinese leaders claim that they are waging a struggle against imperialism. True, Peking makes anti-imperialist statements from time to time but Mao Tse-tung's anti-imperialism stops at that. Moreover, in their anti-Soviet zeal and their hostility toward other socialist countries Mao Tse-tung and his supporters are actually sliding down to what is actually a service in the interests of imperialism.

In the United States, it is already openly recognized that the position of the present PRC leaders on the Vietnam issue helps the United States wage its war against the Vietnamese people. And this is really so. The rabid anti-Soviet position of Mao Tse-tung and his supporters and their line aimed at dividing the forces op-

posed to aggresson and, in effect, at undermining assistance to fighting Vietnam, is a real windfall for the U.S. imperialists.

It goes without saying that no one in the Soviet Union equates the Mao Tse-tung group with the Chinese people. The Soviet people will continue rebuffing resolutely the great-power, anti-Soviet policy of this group, a policy which has nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism. But we would like at the same time to emphasize once again that our Party is not waging and will not wage a struggle either against the Chinese people or against the Chinese Communist Party. We believe that the Chinese Communists, the Chinese people will find the strength to return China to the road of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union, with other socialist countries, as demanded by the interests of socialism and international solidarity of the working people.

By its consistent, principled policy, the policy of defending peace, freedom and progress on earth, our country won recognition and respect of most countries of the world, of all peace-loving peoples.

The credit for the Soviet state's great international prestige goes to our people, who, by their enthusiastic labor, augment the might for the Soviet Union's fruitful activity in the international arena. and defense potential of our country and create a firm foundation It also goes to our Communist Party, which confidently guides the Soviet people along the road of Communist construction and holds the sacred banner of the October Revolution, Lenin's banner.

# RESOLUTION*

## OF THE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA. ADOPTED IN NEW DELHI ON MARCH 8

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India congratulates our people for inflicting shattering defeats on the Congress Party in the fourth general election. Never in its history has the Congress suffered such a stupendous political debacle. The election results show that the Congress is on the way out.

In the wake of the great victories the people have won, non-Congress governments have already been formed in six states. So far as the people are concerned, the emergence of these non-Congress governments is the result of their deep discontent against the anti-people, anti-democratic policies of the Congress regime and also of their passionate urge for a radical change in the governance of the country.

Even in Orissa, where the non-Congress government has been formed and which is led by the avowedly Right-wing Swatantra Party, it is this popular discontent which has brought about the downfall of the Congress. It is noteworthy that under the impact of the popular urge, even the reactionary parties are, at least outwardly, toning down some of their retrograde positions .

### BEGINNING OF NEW PHASE

The formation of the non-Congress governments marks the beginning of a new phase in our national-political life. The monopoly of Congress power stands greatly weakened today and, in fact, broken in a number of states of the Indian Union. The masses are searching for a popular democratic alternative to the Congress.

The Communist Party of India hails the non-Congress governments in Kerala and West Bengal which are under the leadership of the Left and democratic forces as the first forceful beginning of this alternative to Congress misrule.

These governments can play a historic role in setting the tone for all non-Congress popular governments. They can make very significant contributions in shaping the future of the nation.

The Central Executive Committee welcomes the formation of non-Congress governments in Bihar and Punjab. The non-Congress

*New Age, March 12, 1967.

government in Bihar is one in which the Left and democratic parties and progressive individuals constitute the major force.

In Punjab again the installation of a non-Congress government has been made possible as a result of the efforts of the Left and democratic forces and the majority of the supporters of the new government belong to the United Front which fought the elections.

The Central Executive Committee further welcomes the formation of a non-Congress government in Madras by the DMK, a party of the democratic opposition which has been returned to power after the rout of the Congress in that state.

The formation of non-Congress popular governments in these five states signifies a glorious advance of the popular democratic forces in the country. The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India trusts that these non-Congress governments will set an example before the nation in building up an efficient, clean, honest administration, responsive to the masses and loyal to their cause.

The success of these non-Congress governments depends on how wisely and courageously they proceed to make a break from the past and initiate and enforce policies and measures for meeting the immediate needs of our suffering people, for strengthening and extending democracy and in short, for paving the road to all round progress.

## BONDS WITH THE MASSES

The strength of these governments naturally lies in the unity of the Left and democratic forces and in their deep and growing bonds with the masses.

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India pledges its full cooperation and support to these progressive non-Congress governments in implementation of the programs and policies for the well-being of our people. The most effective implementation, however, is possible only when the initiative and cooperation of the masses are unleashed in full measure.

The Communist Party of India unequivocally stands for the formation of non-Congress governments in every state where the Congress has been defeated. People must be given a free and fair opportunity to have such alternative governments in these states.

But the question of general support of our Party to a Right-wing non-Congress government does not arise. The Communist Party will determine its stand in regard to such governments from issue to issue and on their merits.

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India is fully conscious of the fact that the Congress is still in power at the Center and hence it is in a position to create difficul-

ties for the non-Congress popular governments, especially the ones orientated towards the working people. The Central Executive Committee is also fully aware of the limitations imposed on the states by our Constitution. The real levers of power and authority, as well as resources, rest with the Center.

## CENTER IS THE KEY

The power of the monopolies and landlords and princes and their stranglehold on our economy and the life of the people cannot be effectively broken without replacing the Central Government of the Congress Party and replacing it by a truly democratic and progressive government. Power at the Center still remains the key to all national radical and progressive changes. Moreover, the Congress still holds power in a number of states, including some big ones.

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India calls upon the people to exercise their utmost vigilance against all obstructionist and subversive tactics of the Center so that they may be effectively countered and defeated.

The Central Executive Committee also takes due note of the fact that alongside the great Left and democratic advance in the fourth general election, the forces of Right reaction, too, have gained considerably in strength and dimension.

These reactionary forces are not going to reconcile either to the progressive coalition governments or to the advance o fthe country's democratic movement.

On the contrary, these forces will seek to consolidate themselves and utilize the present situation to further push the country to the right. The confrontation between the Left and democratic forces on the one hand and that of reaction on the other looms large in the post-election situation. The challenge has got to be fully met.

The Communist Party of India is firmly of the view that the complex post-election situation in general and the formation of popular non-Congress governments in particular, as well as the menacing rise of the forces of right reaction, today all the more emphasize the urgency of the unity of the Left and democratic parties and progressive individuals in joint and concerted action.

Only through such unity can these non-Congress popular governments be defended and carried forward and the country's democratic movement also advanced further into the great future that awaits this nation.

# OUR POSITION ON THE CURRENT EVENTS IN CHINA

## APPEAL* TO ALL THE COMMUNIST PARTIES AND REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS OF THE WORLD

The internal struggle in the People's Republic of China has been developing in alarming forms. We Dominican Communists are deeply concerned because the imperialists are looking for an opportunity to attack that socialist country, hoping that the disruption of the unity which gave power to the people may enable their interventionist forces to move in from Formosa or Vietnam.

The main aspects of the events taking place in China can be estimated by studying PRC publications and broadcasts, without recourse to the biassed propaganda of the imperialists.

The fact that the ideological struggle has gone beyond the bounds of the Party, the existence of a power crisis due to a conflict between a minority group which has forged the "Red Guards" and the majority of the Party organizations, and the unity of the working class against petty-bourgeois dogmatism are evidence that can be culled from reports coming from China and that gives, in the absence of detailed information, an idea of the more important characteristics of the situation.

In step with developments, the "Red Guards" are revealing themselves as an organization outside the Party and opposed to it. They are the instrument of a group that is losing its prestige in the eyes of the masses as far as the everyday work of socialist construction is concerned, and has been an obstacle to the necessary unity of the socialist world faced with the imperialist forces in Vietnam.

The policy of Mao Tse-tung and Lin Piao, aimed at turning the "Red Guards" into an organization parallel to the Party and concerned with purging the Party from without, is thoroughly erroneous. It has nothing to do with Leninism and is leading to a weakening and, indeed, the destruction of the CP, that is, of what is an indispensable factor in socialist construction. The results of the ideological struggle, which fails to use Leninist methods of organization and discussion and is being carried on through a youth organization (most of whose members do not belong to the CP), are plainly negative.

*Document of the Central Committee of the Dominican CP, published in **El Popular**, Jan. 16,1967.

Prominent Party leaders, regional and provincial committees, and large sections of the industrial proletariat are compelled to counter the violence of the "Red Guards," who are trying by reckless means, and evading the control of those who brought them into being, to become the leading organization of socialist China, even at the cost of destroying the Party. Thus violence accompanies the ideological conflict, undermining the people's unity and creating a situation of which the imperialists can take advantage to step up their aggression against Vietnam and to attack China itself.

The present struggle is rooted in the ideological differences that have developed in the CPC. These differences, in turn, stem from the existence in Chinese society of considerable non-proletarian strata carrying substantial weight with the Party itself. Owing to their numbers and their part in production, these strata have won decisive influence, with the result that extreme Leftist positions have predominated in Party and state for years.

At the same time it is evident that the positions, slogans, methods and structure of the "Red Guards" are petty-bourgeois.

The "Red Guards" and the so-called "cultural revolution," which are using the influential person of Mao Tse-tung as their banner, are the concentrated expression of a petty-bourgeois and Leftist home and foreign policy. With its influence in the Party and in Chinese society steadily diminishing, the group committed to this policy is trying to impose itself by force, to suppress its ideological opponents in the Party and defeat those who favor a change of policy and call for the rectification of past and present mistakes.

It is obvious that the excessive, irrational and fanatical exaltation of Mao Tse-tung by the "Red Guards" is meeting with the growing resistance of people who in fact uphold the integrity of the Party and its role of leader of the proletariat.

Our Party wholeheartedly supports the CPC's effort to maintain its organization, its existence, and the Leninist standards of organization.

Our Party raises its voice in defense of socialism in China, and calls on all Communists and all revolutionary anti-imperialists to identify themselves with revolutionary People's China, which is going through sharp internal struggles that may shape the further development of the revolution.

Our Party gives warning that the imperialists may try to make their way on to the Chinese mainland, using Chiang Kai-shek as a cover or intensifying the war against North Vietnam.

Our Party advocates the return of the CPC to the principles of socialist democracy guaranteeing internal unity and making it possible to hold in the Party the most profound discussions of ideological differences without recourse to group violence that might degenerate into civil war, and without disrupting popular

unity and thereby exposing the country to imperialist penetration.

Our Party considers that it does not become Marxists to condemn the CPC as a whole in sectarian fashion or to stigmatize the whole Chinese people. Nor would it be right to set out to isolate the PRC from the socialist community and the CPC from the world Communist movement, all the more because the imperialists want to profit by the crisis. Communists all over the world should be concerned about the struggle in which the Chinese people are engaged. Every effort should be made to prepare for the defense of the Chinese people in the event of imperialist aggression. No one calling himself a Communist can rejoice at the current events or at those that may occur unless the present course is reversed.

It is necessary to appreciate the causes of the present crisis in China and ascertain the possibilities of solving it, instead of merely recounting its phenomenal aspects. Above all, it is necessary to trust that Marxism-Leninism will triumph in the present internal struggle and that the gains of socialism will be maintained if all the forces of progress contribute to this.

Our Party believes that the socialist nations and all the Communists of the world should be ready by their struggle and their military strength to beat off the aggression the imperialists are planning against revolutionary, socialist People's China. We also think the differences that may exist as debatable issues are secondary to the threat coming to a socialist state from the imperialist power of North America.

*Secretariat of the CC,*
*Dominican Communist Party*

# ON THE ANTI-SOVIET CAMPAIGNS

## STATEMENT* BY THE PB, CC, CP OF VENEZUELA

Anti-Soviet trends gaining in virulence have emerged in the world Communist movement. They openly conflict with the principles of proletarian internationalism and tend to weaken united action against the imperialist offensive. The Communist Party of Venezuela cannot look indifferently on these developments, which are plainly detrimental to the revolutionary movement as a whole, and therefore considers it necessary to state its point of view on the matter.

The Soviet Union born of the great revolution accomplished by the Russian people and Lenin's Party in 1917, is undoubtedly the strongest bulwark of the world revolutionary movement and an extraordinary example of the immense achieveemnts of the socialist system, as well as a palpable proof of the latter's superiority over the capitalist regimes.

Besides, the Soviet Union objectively is one of the mainstays of the national liberation movements. Thanks to its existence, numerous countries effected post-war revolutionary changes on the basis of a valuable precedent and of enormous experience in socialist construction. Furthermore solidarity and assistance in the economic, military, technological, scientific and cultural fields enabled them to skip certain stages and, consequently, made the construction of the new society easier.

Ever since our Party came into being, we Venezuelan Communists have educated ourselves and our people to the example of the Russian revolutionaries and to socialist development. We have stressed what the Soviet Union meant yesterday as the only representative of a socialist world in the making, and what it means today as an essential component of the socialist camp, to the triumph, consolidation and subsequent development of the Venezuelan revolution.

That is why we are witnessing with sorrow and concern the rise of anti-Soviet sentiments in the revolutionary camp itself. For we consider that whatever tends to undermine the prestige of the Soviet Union and to dismiss the generous aid it has been extending to the national liberation movements and to other socialist countries has a negative effect on the world revolutionary movement, which includes the CP of Venezuela.

Our Party sees no valid justification for such campaigns. They can only bring joy to the reactionaries of every description and to

the U.S. monopolies, which deal in war and plunder our country and the peoples of the world.

To form a united front of the anti-imperialist forces of the world, in particular the socialist countries, and to consolidate it in the face of the criminal American aggression against the heroic people of Vietnam is an unavoidable imperative for all Communist and Workers' parties, for all genuine revolutionaries. Our Party is prepared to contribute its share to the fulfilment of this task.

There is nothing, nor can there be anything, in common between anti-Sovietism and revolutionary action. More than ever before, the prime duty of all who are striving for the defeat of imperialism is to promote friendship and brotherhood with the great Soviet people and their tested Party, and to appreciate their achievements, a duty that must take precedence over all secondary considerations and differences in estimation, over all national antagonism, which must be completely discarded.

Nor can anti-Sovietism be disguised by the ideological differences and the contest of opinions existing in the revolutionary movement. The manner of dealing with these divergences is specified in the 1960 Statement of the Communist and Workers' parties signed in Moscow by the overwhelming majority of the contingents of the world Communist movement.

We take this opportunity to reaffirm our Party's friendship and gratitude for the Soviet people and the CPSU, who are making progress in building communism and are in the van of the peoples of the world, and to emphatically reject the calumnies levelled against that great people and great party.

Lastly, the Communist Party of Venezuela, in making these necessary comments, re-emphasizes its determination to work for world Communist unity on the principles of proletarian internationalism, solidarity, and mutual respect. It stresses that this year's celebration of the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution will afford us an excellent opportunity of stepping up our effort in this field.

*Political Bureau of the Central Committee,*
*Communist Party of Venezuela*
*Caracas, February 1967*

# RESOLUTION*

## OF THE CC, SYRIAN CP

Having discussed the report of the Political Bureau, this enlarged meeting of the Central Committee resolves to approve the policy of the Party in every field. It unanimously resolves to concentrate the effort of the Party on the fundamental tasks listed below.

### THE FIGHT FOR OIL

Pressing forward the struggle at the head of the people, shoulder to shoulder with the progressive forces both in and outside the government, to make the Iraq Petroleum Co., (IPC) honor, without any evasions of subterfuges, the 1955 agreement which determines Syria's title to deductions for the piping of oil across its territory. Attainment of this goal will make for a substantial increase in Syria's revenue at present and in the future and will enable the country to exact the differences for the past years from the imperialist company. The IPC is trying to resist by maneuvering, delaying payment of the debt. Our task is, therefore, to heighten vigilance and avoid a trap, to step up action aimed at foiling conspiracies and propaganda maneuvers designed to emasculate the clear-cut and definite tasks of our fight and to sow discord between Syria and other fraternal Arab countries by putting economic pressure upon them.

One of the purposes of the Anglo-American oil companies' maneuvering is to bring about an agreement depriving Syria of an important source of income, namely, deductions for the piping of oil across its territory. This would make it difficult to carry out important economic projects, and would tell on the progressive experiment under way in Syria.

The fight for oil on the right basis, with due regard to the realities, will be an earnest of greater support for Syria on the part of the progressive forces of the Arab countries and the rest of the world. It will guarantee the rights of the Syrian people and frustrate all imperialist conspiracies and maneuvers.†

Obviously, to free Arab oil from international imperialist domination and to use it for the good of the Arab peoples, to raise their

*Abridged from **Nidal al-Shaab**, February 1967.

†Early in March an agreement was signed in Damascus between the Syrian government and the ICP; the Company fully complied with Syria's just demands.—Ed.

standard of living and promote their economies is an important strategic task which every partisan of progress and every patriot is striving to accomplish. The struggle to carry out this task has both Arab and international significance. Maximum effort is needed to prepare carefully for this struggle and to ensure broad and fruitful cooperation by the progressive forces in every Arab country and on an all-Arab scale, as well as cooperation with the forces of socialism and progress throughout the world.

## THE EUPHRATES DAM AND OTHER IMPORTANT PROJECTS

Continuing the effort to build the great Euphrates dam on schedule and to carry out other major economic projects agreed on, such as the construction of the Latakia-Kamishly railway and the nitrogen fertilizer plant in Homs, the expansion of an oil refinery, the industrial exploitation of phosphates, the working of oil deposits, the laying of a pipeline, and so on. The fact that contracts for the construction of major projects have already been signed by no means implies that the fight for these projects is over, for the contracts are only the first gain. The class enemy at home and abroad, well knowing how important these projects are, refuses to surrender although it has been unable to torpedo the signing of the contracts. He will now plot to obstruct and hold up their implementation.

To guarantee the execution of the projects in question, it is necessary to be more vigilant, step up the cooperation of all progressive forces, utilize all resources and muster the whole of available personnel, all who sincerely believe these projects to be necessary and can resist every act of sabotage and foil it in time.

## THE AGRARIAN REFORM AND THE PEASANTS' DEMANDS

Continuing the fight for the early realization of the agrarian reform by proper methods, for the elimination of all errors and shortcomings by doing away with red tape on the part of the bureaucracy, and by drawing on the assistance of elected peasant bodies in carrying out each item of the agrarian reform. Hastening the distribution of state-owned land among the poorest sections of the peasantry and those who need it, and distributing land among the working peasants irrespective of their political views, religion and nationality, as was the case in El Jezira Province and elsewhere. Supplying the peasants with materials and granting them the loans they need to till the land. Promoting the organization of various cooperatives acceptable to and chosen by the peasants, and to render them adequate government assistance.

Continuing the effort to improve conditions in every branch of

gariculture, especially animal husbandry. Improving the living conditions of the bedouins, building more dams, storing rainwater more effectively, and sinking more artesian wells in the desert areas.

## THE DEMANDS OF THE WORKING CLASS

Continuing the struggle for a higher standard of living for the workers, peasants and other working people. Exercise of the rights won by the workers, including a share in profits. A higher standard of living for the workers, who should be provided with inexpensive housing and cheap medicines. All this will prompt them to give the progressive experiment under way greater support and to defend it against reactionary and imperialist schemes.

The working class plays the role of vanguard in the progressive and national development of Syria. Its duty at this stage is to play —in alliance with the peasants and other working people, and with the progressive men and officers of the armed forces the key role in upholding the reforms being effected, in carrying them deeper and further, in expanding production and improving the quality of output.

The historical role the Syrian working class has to play implies the need to respect and appreciate the rights of the workers and to allow their full exercise, with all pressure and curtailment barred. It is necessary to trust the Syrian working class, guarantee democracy in the trade unions and working-class bodies, set up workers' control and management committees through really democratic elections by proper methods, and hold the forthcoming trade union elections in freedom. The implementation of these measures will have a far-reaching effect on the experiment being carried out and the evolution of the situation as a whole.

In the interest of the national progressive development of Syria, all progressive forces—the Left Baathists, the Communists and other Socialists—must join efforts to uphold the rights of the workers against all restrictions as they fight for their demands, in particular through their unions, whatever the nature of this fight.

## ELIMINATE THE NEGATIVE FACTORS IN THE ECONOMY

Taking further steps to eliminate phenomena that have an adverse effect on the economic position of the country—exploitation, abuses and sabotage on the part of reactionary government officials and big merchants, who make profit by mediating between the state sector and the small traders and handicraftsmen. This means increasing the role of the state in the national economy, removing these big capitalists—the go-betweens—and gradually transferring their functions to the state.

The economy should be managed on a scientific basis, through long-range planning. It is first of all the industrial sector that should be developed according to plan. Every effort should be made to encourage the setting up of consumers' cooperatives and to aid small traders and handicraftsmen, using the banks, consumers' associations and nationalized enterprises to this end.

## COOPERATION OF THE PROGRESSIVE FORCES

To extend and deepen the present limited cooperation of the Left Baathists, the Communists and other progressive forces on a sound basis and in every field of political activity, economic development social work and the activity of mass organizations is the chief task in defending the national progressive regime of the country and in improving it.

Establishing a broad national progressive front against imperialism and reaction and the survivals of feudalism and big capital —a front capable of rallying all the national progressive forces of the people and of becoming the mainstay of the regime—is the right way and an effective means of promoting political and economic independence, carrying socio-economic reforms deeper and further, maintaining the gains of the people and meeting the people's basic material and cultural requirements.

The establishment of a national progressive front will be a guarantee of advance along the road of democracy and social progress, to socialist objectives and genuine Arab unity based on equality and brotherhood.

## THE FIGHT FOR DEMOCRACY

The fight for the establishment of legislative and executive power on democratic lines should be continued. This will enable the workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals, and the masses generally to participate in government affairs, shape the overall policy of the nation, and control the internal situation.

It is necessary to elaborate a Constitution reflecting the national progressive trend of development and the progressive socio-economic changes that have occurred in the country, and confirming the people's determination to follow the socialist road. The draft Constitution should be submitted to the people for discussion. It should be approved by a representative body including deputies democratically elected by the workers, peasants, intellectuals, revolutionary men and officers, and other progressive forces.

To assure the success of the progressive experiment under way, it is necessary to make democracy the principal method of activity of the authorities and of setting up popular institutions and organ-

izations—labor unions, peasant organizations, the Student Union, Women's Federation, etc. It is necessary to provide freedom and democracy to the workers, peasants, progressive intellectuals and other working people and all the national progressive forces. It is necessary to abandon unreasonable and arbitrary practices and to put an end to the humiliating and forcible methods which certain elements of the administrative machinery use against the progressive and democratic forces, against all supporters of cooperation and of closer links between different political convictions.

## ORGANIZING ACTIVITY OF THE PARTY AND ITS WORK AMONG THE MASSES

This meeting has discussed the organizing activity of the Party and its work among the masses, and unanimously resolves to confirm the principle that to promote the national progressive development of Syria on socialist lines it is necessary to strengthen the positions of the SCP in every sphere, establish closer and more extensive links between the Party and the people, and bring about more durable fraternal relations and cooperation with all the national progressive forces of the country.

This meeting resolves to raise the standard of political and ideological activity and to improve the organizing work of every Party committee branch and mmbers of the Party.

## THE SITUATION IN THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

This meeting has discussed the situation in the world Communist movement, and unanimously expresses satisfaction at the Communists' gains—the consolidation of the positions of the socialist countries, the enhancement of the role of many Communist parties in Europe, Asia and Latin America, and the steady growth of the unity and cohesion of the world Communist movement.

However, this meeting is deeply concerned about the intensification of the disruptive activity of the Mao Tse-tung group in China and of the provocations committed by that group against the Soviet Union, the first socialist state, a friend of all peoples, and the bulwark of world peace.

The activity of the Chinese group, disguised as the so-called "cultural revolution," is nothing but a complete renunciation of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, an obvious manifestation of petty-bourgeois chauvinism. It is a grave menace to the gains of the working class and other working people of China, and helps American and world imperialism.

This meeting unanimously declares for the position of the Political Bureau on these dangerous splitting activities, and calls on

the Party membership to join the CPSU and other Marxist-Leninist brother parties in continuing the fight for the unity and cohesion of the world Communist movement, for an alliance of the revolutionary forces of the world against imperialism, for freedom and peace.

This meeting unanimously approves the stand taken by the Party and the Party's statement that the time has come for the Communist and Workers' parties to meet and discuss the new trends which have emerged in the international situation, the world Communist movement, and the national-liberation movement with a view to achieving unity against world imperialism, against wars of aggression and plans of extending them, for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

# SPLITTING ACTIVITIES IN ORGANIZATIONS DEALING WITH QUESTIONS OF JAPANESE-CHINESE RELATIONS*

Misaburo Kawasaki

Some obsequious elements who blindly follow certain foreign forces are constantly and quite openly stepping up splitting work against Japan's mass democratic organizations. The sinister process of this splitting work, which is conducted on a nation-wide scale primarily by the Japanese-Chinese Friendship Society and partly by the Japanese Committee of Afro-Asian Solidarity, is based on the anti-Party actvities of the Fukuda-Harada group† in Yamaguchi prefecture, the anti-Party people like Takaji Nishizawa, Yusho Otsuka, Reizo Amamiya and others who were expelled from the Communist Party for violation of Party discipline and splittism and who operate from Osaka, and the Shida group, expelled from the Party ten years ago for moral degeneration and violation of Party discipline.

The publications circulated in the democratic organizations dealing with questions of Japanese-Chinese relations include the Fukuda-Harada group's newspaper *Choshu Shinbun*, the anti-Party journal published by Nishizawa, Otsuka and their followers, and *Zenshin*, the newspaper of the so-called Joint Council of the Marxist-Leninist Movement in the Osaka Region. These anti-Party publications print articles and other materials slandering the Communist Party of Japan. They are frequently used as an instrument for splitting the mass organizations dealing with questions of Japanese-Chinese relations.

People who without giving the matter a deeper thought mistakenly believed that friendship means agreement with the partner's views, first came out against the principles on which the CPJ insists—independence, equality and non-interference in each other's internal affairs—and then quit these mass organizations. Little by little these people unwittingly and objectively became the base for the vicious subversive activities against the CPJ conducted by the handful of anti-popular, counter-revolutionary, anti-Party dogmatic elements who opposed the program and the basic political line of

*From an article in **Zenei**, theoretical journal of the CPJ, No. 1, 1967.

†According to the CPJ press, the Fukuda-Harada group, T. Nishizawa, Y. Otsuka and R. Amamiyaadhereto pro-Chinese positions.—**Ed.**

the CPJ and betrayed the working class and the people of Japan. In this sense the splitting activities against the organizations dealing with questions of Japanese-Chinese relations seriously harm the unity and cohesion of the democratic organizations and present a problem which can on no account be ignored, considering the interests of the CPJ and the development of the revolution in Japan which is of prime concern to the CPJ.

To be sure, there are differences and contradictions, which are beginning to manifest themselves, between the vicious anti-Party elements, on the one hand, and people who have been splitting the mass organizations in the erroneous belief that friendship means currying favor with the partner, and those who follow them, on the other.

Nevertheless, splitting activities are under way in all the mass organizations which have anything to do with China: the Japan Press publishing house, the Japanese-Chinese Friendship Society, the Japanese Committee of Afro-Asian Solidarity, the Japanese Journalists' Congress, the New Japan Women's Association, etc.

Following October 17, 1966, the day of the return of the delegation of the Japanese-Chinese Friendship Society from the celebration of the PRC anniversary on October 1, these acts of splittism, timed for the 10th Congress of the CPJ (October 24-30, 1966), assumed especially outrageous and rude forms and followed one another in breath-taking sequence.

The split of the Japanese-Chinese Friendship Society occurred at the Board's meeting on October 25; the Association for the Promotion of Trade Between Japan and China was dissolved at the general meeting on October 26; the withdrawal from the Japanese Journalists' Congress of its chairman, Yuichi Kobayashi, and two members of the Council took place at the session of the Council on October 27, and the withdrawal from the Japanese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity of several members of the Board, at the Board's session on November 3.

Significantly, all that expressed itself in withdrawal from the existing organizations and establishment of new ones. Thus the anti-Party elements exposed themselves as splitters.

All these facts show that this succession of divisive actions was not caused by the specific situation in each of the given organizations. All the splitting actions had been somewhere thoroughly discussed and coordinated, down to the methods of execution, before being actually carried out.

The origin of the splitting maneuvers can be traced to the fact that during international contacts and exchanges certain foreign forces advance certain positions and views as regards the international situation, the situation in Vietnam, international joint actions and the united front against imperialism, the world Commu-

nist movement, revisionism, the revolutionary tactics in Japan, and demand agreement with their positions and views. There is also the striving to create a common basis for rapprochement, a basis made up of the theoretical views and ideas of the leader of the Party in a certain country. But this gives rise to difficulties and obstructs the correct development of the movement for friendship between our peoples.

There is no need to repeat that the activities of the mass organizations dealing with questions of Japanese-Chinese relations, above all the Japanese-Chinese Friendship Society and the Japanese Committee of Afro-Asian Solidarity, rest on the following principle: any citizen who expresses agreement with the aims proclaimed by a particular organization is duty bound, regardless of his ideological and religious views and party affiliation, to strengthen this organization. Consequently, it is clear to all that the advancement of certain positions and views regarding the theory and ideas of a certain party and its leader and the problems of the world Communist movement, as well as the posing of the question of agreement with such views and positions contradicts the basic character of these organizations and the movement and undermines their unity and cohesion.

For instance, members and supporters of the Liberal Democratic Party of Japan take part in the work of the Japanese-Chinese Friendship Society, for they agree with the aim of the Society—to promote friendship and the restoration of diplomatic relations between Japan and China. But these people do not accept socialism, of course. Moreover, they do not evince any active interest in certain positions and views as regards the problems of the world Communist movement.

Yet it is demanded of these people that they agree with a certain theory, certain ideas, positions and views held by the Communist Party of a certain country and its leader. As to those who disagree, "dissociation" from them is urged. This approach can in no way preserve the unity and cohesion of the movement for the development of Japanese-Chinese friendship and its organizations.

## 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE GREAT OCTOBER REVOLUTION

# FIFTY YEARS OF WORKERS' RULE*

This year, 1967, will see the fiftieth anniversary of the great Socialist Revolution in Russia of November 7th, 1917, an event which decisively changed the entire course of human history.

There were not many, in 1917, who really appreciated that the Russian Socialist Revolution was an event of a completely different type from all the great historical events of the nineteenth century which had overthrown feudalism, to replace it by capitalism. For the first time the masses of workers and peasants had taken the destinies of a great country, occupying a sixth of the earth's land surface, into their own strong hands. They proposed, under the brilliant leadership of Vladimir Lenin and his comrades, followers of Karl Marx, not only to institute formal democracy, but to dispossess the capitalists and landlords and advance into the then unknown territory of a new stage of history—Socialism.

Their experience and their success has already changed the shape of the world, has profoundly affected the future of all peoples and will continue to do so in the future.

No one in Africa or anywhere else can understand our world and its problems without studying the background and consequences of the Russian Socialist Revolution.

In view of the importance of this anniversary, it is our intention to devote as much space in coming issues as possible to reviewing the implications of the Great October Socialist Revolution, and in particular its significance for Africa and the fight for national liberation in the South of our Continent.

*The African Communist, No. 28, First quarter 1967.

# 50 YEARS OF GREAT OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

## RESOLUTION* OF THE CC, SYRIAN CP, FEBRUARY 1967

This year the Communists and all progressives throughout the world will celebrate, together with the Communist Party of the

*Nidal al-Shaab, February 1967.

Soviet Union, the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the first victorious socialist revolution in the history of mankind. The October Revolution, which triumphed under the guidance of the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union headed by its great leader Vladimir Lenin, had the greatest impact on the life of humanity by initiating the transition from capitalism to socialism. The famed October Socialist Revolution destroyed the citadel of oppression and tyranny in the biggest reactionary country, put an end to feudal and capitalist exploitation and established relations of fraternity and equality among people and nations. This revolution is the greatest source of inspiration for all peoples in the struggle for liberation from imperialist bondage, for the liquidation of exploitation of man by man.

This enlarged plenary meeting expresses gratitude to the CPSU, which continues the traditions of the glorious October Revolution and inspires all true revolutionaries by its communist ideals and activities, by its fidelity to the principles of proletarian internationalism. The meeting calls upon all Communists, all national progressive forces in Syria worthily to greet and celebrate the 50th anniversary of the Socialist Revolution in Russia as history's first and greatest victorious socialist revolution.

## 50th ANNIVERSARY OF GREAT OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

The 8th Afro-Asian Council Session, on behalf of the peoples of our continents wholeheartedly:

CONGRATULATES the peoples of the Soviet Union on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution which fall due this year. The Great October Socialist Revolution ushered in a new epoch in world history, it breached the continuous chain of international imperialism and gave fresh impetus to world-wide struggle against exploitation, for national independence, and social progress. The October Revolution brought about remarkable achievements in the USSR in the field of economy, culture and social life, scoring gigantic successes in science and technology.

These tremendous gains had great impact not only on the lives of the Soviet people but on mankind as a whole.

# ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

**March 7.** According to the CTV news agency (Czechoslovakia), the CP of Czechoslovakia in 1966 admitted 38,800 members, 25.5 per cent of whom are women.

Young people under 26 make up 59.3% of the new membership and those between 26 and 35 years of age, 26.5%.

Socially the new membership is composed of the following groups: workers 43.6%, cooperative peasants 9% and intellectuals 47.4%.

National composition: Czechs 75.2%, Slovaks 21% Hungarians 2.2,% and Poles, Ukrainians, Germans and members of other nationalities, 2.6%.

**March 8 and 9.** Wladyslaw Gomulka and Jozef Cyrankiewicz paid an unofficial friendship visit to Budapest at the invitation of the CC, HSWP and the Hungarian government. They had talks with Janos Kadar, Gyula Kallai and Zoltan Komocsin.

The Hungarian and Polish leaders examined the opportunities of promoting the relations between the two fraternal socialist countries, discussed current international issues, and exchanged views on the situation in the world Communist and working-class movement and on further steps to strengthen unity.

The talks revealed complete unity on all the matters discussed. They contributed to the friendship of the two peoples and to the cause of socialism and peace. The leaders of the two parties consider it necessary to hold regular consultations and exchanges of views in the future as well.

**March 9.** The Agencja Robotnicza information bulletin (Poland) carried an article under the heading "Party Work After the Seventh Plenum." The article, contributed by Tadeusz Rudolf, deputy head of the Organizational Department of the CC PUWP, comments in part as follows:

"The Party bodies and organizations have in collaboration with the workers' self-management, the trade unions and the Socialist Youth League done much political work around the decisions of the Seventh Plenum of the CC. The meaning and significance of the tasks arising out of the Party decisions were made clear at Party meetings and at meetings between EC (Enterprise Committee) spokesmen and enterprise staffs. As a result, the doubts about the nature and function of the ECs prevailing here and there was dispelled and, moreover, there developed around the activity of the

latter an atmosphere of appreciation and support on the part of the staffs.

Over 70,000 proposals were submitted by the ECs of the enterprices controlled by the ministries of the heavy, light, chemical, communications and food industries, state purchases, and the building and building materials industries. The greatest number—about half of the proposals—are aimed at achieving a smoother pace of production and at improving labor organization.

"A smoother pace of production was achieved, in particular through the effort of the ECs. In the engineering industry, for instance, the gross output plan for January was fulfilled, and it is important to note that this plan set higher targets than the December 1966 plan. The annual plan of gross output was fulfilled as a whole by 8.3% in January 1967 against 7.7% in January 1966.

"The important thing now is to consolidate the progress made in levelling the pace of production and in organizing labor, and substantially to extend the range and scope of the problems solved by the EC's.

"The EC's will have, as well as continuing to work on the problems of the smooth functioning of the enterprises and labor organization, to go deeper into production organization and managing methods. As they accomplish these tasks they will have to pay special attention to the organization of the work place, to the system of planning inside the enterprise, information, bookkeeping, the analysis of cost accounting, cooperation in the enterprise, organization of the work of the auxiliary services and the technical base, the functioning of the management at the various levels, and the organizational pattern of the enterprise.

"In keeping with the decisions of the Seventh Plenum, the draft program for the work of the enterprise has to be submitted to the Workers' Self-Management Conference before the end of the first half of 1967. Later on the trust concerned must approve it as binding on the enterprise.

"If this, the second, stage in the work of the EC's is to succeed like the first, the Party bodies and organizations must concern itself no less than before with the fulfilment of the decisions of the Seventh Plenum in the enterprises. True, this will be primarily the responsibility of the managerial personnel, as in the past. However, the experience of the first stage shows that only combining the effort of the managerial personnel with initiative and extensive social and political work among the staffs will enable the ECs to achieve the desired result. It will largely depend on the activity of the Party bodies and organizations whether this unprecedented general mobilization with a view to utilizing the reserves of the enterprises will yield the expected economic results, that is, higher productivity, quality and efficiency."

**March 10-20.** A delegation of the CC, CP of Belgium, led by Albert de Konink, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC CPB, stayed in Hungary.

The delegation had talks with Bela Biszkhu and Zoltan Komocsin, members of the PB and secretaries of the CC HSWP, as well as with other spokesmen of the HSWP, on matters of interest to the two parties. The exchange revealed complete unity of views.

**March 13-15.** Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the CC, BCP, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Zhivko Zhivkov, member of the PB, CC, BCP, First Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Tano Tsolov, member of the PB, CC, BCP, Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers, paid a friendship visit to Moscow at the invitation of the CC CPSU.

At the CC, CPSU Todor Zhivkov, Zhivko Zhivkov and Tano Tsolov had talks with L. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC, CPSU, A Kosygin, member of the PB,CC,CPSU, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Y. Andropov, Secretary of the CC, CPSU, N. Baibakov, member of the CC, CPSU, Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Chairman of the State Planning Commission of the USSR, M. Lesechko, member of the CC, CPSU, Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR and A. Gromyko, member of the CC, CPSU, Foreign Minister of the USSR.

The leaders of the CPSU and BCP discussed the development of Soviet-Bulgarian relations. They noted with satisfaction that fraternal friendship between the CPSU and the BCP is making steady progress. Bulgarian-Soviet friendship, which benefits the peoples of the two countries, is becoming increasingly varied, making for closer economic and cultural links between them.

Prompted by the desire to further Soviet-Bulgarian relations and bearing in mind the forthcoming expiration of the Soviet-Bulgarian treaty of 1948, the leaders of the CPSU and BCP agreed on the advisability of concluding a new treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance this year, with due regard to past experience and the results achieved by the two countries in communist and socialist construction and in Soviet-Bulgarian cooperation, as well as to the changes that have come about in Europe and elsewhere.

The participants exchanged views on current international problems. They registered complete agreement on the appraisal of the international situation and the situation in the world Communist movement. They expressed great concern about the U.S. imperialists' expanding aggression in Vietnam and re-emphasized their solidarity with the heroic people of Vietnam fighting for freedom and independence, and their resolve to continue assisting and supporting the Vietnamese people in their just fight.

The two parties noted that they were alike striving to help safe-

guard European security in accordance with the policy line laid down by the Warsaw Treaty countries in the Bucharest Declaration and at the meeting of the foreign ministers of these countries. The leaders of the CPSU and BCP regard it as their task to promote the unity and cohesion of the socialist countries and the world Communist and working-class movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, on the basis of the documents collectively formulated by the brother parties.

**March 14-15.** A Party and government delegation of the German Democratic Republic led by Walter Ulbricht and Willi Stoph visited Warsaw, where on March 15 a Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance between the Polish People's Republic and the GDR was signed.

**March 14-18.** A delegation of the CC, SUPG, led by Kurt Hager, member of the PB and Secretary of the CC, SUPG, stayed in the Soviet Union at the invitation of the CC, CPSU. There was an exchange of views on the progress of cooperation between the two parties in the ideological field. The SUPG delegation was received by P. Demichev, member of the PB and Secretary of the CC, CPSU, in Moscow.

**March 15.** The CC, CP of Colombia, called on the Communists to react with determination to the recent government measures which had culminated in the arrest of Gilberto Vieira, General Secretary of the CP, and other leaders. The repressive measures of the authorities, the CC points out in its statement, are intended to prevent the growth of the national-liberation struggle and foil the first steps toward establishing trade relations with the socialist countries.

**March 15.** C. H. Hermansson, Chairman of the CP of Sweden, arrived in Reykjavik at the invitation of the Radical Student Union. He read two papers entitled "The New Organizational Pattern of the Left Socialist Parties in the Northern Countries" and "The Road of the Left in the Northern Countries."

**March 14.** The *Morning Star* carried a report on the meeting of the BCP Executive devoted to the role of the cooperative societies as a form of public property under democratic control.

Speaking at the meeting, Charles Job, a prominent leader of the cooperative movement, insisted on the Labour government changing its attitude to the cooperatives and drawing up a program of effective financial aid to them.

He said the role of the cooperative movement had particularly increased in recent times, when the workers were seriously threatened by the consumer goods monopolies, first of all the U.S. corporations.

The speaker gave the Communists credit for their contribution to the cooperative movement.

**March 14-18.** During its stay in Czechoslovakia a delegation of the CP of Austria led by Josef Lauscher, member of the PB, CC, CPA, acquainted itself with the development of government agencies, cooperative housing construction, and the catering of everyday services to the population.

**March 16.** The National Executive of the CP, USA, concluded its meeting in New York.

General Secretary Gus Hall called on the Americans to step up their protest drive against the escalation of the U.S. aggression in Vietnam. He condemned the Johnson administration's intention to achieve military victory in Vietnam before the 1968 Presidential elections, despite growing resistance to its policy on Vietnam.

Henry Winston, National Chairman of the CP, pointed out the positive significance of the decision of the U.S. Court of Appeal voiding the charge that the CP had violated the McCarran Act.

James Jackson, Secretary of the CP for international affairs and information, spoke of the political situation in the CP of China.

George Meyers, Secretary of the CP for the trade unions, reported on the trade union movement, Mike Zagarell, Secretary of the CP for youth affairs, on work among the youth, and Daniel Rubin, Secretary of the CP in charge of organizational matters, on Party organization.

Arnold Johnson, head of the public relations department, informed the meeting of the 1968 elections.

**March 16 and 17.** A Party and government delegation of the GDR led by Walter Ulbricht visited Czechoslovakia.

The talks between the Party and government leaders of the CSSR and the GDR resulted in the signing on March 17 of a treaty of friendship, cooperation, and mutual asssistance between the two countries.

**March 17-18.** A friendly visit was paid to Moscow on the invitation of the CC, CPSU, and the Soviet government by N. Ceausescu, General Secretary of the CC, CPR, I. G. Maurer, member of the CC Executive Committee and Permanent Presidium and Chairman of the Council of Ministers, and P. Niculescu-Mizil, member of the CC Executive Committee and Permanent Presidium and Secretary of the CC.

The Rumanian comrades had talks with L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, A. N. Kosygin, member of the CC Political Bureau and Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Y. V .Andropov, Secretary of the CC, and A. A. Gromyko, member of the CC and Foreign Minister.

In the course of the talks, which passed in a frank, comradely atmosphere, opinions were exchanged on Soviet-Rumanian relations, and topical international problems, including the question of European security.

Noting the successful development of Soviet-Rumanian relations, both sides declared their desire to broaden and strengthen all-round cooperation between the USSR and the Rumanian Socialist Republic in the interests of the Soviet and Rumanian peoples, and fighting actively for world peace and socialism.

**March 17.** The CC of the CP of Cuba set up a national committee of the first Latin American Solidarity Conference. The committee is headed by Haydée Santamaria.

**March 17.** At a session devoted to the problems of the youth the Executive Committee o f the League of Communists of Yugoslavia decided to launch a broad discussion of these problems in LCY organizations and set up a special group which will analyze the course of the discussion and the activities of the LCY among the youth.

**March 21-23.** A delegation of the CC, SUPG, led by Walter Ulbricht, visited Moscow on the invitation of the CC, CPSU. The delegation included Willi Stoph, member of the Political Bureau of the CC and Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Erich Honecker and Guenter Mittag, members of the Political Bureau and secretaries of the CC, Hermann Axen, alternate member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC, Gerhard Schuerer, member of the CC and Chairman of the State Planning Committee, and Otto Winzer, member of the CC and Foreign Minister.

During their stay in Moscow the German comrades had talks with L. I. Brezhnev, A. N. Kosygin, N. V. Podgorny, Y. V. Andropov, CC Secretary M. S. Solomentsev, N. K. Baibakov, member of the CC, Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee, M. A. Lesechko, member of the CC and Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers, and A.A. Gromyko, member of the CC and Foreign Minister.

P. A. Abrasimov, member of the CC and USSR Ambassador to the GDR, and Horst Bittner, GDR Ambassador to the USSR, also took part in the talks.

Important problems of commmunist construction in the Soviet Union and socialist construction in the GDR and prospects of expanding all-round cooperation between the two parties and the two countries were discussed in an atmosphere of cordiality, fraternal friendship and complete unanimity of views. Much attention was paid to the further development of long-term economic, scientific and technical cooperation. Both sides stressed the need for coordinated efforts in the economic branches decisive to technological progress.

Opinions were exchanged on problems of European security. The sides reaffirmed their determination to work for the solution of European problems in the interests of peace, democracy and socialism, in conformity with the principles of the Bucharest Dec-

laration and the line worked out at the conference of the foreign ministers of the Warsaw Treaty member-states.

The CPSU and SUPG leaders noted with satisfaction that successful development of fraternal friendship and close cooperation between the two countries in full keeping with the Treaty of Friendship, Mutual Assistance and Cooperation, which plays an important role in bringing the two nations closer together and ensuring European peace and security.

Complete unanimity of views on all vital problems of today was put on record, and the unanimous striving was expressed to go on rendering active aid to the just struggle of the people of Vietnam against the U.S. imperialists' aggression and strengthening in every way the unity and cohesion of the countries of the socialist community and the international Communist and working-class movement.

**March 22.** A group of CPSU functionaries returned to Moscow from Warsaw, which it visited on the invitation of the CC of the Polish United Workers Party. During its stay in Poland the group, headed by V. F. Shauro, chief of the CC CPSU cultural department, was received by CC PUWP Secretary A. Starewicz.

**March 23.** The CC of the Bulgarian Communist Party held a session to discuss the plan of work of the CC on some principal problems of the country's development. It also heard reports on the talks which Todor Zhivkov, Zhivko Zhivkov and Tano Tsolov had with CPSU and Soviet government leaders in Moscow on March 13 and 14.

**March 23-24.** Questions of the socialist development of agriculture were discussed at a plenary meeting of the CC of the CP of Czechoslovakia. Addressing the CC, A. Novotny announced plans for the establishment of district agricultural associations to replace the existing regional agricultural production boards. The associations will function as chief managerial organs of the independent agricultural enterprises of the district.

A. Novotny stressed that the creation of the associations and the needs of further development of agricultural production and of ensuring the supply of the population called for changes in the central sphere of leadership. A Ministry of Agriculture and Food will be set up to provide overall guidance to the branches dealing with the supply of foodstuffs to the population.

The CC examined the implementation of the decisions of the 13th Congress of the Party and the Central Committee on the statutes and functions of the national committees local government organs in connection with the drafting of a corresponding law.

**March 25.** L. I. Brezhnev met with Rodney Arismendi, First Secretary of the CC of the CP of Uruguay, during the latter's stay in the Soviet Union.

The exchange of opinions on a wide range of questions of mutual interest passed in the atmosphere of friendship and comradeship characteristic of the relations between the CPSU and the CPU.

CC CPSU Secretary B. N. Ponomaryov took part in the talk.

The representatives of the Communist Parties of the USSR and Uruguay pointed out that U.S. imperialism, the center of world reaction, employs all means, armed force included, to prevent mankind's progressive development and contain the liberation struggle of the peoples. The aggressive policies of the U.S. rulers, their interference in the internal affairs of other countries and their cynical support of reactionary and dictatorial regimes in Latin America gravely endanger universal peace and run counter to the national interests of the peoples of Latin America and the whole world.

The CPSU and the CPU reaffirmed their resolute condemnation of the predatory aggression of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam and declared their solidarity with the heroic and just struggle of the Vietnamese people.

The representatives of the CPSU and the CPU consider that in the present conditions the struggle for the cohesion and unity of the Communist movement on the principled basis of Marxism-Leninism assumes special importance. In the opinion of both parties, conditions are more and more ripening for an international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties. They consider that the new conference will make a big contribution to the active struggle for Communist unity and militant solidarity for the triumph of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, for the rallying of all anti-imperialist forces.

Comrade Arismendi noted that the purposeful efforts of the CPU to strengthen the unity of all the Left forces of the Uruguayan people are yielding positive results. The influence and prestige of the Party among the masses are growing. The CPU is consolidating unity with the other Communist parties of Latin America and promoting a broad movement of solidarity with the struggle of the people of Vietnam, with the Cuban revolution, with all revolutionary movements. It organizes vigorous actions of solidarity with the struggle of the other Latin American peoples, which it considers inseparable from the patriotic and emancipatory sentiments of the people of Uruguay.

Comrade Arismendi stressed the historic role of the CPSU and the Soviet Union and spoke about the feelings of great affection which the working people of Uruguay entertain for them. Currently large-scale work is under way in Uruguay to greet the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the red-letter day of the revolutionaries of all countries.

The representatives of the CPSU told Comrade Arismendi about

communist construction in the USSR, the activities of the CPSU, the political and labor enthusiasm with which the Soviet people are looking forward to the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution. They expressed solidarity with the struggle of the Uruguayan Communists for peace, democracy and social progress, and high appreciation of the CPU's contribution to the struggle for the unity and cohesion of the world Communist movement.

The representatives of both parties stressed their loyalty to the conclusions of the 1957 and 1960 conferences of the Communist and Workers' parties and reaffirmed their striving to develop comradely fraternal contacts between the CPSU and the CPU on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

**March 27-28.** The CC of the Rumanian CP assembled to discuss measures to improve the organizaiton and guidance of the financial and economic activity of state farms, Rumania's economic, scientific and technical cooperation with foreign countries, and some questions of the international activities of the Party and government.

**March 28-29.** Luigi Longo, General Secretary of the Italian Communist Party, visited Moscow.

**March 28-30.** A friendly visit was paid to Moscow on the invitation of the CC CPSU by Vladimir Koucky, Secretary of the CC of the CP of Czechoslovakia.

During his visit Comrade Koucky had talks in the CC CPSU on questions of further development of contacts between the two parties.

**March 29.** L. I. Brezhnev received V. Koucky and had a talk with him, which passed in a warm, friendly atmosphere. CC CPSU Secretary Y. V. Andropov took part in the talk.

**March 29.** Luigi Longo visited Paris, where he met with Waldeck Rochet, CC FCP Secretary George Marchais and FCP Political Bureau member Raymond Guylot.

In a talk characterized by a spirit of fraternity, mutual understanding and complete agreement, the Italian and French comrades discussed questions of mutual interest, including the situation in the world Communist and working-class movement and problems of European security in connection with the forthcoming conference of the Communist and Workers' parties of Europe.

**March 28.** L. I. Brezhnev had a talk with Luigi Longo, in which CC CPSU Secretary B. N. Ponomaryov took part.

Opinions were exchanged on a wide range of questions pertaining to the situation in the world Communist movement and measures for strengthening its unity, as well as on topical problems of the international situation.

It was stated that the continued escalation of the U.S. criminal

aggression in Vietnam exposes the falsehood of the U.S. rulers' protestations of their striving for peaceful settlement in Southeast Asia. The CPSU and the ICP see it as their internationalist duty to help in every way the heroic people of Vietnam in their just struggle for the freedom and independence of their country.

Both parties consider it necessary to step up the struggle against the growing danger of West German militarism and revanchism, for stronger peace and security in Europe, against the atomic armament of the FRG in any form. They attach great importance to the forthcoming conference of the fraternal parties of Europe on problems of European security and believe that the participation of all the Communist parties of Europe in its work would conform to the vital interests of the peoples of the continent.

Emphasis was laid on the imperative need to take all measures to uphold peace, support the struggle for national liberation and intensify the resistance to the aggressive intrigues of the U.S. imperialists.

In the opinion of both parties, special importance attaches in the present conditions to the problems of ensuring the unity of action of the various contingents of international unity, with the independence of every party respected, on the principles of proletarian internationalism, equality and fraternal solidarity.

The CPSU and the ICP consider that consultations between fraternal parties on questions of strengthening Communist unity are of great importance. Both parties have always highly valued bilateral and multilateral contacts and meetings and international conferences of parties as an effective form of exchanging opinions and experience, enriching by collective effort Marxist-Leninist theory and working out common positions in the struggle for the common aims of Communists.

The CPSU and the ICP consider that the convening of a new conference demands much political and organizational preparatory work by the fraternal parties in order to solve the problems involved, having in view the creation of the best conditions for holding the conference itself and for the process of strengthening the unity of the world Communist movement.

Both parties noted with satisfaction the favorable development of Soviet-Italian interstate relations and economic and cultural contacts.

The talk, which passed in an atmosphere of unanimity and fraternal friendship, was fresh proof of ever closer cooperation between the CPSU and the ICP.

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INFORMATION

# bulletin

96

*Included in this Issue*

## WHITHER CHINA?


**WHITHER CHINA?**
**R. Palme Dutt**

**REPORT OF CP HONDURAS**

**FRENCH CP RESOLUTION**



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# information bulletin - 96 (8)

*contents*


**RESOLUTION**
Of the Central Committee, French Communist Party 5

**MEETING**
Of the CC, FCP. Concluding Remarks by Waldeck Rochet 8

**REPORT**
Of the Political Commission of the CP of Honduras, to the 4th Enlarged Plenary Committee of the CC. 14

**THE IDEOLOGICAL WORK OF THE CP OF FINLAND**
Report of CPF Vice-Chairman Erkki Salomaa 22

**WHITHER CHINA?**
**R. Palme Dutt** 30

**50th ANNIVERSARY OF THE GREAT OCTOBER REVOLUTION**
Decision of CC, Rumanian CP. Resolution of Political Bureau of CC, Party of Working People of Vietnam. 43

**ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES** 47



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# RESOLUTION*

## OF THE CC, FCP

The results of the general election constitute a major political victory for the French Communist Party and the Left parties generally. The election creates favorable conditions for new gains by the alliance of democratic forces, so that they can defeat the present regime and establish a genuinely democratic government.

The main features of the March election are the following:

1. Within the framework of a general advance of the Left, the FCP registered a gain of more than a million votes. The number of Communist deputies increased from 41 to 72 plus a deputy from the CP of Guadeloupe. By confirming the CP as the principal democratic force of the country, over five million voters approved its democratic program of social progress and peace. They endorsed the Communists' unflagging effort for the alliance of all democratic and national forces on the basis of a common government program.

2. The overall success of the Left parties is indicative of the electorate's approval of the alliance formed by them, particularly of the agreement concluded between the Communist Party and the Federation of the Democratic and Socialist Left (FDSL) on December 20, 1966.

On March 12 the common candidates nominated in line with the agreement obtained, as a general rule, the votes cast for the Left parties in the first round. Indeed, they exceeded that number in many constituencies. This proved that the alliance of the Left parties is a decisive factor in uniting all republicans. It enables them to rally the majority of the population for action on their side in the near future.

3. The Gaullist regime suffered a telling reverse. Despite enormous spending on propaganda, its candidates in the first ballot marked time, polling 38 per cent of the votes. In the second ballot they plainly retreated in comparison with the 1962 election. Reduced to a minority in France, the Gaullist deputies retained a precarious majority in the National Assembly due only to the overseas mandates tainted by widespread frauds.

The working people and the democrats condemned the government's anti-democratic policy, a policy of social retrogression.

4. The Democratic Center, hoping for a reactionary succession to the de Gaulle regime and oriented toward subservience to the U.S. imperialists, was condemned by the electorate.

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*Abridged from **l'Humanité**, April 1, 1967.

With the general election over, it remains the goal of the democratic forces to end monopoly power and replace it by genuine democracy. This calls for the early winning of the majority by the forces of progress.

With the general election over, it is possible to prepare for a democratic succession to Gaullism by drawing up a common government program to be applied by a stable government of democratic alliance capable of defeating every reactionary maneuver and of embarking on a policy of peace and social progress meeting the interests of the people and the nation.

With this aim in view, the CC FCP renews the proposals it made to the FDSL before the first ballot for a common government program that would become the contract of the majority of tomorrow.

To win the confidence of those Frenchmen who waver or are still influenced by the Gaullist regime, the Left parties should show that they are resolved to fight in common, not only in order to end the regime of personal power, but also to rule the country in the interest of the people.

The Communists are willing to assume every responsibility in the cause of democratic and national renovation, including those at the government level.

In the near future, account will have to be taken of the more favorable situation that has shaped since March 12 and at the same time of the fact that the Gaullist regime will try to continue, in one form or another, the anti-social and anti-democratic policies of the capitalist monopolies.

The Central Committee of the FCP calls on all Communists and Democrats to contribute their utmost to the development of united action by the Left in and outside parliament.

United action by the FCP and FDSL can be carried out on the lines laid down in the agreement of December 20, 1966, particularly for the near future, with a view to:

—supporting the movement for the working people's demands, for a readjustment of wages, salaries and pensions;

—stopping the U.S. bombings of the DRV, and restoring peace in that area by implementing the Geneva agreements.

Since the success of the Left parties is bound to enhance the importance of parliament, the Central Committee approves the decision of the Political Bureau instructing the FCP group in the new National Assembly to work for agreements among the Left groups and parties on the main national and international issues.

A delegation of the FCP group in parliament will meet with its FDSL counterpart with a view to coordinating their common activity in the National Assembly.

At the same time the parliamentary group and the Communist deputies will from the moment parliament reconvenes uphold the

more urgent demands of all social strata suffering from the current policy.

The upsurge of the struggle of the workers, peasants and other working people in the country speaks of the deterioration of their living conditions and of a higher morale inspired by the success of the democratic forces in the general election.

The crying injustice of the present electoral system stresses the need to assure fair representation of the urban centers, which are systematically under represented. It lends force to the democratic demand for the return to proportional representation in all elections.

On the international scene, the steady intensification of the U.S. aggression in Vietnam makes it the duty of Communists to contribute actively to increased action by the French peace forces in order to isolate the aggressors, impose an end to the bombings of the DRV and guarantee the Vietnamese people peace and independence.

Everywhere—in the enterprises, neighborhoods and rural communities—the task is to bring about unity of action in support of the economic and social demands of the working people, for greater democratic freedoms, for disarmament and peace.

The clarity and correctness of the FCP policy of alliance, and the cohesion and power of its organizations were the main reason for the Communist success in the general election. They earned the FCP widespread support among the youth, who can look on the Communists as the staunchest champions of the demands and aspirations of the young people.

The March victory can and should be followed by an increase in Communist influence and a strengthening of the Party. The Communists should work for a wider circulation of the Party press, first of all *l'Humanité and L'Humanité-Dimanche*. Public meetings should be held everywhere to ensure that the new members of the Party who joined the Party during the election campaign, including numerous young people, are followed by thousands of others and that numerous new Party cells are formed.

The 1967 general election was a landmark in the progress of the French democratic forces. The French Communist Party will do everything to carry on successfully the great battle for the unity of the working class, for the victory of the democratic and progressive forces of the country.

*Aubervilliers, March 30, 1967*

# MEETING OF THE CC FCP

## CONCLUDING REMARKS* BY WALDECK ROCHET

The most important aspect of the recent presidential elections was the broad republican unity achieved under the aegis of the alliance of the Left, with the Communist Party in the front ranks.

Two of the more important reasons for the Communist gains were the following:

1. Millions of working people and democrats voted Communist because they regard the Communists as the most active defenders of the working people's interests, that is, as those who devote the greatest attention to social problems without forgetting, however, about the defense of democratic freedoms, peace and national interests.

2. Millions of working people and democrats voted Communist because they see the Communist Party as the best architect of working-class and democratic unity of action, of the alliance of the Left against one man rule and for democracy.

Appreciating the gains of the FCP, our Central Committee noted with satisfaction that these gains fit into the context of a general advance of the Left. Indeed, you know that while our Party won more than a million votes, the Federation of the Left, for its part, polled about 500,000 additional votes. These results show that when the Left parties rally together they gain to the detriment of the reactionary forces.

The alliance of the Left parties is henceforward a great force that must win the majority in the country and replace, at a more or less early date, the de Gaulle regime by a government of democratic alliance. It is with a view eo hastening this democratic change, which our people are looking forward to, that the Communist Party advocates unity of action of the Left parties both in parliament and on a national scale.

The Communist deputies, who support the present struggles of the working people, will, on taking office, submit draft laws on the more pressing social problems. Foremost among these problems are a readjustment of wages and salaries, guaranteed employment and shorter working hours without pay cuts.

At the same time the FCP group in parliament will search for a basis for joint action with deputies from the other Left parties on all fundamental national and international issues.

The December agreement on unity comprises many objectives

*Abridged from **l'Humanité**, April 3, 1967.

which in the near future can provide conditions for numerous joint actions both in and outside parliament. At the same time, however, these objectives are guidelines for a common program. If the December agreement is to become a common government program it should be complemented and, above all, specified in terms of the means and time limits of attaining the objectives it envisages.

We are thinking, in particular, of ways and means likely to prevent attempts by big finance to impose its will under the threat of sabotaging the economic and social activity launched by the government of democratic alliance. For there is no question of entering the government and, submitting to the demands of the capitalist monopolies. The task is to pursue a policy of economic and social progress, peace, and national independence with popular support.

To this end it is necessary to free the state from the grip of big finance and at the same time effect a massive reduction of unproductive spending, such as the expenditure on the so-called strike force, in order to curb inflation. To free the state from the grip of big finance, our program puts forward a certain number of economic and financial reforms prominent among which are:

—gradual nationalization of the biggest banks and most powerful monopolies;

—replacing the Gaullist Fifth Plan by an economic and social development plan guaranteeing full employment, economic progress and a higher standard of living;

—a genuine tax reform, and measures against financial profiteering and the outflow of capital.

To be sure, the scope and time limits of these reforms are open to debate, but we suggest that they be examined along with the proposals to be advanced by the Federation and by other Left groups.

At any rate, we believe that as a result of the December agreement it is now possible to draw up a real common government program to be carried out by a Left majority and a government of democratic alliance.

As the end of Gaullism draws near it is important for the Left parties to concern themselves with carefully clearing the ground for the takeover by a strong government of democratic alliance ready to foil all reactionary maneuvers and capable of carrying out a policy of economic and social progress and of peace meeting the interests of the people and the nation.

We Communists belief that to win the confidence of numerous Frenchmen who still waver the Left parties must show that they are resolved to fight in common, not only to end the regime of personal power but also, and above all, to rule successfully and lasting-

ly on the basis of a well-considered common program, in the interests of the people and the nation.

We hardly need to repeat that, given agreement on a common program, the Communists will be ready to contribute—in particular at the government level—to the democratic and national renovation to be undertaken.

The Communists are not making any unreasonable demands. They merely insist on being treated on an equal footing with the other Left groups. And provided they share the responsibilities with the other Left parties on the basis of a common democratic program, they will scrupulously honor commitments made in common, nor will they expect the other Left parties to do more than honor their commitments.

This line of action will enable the Communists to continue upholding the interests of the working class, the people and the nation unfailingly and effectively.

While the goal is to end the regime of personal power and establish genuine democracy, we should not forget that the de Gaulle regime is still there and is determined to do all it can to stay in power. This means that the most pressing task in the near future will be to maintain, strengthen and expand the alliance of the working-class and democratic forces so as to defeat the new moves of the regime of personal power and to create favorable conditions for the advance to real democracy.

Having been defeated, the Gaullist leaders say they are now going to follow a bold social policy to do away with discontent and the opponents oftheir regime. But this is not the first time the holders of personal power have made such a declaration, and we know that the facts have always given them the lie.

Actually, it is only when they are forced by the struggle of the masses and by the fear of losing their power that the big trusts and the present government, which is in their service, give in and make this or that concession. Besides, we must not forget that even when they are compelled to yield ground they do not give up the idea of eventually taking back with one hand what they had to let go with the other.

In these circumstances it is essential that unity of action be established first of all in the country, through the working people's economic and social struggles, through their fight to safeguard democratic freedoms and win their extension and to promote peace.

Furthermore, at a time when the Americans are intensifying their war of aggression against the Vietnamese people, we must not forget that for us Communists the fight for peace and national independence is a primary task. This is why our Party, which fully identifies itself with the people of Vietnam, fighting for their freedom and independence, proposes in the weeks to come to contribute

actively to the preparation of a conference for peace in Vietnam and to the setting up of numerous committees for peace in Vietnam associated with the peace movement.

Lastly, within the framework of our fight for democracy, we plan a vigorous campaign for the application of the principle of proportional representation in all elections. Had the proportional system been there, the Gaullists, who collected only 38 per cent of the votes, would have no majority in the National Assembly. The republicans should insist on the proportional system enabling each party to be represented according to the number of votes polled, so that a democratic majority can be elected.

The Central Committee consider that the most important aspect of the elections is the republican unity brought into being under the aegis of the Left alliance, with the Communist Party in the front ranks. But this unity did not arise spontaneously or without difficulties. It was a result of persevering effort for unity and alliance carried on over a long period.

Politically, we have in recent years witnessed a considerable growth of opposition to the regime of personal power. This mounting opposition to the anti-social and anti-democratic policies of the Gaullist regime has unquestionably provided the objective basis for increasing the influence of the working-class and democratic forces.

This is not to say, however, that this opposition was bound to lead to Left alliance. We msut remember that in recent years we have seen numerous maneuvers designed to maintain the division of the Left parties and to channel toward reactionary solutions the discontent of certain social strata which legitimately turn away from Gaullist power.

If we want to make a deep analysis of our united front policy, we need something more than repeating that it is correct. We must stress the different forms this united front has taken according to the period and the objectives concerned. For the search for these different forms and their application required a daring and creative approach by our Party, an approach from which we must now learn every lesson.

I recall, for instance, that during the 1962 referendum the Socialists and Communists urged a "no" vote. Yet the conditions at that time were not entirely favorable for the Socialists and Communists to call in common for a "no" vote. The relations between the two parties were not good.

It was then that, to promote a Socialist-Communist rapprochement, our Party advanced the slogan, "Let us march shoulder to shoulder and strike jointly at the common enemy." This slogan undoubtedly helped to bring the Socialists and Communists closer together in the subsequently general election, and to launch joint

and parallel actions in the country by Socialists, Communists and other republicans.

It must be said that we largely took account of that experience to shape our tactics in the presidential and the recent general elections.

In the case of the general election, we renewed our proposal for a common program. But the Federation leaders refused to go beyond the December agreement.

After that the important question arose: must we renounce the December agreement on unity under the pretext that it did not yet imply the adoption of a common program? Of course not. That would have been a bad mistake.

It is now clear to anyone, I imagine, that the agreement on unity did not lead away from a common program but brought us nearer it by providing favorable conditions for a genuine alliance of the Left parties.

The efforts we have made to find suitable forms of a united front meeting every situation are inseparable from our efforts in the ideological field.

It is beyond question, for example, that the new theses advanced by the 16th, 17th and 18th congresses of our Party on the possibility and conditions of a peaceful transition to socialism under a multi-party system have led to closer links between Communists and Socialists, and we think the continued Communist-Socialist dialogue may make it possible to overcome certain differences and promote joint Socialist-Communist action.

To sum up, an important lesson of the varied experience of applying the united front policy is that if we want to advance we must at one and the same time stand firm on principle and eschew all formalism, dogmatism and hidebound routine.

Our united front policy has consistently followed the fundamental idea that the Party's independent activity among the masses is inseparable from its unrelenting effort for unity and alliance.

While stressing the vast importance of the December agreement on unity, we combated all tendencies toward effacing the role of the Communist Party by calling on the electorate to vote massively for the Communist candidates, beginning with the first round. We insisted again and again that France can have no genuine Left nor a policy of social progress without the Communists and that, consequently, the Communist Party should occupy the place it is entitled to alongside the other democratic parties and, in the event of a Left victory, in the government of democratic alliance.

It is quite certain that had we not stated, beginning with the first ballot, all the reasons for voting Communist, and had we let the tendency to efface the role of the Communist Party develop on the pretext of not wanting to impede unity, our Party would not

have won a million votes more nor strengthened its position of foremost party of the Left.

And it is just as true that our Party would have been unable to grow and to increase its influence among the masses by retreating into its shell in sectarian fashion and by slackening its effort for unity and alliance.

We must not forget that the Communist Party, while absolutely irreplaceable, does not exist for its own sake and has a raison d'etre only to the extent that it effectively serves the interests of the working class and the people today and will do so in the future. This means that our Party should boldly pursue its unitary policy clear of dogmatism, sectarianism and Rightist opportunism.

Our Party is emerging from the battle stronger and bigger than ever. Its policy has won the approval of more than five million French men and women. Our Party has never been more closely united around its Central Committee which has gained in prestige. More than ever before, it expresses the hopes of the French people. This makes the recruitment of numerous new members, in particular young working people, a prime task. The election campaign showed, in fact, that the younger generation are looking more and more to the Communist Party, and this is a promising development.

The fact that after the elections the Communist Party is a force growing and developing vigorously will increase its opportunities of winning over the younger generation.

Our Party has just registered a great political victory because it has unremittingly fought from the outset against personal power, because it has a program meeting the aspirations of the people and the nation, and lastly, because it has done everything to unite the working-class and democratic forces for action.

Nevertheless, we must not indulge in self-satisfaction, for there are new and big battles ahead.

By implementing in a spirit of initiative the unitary line defined by our 18th Congress, and by steadily improving its work, our Party will win new important victories in the fight it is waging against personal power, for genuine democracy and, beyond that, for socialism.

# REPORT*

## OF THE POLITICAL COMMISSION OF THE CP OF HONDURAS, TO THE 4th ENLARGED PLENARY MEETING OF THE CC

The theses approved by the 3rd Plenary Meeting have played a very important role despite such major shortcomings as the omission in the part dealing with general political tasks of a mention of struggle for democratic freedoms, popular freedoms and human rights flouted by the military putschists. One can also point to schematism in setting internal policy tasks, which evoked misunderstandings and theories alien to Marxism-Leninism.

The task of "preparing for all forms of struggle" was reduced to armed struggle alone, thus nullifying the broad context of this task set by the 3rd Plenary Meeting. We laid emphasis on preparing for armed struggle only, although it was clear to the comrades living in the country that the Party had no organizational potential to address itself exclusively to this form of struggle, which would have resulted in the disorganization and destruction of the Party. The despotic methods of rule alone proved to be not enough for devoting ourselves to preparation of insurrection. Our Party had neither objective nor subjective conditions for this. On the contrary, we should have concentrated on day-to-day application of other forms of struggle. Above all we should have prepared the Party for strictly underground work, ensured regular issue of our publications and used every means available to direct the opposition movement against the military conspirators' government. We failed to reckon with the correlation of forces and outlined a wrong tactic which met our wishes but fell short of the political level of the class struggle.

Indisputably, the military coup† had disoriented us so much that we abandoned educational, propaganda and organizational work in the Party and occupied ourselves with other tasks which did not conform to the situation in the Party and to the few peripheral contacts established long ago. We became captives to a mass spontaneity of a liberal nature which manifested itself in indignation over the military coup against the constitutonal government. Ignoring the need to analyze the objective correlation of forces and the world experience of Marxism-Leninism, we were busy instead working out a tactic which disregarded the current stage of development

*Abridged from **Trabajo**, journal of the CC CPH.

†The coup of October 1963 which deposed Villedo Morales.—**Ed.**

of our Party and the actual state of things, and endeavored to utilize unatttainable political conditions. It is fair to say that we were under the spell of the specific political situation in Honduras and it influenced all of us. We were faced with a dictatorial government which resorted to criminal violence against its opponents. This is true. But we cannot but state here that the political course of our Party should not be affected by purely emotional indignation over the activities of the putschists. We lost restraint and failed to make a deep analysis of the situation, our positions and real possibilities.

During and after the coup we had not only to save ourselves from police persecution in order to preserve the leadership of the Party at a moment when it was particularly needed, but also to strengthen the legal and mass organizations of the working class and especially the peasantry. This was necessary to ensure that the struggle against the anti-popular government be of an organized and mass character and help us discard incorrect forms of struggle, the infantile tactic and the mistakes which we all had committed and which had merely facilitated the reactionaries' plans and the imperialists' aim to install a government recognizing no laws or human rights.

Thus, the theses contained a number of correct propositions but no profound class analysis, an analysis which would direct the excessive and liberal enthusiasm into the channel of principled Party policy leading us, with scientific confidence, to the elaboration of a tactic which would ensure not only development of the Party due to stronger links with the people, but also its internal organizational and ideological consolidation.

This political delusion produced a tactic which resulted in leftist and adventurist actions. This state of things existed till the first months of 1965, when disagreements arose within the Party, with some comrades insisting on the continuation of these activities and others, a drastic change of tactic to return us to the class positions of our Party and lead to the elaboration of a political line which would enable us to take the right bearings in the contemporary situation, correctly determine the stage of development of our Party, subject the liberal concepts in the Party to criticism, and provide a realistic knowledge of the correlation of forces.

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The disagreements in our Party are a reflection of class struggle in Honduran society. This political reflection has an objective as represented by the non-proletarian and petty-bourgeois elements which either joined the Party quite recently or succumbed, for various reasons, to un-Marxist-Leninist concepts and ideas during the first months of the dictatorial government, despite the fact that they indulge in revolutionary phraseology. Their ideological basis

is of the same origin. The absence of discussion, the departure from Party positions and the complicated situation created by the police persecutions led some comrades to believe sincerely that they were fighting from the correct positions of their political organization and consistently applying Marxism-Leninism. Such were the basic factors behind the political disagreements among the Honduran Communists. It should be stressed that an important role in the emergence and exacerbation of these disagreements, which developed into open factional activities of some comrades, was played both by the contradictions within the world Communist movement and by ideological confusion in the national-liberation movement.

The Political Commission circulated in its time a leaflet calling for a general poltical strike. There was no real basis for discussing this question with working people and for holding the strike in the mass organizations, trade unions, factories and farms. The Party had neither organizational conditions, the sufficient number of members or the necessary peripheral contacts in order to bring its call home to the masses and have it realized.

The call for the strike was issued in the hope for spontaneous action by the masses, for their liberal indignaiton, for fortuity as an unforeseen factor in the struggle against the dictatorial government of Colonel Oswaldo Lopez Arellano.

What the Party pursued was not an independent policy of alliance with other forces, but rather a policy of dependence, political fusion or dilution in a few collective actions.

The dilution and unconscious fusion resulted from the lack of organizational and tactical unity of the Party, from the refusal to pursue our political line, and the incorrect understanding of what alliance of democratic forces means. To this which is quite enough in itself) should be added the absence of an objective basis for a national democratic aliance opposed to the government: 1. the organizational weakness of the Party; 2. its inadequate links with the proletariat; 3. lack of unity in the working-class and trade union movement; 4. disorganization of the peasantry.

The Lopez Arellano government was initially defined as "purely military," but that was not the case, for, as any form of state power, it had a definite class origin and pursued aims conforming to the interests of that class and those social groups which determined policy in Honduras. We must see the state as political domination of a class and not of the army.

The landowners constitute the chief class which determines the character of the government, although they primarily pursue the policy dictated by the foreign monopolies. It is becoming increasingly clear that ours is a feudal-imperialist and not democratic and national government. It should be remembered that the military coup had its economic cause in the agrarian reform which could

affect lands belonging to U.S. companies. In its class origin, the existing government is more reactionary and more hostile towards the people than the government of Villeda Morales. This is explained, however, not by the fact that behind this government stands the army, but by its closer political contacts with the U.S. imperialists and the domestic and foreign landowners.

What is said above is not to deny the anti-popular role of the army, or rather of its command, the senior officers connected with the U.S. military mission and Embassy, with the monopolies which have long determined the policy of our country.

Our Party does not hold an abstract view of the army. The army is not homogeneous, but consists of people whose material interests differ. The soldier and the uncorrupted officer should be acquainted with our policy and the patriotic objectives of our struggle; our Party's educational work should not ignore them.

New partisan groups appeared in the political arena following the deposition of the Liberal government as a result of the coup of October 3, 1963.

The emergence of these groups, formed for tactical or partisan reasons, corresponded to the character of the Liberal government.

The Lopez Arellano government's tactic is to break up the traditional parties. The change of the two-party system is a necessity from the viewpoint of the colonialist policies of U.S. imperialism. While not rejecting the services of the old Liberal and National parties, which were not fast enough in grasping the need to reconcile themselves to the government, and taking into consideration the loss of influence by the National Party to the extent that now it is virtually merging with the police, imperialism and the other forces hostile to our people have set about organizing a Social-Christian Party. This is an international line which is being implemented in all Latin American countries.

The Social-Christian Party does not conceal its origin any longer. Outwardsly the Catholic Church is its organizer, but it is financed by the U.S. and West German imperialists. Its establishment is an attempt to achieve reconciliation of the parties from above.

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It was said that "the duty of every revolutionary is to make revolution." We consider that this is correct, that the carrying out of revolutionary tasks leads to revolution. To us revolution is a law-governed process which begins with the emergence of the first organizations of the Communist Party. The truly revolutionary character of our activity is determined by constant links with the masses, by a profound study of their vital interests, by the struggle for their demands and by the mobilization of the masses to carry out the historic task of building a new society.

The question of insurrection does not face the Honduran Communists at present. The internal and external tasks do not confront the Party with insurrection as an immediate objective. The present stage is one of the mustering of forces, of internal growth, of struggle for organizational and ideological unity and for stronger links with the masses. We cannot consider that the existence of objective conditions is enough, that subjective conditions will arise on their own. The misery of the masses, the absence of democratic freedoms and the military, feudal and imperialist oppression are not sufficient reason for us to think that the possibilities for the development of the Party have been exhausted. Nor do we believe that organization and revolutionary consciousness can be achieved through a desperate switchover to forms of struggle corresponding to a road the question of which does not arise yet in our revolutionary practice.

As a Marxist-Leninist party we cannot skip stages of our development and confuse our political situation and our ideological level with those of the masses. It should be stated clearly that the complex of tasks of our Party's development does not include the formation of armed groups of an insurrectional character as a reply to the police repressions and other arbitrary acts of the Arellano government, or as a form of satisfying the demand for mastering all forms of struggle—peaceful and non-peaceful. However, in view of the growing aggressiveness of the government's repressive organs and of the intention of some of the reactionary forces to organize the kidnapping or assassination of Communist and democratic leaders in violation of all norms of bourgeois law, we do not rule out the possibility of the emergence of such groups outside our Party as a forced reply to official violence. The mastering of all forms of struggle in the present conditions of our Party's development does not mean that some Party members should devote themselves to this work and others, to different types of activity. We cannot voluntarily "invent" forms of struggle proceeding from non-existent conditions for the mere sake of applying views alien to Marxism-Leninism and not conforming to the revolutionary process in our country.

The mastering of all forms of struggle demands that the CC should organize study of the experience of fraternal parties and provide objective information regarding their methods, the conditions in which they work, and their requirements. This does not mean, however, that this study and provision of information should develop into the preparation of armed groups.

We should reply to the police repressions and other forms of persecution as Marxist-Leninists and not as the enraged petty bourgeois. We must draw ever nearer to the masses, above all the working class, the peasants and the other social groups, fighting

against imperialist oppression, misery, social backwardness and ignorance which the enemies of the people use to their advantage. We must help the masses realize their interests, organize them in a struggle for democracy, sovereignty (that is, economic and political independence) and for the right to a truly human life. Our reply can be based only on working-class unity in the trade unions and the organizations of the peasants, women, youth and progressive and revolutionary intellectuals. Only then will the struggle of the people acquire force and stability and help secure the unity of democrats against imperialism and against the groups in power which defend its interests to the detriment of the political and social interests of the masses.

Primary importance attaches today to tasks of an internal order. We must strive to explain to every comrade what Party unity is and that without this unity, which is the source of our strength, our work among the masses cannot be effective. Achievement of internal unity—organizational unity and not unity of action as in the case of plurality of organizations—must be a top-priority task for every member of the CPH. This is the starting point for every activity aimed at correcting our political line. Naturally, organizational unity is conditioned by ideological and tactical unity. In other words, Party unity is an expression of ideological and tactical unity.

Unless we carry out this task we shall not be able to accomplish much—if anything at all—for forging working-class unity and improving the trade union structure. Unity of the Party is our chief task. –

Our weakness lies in inadequate links with the masses, in the insufficient knowledge of their problems and in very inactive participation in the working-class movement. We want to be, not a party of the petty bourgeoisie, but a party of the working class, which is open to the representatives of the non-proletarian strata adhering to Marxism-Leninism, the scientific theory of the world proletariat. We should set up model organizations of our Party in the factories, on the capitalist farms and at other enterprises. We must establish close links with the working class so that the Party would have a truly revolutionary social composition.

Since these tasks are part of the process of the Party building, it is clear that only by strengthening the links with the working class can we fight for the Party's organizational unity and unity of action. You know what sacrifices the working people made to organize into trade unions in order to fight for their rights and freedoms, for the satisfaction of their material and spiritual requirements. You know that trade union freedom was won as a result of the strikes of 1954. This is of tremendous historic significance, and points to the great political and revolutionary importance and potential of trade union organizations in our country. Our Party

stood in the center of this strike movement, but because of its debility, its numerical weakness, as well as sectarianism, the successes were not what they could have been had the struggle been better organized. Imperialism has taken resort to divisive tactics, to anti-communism, and financed numerous anti-communist agents in the trade unions. Anti-communism as a weapon of splittism and struggle against democracy disorganizes the working-class movement. It breeds suspicion and mass indifference of the working people towards their trade union organizations. In this way unity is disrupted and the workers are frustrated in their efforts to set up effective organizations independent of the employers and the government. We must accelerate the process of building unity of action and organizational unity in our trade union movement. We must regard this unity as a necessary continuation of the internal unity of our Party. A split working class is a force which can only be utilized by its enemies. A united working class is a force for liberation. To fight for the unity of the working class, for its organization in the trade unions, for internal democracy and for its independence from the interests of the employers and the state—this is yet another task facing the Communists of Honduras.

The Honduran working class must know the facts about the agrarian problem, it must know its political and economic implications. It must realize the need for a radical solution of this problem in the interests of the peasantry through liquidating the latifundia as a survival of feudalism. The agrarian-peasant question figures prominently in the program of the working class, it is in effect a central point of its class policy. The working class must demand, accelerate and—if you wish—organize the agrarian-peasant reform. The workers are just as interested in this reform as the peasants' themselves, who are ruthlessly exploited by local and foreign latifundists. The Communist Party, the party of the proletariat, sets itself the task of organizing the peasants in the fight for their material, social and political rights. In such countries as ours, the agrarian problem is indisputably of great importance. The backward relations of land tenure hamper the national development in thousands of imperceptible ways. The latifundists help imperialism. And imperialism in Honduras is also a latifundist. This is one of the reasons why it is not interested in a profound agrarian reform which would emancipate the peasant by gratuitously turning over the land to him.

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Although this enlarged plenary meeting of our Central Committee is dealing with internal tasks of our Party, we cannot but touch—if only briefly—upon the development of disagreements between

the Chinese leaders headed by Mao Tse-tung and Marshal Lin Piao, on the one hand, and the world Communist movement, including the proletarian following in the Communist Party of China itself, on the other.

On this question, vital for the perspective of the revolution on a world scale, we declare again our loyalty to the common line collectively worked out by the Communist and Workers' parties of the world and expressed in the documents of the Moscow conferences of 1957 and 1960.

An analysis of history and of the experience of the world Communist movement has led us to the conclusion that any manifestation of anti-Sovietism is an attack on the world Communist movement as a whole. Therefore we most emphatically condemn the so-called "cultural revolution" in China, for the utterances and actions of the "Red Guards" have nothing in common with the ideas of Marxism-Leninism.

Whenever and at whatever level Communists meet, they cannot but express their attitude to the predatory aggression of U.S. imperialism, carried out with the complicity of some Southeast-Asian governments, against the valiant people of Vietnam. Until now the solidarity of the Honduran Communists has not assumed concrete forms and has been limited to public denunciations and exposures to inform our people about the U.S. imperialists' heinous crimes against the fraternal Vietnamese people. We must launch a special nationalized campaign to give effective help to an unconquerable people who shed their blood in defending the right of the peoples to free self-determination.

Our possibilities, are limited but we solemnly promise that when the Hanoi government requests this, the ranks of volunteers from the socialist countries and the rest of the world will include Honduran Communists, who will fight side by side with the thousand-times heroic people of Vietnam for the sacred cause of defending the socialist camp, for the right of the peoples to national sovereignty without outside interference, for the consolidation of a just and lasting peace.

# THE IDEOLOGICAL WORK OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF FINLAND

## REPORT OF CPF VICE-CHAIRMAN ERKKI SALOMAA TO CC MEETING, MARCH 1967

The study, development and propaganda of scientific socialism—Marxism-Leninism—is the basis of our ideological work, our 14th Congress stressed in its resolution. There is no need for us to explain at length why Marxist socialism is the ideology of our Party. Scientific socialism indisputably occupies the central place in our Program and Rules.

Marxism is not a dogma, not a dead postulate, but a living guide to action.

This point is emphasized, for instance, in the articles devoted to Marxist theory and its application printed in the international journal *Problems of Peace and Socialism*. The authors of these articles, leading functionaries and theoreticians of the Communist and Workers' parties of all the world, often quote Marx's and Lenin's propositions regarding the need to get rid of dogmatism and doctrinairism. A round-table conference fruitful from this viewpoint was organized by the journal last November. G. Frantsov, Chief Editor, pointed out that correct solution of the problems associated with new developments in the capitalist world would promote the growth of the Left, strengthen their cooperation and unity and increase the influence of Marxist-Leninist ideas among the working people in the capitalist countries.

The conference showed that the propaganda and deepening of Marxist ideology in the world Communist movement is intrinsically bound up with its correct application by the parties in the conditions of their countries.

The CPF is a mass Party. In Finland, as in the other capitalist countries where the Communist parties are legal, one can hardly imagine the existence of a small, so-called cadre party consisting of hand-picked members.

If a legal party is numerically small, the reasons are other than careful selection of new members.

We admit all those who accept our Program and Rules and about whom we know nothing negative. We agree with William Alexander, a British Communist leader, who said that any person who wants socialist renovation in Britain and a better life for the

*Abridged from **Kansan Uutiset**, April 4 and 7, 1967.

working people and who contributes towards the achievement of common aims, can be admitted into the Party. The Party wants such members, he continued, who are ready to make a contribution to the victory of the Party's policy, a contribution which corresponds to his own viewpoint, his abilities and his ideological level.

We require agreement with Marxist ideology but not mastery of it, and, of course, support for the topical programmatic demands of the Party. We do not demand that our Communists determine their attitude towards religion. For various reasons, most of the CPF members have not broken with the church, and we do not reproach them for it.

Our new members are far from being well versed in theory and practical Party work. They may have had more or less settled views which cannot change overnight.

We do not demand that the applicants familiarize themselves with Marxism before joining. But our Rules make it obligatory for every member to study and improve his knowledge and actively participate in Party work.

The social position of our Party members, the character of occupation, the material status, education and ideological level cannot be equated. Belonging to the proletariat due to origin or occupation does not yet make one a Marxist and does not relieve one from the need for personal familiarization with Marxism.

We cannot say that those of our members whose living conditions are the worst, wages the lowest, etc., are particularly receptive to Marxist ideology, and that the ideological level is the highest where hunger and misery reign. This is asserted by our opponents, who claim that we consciously welcome poverty to increase our following. On the contrary, extreme poverty makes acquisition and replenishment of knowledge simply impossible. On the other hand, we cannot prove that the ideological level of a member of our Party who is particularly well off or well-educated is necessarily high. True, he is better equipped to augment his knowledge and familiarize himself with Marxism.

The structural changes taking place in the population of Finland have not been clearly reflected in our Party statistics yet. Those strata of the 1.5 million strong class of wage and salary earners which comprise, together with their families, the majority of the population, are not represented in our Party as broadly as persons of traditional occupations who are classified as manual workers.

Our Rules stress the equality of all Party members, and this principle is here to stay. This must always be borne in mind in our ideological work. There cannot be Party members regarded as innately strong Marxists and, along with them, newcomers whom we would treat as allies while constantly doubting whether they will ever become real Marxists.

Thanks to the shorter working time, to technological and economic development most of our members have greater cultural opportunities and better conditions for spending their leisure.

On the other hand, the mass media shaping public opinion in modern bourgeois society exert a stronger influence on them than before. Today every one can be a Communist without fearing arrest, although Communists continue to be discriminated against on the labor market and in society in general.

However—and this, to my mind, is connected with the new phenomena—much in the modern mode of living, the living standards, the housing conditions, etc., breeds alienation. To be a Communist in a large rented barracks most of whose tenants are Left-minded is not the same thing as to be one in a new sleeping suburb designed for leisure and sleep. The migration from the countryside to the towns signifies constant migration of young people from Left-minded families to an environment with new living and working conditions.

Contrary to what our opponents claim, a Party member is not a dogmatist. Nor is he the ideal man of yesterday's stories. He is just an ordinary person.

He differs from his Social-Democratic workmate or colleague in that, having joined the Communist Party and working in its ranks, he has become a champion of Marxist socialism.

For reasons outlined above and due to other circumstances, the propaganda of Marxist ideology and its deepening even in the Party itself is less straightforward. The essence of the problem is how to establish contacts with those Party members who are for various reasons inactive, how to make our ideological work suit the Communists.

In any Party organization we can find a breadwinner for a large family who may have to work in another locality, a housewife, a highly-paid skilled worker on a permanent job, an 18-year-old worker, a new middle-aged member, a shop assistant, an office employee, etc. All Communists, besides being Party members and working in the Party, have other interests as well, and efforts are needed to fuse all Communists into an ideologically powerful single whole and achieve some equality in their levels despite these differences. Hence the need never to lose sight of these facts in our educational and, generally, ideological work.

The wall of discrimination and isolation that had surrounded us for decades is beginning to crumble, and we ever more actively go beyond the bounds that used to restrict us, and into society. Hence the need not only to step up our ideological work but expand it and direct it into new channels. It should be a duty of all Party members who have prerequisites for this to strive to acquire knowledge needed in social life.

The Communist parties of the socialist countries make it obligatory for their members to familiarize themselves with production technics in the branches where they work, to improve, where possible, their skills. We must urge our Communists that they and their children strive to be admitted into educational establishments and study courses, and not only those organized by our Party, but those where not only Marxism is taught. We endeavor to broaden the contacts of our Communists with the various groups of office employees and brain workers. Alongside this, the members of our Party should be induced to raise their educational level at their own initiative. A Communist who has mastered Marxist ideology is a good Communist, but he is a still better Communist if he, in addition, has a good education which enables him to occupy administrative and other posts.

The current decade has witnessed continued growth of interest of non-Communists in Marxist ideology represented by us.

G. H. von Wright, professor of philosophy in Helsinki University, points out quite correctly that Marxism-Leninism as a doctrine has greater practical significance from the viewpoint of formation of world outlook than any other contemporary ideological trend. This doctrine is the only living philosophy on half the territory of the world and for a half of mankind, he says. Those who seek to understand the world we live in should try to penetrate into this philosophy.

The establishment of a chair of socialism, Marxism in some higher school is no longer a Utopia, a mere dream of ours. Time has been working in favor of this. The debate on so-called more or less intransient spiritual values that has been going on in our academic world for many years is now extending to cover Marxist ideology.

The new generation headed by prominent sociologists is making a critical analysis of many spiritual values heretofore regarded as sacred and inviolable. It takes an understanding view of Marxism, recognizing the right of the Marxist way of thinking to exist and the right of Communists to a position of equality in society.

There has appeared in the capitalist West a not quite scientific term—Sovietology, or Soviet studies. Such studies are conducted in Finland as well. Socialism is a subject on the curricula of higher schools and research centers in the capitalist world. Research extending to the working-class movement is under way also in our country.

In what way we socialists-Marxists can impart an appropriate character to this research is a top-priority question for us, for the estimates and conclusions of those of the non-Communist scientists who honestly search for the truth in many ways differ from ours.

Bue we should not apply our yardstick to these researchers and and expect them to have similar understanding and knowledge of

Marxism. We should learn from others as well. Communists have no franchise on the truth, even when this truth concerns ourselves; indeed, we do not always know what the truth is.

The works of Tuure Lehén, *Marxist Political Economy* by Matti Peltonen, *A Word About Marxism* by Erkki Rautee and many other works published by us propagate our ideology also among non-Communists. Of equally great importance in this respect is the publication of classical Marxist works and other literature in Finnish in the Soviet Union.

The increased general interest in a scientific knowledge of Marxism and communism demands that we expand our publishing activity. It should be stressed here that quotations alone, printed or spoken, won't do. It remains a major sin of ours that we still quote from the classics of Marxism outside of the context of the contemporary epoch, problems and conditions. It is a form of dogmatism and as such is impermissible in our own midst and still less so in our propaganda among the non-Communists.

We must help every one sincerely wishing to familiarize himself with Marxism. We should not withhold true information even when we can expect that it might be used against us. Both in our own midst and everywhere in society we are expected to provide an ideological explanation of the compatibility of many programmatic tenets of Marxism with the conditions of our country, of our vision of Finland marching to socialism.

Many profound changes have occurred which influence our ideological research and the ideological aspect of our Party work in general. It won't help if we turn away from this reality and maintain that nothing has changed. Finland is a capitalist country in which all basic contradictions and phenomena of capitalist society are present. Hardly any one of us will deny this. Witness the commanding position of 20 capitalist families, the mass unemployment, etc. But we should realize and remember that the Finland of the 1960s and of the forthcoming 1970s is not the capitalist country it was in the previous decade. Our Party is now legal, and in general our civil freedoms are broader than in other capitalist countries.

The steady growth of the number of wage and salary earners signifies proletarianization. The chronic unemployment is one of the manifestations of the gaping disparity between capitalist ownership and the social character of production. It will be recalled that 20 years ago, when our Party was legalized, Finland was still an agrarian country, and the conditions in it conformed to the classical definition of the peasantry as the overwhelming majority with which alliance should be maintained or sought.

The world of yesterday was simpler. We Communists, members and supporters of the People's Democratic Alliance, constituted a large opposition group, and systematic attempts were made to

isolate us. It led to restraint in stating one's views even when conditions were favorable for this, and sometimes people simply tried not to appear as Communists.

In planning our present and future ideological work to broaden and deepen the Marxist world outlook of Communists and to propagandize Marxist socialism outside our Party we must have in mind first and foremost the wage and salary earners, who together with their families make up the bulk of the population. Adjoining this group are peasants living off their own labor, small entrepreneurs, and others. The core of this laboring part of the population is constituted by the members and supporters of the working-class parties.

Today all the political parties of our country, including the coalitionists, appeal to the entire people, in propagating their programs and aims. So does our Party.

We are renovating our Program primarily because we want to be more explicit and comprehensive in stating our aspirations and immediate aims. We offer a new, socialist alternative for the solution of outstanding problems.

Formerly, when we were in opposition, there were fewer problems. Today we have to constantly explain—at the ideological level as well—problems arising in connection with cooperation and the striving for cooperation. The participation in the government of a capitalist country, especially in the present conditions, has brought about a situation in which questions are being asked ever more frequently in our Party organizations about the position of the Party, its posssibilities and prospects.

During every change of government we, when our turn came, visited the President of the Republic and suggested formation of a broad-based government relying for support primarily on the so-called three big parties.

Now that this aim has been achieved, there have arisen many problems connected with our participation in the government, problems which we should have foreseen. Some of our members do not regard Communist participation in the government as an event of major importance and a positive change with international implications. Many see only new difficulties. This question should be examined by the Party organizations on a broader plane, and also from the ideological viewpoint.

In this connection an appraisal should be made of the past 18 years when we were not in the government. It is necessary to find out why we made no advance in that period, although our program and our demands were good. We should also ponder whether we would be able to secure better combat positions by remaining outside government.

The establishment of the People's Democratic Alliance as a mass organization and the elaboration of its own program does not sig-

nify an ideological change. Today we are more consistent in regarding the Alliance as an organization in which individuals and groups holding different views can take part. In this Alliance we should cooperate and learn to cooperate with individuals and groups whose opinions and positions, especially ideologically, may differ from ours.

Today such individuals usually represent the new generation. They are spiritually active and full of enthusiasm. They do not have behind them the road that many of us have traversed, and in many respects they do not perceive the world the way we do. Indisputably, many of them present the nucleus of the new Left emerging in our country. This phenomenon is common not only for capitalist Europe, but also for the United States, Canada, Australia and other countries. In this connection it should be stressed that the Marxist way of thinking and the striving to apply Marxism are to be observed not only among Communists. We cannot claim the monopoly on that.

We are looking at present for new and roomier forms of organizational cooperation. They can emerge and develop if we pay due attention to the need for cooperation and finding slogans that would appeal to people who can even be ideologically more distant from us than our present partners.

The establishment, consolidation and extension of cooperation of the working-class parties is primarily an ideological problem. A considerable reappraisal of old concepts is under way among the Social Democrats. In the early 1950s, when the SDP was working out its new program, it was stressed that the program should be spearheaded against the Communists, that the bourgeoisie was not such a formidable enemy as before. I do not regard the reappraisal that has been taking place among the Social Democrats as a tactical move. It is a deeper change rather of an ideological character one of the causes of which is that the Social Democrats see socialism being built under the leadership of the Communists as a strengthening and advancing world system.

The Social Democrats' attitude towards us has changed in many respects, and so has our attitude towards the Social Democrats.

Cooperation of the Left in the government has made the cooperation of all Left forces topical for us as well. This fundamentally important problem concerns not only Finland. It is discussed and studied by the French and Italian Communists and in other capitalist countries.

The program of the Social-Democratic and Communist parties of Finland and other countries have much in common, especially as regards the demand for a change in policy. It gives us joy to see the Social Democrats draw nearer to our stand on foreign policy, the struggle for peace, the restoration of trade-union unity, etc.

We should seek solutions to major problems and solve them ourselves. This calls for a frank exchange of opinions aimed at finding the truth. We no longer can delegate to others the study and solution of topical problems involving the entire world Communist movement. And although we all are Communists, we differ in our views on many fundamental problems of our movement.

We cannot assume that we have always been right, and we should not be afraid that sometimes we may draw erroneous conclusions. The biggest mistake will be to shirk a study of problems on the ground that the conclusions may differ from what we used to regard as indisputable.

# WHITHER CHINA?

## R. Palme Dutt

What is happening in China?

The victory of the Chinese socialist revolution nearly two decades ago brought joy to people all over the world.

Here was the second greatest socialist revolution after the victory of the Russian socialist revolution 50 years ago.

The Chinese Communist Party declared in the Political Report to its Eighth Congress in September, 1956: "The unity and friendship between China, the great Soviet Union and the other socialist countries built upon the basis of a community of objectives and mutual assistance, is unbreakable and eternal. To further consolidate and strengthen this unity and friendship is our supreme international duty, and the basis of our foreign policy."

This was the declaration of the last Congress held by the Chinese Communist Party up to the time of writing. Let it be noted that this Congress was held after the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and specifically approved the great objectives adopted at that Congress for peaceful coexistence and for the strengthening of the democratic functioning of the party, with the ending of the harmful cult of the individual.

Then something happened. A strange new trend began to manifest itself increasingly in the declarations and actions of the Chinese Communist Party and Government.

Today this unhappy abnormal phase has erupted into a fever of internal conflict and violence. A reckless campaign of anti-Soviet abuse has been accompanied by provocative acts against Soveit representatives . . .

The capitalist press commentators and "China experts" are all ready with their answers. It is a "struggle for power" between rival leaders, a "struggle for succession" to Mao after his prospective death.

Marxism, while fully recognizing the importance of the role of individuals, is never satisfied with superficial explanations of historical events in terms of personalities and rival leaders. Marxism always looks for th eclass forces involved. It is only in relation to such a social analysis, and laying bare of the contradictions in a given society, that the role or conflicts of individual leaders can take on significance.

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*From Communist Party Pamphlet.

Every revolution has its unique concrete character, within the general principles of the historical epoch in which it takes place, and can therefore never be measured by ready-made formulas. Never was this more true than in the case of the Chinese revolution.

The Chinese revolution, the second greatest socialist revolution, was different in character from the previous socialist revolutions.

Marxism had no roots in China prior to 1917. It is true that in 1906 parts of the *Communist Manifesto* were translated. But it was the guns of the victorious October revolution in 1917, as Mao has said, which first brought knowledge of Marxism and Communism to China.

The victory of the Bolshevik revolution in 1917 transformed the character of the national revolution in China, and drew the most progressive national fighters to friendship with the Soviet Union and to the beginning of assimilation of the ideas of communism. Sun Yat-sen, the foundation leader of the national movement and its party the Kuomintang, and the first President of the Chinese Republic, recognized the significance of the Soviet revolution as the pioneer of the world revolution and the indispensable ally of the victory of the Chinese revolution. In his final testament, in his letter to the Central Executive Committee of the USSR, the leading organ of the Soviet State, written on the day before his death in 1925, he recorded his last instructions to his Party to keep "constant contact" with the Soviet leadership.

The younger militant students, including Mao Tse-tung, already active in the national struggle, notably the May 4, 1919, movement, and imbued with national revolutionary enthusiasm, adopted communism as a whole in 1920. Mao thus came to communism with no direct experience of the intense struggles which all Communists from before the Bolshevik revolution had been ceaselessly waging, during those preceding years, against the flood of ultra-leftist anti-Soviet slanders accusing the Soviet Union and Lenin of betraying the revolution, of passing over to capitalism and becoming allied with imperialism. These allegations (subsequently vulgarized by Trotskyism against the post-Lenin leadership of the Soviet Union) have now been revived like a novel discovery by the present Chinese Communist leadership, who had no knowledge or experience at the time of these early struggles to help them to realize how hoary and discredited is the tune they are now playing.

Thus the evolution to Marxism was here notably different from the older type.

The Chinese working class conducted heroic struggles. But the industrial working class was only one per cent of the population before the revolution (three per cent today).

The victory of the Chinese socialist revolution, led by the Communist Party, took place in a predominantly peasant country, where

the main preceding content of the revolution was the national anti-imperialist and anti-feudal armed struggle, with the main basis in the peasantry; where the main body of the working class was for prolonged periods cut off from directly leading the national revolutionary armed struggles based on the peasantry; and where the leadership of the working class was in consequence expressed through the leadership of the Communist Party, drawn from the most progressive national revolutionary fighters who had come over to communism. In this background and class alignment the potentiality of all the problems which have broken out into the forefront in the present phase can be traced . . .

Internationally, the support of the international working class movement; the 1945 defeat of German and Japanese militarism and fascism through the alliance of the peoples, with the decisive role of the Soviet Union; and the consequent advance of socialism and national liberation, weakening of imperialism and formation of the world socialist camp, created the conditions making possible the victory of the Chinese revolution and the defeat of the American interventionists.

The role of the Soviet Union in the victory of the Chinese revolution was not only that of providing the inspiration, the teaching and the example. The Soviet Union also gave direct help. In 1945 this found expression in the supply of the vast stores of arms from the defeated Japanese armies in Manchuria to the liberation armies. After the victory it was the military strength of the Soviet Union, and its nuclear strength, which stood guard over the new People's Republic against the further designs of the American interventionists who had spent billions of dollars in backing Chiang Kai-shek.

No less important was this role of the Soviet Union and socialist countries in the gigantic tasks of reconstruction following victory and the laying of the economic foundations of socialism. The Soviet people, after having suffered heavier destruction than any other nation in the war, nevertheless deprived themselves in order to help build socialism in China. The decisive significance of this Soviet aid was testified by Chinese official statements.

"As regards quantity and scale Soviet economic aid to our country's economic development has no precedent in history." (*People's Daily*, February, 1959.)

By 1960 the percentage of Chinese total output produced by Soviet-supplied plants was: iron, steel and rolled stock, 35-40 per cent; aluminium, 100 per cent, lorries, tractors, 85 per cent electric power, 40 per cent; power equipment, 45 per cent; heavy machinery, 35 per cent.

With this Soviet aid the first Five-Year Plan, running from 1953-1957, laid the foundations of socialism and modern industry in China . . .

The delegates to the Eighth Congress could little have guessed that during the succeeding years all their principal decisions would be repudiated and reversed: not only the realist estimates of the second Five Year Plan, but also the political decisions, the attitude to the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU, the line on peaceful coexistence and cooperation with the Soviet Union, the condemnation of the cult of the individual, or the new rules for inner-Party democracy, with the requirement for the election of a new Congress within five years. They certainly never anticipated that no new Congress would have been elected for now over ten years, to be able to consider these reversals of policy; and that the leaders who gave the main reports at the Eighth Congress would now be denounced and condemned . . .

This change of course was to lead them into costly economic consequences at home, increasing conflict with the general body of the international communist movement, violent anti-Soviet provocation and incitement, and finally the present destructive conflict in China itself . . .

The Soviet experts who had been sent to China to help socialist industrialization were serious technicians. Between 1950 and 1960 no less than 8,500 highly skilled Soviet specialists had been sent to China to provide economic aid, as well as 1,500 experts to help in developing science, higher education, public health and culture; while nearly 10,000 Chinese engineers, technicians and skilled workers had completed their production and technical training in Soviet industrial enterprises and research institutes. The great industrial enterprises built in China with Soviet aid constituted, according to the declaration of *Peking Review* on April 29, 1958, "the backbone of China's socialist industrialization." Now the Soviet experts were to see all their careful planning sacrificed to the fantasies of the Great Leap Forward. In duty bound they warned that serious industrial development could not be accomplished by imaginary short-cuts and primitive "do-it-yourself" methods, which they pointed out were wasting precious resources. As a result they were denounced as "conservatives" and "reactionaries" and "defeatists." In some cases they were even publicly reviled, and presented with white flags, in contrast to the red flags presented to the Chinese engineers who proclaimed their faith in the Great Leap Forward. Under these conditions the Soviet Union decided to withdraw the experts in June 1960 . . . Within three months of the withdrawal, in the autumn of 1960, the Soviet Union made an official offer through Mikoyan to send back the experts provided they could be assured of normal conditions of working. No response came from the Chinese side to this offer.

The outcome of the Great Leap Forward proved the justice of the warnings of the Soviet experts.

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The delegates to the Eighth Congress could little have guessed that during the succeeding years all their principal decisions would be repudiated and reversed: not only the realist estimates of the second Five Year Plan, but also the political decisions, the attitude to the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU, the line on peaceful coexistence and cooperation with the Soviet Union, the condemnation of the cult of the individual, or the new rules for inner-Party democracy, with the requirement for the election of a new Congress within five years. They certainly never anticipated that no new Congress would have been elected for now over ten years, to be able to consider these reversals of policy; and that the leaders who gave the main reports at the Eighth Congress would now be denounced and condemned . . .

This change of course was to lead them into costly economic consequences at home, increasing conflict with the general body of the international communist movement, violent anti-Soviet provocation and incitement, and finally the present destructive conflict in China itself . . .

The Soviet experts who had been sent to China to help socialist industrialization were serious technicians. Between 1950 and 1960 no less than 8,500 highly skilled Soviet specialists had been sent to China to provide economic aid, as well as 1,500 experts to help in developing science, higher education, public health and culture; while nearly 10,000 Chinese engineers, technicians and skilled workers had completed their production and technical training in Soviet industrial enterprises and research institutes. The great industrial enterprises built in China with Soviet aid constituted, according to the declaration of *Peking Review* on April 29, 1958, "the backbone of China's socialist industrialization." Now the Soviet experts were to see all their careful planning sacrificed to the fantasies of the Great Leap Forward. In duty bound they warned that serious industrial development could not be accomplished by imaginary short-cuts and primitive "do-it-yourself" methods, which they pointed out were wasting precious resources. As a result they were denounced as "conservatives" and "reactionaries" and "defeatists." In some cases they were even publicly reviled, and presented with white flags, in contrast to the red flags presented to the Chinese engineers who proclaimed their faith in the Great Leap Forward. Under these conditions the Soviet Union decided to withdraw the experts in June 1960 . . . Within three months of the withdrawal, in the autumn of 1960, the Soviet Union made an official offer through Mikoyan to send back the experts provided they could be assured of normal conditions of working. No response came from the Chinese side to this offer.

The outcome of the Great Leap Forward proved the justice of the warnings of the Soviet experts.

Corresponding trends of increasing diversion from Marxism-Leninism developed in the ideological and political sphere, and in the sphere of relations with other socialist countries and the international communist movement.

The ideological offensive appeared at first as a controversy on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the interpretation of the documents of 1957 and 1960 . . .

The central issue raised in the controversy was the question of peace and peaceful coexistence. Previously the Chinese Communist Party had officially expressed the same view as other Communist Parties of support of the aim of peaceful coexistence between states with differing social systems, along the same lines as Lenin had originally laid down after 1917 for the policy during the era of the parallel existence of imperialism and socialism . . .

But as the controversy developed, a very different line was adopted. The presentation of he policy of peaceful coexistence as the general line of socialist states was denounced.

If, according to this new line of the Chinese Communist Party, the aim of peaceful coexistence between the world socialist camp and imperialism is to be dismissed as unrealizable, the alternative would be the assumed inevitability of a third world war, which under modern conditions would be a nuclear world war.

On this crucial question of the menace of a nuclear world war Chinese propaganda offered the picture that on the ruins of such a war, after hundreds of millions of human beings had perished, "a truly beautiful future" would be achieved . . .

No greater disservice could be done to the cause of communism today than to create the impression that communists offer a picture that the way to their ideal future may lie across the path of the destruction of hundreds of millions of human lives in a nuclear war.

At the same time a new theory of the world revolution was presented which broke away from the class basis of the theory of Marxism-Leninism. Marx in the 19th century had already shown the unity of interests of the working class revolution with the national liberation movements, and from the mid-19th century onwards had devoted the closest attention to China where he predicted the future victory of the Chinese Republic, and of India where he predicted the future victory of Indian independence . . .

The new theory of the Chinese Communist Party, in this period of hostility to the governments and parties of the Soviet Union and other European socialist countries, turned this theory of Marxism-Leninism upside down, and instead of presenting the main base in the working class and socialist countries, with the national liberation movements as allies, proclaimed the national liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America as having now become the main force of the world socialist revolution.

By 1965 this geographical three-continent theory of the revolution conspicuously separating Europe and the Soviet Union from the main area of the world revolution, was carried forward into a theory of the battle of "the rural areas of the world" against "the cities of the world."

Thus socialism and the international working class, so far from constituting the vanguard of the world socialist revolution, are reduced to an auxiliary role. This geographical theory of the battle between "cities" and "rural areas," drawn from the experience of the Chinese revolution, and transferred to the world scale, plays straight into the hands of the current reactionary imperialist theories which seek to deny the Marxist class analysis of the contradiction between imperialism and socialism as the main world contradiction, and to substitute a picture of the conflict between the "have" countries (in which they include the Soviet Union in the same basket with western imperialism) and the "have not" countries. Thus this theory, while professing to give clamorous voice to the anti-imperialist struggles of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, in reality disrupts them from the unity of the world socialist front which is the indispensable basis for their victory, and thereby renders them vulnerable to imperialism.

In this way the campaign, which had initially taken on the appearance of an ideological controversy on the interpretation of Marxism-Leninism and its strategy and tactics, revealed itself increasingly in practice as a campaign of active disruption directed against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and against the majority of Communist parties, conducted under a very superficial dressing of Marxist phrases.

This development bears a certain analogy with the process of development of Trotskyism as a current in the post-revolutionary period: first, as a line of theoretical controversy and dissent within the Party; then extending to a general platform of attack on the leadership and policy of the Party; then expanding to a denunciation of the whole regime in the Soviet Union as a betrayal of the revolution and surrender to imperialism; and moving in the international sphere to systematic work for the promotion of splits in Communist parties and the formation of a rival "Fourth International." There is the marked difference that in the present case the line, although bearing some similarlities in content, has developed on the basis of the leadership of a major socialist country and Party, and that therefore, while the immediate harm done is thereby greater, the basis exists for the correction of this temporary unfavorable trend.

The campaign against the leadership of the Soviet Government and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was carried to extremes of denunciation and calumny and has been still further highlighted in the processes of the present so-called "cultural revo-

lution." The Soviet leadership was accused of "open betrayal of Marxism-Leninism" and of entering into a "New Holy Alliance" with U.S. imperialism.

The phantasy of such a picture of the Soviet Union on the eve of the 50th anniversary of the socialist revolution, with the triumph of socialist achievement visible to the whole world, showed that here the frenzy of the calumny had abandoned all pretense of reason or plausibility. But worse was to follow. By the time of the "cultural revolution" the flames of anti-Soviet incitement (nominally not "Anti-Soviet," but "only" against the "revisionist" leadership, government, Party, Soviet organs and all other institutions of the people, and therefore in practice, especially for the ingenuous understanding of the youngsters inflamed to frenzy by these heady calls to hatred, ferociously anti-Soviet) were fanned to new heights.

While the main offensive has thus been conducted against the Soviet Union as the vanguard of the world socialist camp, a similar offensive has also been conducted in respect to other socialist countries. At the same time a campaign was launched to promote disruption in all Communist parties which were not prepared to accept the line put forward by the Chinese Communist Party.

On the basis of this line steps were taken to promote the formation of splinter groups in a number of countries, and these splinter groups were then described in Chinese statements as "the Communist Party" of the given country, while the real Communist Party was ignored. As with the previous Trotskyist attempts at splits, these splinter groups were in general tiny and had no representative character.

Grave harm has been done to the cause of communism, and to the international working class movement and to the world peace movement and democratic movement, by this campaign of disruption, following on the ideological offensive against the previously agreed policies of the international communist movement. The main harm has not been done through the campaign of disruption winning any wide support; it has been generally ineffective in its attempts to do so. The overwhelming majority of Communist Parties have been much too experienced and mature to fall for this kind of empty abstract "ultra-revolutionary" propaganda and anti-Soviet incitement, too long familiar from Trotskyist and similar sources, which they have been fighting for years, long before the Chinese Communist Party adopted this discredited line of propaganda. Nor has this type of propaganda won any support among the overwhelming majority of organized workers.

The main harm has been done through the distorted picture of communism thus created for the widest body of popular opinion. The impression is of the international communist movement as hopelessly split, with open extreme conflict between the two biggest

socialist countries and their parties and leadership. Hence the conventional press description of the issue as a "Sino-Soviet conflict"—a misleading description of a situation in which the Chinese Communist Party has been going through an abnormal phase, bringing it into conflict with the overwhelming majority of the rest of the socialist camp and of other Communist Parties.

Harm has further been done by the confusion caused in the world democratic and peace movement, where the introduction of what can only appear to many participants as internal communist theoretical controversies is inappropriate, and where the greatest possible unity for common objectives is of paramount importance.

Harm has also been done by the difficulties thus created for young people and all those newly coming towards communism. This harm is particularly acute in the newly independent countries where the popular movement is in full ferment and seeking the path to scientific socialism.

The greatest harm of all is the obstruction of united action of the international Communist movement in the most urgent immediate issues of struggle against imperialism, irrespective of the ideological differences which have arisen, or even while these differences have still to be settled.

This problem arises most acutely at the present time in relation to the urgent need for the fullest solidarity and common action in support of the struggle of the Vietnam people, against the aggression of United States imperialism.

The division within the world socialist camp has been the main factor which has encouraged and facilitated the American aggression against Vietnam. The more this division has been sharpened, with the open hostility of the Chinese leadership to any suggestion of unity or cooperation, the more the American aggression has been escalated. All the American strategic experts have openly calculated on this division.

Repeatedly proposals have been made by many Communist Parties, including the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for a united front, joint consultation and common action in support of the struggle of the Vietnam people. All such proposals have so far been turned down by the Chinese Communist Party.

Faced with the glaring facts of Soviet aid to Vietnam, which by deeds exposes the falsity of their pretext for refusing cooperation, they have sought to belittle that aid.

The Soviet Union has not only supplied every aid asked for by Vietnam, but has made clear that every further aid, of whatever kind, which may be asked, will be supplied. The Vietnam leaders have equally testified that every aid they have asked for from the Soviet Union has been supplied.

It should not be thought that the increasingly wild and reckless

course adopted by the official leadership of the Chinese Communist Party during the period after the Eighth Congress went on without opposition within the Chinese Party.

Internationally also the new line met with a series of defeats. The largest Communist Party outside the socialist camp, the Indonesian Communist Party, with three million members, whose leadership had moved to support of the Chinese line, met with the heaviest reverse and destruction experienced by any Communist Party since the coming to power of Hitler in Germany.

The favorite Maoist formula had taught that "power comes out of the barrel of a gun." This caricature of Marxist-Leninist theory recalls the notorious "force theory" of Professor Duehring which Engels tore to pieces in his *Anti-Duehring*. Marxism teaches that the power of a revolutionary movement comes from the masses, and that the gun is only the instrument. But the counter-revolutionary generals in Indonesia acted on the principle that "power comes out of the barrel of a gun," and slaughtered half a million Indonesian Communists.

The Japanese Communist Party reported, by the beginning of 1967, the unhappy experience of their delegation to Peking in 1966. Their delegation had worked out the lines of a joint communique, concentrating on points of agreement, in talks with Liu Shao-chi and Teng Hsiao-ping, and subsequently with Chou En-lai, Peng Chen and Kang Sheng. But Mao had then vetoed the agreed draft communique on the grounds that it failed "to place the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on the same level as U.S. imperialism," and demanded that the communique should include "the stand of an anti-American anti-Soviet united front." As a result no communique was issued, and posters were put out in Peking describing the Japanese Party as "revisionist."

The Korean People's Democratic Republic official news agency published on January 27, 1967, a statement condemning false propaganda put out by newspapers and leaflets of the Chinese "Red Guards" alleging a coup in Korea, as "impermissible slandering of our Party, our Government, the people and the People's Army of our country."

The Vietnam Workers' Party, as we have seen, has publicly proclaimed its support of and confidence in the Soviet Union, in direct contradiction to the statements of the Chinese Party.

Premier Castro on behalf of the Cuban revolution publicly chastized the Chinese Government in an official statement on February 6, 1966.

In view of this manifest discredit and failure of the adventurist dogmatic course, both internationally and in the consequences within China, it is not surprising that opposition should have been

growing within the Chinese Communist Party, including in the highest levels of leadership.

The strength of this opposition now revealed within the Party and the working class, already from the time of the Great Leap Forward, against at any rate the extremes of the reckless, adventurist and eventually anti-Leninist and anti-internationalist course is significant. However difficult and dangerous the present immediate situation through the violent measures to crush the opposition, this active struggle of key sections of the working class and the party is significant as a pointer to the finally decisive positive forces for the future of the Chinese revolution.

It is in this situation that the cause and purpose of the launching of the extraordinary offensive described as the "cultural revolution" or "great socialist revolution" in 1966 is clear.

It is evident that the "cultural revolution" has represented an offensive against key forces of the Party, its cadres and strongholds, in order to compel acceptance of an increasingly discredited political line which has been pressed by Mao Tse-tung against the opposition of most of the other leaders.

When the Central Committee of a Communist Party adopts a resolution, its fulfilment normally becomes the task of the Party organizations. Here, however, a different method was adopted, outside the Party organizations.

The so-called "Red Guards" were established as an organization in May, 1966, by the simple device of closing all schools and colleges for a year (later, when the disturbances grew too much, this was cut to six months), thus releasing tens of millions of youngsters, completely without political experience, to be mobilized and transported for the purpose of the offensive. They received their marching orders from the Central Committee resolution of August 12, 1966. They received their official seal of approval from the mass demonstration in Peking under the auspices of Mao Tse-tung on August 18, 1966, at which Mao donned the armband of a "Red Guard."

What is the relation of class forces in this struggle?

All the Chinese official statements give one simple answer. It is the decisive battle for power between the working class and the capitalist class. There are at present over a million national capitalists in China living on the exploitation of the working class. They are the former owners, who in the eighteenth year of the people's revolution still continue to receive from the state their 5% interest on the capital value of their nationalized enterprises. By the original decision of the State Council this payment of interest to the bourgeoisie should have been completed by 1962. But a decision was taken to prolong it to 1966. Now it has been decided to prolong it ten years further.

Is this "revolution to liquidate the bourgeoisie" directed against these real capitalists? Not at all. They are not involved. No offensive is directed against them.

The so-called offensive against "the bourgeoisie" is an offensive against revolutionary Party leaders and fighters who are accused of having expressed some measure of opposition or criticism of the recent reckless adventurist policies associated with Mao Tse-tung from the Great Leap Forward onwards. There is evidence here of a difference on policy in the Party. No evidence is offered of a "capitalist road" or of any proposal or policy having been put forward which could be interpreted as a "capitalist road."

What of the working class? There is plenty of evidence, from the official press and radio statements, of considerable strikes and clashes and resistance to the "Red Guards" and also of wage demands. But all this is not part of the offensive of the "cultural revolution" or of what *Red Flag* has called the "acute class struggle" between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. On the contrary. The strikes have taken place against the offensive delivered from above through the "Red Guards" and other *ad hoc* organizations divorced from the working class movement, in defense of the Party headquarters and for economic demands denounced by the official radio.

But there is obvious significance in the increasing official warnings against "economism," the term used to describe demands for improved wages and living conditions in place of concentrating on the political and military offensive of the "cultural revolution." All this suggests that in the present situation, with the hardships following on the economic policies of the Great Leap Forward and after, there are arising elementary economic demands of the workers which are very different from the abstract "decisive struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie" defined in the formulas of the "cultural revolution."

Even more extraordinary is the variety of definitions and contradictory formulas offered with regard to the question of state power in the official explanations of the "cultural revolution." Following on the definition of the "cultural revolution" as the "decisive struggle" of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, the conclusion is drawn that the "central task" of the "cultural revolution" is the conquest of political power by the proletariat from the bourgeoisie and its agents within the Party.

But if the proletariat has still to conquer political power, what is the definition of the present state? Is it or is it not the dictatorship of the proletariat? The Eighth Congress defined the People's Republic of China as "a people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class and based on the alliance of the workers and peasants."

Finally a further new formula was offered to solve the problem. The task of the "cultural revolution" in respect of state power was

declared to be the replacement of the existing organs of state by new "provisional organs of power" which would utilize the lessons of the Paris Commune on the need to "smash" the existing organs of state power and set up new organs of power.

Thus the teaching of Marx and Lenin on the necessity to destroy the organs of state power of capitalism is twisted into an instruction to destroy organs of state power of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the glorious example of the Paris Commune is quoted to justify this. In practice this has meant that the elected committees of the Party, and the elected organs of the People's Republic have been displaced in center after center by army action, to install groups of so-called "Revolutionary Rebels," without any corresponding basis of popular representation or election.

The present situation in China is grave and dangerous.

The dangers are manifest, both for the internal prospect in China, and for the international consequences.

The present situation of this critical phase through which the Chinese revolution is passing is explosive. It may grow worse before it becomes better.

But there are two considerations which should be borne in mind in endeavoring to reach a judgment.

First, China is a socialist country. During the First Five Year Plan the foundations of socialism were securely established. Despite all the abstract talk of a "decisive struggle" between "socialism" and "capitalism" in China, there is no sign or indication whatever of the foundation of socialism being abandoned or overthrown. The people will not readily renounce the gains of their revolution, by which they obtained possession of their country from the hands of the landlords and the reactionary capitalists allied with imperialism. But socialism is a tremendous creative force. The advance of the people and of the productive forces which socialism releases can be retarded by ill-considered policies, but cannot be checked. The strength of the present fight of working class and Party forces to resist a destructive offensive is the most positive factor in the present grave situation. Experience has shown how socialist revolutions can go through difficult and dangerous phases, but can in the end overcome them and carry forward the advance.

Second, the main responsibility for the present difficulties in China lies, not in the internal situation, but in the international situation, in the criminal aggressive role of United States imperialism.

For this reason our international duty, irrespective of any differences on policy or tactical questions with the Chinese leadership within the international communist movement, is to maintain solidarity with China and the Chinese people and the Chinese revolution against the aggression of U.S. imperialism.

Despite the present formidable difficulties and dangers, which at

the moment show no signs of abating, we maintain our confidence in the future of the great Chinese revolution and the Chinese people, and in the creative forces of a socialist revolution. We are confident that in the final outcome the Chinese Communist Party, at the head of the Chinese working class and people, will solve the present problems and repair the consequences of a temporary abnormal phase. We look forward to the time when China will resume its rightful honored place in the community of socialist peoples, and the Chinese Communist Party will resume equally its responsible and honored place in the fraternal unity of the international communist movement.

# ON THE CELEBRATION OF THE 50th ANNIVERSARY OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION IN RUMANIA

## DECISION OF THE CC, RUMANIAN CP

This year will see the 50th anniversary of the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, a turning point in the history of mankind that opened the era of proletarian revolution, the era of the transition of the peoples from capitalism to socialism.

Organized and launched under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, with Vladimir Ilyich Lenin at its head, the October Revolution delivered a crushing blow to the imperialist system and considerably weakened imperialism.

The October Revolution had a powerful echo in Rumania. The working class, the peasants and other working people fighting for freedom from exploitation and oppression saw in the October Revolution an inspiring example and expressed their full solidarity with the cause of the revolution. The impressive actions—meetings, demonstrations and strikes—that took place throughout the country in support of the October Revolution, as well as the participation of numerous Rumanian working people, of Rumanian revolutionary contingents, in the armed revolutionary struggle to defend the Soviet state were a glorious chapter in the history of friendship between the Rumanian people and the peoples of the Soviet Union, a manifestation of the profound proletarian internationalism of the working men and women of Rumania.

Deep-going social changes have occurred in the Soviet Union in the five decades that have passed since October 1917. The Soviet state has become an industrial power of the first order. The new social system demonstrated its strength most vividly during the Great Patriotic War, when the Soviet Union bore the brunt of the battles to defeat fascism and won the admiration and gratitude of all nations by its heroic fight.

The Rumanian Communist Party and the whole of our people set much store by the inspired effort of the Soviet people and their Communist Party in building communism, by their progress in industry, agriculture and other branches of the economy, in science and culture, space exploration and the standard of living. A fruit

*Abridged from **Scinteia**, March 31, 1967.

of the devoted labor of the people and the extensive organizing and political activity of the CPSU, the achievements of the Soviet Union are a decisive contribution to the economic, political and military might of the socialist world system, to the influence of socialism, to progress and world peace.

Speaking of the acts of aggression committed by the imperialists, by the U.S. imperialists in the first place, the decision stresses that in these circumstances it is a most urgent need to promote the unity and cohesion of the anti-imperialist forces, primarily the socialist countries and the Communist and Workers' parties, the principal factors in the fight for social progress and world peace.

Relations of friendship and international solidarity, rich in tradition, have developed between the Rumanian and Soviet peoples. In the past the Communist Party has consistently declared for the development of relations with the Soviet Union, against the anti-Soviet policy of home and foreign reaction. A faithful exponent of the national interests of the people, it set itself with unfailing determination against the anti-Soviet war. It organized and led the anti-fascist resistance which culminated in an armed rising on August 23, 1944. The battles jointly fought by Rumanian and Soviet soldiers on the anti-Hitler front cemented Rumanian-Soviet friendship.

At present the solid relations of friendship and comradely cooperation in the political, economic, scientific, technological and cultural fields between the Rumanian and Soviet peoples are expanding. So are the fraternal relations between the RCP and CPSU. The development of these relations based on the ideology of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, a common social system and common goals, and the principles of independence, equality and mutual respect benefits our peoples and the unity of the socialist countries. It benefits peace and the advance of mankind along the road of civilization.

The celebration in Rumania of the anniversary of the Great October Revolution will be a further step in the relations of fraternal friendship and many-sided cooperation between the Rumanian and Soviet peoples, between our two countries and between our two parties.

# RESOLUTION*

## OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE CC, PARTY OF WORKING PEOPLE OF VIETNAM, ON THE CELEBRATION OF THE 50th ANNIVERSARY OF THE GREAT OCTOBER REVOLUTION

November 7, 1967 marks the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Half a century ago, under the brilliant leadership of Lenin and the heroic Bolshevik Party the working class and all working people of Russia accomplished a victorious socialist revolution and established the world's first proletarian state, ushering in a new era in man's history. The victory of the October Revolution in Russia signalled the beginning of the epoch of the downfall of capitalism, the epoch of the triumph of socialism and the liberation of the oppressed nations of the world.

Continuing the cause of the October Revolution, the army and people of the Soviet Union led by the glorious Party of Bolsheviks routed the Hitler fascists in the Second World War, saving mankind from fascist slavery. Many new socialist countries emerged after the war, and there took shape a socialist world system, which is now becoming the decisive factor in the development of society. Many oppressed nations have won independence and freedom; the disintegration of the colonial system of imperialism continues apace.

The brilliant victory of the Chinese revolution dealt one more shattering blow at the imperialist system and tipped the scale in favor of the forces fighting for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

Under the leadership of our Party the people of Vietnam accomplished the August Revolution, formed the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, defeated the French colonialist aggressors, and are winning ever bigger victories in socialist construction and in the war of resistance against the USA, for the salvation of the country, to defend the North, liberate the South and achieve the reunification of the country.

Since the October Revolution, the world revolution and the revolution in our country have scored many outstanding victories. The Political Bureau of the CC PWPV has adopted a decision that the Party, army and people of our country mark the 50th anniversary of the October revolution in manner fitting the tremendous significance of this glorious historical date.

On the occasion of this anniversary our Party will step up the

*Slightly abridged.

education of the members of the Party and of the Youth League in the spirit of thorough study of Marxism-Leninism, the experience of the October Revolution and the world revolution, in order to bring the Vietnam revolution to complete victory. Our Party will continue to educate its members and the members of the Youth League in the spirit of loyalty to the working class and the nation, faith in the line and policy of the Party and in the inevitable victory of the Vietnam revolution and the world revolution. Our Party and all our people will tirelessly strengthen unity with the CPSU and the Soviet people, with the CPC and the Chinese people, with the Communist and Workers' parties and peoples of the other socialist countries, with all the Marxist-Leninist parties in the world Communist and working-class movement, with the working class and revolutionary peoples of the world, with the nations fighting against imperialism, primarily U.S. imperialism, for independence, freedom, peace, democracy and social progress.

To greet worthily the anniversary of the October Revolution, the Party and people of our country should enhance the spirit of reliance on our own forces, the spirit of emulation in intensifying production and struggle, our determination to defeat the U.S. aggressors in order to defend the North, liberate the South, achieve the reunification of the country, and build a peaceful, united, independent, democratic and prospering Vietnam.

The Central Committee of the Party of Working People jointly with the Central Committee of the Patriotic Front of Vietnam will form the organizing committee for the celebration of the anniversary of the October Revolution.

# ACTIVITIES IN THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

**March 22 - April 5.** Aldo Tortorella and Renato Sandri, members of the CC of the Italian Communist Party, visited Chile and met with leaders of the Communist Party of Chile.

In a joint statement the two delegations stress that they met in the red-letter year of the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The victory of the world's first socialist revolution made possible the Soviet Union's development into an invincible bulwark of peace and of the rights of the peoples, and initiated the process of transformations unprecedented in history for their profundity and rapidity, transformations which are to be observed on all continents, including Latin America, where socialism has already triumphed in Cuba.

The Chilean and Italian Communists reaffirmed the need for the unity of the world Communist movement. They condemned the U.S. aggression in Vietnam as a threat to peace and mankind's future and declared for the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

The Communists of Chile and Italy repeated serious criticism and resolute condemnation of the splitting activities of the present leading group of the Communist Party of China, which even in the current grave situation rejects unity of action against imperialism.

**March 29-30.** The CC of the French CP met to discuss "The Lessons of the General Election and the Tasks of the Party." The report was presented by G. Marchais, member of the Political Bureau.

**March 30.** Nicolae Ceausescu received C. Mijatovic, member of the Presidium of the CC of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, and had a cordial comradesly exchange of opinion with him on questions of cooperation between the two parties and countries, a number of topical problems of the world Communist and working-class movement and problems of the international situation.

**April 1-2.** Meeting in Lausanne, the CC of the Swiss Party of Labor discussed reports by A. Murét on the situation in the country, G. Vincent on the struggle for peace, European security and national independence, and A. Dafflon on the state of social security in the country.

The CC adopted a resolution on the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution.

**April 1.** According to Agerpress, the Rumanian news agency, Nicolae Ceausescu and Luigi Longo met in Bucharest and discussed

in a warm, comradely atmosphere problems of the world Communist and working-class movement and the international situation.

**April 3-6.** A Polish Party and government delegation headed by Wladyslaw Gomulka visited Bulgaria and had talks with Bulgarian Party and government leaders, in which questions of Bulgarian-Polish cooperation, the international Communist movement and European and world peace and security were discussed. On April 6 a new 20-year Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance was signed.

**April 4.** The political situation in the country and the activities of the Communist Party of Greece were discussed at the 10th plenary meeting of CC CPG. The report of the Political Bureau was presented by the Party's First Secretary K. Kolyannis.

The CC adopted a resolution on the unity and cohesion of the world Communist movement. It stressed that the aggressive actions of world imperialism and above all the escalation of the U.S. imperialists' criminal war in Vietnam made it an increasingly imperative duty of all the Communist and Workers' parties to strengthen their unity and solidarity.

The CC stressed that the disruptive attitude of the leading group of the Communist Party of China is the main obstacle to the achievement of this vital objective. The resolution condemns the anti-Marxist-Leninist policy and impermissible anti-Soviet attacks of the CPC leading group.

The Communist Party of Greece will continue to participate actively in the efforts of the Marxist-Leninist parties to consolidate the unity of the world Communist movement and create the necessary conditions for convening a new international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties.

The CC also adopted a resolution on the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution.

**April 4.** L. I. Brezhnev, N. V. Podgorny and A. N. Kosygin received in the CC CPSU offices the commanders and members of the military councils of the military districts, army groups, anti-aircraft defense districts and fleets.

L. I. Brezhnev briefly characterized the present international situation and dealt with some questions of army development and training and education of the personnel. He stressed that the Soviet people, the Communist Party and the Soviet government, while firmly pursuing a consistent policy of peace, would continue to show constant concern for fortifying the defenses of the Soviet state.

**April 5.** Antonin Novotny received Mijalko Todorovic, Secretary of the Executive Committee of the CC of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. In the course of a cordial talk in which Vladimir

Koucky, Secretary of the CC of the CP of Czechoslovakia, took part, opinions were exchanged on problems of the world Communist movement and on the experience of the two parties' current activities.

April 6. The Yugoslav newspaper *Kommunist* reports that at the end of 1966 the League of Communists of Yugoslavia had 1,046,018 members, approximately four times more than in 1956. The number and percentage of workers among the LCY members "have since 1961 been constantly decreasing." At present workers number 355,-022, or 33.9 per cent of membership, compared with 383,100, or 37 per cent, in 1961.

Of the total number of Communists who joined the League in 1966, workers account for "only 30.1 per cent, as against 35 per cent in 1964."

In 1966 the League expelled 13,488 members, of whom workers made up 51.2 per cent and peasants, 15.3 per cent. Membership cards were returned by 7,640 members, aproximately 2,000 more than in 1965. Of those who returned their membership cards workers constitute 53.6 per cent and peasants, 11.3 per cent.

The number of peasant members dropped from 77.341 in 1965 to 77.134 in 1966.

Referring to the growing average age of the membership, the newspaper reports that at the end of 1966 the League had 120,234 members up to 25 years old (11.5 per cent of total membership) i.e., 11,500 less than in 1965.

*Kommunist* points out that the number of engineers, technicians, doctors, economists, educational workers and other specialists among the League members is growing, while that of office employees is decreasing.

"This gives food for serious thought and demands a thorough study of certain processes taking place in the League structure," *Kommunist* comments in conclusion.

**April 6-13.** A Rumanian Party delegation headed by A. Draghici, member of the Permanent Presidium and Secretary of the CC, visited Austria on the invitation of the CC CPA. A joint communique was issued following the talks between the two delegations.

**April 7-8.** Talks between Nicolae Ceausescu and a FCP delegation consisting of Etienne Fajon, member of the FCP Political Bureau and director of *L'Humanité* and CC member Jacques Denis, were held in Bucharest.

Opinions were exchanged on the international situation, including problems of the struggle for European security, and on related problems of the Communist and working-class movement.

Both parties reaffirmed their support of and solidarity with the people of Vietnam in their struggle for the freedom, independence and renunification of their country. They exchanged information on

the situation in their countries and discussed questions of cooperation between the RCP and FCP.

**April 8.** P. N. Demichev, alternate member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC CPSU, received a delegation of Bulgarian Party functionaries headed by David Elazar, member of the CC and chief of the CC propaganda and agitation department.

During its stay in the Soviet Union the delegation studied the experience of the CPSU in the field of Party education.

**April 11.** Invited by the Leadership of the Arab Socialist Union, a delegation of CPSU functionaries headed by N. G. Yegorychev, member of the C CCPSU and First Secretary of the Moscow City Committee of the Party, left for the United Arab Republic to familiarize itself with the activities ofthe ASU.

**April 12.** A. Novotny received members of the Executive Bureau and Secretariat of the World Federation of Trade Union, participants in a session of the Executive Bureau, and had a friendly talk with them. Louis Saillant, General Secretary of the WFTU, informed the head of the Czechoslovak state about the work of the Federation and problems facing the world working-class movement.

On behalf of the Federation V. V. Grishin, Vice-Chairman of the WFTU and Chairman of the Soviet Central T. U. Council, thanked A. Novotny, the CC of the Czechoslovak Party and the Czechoslovak government for their valuable support of the Federation, and noted the successful cooperation of the Czechoslovak trade unions with the WFTU and their fruitful contribution to the common struggle for stronger working-class unity.

**April 12.** The delegation of the CPSU functionaries which had been studying the experience of the CP of Czechoslovakia in introducing the new system of economic management returned to Moscow. It was headed by V. S. Frolov, alternate member of the CC and chief of CC engineering department.

**April 12.** The CC of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party discussed the reports "On International Problems" by CC Secretary Zoltan Komocsin and "On the Parliamentary Elections" by CC Secretary Bela Biszku.

Janos Kadar presented the Political Bureaus' recommendations on organizational and personal matters, which were unanimously approved.

**April 13-14.** Emil Bodnaras, member of the Permanent Presidium and Executive Committee of the CC, Rumanian CP, visited Budapest on the invitation of the CC HSWP, and had talks with Zolton Komocsin and Frigyes Pulya, member of the CC and chief of the CC international department. Gheorghe Rosu, member of the CC RCP and chief of a CC department, took part in the talks.

Emil Bodnaras and Gheorghe Rosu were received by Janos Kadar.

**April 14.** Representatives of the Rumanian and Czechoslovak

Communist Parties met in Prague and had a sincere and friendly exchange of opinions on some questions of mutual interest, including the international situation and problems of the world Communist movement. The Rumanian Party was represented by P. Niculescu-Mizil, member of the CC Permanent Presidium and Executive Committee and Secretary of the CC, and CC member M. Florescu; the Czechoslovak Party, by CC Secretary V. Koucky and Oldrich Kaderka, chief of the CC international department.

**April 14-17.** Two thousand people representing 10,000 sections of the Italian CP took part in the national conference of Party section secretaries which was held in Bologna.

Armando Cossuta, member of the Leadership and Secretariat of the Party, was the main speaker. He said that the forthcoming Karlovy Vary conference of the European Communist and Workers parties on European security would contribute to the consolidation of the unity and cooperation of the parties.

We shall do everything in our power, A. Cossuta said, for the difficulties still standing in the way of a world Communist conference to be overcome through the cooperation of all Communist parties.

He condemned the Chinese leaders for their divisive stand on all main problems of the world Communist movement, and stressed that their slanderous and utterly absurd attacks on the USSR negatively affect the liberation struggle of the Vietnamese people.

The conference was addressed by Luigi Longo.

**April 14.** M. A. Suslov, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC, CPSU, received Comrade Marinescu, Ambassador of the Socialist Republic of Rumania to the Soviet Union, on the latter's request, and had a comradely talk with him.

**April 15.** The CC of the CP of Austria met to discuss problems of European security in connection with the forthcoming Karlovy Vary conference of the European Communist parties, *Volksstimme* reported. CC Secretary Erwin Scharf noted that at a time when wars cease to be a means of settling inter-state conflicts and when ideas of peaceful coexistence are beginning to assert themselves, the concept of neutrality should become a factor for stronger peace, for compromise, for an active policy of relaxation, a policy of preventing war.

As a neutral country, E. Scharf stressed, Austria should have long ago recognized the other German state—the German Democratic Republic.

Constant support of all efforts for disarmament must be a prime task of a neutral state, E. Scharf pointed out. Austria should display the intiative in building a European collective security system. The importance of Austrian neutrality could be enhanced through an active effort for the abolition of military blocs.

**April 15.** The CC of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany unanimously approved the CC report to the 7th Party Congress.

It also heard and approved the report of H. Axen, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC, on the talks the CC delegation had had in Moscow, and the report of Foreign Minister O. Winzer on the talks the GDR Party and government delegation conducted in Warsaw and Prague in connection with the conclusion of the treaties of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance.

The plenary meeting was addressed by Walter Ulbricht.

**April 15-22.** A CPSU delegation headed by L. I. Brezhnev attended the 7th Congress of the SUPG. It included CC CPSU secretaries Y. V. Andropov and B. N. Ponomaryov, I. K. Lutak, member of the CC CPSU and Secretary of the CC of the CP of the Ukraine, A. E. Voos, First Secretary of the CC of the CP of Latvia, R. F. Dementyeva, alternate member of the CC CPSU and Secretary of the Moscow City Committee of the Party, and P. A. Abrasimov, member of the CC CPSU and USSR Ambassador to the GDR.

**April 17-22.** The SUPG held its 7th Congress in Berlin, with the following agenda: "Social Development in the GDR in the Period of Completing Socialist Construction" (the report presented by W. Ulbricht), "Fulfilment of the National Economic Plan" (W. Stoph), "The Role of the Party in the Period of Completing Socialist Construction" (E. Honecker), adoption of resolutions, and election of central organs.

The congress was attended by the delegations of 67 Communist and Workers' parties and representatives of the national-liberation movement.

**April 17.** A Bulgarian Party and government delegation headed by Todor Zhivkov arrived in Rumania on the invitation of the CC RCP and the Council of Ministers. The communique issued after the talks says that in an atmosphere of warm friendship, mutual respect and mutual understanding the Party delegations informed each other about socialist construction in their countries and had a frank and useful exchange of views on problems of development of relations between their countries and parties and on the main problems of the international situation and the Communist and working-class movement.

**April 21.** The meeting of the committee to draft documents for the conference of the European Communist and Workers' parties on European security, to be held in Karlovy Vary over April 24-27, opened in Prague.

The CTK news agency reported that representatives of the following fraternal parties took part in the meeting: the CP of Austria, the CP of Belgium, the Bulgarian CP, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the CP of Great Britain, the Socialist Unity of Germany,

the CP of Germany, the Socialist Unity Party of German—West Berlin, the CP of Greece, the CP of Denmark, the Italian CP, the CP of Spain, the Irish Workers' League, the CP of Luxembourg, the Polish United Workers' Party, the CP of San Marino, the CP of Northern Ireland, the CP of the Soviet Union, the CP of Finland, the French CP, the CP of Czechoslovakia, the Swiss Party of Labor.

**April 22.** The new Central Committee of the SUPG unanimously elected Walter Ulbricht First Secretary of the CC.

Elected to the full membership of the Political Bureau were Friedrich Ebert, Paul Froehlich, Gerhard Grueneberg, Kurt Hager, Erich Honecker, Hermann Matern, Guenter Mittag, Erich Mueckenberger, Alfred Neumann, Albert Norden, Horst Sindermann, Willi Stoph, Walter Ulbricht, Paul Verner, and Herbert Warnke.

Hermann Axen, Georg Ewald, Walter Halbritter, Werner Jarowinsky, Guenther Kleiber, and Margarete Mueller were elected Alternate members of the Political Bureau.

The newly-elected Secretaries of the CC are: Walter Ulbricht, First Secretary, Erich Honecker, Hermann Axen, Gerhard Grueneberg, Kurt Hager, Werner Jarowinsky, Werner Lamberz, Gunter Mittag, Albert Norden, and Paul Verner.

Hermann Matern was elected Chairman of the Central Control Commission and Kurt Zeibt, Chairman of the Auditing Commission.

INFORMATION

96

*Included in this Issue*

# ON EUROPEAN SECURITY

**CONFERENCE OF EUROPEAN COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES**

**KARLOVY VARY, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, April 24-26, 1967**

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contents


COMMUNIQUE 4

OPENING SPEECH BY A. NOVOTNY 5

APPEAL FOR SUPPORT OF VIETNAMESE PEOPLE 9

STATEMENT ON THE MILITARY PUTSCH IN GREECE 11

SPEECHES BY

W. Rochet 12

L. Brezhnev 20

F. Muhri 38

A. Novotny 42

W. Gomulka 51

K. Jespersen 61

M. Reimann 70

V. Pessi 75



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# PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONFERENCE OF EUROPEAN COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES ON PROBLEMS OF EUROPEAN SECURITY HELD IN KARLOVY VARY, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, APRIL 24-26, 1967

## COMMUNIQUE

### ON THE OPENING OF THE CONFERENCE

The Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties on Problems of European Security opened in Karlovy Vary on Monday, April 24, at 10 a.m.

The delegations of the following fraternal parties are taking part in the conference: the Communist Party of Belgium, the Bulgarian Communist Party, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the Communist Party of Denmark, the Communist Party of Finland, the French Communist Party, the Irish Workers' Party, the Communist Party of Northern Ireland, the Italian Communist Party, the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus, the Communist Party of Luxembourg, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the Communist Party of Germany, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany—West Berlin, the Polish United Workers' Party, the Portuguese Communist Party, the Communist Party of Austria, the Communist Party of Greece, the Communist Party of San Marino, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of Spain, the Swiss Party of Labor, the Communist Party of Great Britain. The Conference is attended by a representative of the Communist Party of Sweden.

The Conference was opened by Comrade Antonin Novotny, First Secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. He proposed a draft order of business, which was unanimously adopted. Then the chair was taken by Comrade Wladyslaw Gomulka, First Secretary of the CC of the Polish United Workers' Party.

At the morning session the participants in the Conference unanimously adopted an Appeal calling for solidarity with the struggle of the Vietnamese people.

The Conference also adopted a Statement concerning the military coup in Greece.

The first speakers in the debate at the morning session were Waldeck Rochet, General Secretary of the French Communist Party, L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC of the Communist Party

of the Soviet Union, and M. Muhri, Chairman of the Communist Party of Austria.

During the first part of the afternoon session, presided over by Waldeck Rochet, the Conference was addressed by Antonin Novotny and Wladyslaw Gomulka.

Alvaro Cunhal, General Secretary of the Portuguese Communist Party, was in the chair during the second half of the afternoon session. The speakers were Knud Jespersen, Chairman of the Communist Party of Denmark, Max Reimann, First Secretary of the Communist Party of Germany, Ville Pessi, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Finland.

## OPENING SPEECH BY A. NOVOTNY

On behalf of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, which, upon the recommendation of representatives of the fraternal parties who attended the meeting of the Editorial Committee in Warsaw, was entrusted with the organization of the Conference of European Communist and Workers' parties dealing with questions of peace and security in Europe, I warmly welcome the representatives of fraternal Communist and Workers' parties.

It is an honor for us that this important Conference, which will deal with problems concerning the vital interests of all working and peace-loving people throughout the world, is being held in our country and that our Communist Party is playing host to the fraternal parties.

The Conference is attended by delegations of the following parties:

Communist Party of Belgium,
Bulgarian Communist Party,
Communist Party of Czechoslovakia,
Communist Party of Denmark,
Communist Party of Finland,
French Communist Party,
Communist Party of Northern Ireland,
Irish Workers' Party,
Italian Communist Party,
Progressive People's Party of Cyprus,
Communist Party of Luxembourg,
Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party,
Socialist Unity Party of Germany,
Communist Party of Germany,
Socialist Unity Party of Germany—West Berlin,
Polish United Workers' Party,

Communist Party of Portugal,
Communist Party of Austria,
Communist Party of Greece,
Communist Party of San Marino,
Communist Party of the Soviet Union,
Communist Party of Spain,
Swiss Party of Labor,
Communist Party of Great Britain.

The Communist Party of Sweden has not sent a delegation, it has sent, however, its representative, who will be present at the deliberations of the Conference.

The Albanian Party of Labor and the Communist Party of Holland have not accepted the invitation to the Conference. The League of Communists of Yugoslavia, the Rumanian Communist Party, the Communist Party of Norway and the United Socialist Party of Iceland are not participating in the Conference either, though negotiations have been conducted with them.

The explanation why the League of Communists of Yugoslavia is not participating in our Conference is given in the letter of the Executive Committee of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, which was delivered to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. This letter was distributed among the delegations.

As for the Rumanian Communist Party, several discussions were held with its representatives as well. Its standpoint is known to the delegations from a letter circulated to all European Communist parties. The Polish comrades, as one of the organizers of our Conference, replied to the letter of the Rumanian Communist Party. The text of this reply is available to the delegations.

The Editorial Committee once again asked the Central Committee of the Rumanian Communist Party on April 21 whether they would participate in our Conference. To date no direct reply was given.

I would like to stress at the opening of our Conference that during the preparatory period fraternal party delegations held many important discussions to clarify the fundamental questions which are to be dealt with by the Conference. These contacts are certain to contribute to its success.

The Karlovy Vary Conference is all the more important since it is being held in the period of the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, from which our Communist parties have sprung and which still inspires them.

The Great October Socialist Revolution opened new paths to the international revolutionary labor movement, new prospects for the free and progressive development of all mankind. It opened the way

to the eradication of colonialism and to the freedom of the peoples and gave mankind hopes of securing a lasting peace.

Our Conference follows the Bucharest discussions of the Communist parties of the European socialist countries and the discussions of the Communist parties of the European capitalist countries held in Brussels and Vienna. The fundamental sense and aim of these consultations was to help secure the peace and this is also the main problem of our present discussions. We are all aware that our efforts for the safeguarding of peace and the strengthening of security in Europe form part of the efforts of all Communist parties and progressive mankind to ensure that peace should reign throughout the world, and that the freedom and security of nations should be guaranteed.

A number of governments, political parties, research and cultural institutions, interested in solving existing controversial questions in Europe as well as other problems concerning relations between European countries, are concentrating their efforts on collective security in Europe. We have good reason to be concerned about the post-war development in Europe, where the threat of growing militarism and revenge-seeking is re-appearing in the German Federal Republic. The path followed by the West-German militarists and revenge-seekers with their claims and objectives leads towards a sharpening of tension, towards conflicts.

The present development in the world is marked by U.S. military aggression against the Vietnamese people, who want nothing more than the right to decide their own future. The escalation of U.S. military action in Vietnam shows the danger which would face mankind if the imperialists were left to carry on their aggressive activities. American imperialism, linked with the military grouping of NATO, is a danger to the peace of Europe also because various reactionary imperialist and particularly revenge-seeking forces are hoping to benefit by it.

There is no need to stress the fact that the Conference at which we have gathered has great significance for the international Communist movement. It is a practical contribution to the unity of the revolutionary forces fighting for the common interests of the working class and all working people throughout the world and genuinely practicing active and creative internationalism which is the characteristic feature of our movement.

On behalf of our Party's Central Committee, I would like to cordially thank all the fraternal parties for the confidence they are showing the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and to assure you that we have dealt with the task entrusted to us with full responsibility towards the entire Communist movement and endeavored to do everything possible to ensure smooth proceedings at the Conference. We cooperated closely with our French and Polish comrades

to whom, on behalf of all the participants, I want to express my thanks for the work they carried on for a number of months to ensure the good preparation of the Conference. At the same time, I want to thank the Editorial Committee and all the comrades, who shared in its activities and made a great effort for the preparation of the Conference and the documents which are to be discussed.

Allow me to declare the Conference of Communist and Workers' parties open and to wish our common discussions every success and fruitful results.

Comrades,

It is now necessary for us to discuss and approve organizational and procedural questions concerning the work of our Conference.

The program of the Conference of European Communist and Workers' parties on questions of European security was agreed upon among the fraternal parties, all the delegations received the proposals concerning the time schedule of the Conference and its agenda recommended by the Editorial Committee. I am now asking the heads of the delegations for their views on these proposals. Has any of the comrades some comments to make?

There are no comments, and I therefore consider the proposals concerning the program and the agenda of the Conference as approved.

As far as the presidium of the Conference is concerned, you have received a written proposal agreed upon by the Editorial Committee.

Has any of the comrades some comments or amendments to this proposal?

If this is not the case, the proposal has been adopted.

By approving the agenda we have simultaneously approved the establishment of the Secretariat of the Conference and also that the Editorial Committee will work in the same composition as prior to the Conference. It only remains for me, therefore, to ask the heads of the delegations to announce, after the termination of the morning session, which of their members will participate in the work of the Secretariat.

The meetings of the Secretariat and the Editorial Committee of the Conference will be called according to need and their sessions will be announced in the course of our discussions.

The agenda adopted contains a provision concerning what should be published from the course of the discussions of our Conference. Press releases are to be given at the end of each session. I propose that the Secretariat of the Conference be entrusted with the approval of these releases. What is your view on this question, comrades?

There are no objections, the proposal has been adopted.

The agenda further presumes that the contributions of the heads

of delegations to the general discussion will be released to the press in the extent and wording decided upon by each delegation.

Are there any objections? Thank you.

This means that the procedural questions of the conference have been settled.

I should now like to call on Comrade Wladyslaw Gomulka, head of the delegation of the Polish United Workers' Party, to take the chair for further discussions.

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## LET US JOIN FORCES AND STEP UP THE STRUGGLE IN SUPPORT OF THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE!

### Appeal of Communist and Workers' Parties Participating in the Conference on European Security in Karlovy Vary

Thousands of miles away from America, half a million soldiers, upon orders of the U.S. government, are slaughtering Vietnamese men, women and children. They are attempting to bring to their knees a heroic people, who, desiring to live in peace and build up their country without outside interference, are courageously fighting for their freedom, and to drive out the foreign invaders. The hard-won fruits of their labor are being savagely destroyed. In both North and South Vietnam, modern U.S. weapons are being used to reduce towns and villages to ashes and desert.

The world is witnessing an extension of a savage aggression; human rights are being trampled underfoot with unparalleled brutality. For more than ten years the American imperialists have been systematically undermining the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam and interfering in the domestic affairs of that country. The U.S. Government bears the heavy responsibility for this war. It rejects the proposals of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam for the unconditional and definite stopping of the bombing and of all military actions against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, which would make negotiations possible. By this attitude it confirms openly its adventuristic intention to decide the Vietnam problem by force of arms at any cost, and to strengthen U.S. military and political influence in South-East Asia.

American imperialism seeks to suppress the movement for national liberation and to deprive the peoples of their incontestible right to decide their own destiny and to choose a path of development in accordance with their own aspirations. That is why the war continues, daily becoming more cruel for the Vietnamese people and more dangerous to world peace. The continuation of the war, the

escalation of the aggression, exposes the falsity and perfidy of the declarations of the U.S. Government that it is ready to enter into negotiations. The representatives of the Vietnamese people, on the other hand, are proving by their entire behavior that they have only one concern: to defend the freedom and independence of their country, and to safeguard the security of their people.

The war that the United States of America is waging in Vietnam, and the actions against Laos and Cambodia, are a most cynical expression of the aggressive policy of American imperialism. This policy conflicts with international law and international agreements; it is a flagrant violation of the most fundamental rights of the peoples to freedom and independence, as set down in the United Nations Charter.

We, who are attending the Conference in Karlovy Vary, resolutely condemn the aggressive war of American imperialism in Vietnam. We express our admiration of the Vietnamese people's heroic struggle. We acclaim their valiant sons and daughters who are selflessly resisting the aggressors and thereby contributing to the cause of the freedom of the peoples and for world peace. We fully support the oft-repeated proposals contained in the four-point statement of the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the five-point statement of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, since these proposals are fully in keeping with the principles of the 1954 Geneva Agreements and provide a fair basis for settling the Vietnam problem.

We express our firm determination to contribute actively to isolating and defeating the aggressive policy of American imperialism, to press for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Vietnam, for the Vietnamese people's right to deal with their own internal affairs. In Europe and throughout the world, including the United States of America, there is a mounting movement of help for Vietnam and of protest against U.S. aggression. The socialist countries are providing the Vietnamese people with growing political, economic and military support. We declare our firm determination to render still greater help—by mass political campaigns, collection of funds and medical supplies, and by sending volunteers if the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, in its just struggle for liberty and independence, so requests.

We appeal to the working people, to all the European nations, to political parties—especially the Social-Democratic, Socialist, and Catholic parties — to all believers, to all who treasure peace and liberty. We call on them to increase their effort in order to ensure the unconditional halting of the American bombing of the DRV and of other acts of aggression against the Vietnamese people.

We appeal to all forces struggling against the war, irrespective of their political and ideological convictions, to strengthen still more

their common action, in order to put an end to the American war in Vietnam. In this way they will help consolidate peaceful relations between the peoples, and prevent the Vietnam conflict from developing into another world war.

Let all democratic forces, all the peoples of Europe, unite in struggle and intensify their efforts to assist the heroic people of Vietnam.

## STATEMENT ON THE MILITARY PUTSCH IN GREECE

We, representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe gathered at the Conference in Karlovy Vary on questions of security in Europe, express our indignant condemnation of the military putsch in Greece which, out of fear of defeat in the forthcoming elections, was organized by the Royal Court and the other extreme Rightist elements with the support of the militaristic circles of the USA. This putsch is aimed against the democratic rights, freedom and interests of the Greek people. It is part of the reactionary attempt to prevent the relaxation of international tension and the strengthening of European security and peace in the world. The aim of the putsch is to strengthen the position of American imperialism and its aggressive tool—the North Atlantic Pact—in this part of Europe, which creates a new danger also for the people of Cyprus.

We protest resolutely against the terror which was unleashed by this regime, against the arrest of democratic political leaders, deputies and functionaries of the democratic movement, against the mass repressions, against the ban on political parties, democratic organizations and press organs, against the revival of fascism in Greece.

We express our heartfelt international solidarity with and support of the Greek democrats. We call for an immediate halt to the fascist terror and persecution of democratic citizens, we demand the release of all those who have been imprisoned and the immediate restoration of constitutional and democratic freedoms for the Greek people.

*Participants in the Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties in Karlovy Vary*

## SPEECH BY WALDECK ROCHET

Dear Comrades,

Permit me to thank the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia for its fraternal reception in Karlovy Vary and to greet all the leading

representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties of the socialist and capitalist countries of Europe participating in this Conference.

The French Communist Party, which has always been in favor of exchange of experiences between fraternal parties, is very pleased that this Conference on problems of security in Europe has been convened.

We are convinced that the success of this Conference will contribute towards further progress in the struggle for peace and security, for the independence of nations, for the strengthening of the international Communist movement.

I should like briefly to state the viewpoint of the delegation of the French Communist Party on the main questions dealt with in the draft resolution submitted for discussion.

First of all, concerning the characterization of the international situation we think that it will be right to say that the forces of anti-imperialism and of peace in the world have developed at the same time as the aggressiveness of imperialism has increased. In other words, the aggressiveness of American imperialism is no proof that the balance of forces has changed in its favor, but expresses the efforts of the most aggressive imperialist circles to solve the difficulties and contradictions in which the capitalist system finds itself, by brutal intervention, including military adventures. Prevention of a new world war demands that all peace-loving and anti-imperialist forces in the world unite their efforts.

Today the barbarous aggression of the United States against the Vietnamese people constitutes the greatest danger to world peace.

It is therefore the duty of all peace-abiding and anti-imperialist forces in the world to unite in action to end the criminal war waged by the United States against the Vietnamese people.

This is why our Conference resolved to start its work with the adoption of an Appeal condemning the U.S. aggression and expressing the full solidarity of our parties with the glorious Vietnamese people.

We therefore especially greet the growing and diversified aid granted by the Soviet Union and the socialist states to the Vietnamese people, in keeping with the principle of working-class internationalism.

As far as our Party is concerned, it is determined to continue and intensify its actions so as to turn all the French people against the aggressor, in support of the Vietnamese people, for the safeguarding of world peace.

The imperialist policy of the leading representatives of the United States has already led to the aggressive war against the people of Vietnam, and it also represents a serious danger for Europe, as the objectives of the American imperialists are not limited to South-

East Asia, but also aim at the control of Western Europe.

Soon after World War Two the leaders of the United States used the Atlantic Treaty to oppose the development of normal relations between the countries of Western Europe and the East, to divide Europe and the world into opposed military blocks and to support the remilitarization of the German Federal Republic.

The danger inherent in the situation in Europe today is due to the fact that the leaders of the United States of America are using the Bonn regime—dominated by revanchist elements—as their main pillar in Europe in their drive against the socialist countries and for world domination.

In fact the imperialists of the United States and those of West Germany are trying to use each other for their own aims.

However, all of them are pursuing a dangerous policy opposing the relaxation of international tension.

After having built up an army of more than 500,000 men under the command of former Hitler officers, the reactionary circles of Bonn are now trying to gain access to nuclear weapons in one or another form, to use force to back up their territorial claims. After all if we consider that former Nazis can freely carry on their activities, while the Communist Paty of Germany which is fighting for peace has been banned, we shall agree that this situation is certainly disquieting as the draft statement declares:

"Europe, which has lived through two world wars, remains the sensitive area where the main forces of the imperialist camp and of the socialist camp face each other."

However, while the claims made in Europe by the American imperialists and the Bonn revanchist and reactionary elements constitute an obstacle to international relaxation, it is becoming increasingly clear that these claims are bound to fail.

The growing strength of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the successes achieved by the German Democratic Republic, the sharpening of contradictions between the capitalist countries in the Atlantic bloc itself and the deep desire of all the peoples of Europe for peace, are factors which emphasize the unrealistic character of the expansionist aims pursued in Europe by the U.S. imperialist circles and the West German revanchist elements.

Lately the situation in Europe has changed to such an extent that one is justified to speak today about the failure of the policy of cold war and of a crisis of the Atlantic pact.

Thus, due to the change in the balance of forces on an international scale and the sharpening of contradictions between the interests of the monopolies in various capitalist countries—especially between the French and American monopolies—the French government was forced to adopt measures to free France to a certain

extent from U.S. tutelage and to adopt a more realistic policy of international cooperation.

In the spring of 1966 de Gaulle in fact decided to withdraw the integrated French military forces from the Atlantic pact, which dealt it a sever blow. Actually, the USA can no longer direct the policy of the various states belong to the Atlantic bloc as easily as in the past, since there is resistance.

It is a known fact that over a certain period the leaders of the United States managed to impose their demands on the West European countries by invoking the imaginary "Soviet danger" and emphasizing anti-communism.

However, no serious political leader in our continent can today believe in the myth of the danger of Soviet aggression, since the repeated proposals put forward by the Soviet Union in favor of peaceful coexistence, peace and collective security have destroyed this myth.

On the other hand, the West European countries which are the allies of the United States in the Atlantic pact, began to realize that it is dangerous to blindly follow Washington, since if they did, they could be plunged into a war alien to their national interest.

At the same time the expansionist aspirations of the leaders of West Germany—on which the United States bases itself—cannot but disturb the other countries of Western Europe.

These countries really have no interest in seeing Bonn occupy a more and more dominant position in NATO, in the Common Market and in the organization of Western Europe in general.

As the draft resolution points out:

"At the present time important changes are taking place in European public opinion which is aware of the futility and danger of the imperialist policy of the division of Europe."

Naturally, from what we have just said it does not follow at all that the threat of a new war has been averted. Not at all. For, if the present leaders of West Germany have to take into consideration, in their speeches, the changes which have taken place, this does not mean that they have given up the policy of their predecessors.

Chancellor Kiesinger recently declared that he favors relaxation of tension between the two parts of Germany. Certainly a relaxation is desirable, but for this declaration of the Chancellor of Federal Germany to be considered as a real change of policy, it would be necessary for the Bonn government to start by renouncing its claim to represent the whole of Germany.

Up to now, however, it has not renounced a single political aim pursued by its predecessors.

It continues to claim to represent the whole of Germany, which

leads them to envisage German reunification in the form of the absorption of the German Democratic Republic by West Germany.

It also refuses to recognize the post-war German frontiers, mainly the Oder-Neisse frontier.

It continues its maneuvers for West Germany to gain access to nuclear weapons in one form or another.

It is evident that the insistence of these aims constitutes an obstacle to international relaxation, to the organization of European security and to peace.

Peace and collective security in Europe should be based on the renouncement of the threat of force or the use of force, as well as on the necessity to settle international controversies by peaceful means alone, according to the principles of sovereignty, equal rights and non-interference in internal affairs, and respect for territorial integrity.

This signifies that the system of European collective security, which is to be built up on the principles of peaceful coexistence between states with differing social systems, presupposes a certain number of conditions and aims taking into account existing realities in Europe, mainly:

—Recognition of and respect for the existing frontiers in Europe, including the frontiers of the German Democratic Republic and Poland.

—Denial to Germany of all possible direct or indirect access to nuclear arms, and gradual reduction of armed forces in both German states.

—The peaceful settlement of the German problem through the recognition of the existence of two sovereign German states.

—The abolition of foreign military bases and the setting up of denuclearized zones in Europe.

These are the principle measures contained in the draft resolution which has been submitted for our examination.

We think that only by agreeing with these measures will the leaders of West Germany really prove that they have renounced all ideas of revanchism in favor of a policy of relaxation, disarmament and cooperation between all the peoples in Europe.

For France, which was three times at war with Germany in less than three-quarters of a century, such guarantees are of vital importance.

The French people want no more wars, no more cold war, nor the armaments race which swallows up huge amounts of money.

They want to live in peace with all other peoples, including the German people.

But they consider that a genuine Franco-German reconciliation necessarily implies the elimination of militarism and all ideas of revenge.

Such a reconciliation can take place only with the framework of a policy of cooperation, disarmament and peace among all the peoples of Europe.

It is in this spirit that the French Communist Party is determined to make its contribution to the building of a system of European collective security excluding all possibilities of aggression and ensuring lasting peace to all the peoples of Europe.

Finally, we do not forget that he consolidation of peace and collective security in Europe would greatly facilitate the struggle for democracy, the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism.

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France today occupies a special position in Europe and in the world.

I recalled, a few minutes ago, the conditions under which de Gaulle decided to withdraw the integrated French military forces from the military organization of the Atlantic pact.

The attitude adopted in this respect by our Communist Party was clear. Because we consider that the working class and the anti-imperialist forces can and must make use of the contradictions between the capitalist countries in the interest of the struggle for peace and national independence, we approved the measures taken by de Gaulle and recalled that for more than 15 years we Communists had been fighting for the liquidation of American military bases in France, that is, for peace and national independence.

In the debate which took place on this question in the National Assembly we showed that under the present circumstances France's interests called, not for joining one military bloc to fight against another, but for acting on an international level for rapprochement among all peoples, for the dissolution of military blocs and for the organization of European and international collective security for the benefit of all pe

This is why last July we hailed the Joint Declaration of the Bucharest meeting of the socialist states, the declaration which supported the simultaneous liquidation of military alliance such as NATO and the Warsaw Treaty.

The fact that the member-states of the Warsaw Treaty have repeatedly declared their readiness to simultaneously abolish the two military alliances in fact emphasizes that it is possible to achieve a Europe without military blocs, provided that all member countries of NATO adopt a corresponding attitude.

For this reason, the French Communist Party at its last Congress stated its opposition to the renewal or adjustment of the Atlantic pact when its term expires in 1969.

We consider that from now until 1969 everything must be done to develop in the European countries a vast movement for the simultaneous liquidation of the military organizations of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty and for their replacement by a system of European collective security based on the joint efforts of all the European peoples.

Besides the withdrawal of French troops from NATO, one of the most outstanding events in the field of international relations is the rapprochement which has recently taken place between France and the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

We have considered and consider that this event is very positive because we think that development of cooperation between France and the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries can create favorable conditions for settling the major problems facing Europe and, on an international level, act in the interest of European security and peace among all the peoples of the world.

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However, while the French government has lately adopted a more realistic attitude towards certain questions, this should not make us forget the fact that de Gaulle's foreign policy contains contradictions and serious negative aspects, reflecting the interests of the monopolies instead of being inspired by national interests.

Thus de Gaulle's government still refuses to recognize the German Democratic Republic as a sovereign state.

Thus it is playing the game of the Bonn reactionary circles and holding back the peaceful solution of the German problem, since this solution necessarily requires the recognition of the existence of two German states and the participation of these two states in a system of European collective security.

There is still another area of prime importance for peace in the world in which, in our view, the attitude of de Gaulle's government is prejudicial to the cause of peace.

This is the refusal of the French government to participate in the negotiations on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and on disarmament.

Undeniably, our government's all-out effort to build an atomic strike force and its obstinate refusal to take part in the negotiations on the non-proliferation of nuclear arms, favors the demand of the Bonn leaders to gain access to nuclear arms.

The Bonn revanchist circles are, in fact, referring to the existence of the French strike force to demand, on their part, access to nuclear arms in one or another form, notably the form of a possible "European" strike force.

It is certainly true that the treaty on the non-proliferation of nu-

clear weapons, now being prepared in Geneva, in itself will not settle all problems.

Nevertheless, it is important that its conclusion should have the merit of opening the door to nuclear disarmament, while sabotaging the treaty would not only offer the Bonn leaders a better possibility to gain access to nuclear arms, but would also create the danger that the world would be plunged into a wild atomic armaments race.

We French Communists believe that France's interest is not to engage in this atomic armaments race, but, on the contrary, to join the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons which is being worked out, and, starting from this, to intervene in the international arena to reach agreement on general disarmament providing, in the first place, for a ban on the utilization and production of atomic weapons and afterwards, the destruction of all stockpiles of bombs existing in the world.

The draft resolution submitted to us rightly points to the great social, economic and cultural problems which the people of Europe have to solve.

It is true that a Europe free from the armaments race could ensure welfare for all its inhabitants by allocating, in the future, the tremendous resources today swallowed up by armaments, to the works of life.

That is why we in France are fighting against the atomic strike force and for the conversion of the French nuclear industry to peaceful aims.

We are in favor of development of economic, scientific and cultural cooperation among all the countries of Europe without discrimination and for effective aid to the developing countries.

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The draft resolution which has been submitted to us shows that new and positive tendencies appear in the Socialist and Social-Democratic movement in certain countries of Europe and that progressive trends are also developing in the Christian world.

This is the case in France, where unity of action between Communists, Socialists and other democrats has made significant progress in the recent period.

Obviously, there are serious divergencies between the French Communist Party and the Socialist Party, in matters of foreign policy, especially in connection with the Atlantic pact and the organization of Europe.

There has been already created, however, a broad base for agreement on questions of détente, international cooperation, peaceful coexistence and disarmament.

Thus, the agreement on unity, concluded last December between our Communist Party and the other Left parties, including the Socialist Party, clearly expresses opposition to the acquisition by West Germany of nuclear weapons and to the proliferation of nuclear weapons, and declares for the recognition of post-war European frontiers, including the Oder-Neisse frontier, for the organization of European and international collective security.

Also, fully convinced that the Communist and Workers' parties of Europe are determined to devote all their forces to safeguarding the peace, we are of the opinion that our conference should issue an urgent appeal to the working class and to the people of all the countries of Europe, to the Socialist and Social-Democratic Parties, to the trade union organizations in Europe, to the Christian forces, to the intelligentsia, to the younger generation, to all groups and all people, regardless of their views and social standing, who are aware of the danger of an atomic war, who want to free their country from dependence on the United States and to see the policy of European security and peace victorious.

It is important that all the peace forces unite and develop in each country and on a continental level great campaigns and broad mass actions to demand concrete measures in favor of collective security.

With a view to making further progress towards organizing European security, we fully agree with the idea of a conference of all European states on problems of security and peaceful cooperation.

We also support all other initiatives and proposals directed towards relaxation and the strengthening of the security of the peoples of our continent.

Upon our return to France our Communist Party will devote much of its political activities to the organization of European security and peace.

We shall bring the great ideas adopted by our Conference to the knowledge of the broad masses in Europe.

In order to ensure that the greatest importance be attached to the campaign, we would like to propose organizing in every country a certain number of international meetings with speakers from several countries.

Obviously, each Communist Party is responsible for its policy to the working class and people of its own country, but at the same time each party is aware of its international responsibility.

This is why, convinced that we fully share the ideas of the representatives of all the parties participating in this Conference, we shall spare no effort to implement the decisions which will be jointly adopted.

The French Communist Party will do everything possible to en-

sure that the French people make an effective contribution to the common struggle of all the peoples of Europe for safeguarding peace, for the independence of peoples, for European security, in the interest of the peoples of the whole world.

## SPEECH BY L. BREZHNEV

Dear Comrades, allow me to convey fraternal greetings from the C.C. of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the many millions of Soviet Communists to the participants in this Conference. In your person we greet all Communists, the proletariat and other working people of Europe and all the European fighters for peace and socialism.

The delegation of our Party expresses sincere thanks to the Central Committee of the French Communist Party for their extensive and fruitful work in preparing our Conference.

We heartily thank the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia for their cordial hospitality and for the fine conditions they have created for the work of the Conference.

Our Conference has been convened on the initiative of the Vienna Meeting of West-European Communist Parties. From the very outset this initiative has had the support of the CC CPSU. We fully appreciate the view of our comrades in the capitalist part of Europe that in order to settle the problem of security in our continent the efforts of the socialist countries must be concerted with the actions of all peace-loving forces in the West-European countries. In this light, special significance attaches to the activity of the working class.

Security in Europe is not the business only of governments. In the settlement of this problem a tremendous role is played by broad masses, the proletariat and progressive forces who are untiringly working for peace, and opposing the aggressive forces of imperialism and their preparations for another war. That is why we subscribe to the opinion voiced here that the initiative of the Communist Parties, participants in our Conference, can and must greatly benefit the common actions of all political forces championing security in Europe. This fully conforms to the aims of the Communist parties and the role they are at present playing in European politics.

### 1. The International Situation and the Struggle For European Security.

Comrades, in going over to the substance of the problems on the Conference agenda, we should like to emphasize first of all that

our Party does not regard the strengthening of peace in Europe as something isolated from the world-wide struggle of the peoples against imperialism, from the struggle for peace, national independence and social progress. Today the situation in any part of the world cannot be examined in isolation from the general processes of international development. Similarly, the situation in Europe is inseparable from the entire international situation.

At their Meetings in 1957 and 1960, Communists drew important conclusions on the main trends of contemporary world development. The period that has elapsed has confirmed the correctness of these conclusions.

Far be it from us to assess the international situation in a simplified way. We put on record confidently that in the years since the Moscow conferences contingents of the revolutionary movement have advanced to new positions and continue, though perhaps not so fast as we all would like them to, their movement forward. The world socialist revolution is a complicated process in the course of which hard battles have to be fought and some stages of which are not free from difficulties.

Important positive processes are under way in the socialist system. The majority of the socialist countries are thoroughly changing the forms and methods of management of the national economy, striving to make more effective use of the inherent possibilities of socialism and acquire fuller mastery of the laws of development of the socialist economy. Ever greater attention is paid by the Communist parties of the socialist countries to perfecting socialist democracy, to the further development of the political activity of the masses, to securing their participation in the guidance of all aspects of social life. An intensive and interesting quest in this field is to be observed everywhere. Cooperation of the socialist countries in the economic, political spheres and in defense also goes on improving and becoming more and more regular and comprehensive. In many respects this cooperation is rising now to a new, higher level.

It stands to reason that in appraising the situation in the socialist world system we cannot lose sight of such a serious fact in its development in the recent years as the well-known positions of the leadership of China and the disruption of the cooperation of the CPC and PRC with the other fraternal parties and socialist countries. A discussion of this problem is not on the agenda of our Conference, but nevertheless the problem exists and negatively influences the Communist and the entire liberation movement.

The national-liberation movement continues to grow in scope and depth. The sixties have witnessed the victory of the Algerian revolution, the consolidation of the positions of the democratic forces in the United Arab Republic, Syria's entry upon the road of

social progress, the laying of the foundations of socio-economic development in a number of countries of the so-called third world. This road is not free from acute conflicts, as, for instance, the events in Ghana and Indonesia show. It is natural that after the former colonies and semi-colonies have acquired state independence the reactionary elements in them, supported by the imperialists from without, are seeking to push these states onto the road of capitalist development and cooperation with the forces of international reaction. In view of this the forces of progress, above all Communists, should display even greater perseverance and flexibility.

The wave of the revolutionary movement against imperialism and local reaction is rising ever higher in the Latin-American countries. Important changes are taking place in the working-class movement of the developed capitalist countries. As a result of the active work of the Communist and Workers' Parties and the operation of the intrinsic laws of capitalism, anti-monopoly sentiments are running high among broad sections of the people; the masses are clearly veering towards the Left. This is giving rise to new possibilities for the unity of the working class and all progressive forces and in the struggle for socialism. It goes without saying that the comrades from Western Europe present at this Conference know these problems much better and we shall therefore confine ourselves to general remarks about these changes.

The imperialist leaders realize that their positions have grown weaker and are aware of the strength of the revolutionary contingents opposing imperialism. In recent years they have made a tremendous effort, in line with this new situation, to improve their class strategy both on a national and international scale, and to devise new ways and means of combating world socialism and the revolutionary and liberation movement. Imperialism is counting more and more on a division among the socialist countries and on the split in the liberation movement.

The most sinister expression of the predatory nature of imperialism and its main force—U.S. imperialists are waging shameful and hopeless war in that country. They will never conquer a people that has been for more than twenty years heroically fighting for its freedom and independence. Relying on the many-sided assistance of the socialist countries and the support of the progressive forces of the whole world, the patriots of Vietnam are successfully resisting the interventionists. They are thereby dealing telling blows at the positions of U.S. imperialism as a whole, and not only because nearly half a million U.S. soldiers, a large fleet and a sizeable portion of the U.S. Air Force are tied down in Southeast Asia. Another point is that this aggression in Vietnam is seriously un-

dermining the prestige and political position of the USA in the whole world.

This aggression in Vietnam has set millions upon millions of people against the USA. It is arousing the hatred of the Asian peoples for the American interventionists. This is a factor that the U.S. leaders will have to face for many years to come. The dirty U.S. war in Vietnam has aggravated the contradictions among the U.S. allies, many of whom are reluctant to have anything in common with it.

It is known that socialist countries, including the Soviet Union, are actively helping fighting Vietnam by giving it political, economic, and military support. It could not be otherwise for here we are confronted with imperialist aggression against a socialist country—the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. I can assure you, comrades, that we, Soviet Communists, shall continue fulfilling our internationalist duty to fighting Vietnam and rendering her all the aid she requires.

At present the war in Vietnam is the most serious threat to world peace. In all continents huge numbers of people of different classes, religion and convictions demand that the USA stop bombing the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and end its aggression in Vietnam. This is equally true of Europe, where opposition to U.S. aggression is steadily mounting. I think you will all agree that the struggle in this sector is also an important contribution to European security.

Lastly, the developments in Vietnam bring to the fore the vital importance of strengthening the unity of the world Communist movement in the present situation. It is quite obvious that if we had the possibility to act in defense of Vietnam in agreement and jointly with China, the task of ending U.S. aggression would have been considerably easier. Allow me to repeat here what we declared at the Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, namely, that the CC CPSU and the Soviet Government are prepared to take joint action with China in planning and rendering aid to fighting Vietnam. We are prepared for such unity of action on the broadest possible scale.

Comrades, such are some of the international factors that we have to take into consideration when we discuss European security.

When we assess the present situation in Europe we base ourselves mainly on the changes that have taken place here after the Second World War. One of the key social and political factors of the post-war period is that here in Europe—i.e., the part of the world where capitalism emerged, where it developed into a social system that for many centuries determined the course of world events—the positions of capitalism have been enormously undermined.

This is mirrored in the downfall of capitalism and the triumph of socialist revolutions in eight countries in Eastern and Central Europe. Moreover, this is mirrored in the fact that to a large extent the bourgeoisie has been able to retain its supremacy over the rest of Europe solely with the support of U.S. military, political and economic might.

That West European capitalism could emerge from the sharp crisis in which it found itself directly after the Second World War was only thanks to U.S. support, to the possibilities given it by the combination of the power of monopolies with that of the governments, and also to the scientific and technical revolution, and to its maneuvers in the sphere of sociali relations and politics. Naturally, this does not in the least signify the restoration of the former political might of European capitalism. Its basic weaknesses remain.

The new balance of social and political forces in the continent is reflected in the foreign policy of the leading European capitalist powers. The main contingents of European capitalism, whose interests frequently come into sharp collisions, are doing their utmost to avoid methods and forms of struggle with each other that might threaten the foundations of capitalism with further upheavals.

Having restored their economic potential, some European capitalist countries are now inclined to implement a more independent policy. No small role is played in this by the growing contradictions between the interests of European and U.S. magnates. The pro-American concepts of policy are being swept away more and more by concepts whose object is to turn capitalist Europe into a force that would be independent of the USA and able to play its own role in the world.

It is perfectly obvious to us Communists that these concepts are designed to strengthen European capitalism and its international positions. But it is also quite apparent that these plans are breaking the united front of world capitalism and that this is opening fresh possibilities of the European and world working-class movement to struggle for peace and security in Europe and throughout the world.

Comrades, the Draft Statement which our Conference is discussing underlines that European security is not simply a regional problem, not an internal affair of the European peoples that does not concern the rest of the world. What makes us draw this conclusion? We cannot forget that two world wars broke out in Europe, and that today, as well, one of the most dangerous hotbeds of international tension is situated in this continent. If another war breaks out in Europe it may develop into a thermonuclear war and

envelop the whole world. European security is a key condition for averting a world nuclear convict.

But that is not all. Already today the struggle for peace in Europe is to some extent paralyzing the aggressive forces of the imperialists and obstructing their actions to crush the liberation movement in the other parts of the globe. It is, comrades, after all a fact that despite its dogged efforts the USA has failed to inveigle its European NATO allies into the Vietnam adventure, as had been the case during the war in Korea. This is a result of the struggle of the Communist Parties, the working class of the whole world, of all peace-loving forces.

To incapacitate the forces of imperialism in Europe and frustrate their aggressive plans means not merely to narrow down the radius of action of the aggressive policy of imperialism, although that in itself is important, but also to inflict on this policy a defeat that would have world-wide reverberations. This would also be real assistance to the liberation struggle of the peoples in all the other continents. I think, comrades, that I shall be expressing your common opinion if I say that by showing concern for the interests of European security we are fulfilling our internationalist duty to the people of the whole world.

## 2. U.S. and West-German Imperialism—Main Threat to Peace in Europe

We may be asked: is the threat of war in Europe so grave today that we have to pose this question so sharply?

Yes, comrades, there are ground for these apprehensions. We do not wish to exaggerate the danger of war, but neither do we wish to belittle it. Where and in what do we today see the threat to European security?

Our reply is: peace in Europe is threatened by the aggressive forces of U.S. and West German imperialism. What underlines the ever closer partnership of these forces? For U.S. imperialism agreement with the West German rulers is the basic, most convenient and, in fact, not very expensive means for preserving its military and strategic positions in Europe. This gives the USA powerful levers for bringing pressure to bear on the policy and economy of the West European countries. As regards the West German politicians, they reckon that their partnership with the USA will give them real possibilities for carrying out their revanchist designs.

The aggressive policy of German imperialism has caused enormous suffering for many European nations. This is well known not only to the peoples of the Soviet Union but also to the peoples of Poland, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, France, Britain, Belgium, the Netherlands, Norway, Denmark and other European countries.

Soviet people have not forgotten, nor will they ever forget, that 20 million citizens of our country gave their lives for victory over nazism. We had to exert tremendous efforts in order to heal the war-inflicted wounds and rebuild thousand of towns and villages that had been razed to the ground.

The Soviet people who are today engaged in peaceful creative endeavor will not allow their gains and the gains of the other socialist countries to be threatened again. Today we are recalling the lessons of war not because we seek retribution for the past, but because we are concerned about the future. The vital interests of all the European nations demand that aggression by German imperialism, alone or in alliance with any other country or countries, must be excluded once and for all.

The principles of the post-war arrangement in Europe were defined in the Potsdam Agreement, whose main demand was the uprooting of militarism and nazism, so that Germany could never again threaten her neighbors or world peace. This demand holds good today and for the future.

The Potsdam principles have been fully implemented in the German Democratic Republic. But they are ignored in the Federal Republic of Germany, where German militarism is alive and German nazism is being galvanized. The fact that the germs of nazism have not been exterminated in West Germany, as required by the Potsdam Agreement is no news to anybody. But today when the neonazis have come out openly on the political scene the matter is much more serious.

The danger is becoming particularly grave in view of the fact that the FRG rulers have made their revanchist demands a pivot of their official state policy. It is not only some irresponsible tub-thumpers and extremists from the soldiers' unions or refugee organizations but also the Government of West Germany that comes forward with the absurd claim to the right to speak on behalf of the entire German people, refuses to recognize the present frontiers in Europe, puts forward claims to West Berlin and seeks loopholes for West Germany's nuclear armament. If to all this we add the fact that the Bonn authorities are maintaining a ban on the Communist Party and suppressing other progressive forces, what we get is a whole set of political and ideological means of preparing for a war of revenge.

The West German Government now in office like to speak of its peaceableness. But the point is that in so doing it seeks all sorts of elastic formulas in order to avoid any renunciation of revanchist objectives. Consequently, how can any one believe that the peaceable statements of the West German rulers are sincerely? Is it not clear that in this way the new Government desires only to delude

European public opinion in order to emerge from isolation and thereby secure stronger positions for its plans?

The Soviet Union by no means considers that the European nations should cold-shoulder West Germany; a road lies open before her, as before all the other countries to equitable international cooperation and participation in European affairs. We know that there are considerable forces in the FRG that are opposed to the aggressive reactionary policy of West German imperialism. The class clashes involving the miners of the Ruhr, the metal-workers of Stuttgart and the chemical workers of Mannheim have shown that the movement against militarism and nazism is growing in West Germany itself. Thousands of people have taken part in peace marches and in meetings protesting against the war in Vietnam, and this shows that the working people in West Germany cherish peace like any other nation does.

For our part we have repeatedly declared and declare once more that the Soviet Union is not opposed to improving relations with the Federal Republic of Germany and that it is prepared to do everything in its power to achieve this improvement. If the present FRG Government adopts a sober approach to the present situation in Europe, if it refrains from encroaching upon the interests of other countries and peoples and in its actions demonstrates its desire to strengthen peace in our continent, we shall be among the supporters of such a policy.

But both we and all those who cherish peace and the security of nations have never agreed, and never will agree, to compromise at the expense of this peace and security. The more tenaciously the FRG leaders cling to their revanchist doctrines, the stronger will be the rebuff they will encounter from the Soviet Union and all the European nations.

Facts show that the present war threat from German imperialism is very real indeed.

In the course of the past ten years the FRG has built up one of the largest armies in Europe, nearly half a million strong, and now has a sufficient number of regular officers to enable it to mobilize huge armed forces at short notice as had been the case on the eve of the Second World War.

The West German imperialists are, of course, unable to achieve their revanchist goals. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries have sufficient military power to deal an aggressor a crushing blow, should he dare to start a war. But the revanchists can plunge the European countries and then the entire world into the abyss of war. This danger must be clearly apprehended.

U.S. military presence in Europe encourages West German imperialism and increases the menace to European peace. The hundreds of thousands of U.S. troops stationed in Europe, the U.S. war

bases, the U.S. aircraft carriers and nuclear submarines in the seas washing the continent, and U.S. bombers flying in the European skies with their nuclear loads are creating a constant and real threat to the security of the European peoples.

NATO has been and remains the main instrument of U.S. policy in Europe. From the very beginning this bloc has rested on the artificially created myth of "communist aggression" and "the threat from the East." This myth has been exploded by the peace-loving policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and by the entire course of events in Europe and the rest of the world. Today everybody sees that the "hand of Moscow," which imperialist propaganda has used as a bogey to intimidate nations, has held and continues firmly to hold aloft the banner of peace, peaceful coexistence and friendship among nations.

Today the conditions have become more favorable for improving the situation in Europe and arranging mutually advantageous cooperation among the European states. This, in turn, means that there are more favorable conditions for the activity of the Communist Parties as well, for uniting the efforts of all who are working for peace and security in Europe. That is our common achievement.

In this situation the acute question confronting the peoples of the NATO countries and their Governments is: Why is this bloc in existence and what is the price for participating in it?

In the period that NATO has been in existence, its European members have spent a sum exceeding 3,000,000 million dollars on military preparations. This expenditure painfully hits the interests of the working people, hinders economic development and adversely affects progress in science and culture.

The United States is taking advantage of the situation to drain Western Europe of many of its talented scientists. In some countries this phenomenon has been aptly called the "brain drain."

We are not concealing the fact tha the building up of the NATO war machine is compelling the Soviet Union and other socialist countries to increase their defense capacity and allocate considerable funds for defense purposes.

U.S. tutelage over the policy, economic development and armed forces of a number of West-European countries and the penetration of Americanism into all pores of social and cultural life are becoming increasingly intolerable to those who cherish national dignity and peace.

The West-European peoples do not wish to put up endlessly with the fact that vast regions of their countries have been set aside as permanent quarters for American expeditionary forces. The more than 20 years' old U.S. military, economic and political presence in Western Europe has become a burden even for some monopoly

circles, which have gained enough strength to compete with their overseas rivals. The demand that European problems should be settled without the interference of the overseas power but solely by the strength and intelligence of the Europeans themselves is winning more and more supporters throughout Europe.

In recent years numerous plans have been advanced in the West for "modernizing" NATO and arguments have been devised with the aim of preserving this "holy alliance" of U.S. and European reaction at all costs. They have gone so far as to maintain that NATO can play a positive role in the promotion of East-West contacts. It would be difficult to find a more absurd argument. It turns out that an organization specially set up for struggle against the socialist countries and which has foisted upon its members a thousand and one prohibitions and restrictions as regards economic and commercial relations with the socialist countries is now made to appear as an instrument of peaceful relations and cooperation between the West and the East. Who will believe it?

Experience shows that political, commercial, economic and cultural relations between the European socialist and capitalist countries are promoted faster where our Western partners base themselves on national interests and act in defiance of the NATO Council's recommendations and of its discriminatory measures with regard to the socialist states.

In these conditions the Communists consider it to be their duty to propose to the peoples and governments of Europe constructive measures that can, in our view, lead to the elimination of the war threat, basically improve the situation in the European continent and lay the foundation for broad reciprocally advantageous cooperation between countries.

### 3. Road to Security in Europe

The present international situation offers real possibilities for implementing such measures. We are convinced that it is possible and necessary to build up a Europe in which the security of each state, of each people, would simultaneously be the security of all. Our confidence rests not only on an understanding of the deepest aspirations of the European peoples, but also on a realistic appraisal of the forces which oppose the policy of military gambles and the preparation of aggression.

The community of socialist states is a factor of primary importance in postwar Europe. What makes their foreign policy strong is that its fundamental aims coincide with the vital interests of the broad masses in all the countries of our continent.

At their meeting in Bucharest, it will be recalled, the socialist states united in the Warsaw Treaty Organization took the initiative in sponsoring a program of security and peaceful cooperation in

Europe. This program finds ever more supporters among European and world public opinion.

The Warsaw Treaty countries specifically have advanced the idea of convening an all-European conference of states to examine problems of safeguarding security in Europe and arranging all-European cooperation. This proposal has met with a favorable response among many West European states.

The central question of European security is the inviolability of the frontiers of European countries in the way they were shaped as a result of and after the Second World War. Any attempt to break up these frontiers would bring immeasurable calamities to the peoples. This also applies in full measure to the frontiers of the Federal Republic of Germany in the east and the west, in the north and the south.

Recognition of the real fact that two German states with different social systems exist, is a major prerequisite for the security of Europe. The shortsighted policy of "non-recognition" of the German Democratic Republic, which in effect meets solely the interests of the West German revanchists, irreconcilably conflicts with European reality and is a serious source of international tension. The German Democratic Republic has been in existence and making progress for nearly 20 years now. Both the Soviet Union and the other European socialist countries regard it as an important aim of their policy to contribute in every possible way to the strengthening of the international positions of the German Democratic Republic.

In the atomic and missile age new problems related to the safeguarding of European security have arisen. The peoples of Europe are well aware what the placing of nuclear weapons in the hands of a state clamoring for the recarving of European frontiers would mean. That is why prevention of the further proliferation of nuclear weapons is not only a world-wide problem but also one of the focal issues of European security.

Negotiations are now under way concerning the conclusion of an international treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries are exerting efforts to get this work successfully consummated and to have a treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons open for signature to all states of the world.

Weighing the possibilities opened up by new developments in Europe, we cannot ignore the fact that in two years from now the governments of NATO countries will have to decide whether to prolong the North Atlantic Treaty or not. In our opinion, it is absolutely right that the Communists and all progressive forces are trying to utilize this circumstance for further extending the struggle against the preservation of the aggressive bloc.

In response to the creation of the NATO bloc, the European socialist countries were forced to set up the Warsaw Treaty Organization to safeguard their security. This organization, which is not only a military but also a political alliance of a part of the socialist states, has for many years been successfully discharging its mission. The aggressive aspirations of the West German imperialists and their American patrons are compelling us constantly to work for the utmost strengthening of all-round cooperation among the Warsaw Treaty member countries. However, the socialist countries have never favored a division of Europe into military blocs. We have put forward our alternative to such a policy. At the Bucharest Conference its participants once again declared that if the activities of the North Atlantic alliance were to cease, the Warsaw Treaty would also lose its force and that they should be replaced by a system of European security. Considering the fact that the governments of the NATO states so far do not agree to such a radical solution, the participants in the Bucharest Conference put forward a new proposal: to reach understanding already now on the liquidation of the military organizations of these groupings.

For a number of countries, including North European ones, neutrality could become an alternative to their participation in military-political power groupings. The CPSU acts on the principle that a great deal depends on the initiative of the neutral states, on their good offices in strengthening European peace. The Soviet Union would readily meet halfway an undertaking promoting this aim.

To eliminate the division of the world and Europe into military blocs or alliances is part of the common struggle of all the peoples for the reduction and ultimate stopping of the arms race, for curbing militarism, for purifying the political atmosphere in Europe and the world over. From this angle, considerable importance would attach to partial measures for a military detente on the European continent, beginning with the establishment of atom-free zones in separate areas of the continent to the closing of foreign military bases.

There is no justification whatsoever for the constant presence of the U.S. navy in seas washing the shores of Southern Europe. The question arises, what grounds are there, 20 years after the end of the Second World War, for the Sixth U.S. Fleet to cruise in the Mediterranean, to use military bases, ports and refuelling stations in a number of Mediterranean countries. After all, this is fraught with a grave threat to the independence of all maritime countries. The time has come for the demand to remove the Sixth U.S. Fleet from the Mediterranean to resound in full force.

Europe has not only military bases of the USA, there are also bases of a different kind. These are the subversive, espionage and sabotage centers, radio stations and various organizations set up

by the Americans in the Federal Republic of Germany and other West European states, which are conducting slanderous propaganda against the socialist countries. It is high time to raise the question of ending the activity of all the poisonous centers on European soil which vitiate international relations.

The development of bilateral relations between countries of our continent could be an important prerequisite for strengthening European security. The existing trends towards a detente on the European continent are largely a result of the improvement in bilateral relations between the states of the East and the West.

As for the Soviet Union, our policy in future too will be aimed at develping mutually advantageous relations with the European capitalist countries on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence, in the interests of a stable peace and the security of the nations. The Soviet Union is prepared to exchange opinion on the drafting of bilateral treaties and agreements with the governments of Eurpean states which, for their part, want to develop relations with our country.

There is one more important and highly promising trend in the efforts of European peoples and states which has a direct bearing on solving the problems of consolidating European peace. It is cooperation in the economy, science, technology and culture both on a bilateral and an all-European scale.

A beginning has already been made here, but we consider it merely the beginning. The scientific and technological revolution now in swift progress, the growing desire to strengthen national independence and get rid of the dictation of the dollar are suggesting to European states many ways and undertakings in the most diverse areas—from the building of gas pipelines across the continent to the introduction of a common color television system for all of Europe.

The peaceful use of atomic energy too is arousing interest in many countries. We are ready to reach agreement with European states on assistance in nuclear research and the application of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. A realization of this offer will enable states, which renounced the production and acquisition of nuclear weapons, to enjoy all the advantages the peaceful energy of the atom brings mankind.

Joint work on such matters as purification of the waters of European rivers and seas washing the shores of Europe, the pooling of effort by states in combating diseases like cancer, cardio-vascular and other ailments, are also important spheres for all-European cooperation.

Each of the European nations has made it contribution to the treasure-house of world culture. Each European state has its history and national features. We, Communists, consider it our mis-

sion to devote our revolutionary energies to the struggle for preserving the cultural heritage of the European nations, for the further development of Europe as one of the most important seats of world civilization, historical and social progress.

## 4. The Peoples are the Decisive Force in the Fight for European Security

In questions of war and peace, just as on many other issues, the interests of the people of Eastern and Western Europe coincide. Here the divide does not pass along geographical frontiers and not even along the frontiers between the social systems—it passes between broad popular masses that are striving for the security of their continent and lasting peace, on the one hand, and the small "party of war" leaning on the overseas forces that are alien to Europe, on the other. There are no reasonable arguments to prevent all European peoples who are safeguarding peace from uniting their forces and forming a united front in defense of their vital interests. The broader and the stronger this front becomes, the faster the demons of war will be bridled.

Obviously, our friends from the capitalist countries know best what particular measures have to be taken for common actions by the different peace-loving forces in their countries. On our part, we are prepared to contribute to the solution of this important task.

In this connection I should like to dwell on the important question of the unity of the working class.

Europe is the cradle of the organized working-class movement. It was here that its militant traditions of struggle against militarism, against aggression, and for peaceful relations between peoples were forged in sharp class battles.

Today the working class is the most powerful social force in Europe. It is in power in the socialist countries. It exerts vigorous influence over social life in the capitalist states. The working class is called upon to play an important part in the struggle for strengthening European security. And the stronger its unity, the better it will fulfil this mission.

The split in the working-class movement has not yet been healed in Western Europe, where alongside the Communists—the militant vanguard of the working class—the Social-Democrats too speak in the name of the working class. It has been said on more than one occasion that united action by Communists and Socialists could sharply change the entire political situation in Western Europe and create a serious obstacle in the way of reaction and aggression. This is why the CPSU appreciates the policy of the fraternal Parties aimed at overcoming the split in the working class.

The striving of the masses for unity is growing. Regretfully, the leadership of many Socialist and Social-Democratic parties are still in the thralls of anti-Communist ideology which is alien to the working class. Some leaders of Social Democracy have so closely allied themselves with NATO policy that they are clinging to it despite the evident crisis which has gripped this military bloc. A case in point is the British Labor Party leadership. Being in power, they are not only reluctant to utilize the available possibilities to obstruct imperialism's aggressive policy, but, on the contrary, are helping promote it. European peace, as well as the interests of the British people themselves, demand that the shackles of the so-called Atlantic solidarity be thrown off at last, and that the Labor Party leadership prove by deeds its desire to promote peace.

In this connection mention has to be made also of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany, whose leaders have for years rejected an independent line in foreign policy matters and take their cue from the Christian Democratic Union—the party of the German monopolists. Today representatives of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany are in the government and have considerably more chances to influence West Germany's foreign policy in favor of peace and security of the peoples. Unfortunately, there are no indications thus far that they have undertaken any serious measures towards this end.

Under the pressure of broad sections of the working class a tendency is maturing in some European Socialist and Social-Democratic parties to discard the ballast of the cold war and to join the search for constructive measures to strengthen European security. We see these new tendencies. They show that now more favorable conditions are taking shape for expanding contacts with the Social-Democratic movement with a view to promoting the joint struggle of the Communists and the Social-Democrats against the division of Europe into military blocs, for peace and social progress.

The CPSU for its part is prepared to develop contacts with those Social-Democratic parties that wish to join us in the struggle against the aggressors and for peace and European security.

We believe that in the struggle for European security it is possible to achieve unity of action with other political forces in Europe, too. They include trade union movements of all trends and peasant parties and associations. We know about the fruitful work of the fraternal parties to establish closer contacts with the working people belonging to various Christian parties and organizations.

We Communists by no means consider that we have the monopoly of elaborating programs of action for the European peace-loving forces. The proposals that our Conference will advance will undoubtedly be a good stimulus for discussions and an important

contribution to the formulation of a common platform which could unite all those who want the consolidation of peaceful relations in Europe.

At present the movements against the war danger are gaining momentum in Western Europe. They are represented by dozens of organizations. Some sectors of European public opinion consider it expedient to convene a Congress of the Peoples of Europe on the broadest possible basis to discuss problems connected with the struggle for peace and for European security. The convocation of such a congress could possibly give fresh impetus to the development of the mass movement for peace and security in Europe.

Dear comrades, Communists are active supporters of the unity of action of all democratic and peace-loving forces. But this can be achieved only if we ourselves set an example of unity in thought and action. Our Conference is the first meeting in history of the Communist parties of both parts of Europe—those which are the ruling parties in the socialist countries and those which are waging a selfless struggle for the working-class cause in the capitalist states. Its convocation convincingly manifests the growing desire for unity of the world Communist movement, for concerted joint action of the Marxist-Leninist parties.

All our parties are united by the common Marxist-Leninist ideology and common ultimate goals. We know that there are certain disparities in the tactics of the fraternal parties arising out of the specific conditions in which they are working. But all this does not prevent our parties from closely cooperating, working out agreed positions and achieving unity of action in the struggle for our common goals. And we are convinced that the solidarity of the Communists will continue to strengthen. In this sense, our Conference is the best reply to those bourgeois politicians who allege that the Communists have taken to their national quarters.

Our Party is deeply convinced that the necessary conditions exist for achieving—by concerted efforts, in a short period of time—solidarity in our ranks. This is our unfaltering belief, and we are doing everything—together with other fraternal parties—to put this idea into practice.

If this task is tackled with the energy and principled approach typical of Marxist-Leninists, the differences can be overcome. Of course, this will require efforts and goodwill on the part of all the parties without exception. The duty of a Communist does not allow any one of us to stand aloof from this, waiting for unity to come of its own accord.

Joint efforts by the Communist and Workers' parties are imperative in our times and accord with the fundamental interests of the entire revolutionary movement. The strength of every Communist party and the effectiveness of every national contingent of

Communists is determined not only by its influence in its own country, but also by its ability to act together with other contingents of the Communist movement.

The historical goal of our movement is socialism and communism.

We are sure that sooner or later the working class and the peoples of Western Europe will take the socialist road. The Communist parties are selflessly struggling precisely for this, the only correct road, which guarantees the triumph of democracy and peace, and full growth of the creative forces of every nation. Communists realize that this can only be a result of class struggle during which the working class becomes conscious of the role it plays in society and of its fundamental interests. That is why the Communist parties are working tirelessly to see to it that their policy consolidates the socialist, Marxist-Leninist orientation of the working-class movement, and actively and purposefully to create favorable conditions for the triumph of socialism.

If we were to look at the questions which we are discussing from this point of view—and we consider that for the Communists it is the principal and decisive position—we cannot but arrive at the following conclusion: *European security is not only a problem of foreign policy but also a most important social problem.* Our Party advances this thesis on the basis of practical experience which has been accumulated in Europe in the post-war decades.

What can be learned from this experience? It teaches, in particular, that the cold war climate, the confrontation of military blocs and the atmosphere of war threats seriously handicaps the activity of revolutionary, democratic forces. In conditions of international tension, reactionary elements in the bourgeois countries step up their activity, the military rear their heads and anti-democratic tendencies and anti-Communism become more pronounced.

Conversely, recent years have demonstrated with particular force that when international tensions relax the hand of the political barometer swings to the left. The certain improvements in the relations between Communists and Social-Democrats in some countries, the perceptible abatement of the anti-Communist hysteria and the increased influence of West-Europe Communist parties are directly connected with a certain easing of tension on the European continent.

One of the fundamental tenets of Communist strategy that the struggle for peace does not contradict the struggle for socialism is being repeatedly confirmed. If it is true that the struggle for peace helps the struggle for socialism, it is no less true that the struggle against imperialism and reaction, for democracy and social progress is an important condition for strengthening peace and international security. It can be said that militarism and reaction

are twins, and therefore an improvement of the European situation is inseparable from a vigorous struggle against fascist and semi-fascist regimes which still exist in some capitalist countries of Europe. Speaking from this rostrum, we declare once again our solidarity with the heroic struggle of the Communists and democrats in Spain and Portugal. We believe that the crucial task of the European working-class movement is to fight against the persecution of democratic and peace-loving forces in the FRG and primarily for lifting the ban on the Communist Party of Germany.

On the very eve of our Conference came the disturbing news of the military coup in Greece. The Greek reactionaries are trying to establish a fascist dictatorship in the country. Thousands of the finest sons of the Greek people have been put into prison.

The exchange of views which is taking place at our Conference, and the Statement which we will adopt will play a major role in the development of the struggle against the policy of imperialist aggression and for strengthening European security and universal peace.

Permit me, comrades, on behalf of the CPSU, once again to underline that we are supporting the program of struggle for European security which is outlined in the draft Statement of our Conference. We all realize that in order to have it fulfilled we Communists will have to carry out extensive work among the masses.

We are for a diversity of forms in the struggle against the war danger. All roads should lead to a lasting peace in Europe and they will lead to it, provided the Communists and all progressive forces mobilize the masses for a determined struggle for European security.

Comrades, soon the Soviet people and their friends throughout the world will celebrate the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. It will be opportune to recollect that on the very next day following the storming of the Winter Palace, the Congress of Soviets appealed to peoples and governments to end the war immediately. Lenin's Decree on Peace contained a special appeal to the conscious workers of the major West European states and expressed conviction that by their resolute, selfless and vigorous activity West European workers would help consummate the cause of peace and help revolutionary Russia complete the liberation of the working people.

For half a century already we have felt the fraternal solidarity and support of the international working class, of the progressive and democratic forces of Europe and the world. The Soviet Communists have always considered it their sacred duty to do everything to promote the struggle of the working class, of the democratic forces in Europe and other continents for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism.

We Soviet Communists have always regarded the struggle for peace and social progress as the internationalist duty of all Communist parties. The Marxist-Leninist parties in the West-European countries have covered a long and difficult road of struggle for the working-class cause. Our comrades from the fraternal parties in the capitalist countries have gone through many years of heavy trials, defeats and victories in class battles against the old world, against exploitation and oppression. The enormous experience of work among the masses which our comrades have acquired in the movements for a united popular front, for resistance to fascism and Hitlerite aggression in the Second World War, and in their current struggles, has become a valuable asset of the Communists of the whole world. Drawing on this experience, we Communists who are in power in our countries, and our comrades who are fighting for the victory of socialist revolution, can say with confidence at this Conference that we are capable of solving the grandiose but fully realistic task, that of uniting the broad popular masses in the struggle for peace and curbing the forces of reaction and war.

Let us strengthen the solidarity and unity of the Communist movement for the purpose of achieving these lofty aims.

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## SPEECH BY F. MUHRI

The Communist Party of Austria welcomes the convocation and the realization of this Conference of the Communist Parties of Europe which provides the opportunity for an exchange of experiences and views on questions of European security which are also of decisive importance for Austria. We agree with the newly presented Draft Statement and believe that the Conference itself and the unity of the Communist parties, which is of great significance for adoption of the Statement are an impressive demonstration of the further struggle for peace in Europe.

Within a historically short period the peoples of Europe have borne the main brunt of two world wars. Our people have also suffered greatly. A third world war which would necessarily be an annihilating nuclear war would result in the complete destruction of our continent. It is up to the peoples to prevent this. The way to do this is to create a system of collective security in Europe. By this we mean a European peace set-up which would guarantee the people of this continent a life free from fear of a new war, of new aggression.

On October 26, 1955, Austria voluntarily declared its perpetual

neutrality in order to keep its independence forever. For a long time, and to its detriment, Austria played the role of an advanced spearhead of Western, and particularly of German, imperialism against the East. With the declaration of neutrality eleven years ago a completely new era began in the history of our country. The path of lasting neutrality is fully and completely approved by the overwhelming majority of the Austrian people. Austria's neutrality has since proved a positive factor for peace and lessening of tension in Central Europe. It is fully justified that Austria's good relations with the Soviet Union and the other socialist states are evaluated as an example of peaceful coexistence between states with differing social systems. The consolidation and strengthening of Austria's neutrality and independence is therefore at the same time our decisive contribution to peace in Europe. This positive experience encourages us to express the hope that Austria will not be the last state in Europe to choose the road of neutrality. The status of neutrality could, for instance, be the peaceful coexistence between the two German states.

West German imperialism is today the greatest obstacle to the solution of the problems of European security and at the same time the main danger to the neutrality and independence of our country. In 1966, West German exports to Austria more than doubled, compared with Austria's exports to West Germany, and this gap is constantly widening. The pressure of competition brought to bear on the Austrian market by the West German monopolies is growing month by month and is sharpening as the boom is declining. With the help of those circles of the Austrian bourgeoisie who are closely linked to the West German monopolies the latter are trying to reduce the sector of our country's nationalized industry or to bring it under their control. The number of West German enterprises newly set up in Austria is growing year by year. To this must be added the political and ideological penetration by way of television and radio and by means of a flood of literature and publications. Nearly all illustrated magazines in Austria come from West Germany. The neo-Nazi organizations in Austria receive political, financial or other support from West Germany. The "men behind the scenes" that are fully supporting the terror in Southern Tyrol have their headquarters in the German Federal Republic. The influence of Bonn on Austria's policy is, for instance, expressed in the fact that Austria maintains normal diplomatic relations with all the socialist states of Europe with the exception of the German Democratic Republic, because Bonn does not desire it. It is the responsible circles in Bonn who declare that neutrality was forced upon Austria from the outside. It is not by chance that West Germany is the only member state of the European Economic Community which is striving for the closest possible ties of

Austria with the European Economic Community. Binding Austria to the EEC under the present conditions leads to the undermining of Austria's neutrality and independence, because it would result in the complete economic and political penetration of our country by the West German monopolies. Austria's association with the EEC is a concealed form of "Anschluss" to West Germany, corresponding to the changed conditions.

Under the pressure of this fact the resistance to linking Austria to the EEC has gathered momentum in our country. The Socialist Party of Austria openly opposes the government's EEC policy and a considerable part of the Austrian bourgeoisie as well increasingly object to the effects of the intended agreement with the EEC. The struggle waged by the Communist Party of Austria for national independence is thus finding additional support.

The fact that ,the policy of the Erhard government having reached a crisis, a government of the Great Coalition with the participation of the Social Democratic Party (SDP) was formed, does not lessen the danger of West German imperialism. The SDP joined the government on the basis of a renunciation of their own democratic alternative solution. On the main questions of home and foreign policy, the leadership of the SDP subordinated itself to the conception of the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) and the Christian Social Union (CSU) under the leadership of Kiesinger and Strauss, which is also expressed in Bonn's opposition to an agreement on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. As for the so-called "neue Ostpolitik" (new Eastern policy) of the Bonn government, the slightly more flexible attitude and the endeavor to establish diplomatic relations with the socialist countries are due partly to developments in public opinion in the Federal Republic. On the other hand, they are obviously connected with attempts to weaken the solidarity of the socialist states, to isolate the GDR in the hope of being able to subsequently "soften up" the German Democratic Republic and establish the rule of the monopolies and militarists in the whole of Germany under the misleading title of "re-unification." It seems to us that the decisive criterion of whether or not Bonn's foreign policy is peace-loving, is the question of whether one is prepared to recognize the existence of a second German state or whether one insists on the claim to sole representation, as does the Bonn government.

The claim to sole representation is an attempt by the German monopolies to extend their rule over the whole of Germany. Should they achieve this aim, the result would inevitably mean that the German imperialists would raise new claims for domination and represent a still greater danger to peace in Europe and to the neutrality and independence of Austria. Our Party's decisive opposition to all actions leading to the further strengthening of West

German imperialism therefore corresponds to Austria's national interests. A consistent defense of our country's neutrality and independence is possible only by waging a determined struggle against the imperialist and revanchist efforts of West Germany.

The best and most effective guarantee of Austria's neutrality and independence is a Europe of peace and lessened tension. Therefore the Communist Party of Austria is doing everything possible to see to it that Austria promotes all efforts for the creation of a collective security system in Europe and undertakes steps in this direction jointly with other neutral states. As a member of the Committee of Nine, set up at the last U.N. General Assembly to promote inter-European relations, Austria should take the necessary initiative. We insist that the Federal government of Austria support the conclusion of an agreement on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, which would bar the way to West Germany's access to atomic weapons. We demand that the Austrian government support the simultaneous liquidation of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, the withdrawal of all foreign troops from European states in accordance with an active policy of neutrality and peace. We demand from the government that Austria respect the existence of the two German states, free itself from the tutelage of Bonn and establish normal diplomatic relations with the GDR. We believe that Austria must avoid any link with the EEC to safeguard its neutrality and independence and must develop economic political and cultural relations in all directions, paying particular attention to cooperation between the states of the Danube basin.

Austria's policy of neutrality cannot be limited at present to keeping out of military blocs and alliances. The best guarantee of neutrality and independence is an active contribution to the abolition of all military and economic blocs, to the creation of a Europe of peaceful coexistence, of friendly and peaceful cooperation between all states on the basis of their independence and equal rights, on the basis of non-interference in internal affairs and mutual advantages.

Thanks to the peace policy of the Soviet Union and the socialist states, thanks to the growth and the increasing activity and unity of the forces of peace and democracy in the capitalist countries, the concrete possibility exists today to create a Europe of peace and security. The idea of European security has met with strong response in European public opinion. This problem played an important role in all recent talks between statesmen of socialist and capitalist countries. Our Party considers it its paramount task to show the danger of West German imperialism, to implant still deeper in the consciousness of the masses, and particularly of the working class, the idea of European security as a means to achieve broad movements, a manifold initiative and actions in favor of an

active policy of neutrality and peace. The united forces of peace and democracy in Europe will and must succeed in banishing war forever from our Continent.

In discussing the problems of European security at this Conference we believe that it is necessary to see European security also in connection with the situation in the world in general and, more particularly, with the ever sharpening aggression of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam. All success achieved in Europe for peace and the lessening of tension will be of lasting character only provided that we succeed in forcing the American aggressors in Vietnam to retreat and in achieving peace in Indochina on the basis of the Geneva Agreements. The First as well as the Second World War started in Europe and in both cases German imperialism was the cause. The European nations bear a great responsibility in preventing this from happening for the third time. The European nations bear no less responsibility for preventing the unleashing of a third world war by the American imperialists through the escalation of the war in Vietnam. That is why we welcome the special statement submitted to the Conference which expresses our solidarity and our determination to strengthen the support for the heroic struggle for liberation of the Vietnamese people.

The decisive prerequisite to counter effectively the growing aggressiveness of West German imperialism, to bring to fruition the concept of European security, is the unity of action of the socialist countries, the cooperation, unity and solidarity of all Communist parties of this continent. The Communist Party of Austria supports all steps promoting such unity on the basis of independence and equal rights and will continue also in the future to contribute its share towards this end.

In conclusion I would like on behalf of our Party to thank sincerely our fraternal French and Polish parties as well as our hosts, the Czechoslovak comrades, for their work, for their efforts, by which they have made an important contribution to the preparation, realization and success of this Conference.

## SPEECH BY A. NOVOTNY

The convocation of the Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties of the European Countries to deal with problems of safeguarding peace and security in Europe, has been received with satifaction and approval by our Party and the entire Czechoslovak people. These problems have extraordinary significance for the people of our country, situated in the heart of Europe, on the border-

line of two worlds. The importance attached to these problems stems from the historical experience of our nations, above all, in connection with German militarism and revanchism, but also from the bad experiences with our own and West European reactionary forces whose attitude in the years 1938-1939 made possible the occupation of Czechoslovakia by Nazi Germany.

This is why we fully support the efforts directed towards the establishment of friendly relations between the European nations, the elimination of the danger of new military conflicts, the safeguarding of peace, peaceful cooperation and the all-round progressive development of the European countries. This is also the orientation of our foreign policy through which, side by side with the Soviet Union and together with other socialist countries, we are striving for the normalization of European conditions.

The safeguarding of peace in Europe is not an exclusive interest of only the peoples of Europe, but it is of interest to the nations of the whole world, because the weakening of imperialism in this part of the world would mean its weakening on a world-wide scale. Thus, what we are striving for in Europe, represents a contribution to and support of all the nations of the world in their struggle for freedom and national sovereignty, against attempts to suppress by force their inalienable right to decide their national and social affairs. Peaceful relations would undoubtedly support the upsurge of cooperation among European countries, as well as the upsurge of cooperation with the developing countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America on the basis of full equality and justice. Therefore, in solving the problems of peace and security in Europe, we do not see them isolated from the vital problems of the nations of other continents.

Our Party and our people consider the Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe as a further significant step in the long-standing struggle of Communists against world imperialism, for peace, democracy and socialism. It continues the revolutionary tradition of the Communists, who have always in times grave for mankind raised their voices in defense of the rights of humanity and peace. The anti-fascist and anti-war actions of progressive mass forces, led by the Communists, in a number of countries, organized between the two world wars, are still fresh in the people's minds.

We regard the fact that representatives of Communist and Workers' parties of socialist and capitalist couneries are participating in our Conference as particularly significant.

We are convinced that there is no such wide divergence of views between us and some European Communist parties which, unfortunately, are not participating in our Conference, that could not be overcome in further discussions and, above all, that would pre-

vent practical cooperation in the solution of problems of security in Europe and other questions.

The Conference at Karlovy Vary is also of great significance for the entire international Communist and workers' movement in its struggle against splitting tendencies, for the consolidation of unity, the strengthening of international cohesion and solidarity. This action of European Communists is a significant contribution to the unity of world communism, it is a practical demonstration of proletarian internationalism, the expression of the will of the fraternal parties to cement their forces against the common enemy.

This conference of ours is the more important since it takes place in the year when the working people throughout the world are celebrating the 50th Anniversary of the first victorious Socialist Revolution—the Great October Revolution—the ideas and outcome of which have profoundly infiuenced the entire international revolutionary workers' movement. The founding and development of Communist Parties in a number of countries in the world, the establishment of socialism in some countries after World War II, the unprecedented growth of the revolutionary ranks and their influence, the liberation of nations from colonialism and the weakening of the power of imperialism, these are the main results the working class and the progressive forces of the world have achieved in the 50 years since the Great October Socialist Revolution.

In saluting today this glorious 50th Anniversary, we especially remember the great revolutionary leader Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the founder of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, whose ideas we still draw upon in our work today.

Comrades,

The leadership of our Party has explained its viewpoint on the problems discussed on many other occasions, as well as at the meetings of the Editorial Committee in the course of preparing the document which we are going to discuss at our Conference. I should like, therefore, to speak about fundamental questions of world and European development in connection with the tasks that are facing us at the present time.

It is beyond doubt that important changes have taken place in the world in recent years, especially in the thinking and the consciousness of broad sections of the people, which which in their sum-total create a favorable atmosphere for the development of our joint efforts on behalf of the maintenance of peace and peaceful cooperation of countries with differing social systems.

These tendencies are not only an expression of the fact that the people are drawing conclusions from the suffering and deprivations which World War II brought to mankind, especially to the peoples of Europe; they are, above all, the result of the policy of the Soviet Union and the other socialist states, based on the idea of a world

without war among states, peaceful coexistence of nations and their cooperation in the interest of the progressive development of mankind. If, today, a gradual development of economic, cultural and other relations is taking place between the socialist countries and the European and other capitalist countries, then this has been made possible, above all, by this atmosphere which is constantly improving in Europe.

An important contribution to the strengthening of trust among the European nations and the establishment of good mutual relations is made by the ever more frequent meetings of representatives of socialist and capitalist states, the developing dialogue on questions of European security. Though there is still some way to go, in order to achieve decisive progress, a certain basis for understanding is thus gradually being created and it is therefore necessary to continue still more intensively in this activity.

At the same time, however, we have witnessed, in recent years, the activization of imperialist forces which, through their policy, have brought about a general deterioration of international relations; they have started a number of conflicts that have become a direct menace to world peace. This adventurous war policy has culminated in the brutal aggression of the United States of America against Vietnam, the aim of which is not only to suppress the liberation struggle of the Vietnamese people but also to inflict a blow on all revolutionary, progressive forces in Southeast Asia.

Both these basic trends of the contemporary international political development are also reflected in the European situation. Here, the American aggression in Vietnam is also making itself strongly felt; it influences, to a considerable degree, the political actions of the United States of America in Europe, where it is trying not only to keep up permanent tension but also to win its allies in NATO for more active support of its aggressive aims in Southeast Asia.

Another proof that the extreme reactionary forces are trying by all means to hinder peaceful cooperation in Europe and to suppress the forces of democracy and progress, are the latest events in Greece. The monarchists together with the reactionary clique of generals have proclaimed a monarcho-fascist military dictatorship. All principles of democracy have been grossly trampled on, thousands of progressive and patriotic citizens have been arrested.

This event, too is proof of the importance and necessity of our deliberations to ensure peace in Europe. The Communist Party of of Czechoslovakia and the Czechoslovak people express their heartfelt solidarity with and full support of the Greek people.

Another result of post-war imperialist policy is the fact that at present the two greatest military groupings of the world are directly facing each other on the European continent; their encounter

would most probably lead to a world-wide thermonuclear war.

Dozens of American military bases spread over a number of West European countries and armed with nuclear weapons, hundreds of thousands of American soldiers whose units are in the direct vicinity of the Czechoslovak frontiers, all this cannot contribute to peace in Europe.

This threat in the elimination of which the people are vitally interested, justifies our conviction that the joint measures which we are discussing will meet with wide response and will become the stimulus of joint actions of progressive people everywhere for the establishment of peaceful, friendly relations among all the countries of Europe This is why it is correct to turn to the widest circles of the West European public, to those strata in various political parties, in peace and other social movements, with whom we can cooperate on all these issues because there practically do not exist any serious reasons preventing the European nations from living peacefully side by side, from developing mutually advantageous cooperation in various spheres.

Nobody can deny that the ideas enunciated by the foreign policy of the socialist countries on the need for a lasting, peaceful arrangement of Europe conditions, including the rejection of territorial claims presented in Europe only by the aggressive and revanchist forces in the German Federal Republic, have already deeply penetrated into the consciousness influencing the attitude of the governments of some West European countries towards a number of problems. It may be said without exaggeration that the political thinking of Western Europe is not following the path along which the supporters of the cold war have tried to lead it, placing all their hopes on anti-communism, anti-Sovietism, on open hostility towards the socialist states.

If we say that the aims of the cold war have not been attained we are basing ourselves on concrete facts. After many years of anti-Soviet and anti-Communist campaigns, even many of the leading political personalities of Western Europe are now admitting that the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries in Europe have no aggressive intentions against the West European states. This is also the opinion of the broad masses of the people in the capitalist countries. In the course of this transformation in people's thinking the advocates of international tension in Europe did not succeed in eliminating the mistrust of the people towards the German Federal Republic and its policies, including the occasional peaceful declarations of its representatives. It may be said that it is precisely this previous orientation of the capitalist countries on the establishment of a militarily and economically strong West Germany, whose aggressiveness would be directed against the

socialist countries, that is today one of the main sources of conflict between the Atlantic allies.

Further proof is the anxiety concerning developments in Western Europe now expressed by the United States of America which has based not only the existence of NATO but its political and economic influence in Western Europe as well, on anti-Communist policy. The fact that the policy of anti-Communism and the cold war has been discredited, has forced the United States of America to initiate the so-called "policy of building bridges." It is certainly clear to us that this is above all a mere gesture. These peaceful declarations are in sharp contrast with the efforts of the USA to overcome the crisis of NATO as well as with its aggressive actions in Vietnam and other parts of the world, and with its support of the militarist and power ambitions of the German Federal Republic which, because of dangerous anti-peace policy, is finding itself in considerable isolation in the international field.

Another path is opening up for the European nations, in keeping with their vital interests. It is a path which is being taken by an increasing number of people who feel responsible for peace and who are striving toward a gradual solution of problems which are still causing tension, unrest, and are threatening the peace of Europe. In this respect, we have put forward a series of proposals summed up in the Bucharest Declaration adopted by the session of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty last July. A further step is the joint statement of the European Communist and Workers' parties to be adopted by our Conference which should express our common opinion on the fundamental problems which the peoples of the European continent should solve, so that we might strengthen peaceful and friendly relations between European states.

From this point of view, our attention is focussed on the dangerous development in the German Federal Republic which today constitutes a source of unrest in Europe and a threat of new world-wide war tension. The German question is therefore not only a question of the two German states, it cannot be reduced to their mutual relations alone. Its effectual and peaceful solution is in the immediate interest of all European nations.

The change of the West German Federal Government has, unfortunately, not yet led to the rejection of a number of fundamental conceptions of foreign policy of the Adenauer era; nor has it stopped the expansion of neo-Nazi revenge-seeking ideas. Regard for current trends towards a normalization of relations in Europe has—it is true—forced the Federal Government to adjust its attitude towards the socialist states to a certain degree, but "the great offensive" proclaimed by the new Federal Government with regard to the socialist countries is accompanied by a number of

significant declarations and facts which indicate that they have no real intention of improving and genuinely normalizing relations with the socialist countries. Time has confirmed the correctness of our view that not words but deeds of the new government will show the sincerity of its proposals.

The German Federal Republic was mainly interested in upsetting the socialist countries' united stand on the solution of the German question by a differentiated attitude towards them and in using this situation to further its political aims, and particularly to keep the door open for not recognizing the consequences of the Second World War. But this intention failed. We do not want to refuse to talk with the German Federal Republic on the normalization of relations, but we have conditions under which it will be possible to reach this aim. These conditions are the recognition by the German Federal Republic of the frontiers created after World War II, the existence of the other sovereign German state, the German Democratic Republic, and the confirmation that the Munich pact was illegal and was therefore not valid from the very beginning, with all the consequences this entails, and that the GFR renounces access to nuclear arms. At the same time, the German Federal Republic must part with the theory that West Berlin belongs to the German Federal Republic.

The true substance and meaning of the present-day West German foreign policy are still expressed by its endeavor to enforce to the maximum the illegal theory of the right of the German Federal Republic to be the sole representative of the entire German nation. This demand of the German Federal Republic is not supported even by all of its own allies; the governments of some West European states are taking the real state of affairs into consideration in connection with certain questions—particularly as far as the existing frontiers are concerned. This confirms our opinion that the only way, the only basis for ensuring European peace and security is the recognition of the results of World War II and respect for the existing situation in Europe.

We must make a common effort to ensure that the government of the German Federal Republic be forced to recognize this as well.

When the Polish, People's Republic and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic signed treaties of alliance with the German Democratic Republic, it was said in the world, and particularly in the German Federal Republic, that a sort of an "iron triangle" was being formed, directed against the German Federal Republic.

This is not the case. The Treaties of Alliance which were concluded are part of the defense framework of the Warsaw Treaty which ensures the defense of the socialist states and are not directed against any states in all fields, including mutual military aid in case of aggression against any of them.

The German Federal Republic and the other West European states must realize that the other German state, the German Democratic Republic, is an integral part of the socialist community, that it is also a significant factor of European stability without which any effective collective security system in Europe is inconceivable. The socialist states shall not tolerate any attempt to interfere with the integrity and inviolability of the German Democraic Republic which are fully guaranteed by the alliances within the framework of the Warsaw Treaty, as well as by bilateral agreements.

The dangerous trend of the foreign policy of the German Federal Republic is not the only reason for our critical and vigilant attitude towards it. After our bitter experiences in the 'thirties and 'forties, we also attentively follow internal developments in the German Federal Republic, and we cannot remain indifferent to the fact that under the new conditions the forces which once already dragged the world into an annihilating war are again reaching for power. The disturbing growth of neo-Nazi tendencies, the proponents of which have found refuge in the National Democratic Party, and the activization of the revenge-seeking and militarist forces, are evoking justified criticism of the government of the German Federal Republic which tolerates this phenomenon.

Communists, active partisans of peace and opponents of Nazism, who suffered for years in Nazi concentration camps or lived as emigres for many years, are persecuted in West Germany, while ardent and far from insignificant Nazis hold high positions and functions in the state apparatus of the German Federal Republic.

This post-war development exposes the true face of the so highly praised democracy in the German Federal Republic. All this, connected with the growth of the militarist forces, the growth of revanchism, officially supported by the government, does not give rise to trust on our part; on the contrary, it makes us enhance our vigilance.

All the greater is the need to appreciate the activity of the Communist Party of Germany, which under the difficult conditions of illegality is actively fighting against neo-Nazism, revanchism and militarism, for a peace-loving and truly democratic West German state.

We are glad to note that realistic voices are being heard more frequently and loudly in West Germany and that, especially in the ranks of West German trade unionists, youth and representatives of culture, efforts are being made towards understanding among the nations. These forces are coming out actively as opponents of war, the emergency laws and anti-democratic measures, and are trying sincerely to save the people of West Germany from a repetition of the tragic past.

It is in the interest of peaceful and democratic development in the German Federal Republic that these forces, which base themselves on the realities of post-war development, favor peaceful understanding among nations and reject militarist and revanchist attempts, should be given all-round help and support by our active policy.

It is in this spirit that we are for reaching a peaceful understanding with the German Federal Republic.

Comrades,

The leadership of our Party is convinced that the document we are to discuss jointly can form a good basis for the mobilization of the European public and for further discussion among the European countries on the formation of a system of collective security and the disbanding of the existing military groupings of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization. All our joint actions in support of peaceful settlement in Europe, approved by the political Consultative Committee in Bucharest, should be geared to the realization of this aim. A significant contribution in this direction would also be the conclusion of a treaty banning the proliferation of nuclear weapons which, together with the energetic action of world public opinion, would ensure frustration of the nuclear ambitions of the German Federal Republic.

The problems of all-European cooperation, based on the principles of equality, non-interference and reciprocal advantages, also deserve great attention. It is above all in the field of the economy that the dictates of life, the need to overcome the existing isolation of the economic groupings in Western Europe and to establish extensive cooperation within Europe as well as with other parts of the world, are objectively asserting themselves. Considerable possibilities exist, in our opinion, for progress in this sphere. The expansion of cooperation between European countries with differing social systems would undoubtedly meet with a wide response not only economically; it would also favorably influence the general international atmosphere and contribute to greater trust among the European peoples.

This is why we support all proposals for respect for the principles of peaceful coexistence in relations among European states, the avoidance of the threat of force, the solution of disputed issues by peaceful means, respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all states.

We are striving to bring about the convocation of a conference of all European states on ensuring security and development of cooperation in Europe. Such a meeting would make possible an open and concrete evaluation and solution of pressing European problems. We also favor using occasions for constructive discussions, for example, the idea of a conference of representatives of

European parliaments, naturally on the assumption that this will really be an all-European forum, not excluding the German Democratic Republic from participation.

In conclusion, I should like to stress again that the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia favors a creative approach to problems of European security, the utilization of all possibilities to support realistic trends in the policy of the governments of individual European capitalist countries directed towards ensuring European security and greater cooperation.

We should like to contribute, with the entire internal development of our country, with the development of all possibilities of socialism in economy, science and culture, to the further successes of the forces of progress, peace and the freedom of the peoples of the world.

We are convinced tha the Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties, its discussions and results, will give impetus to a new advance in the fight for the maintenance of peace in Europe, for the deepening of cooperation in the interest of the peaceful life of the European peoples and the peoples of the entire world.

## SPEECH BY W. GOMULKA

Our Conference, which is the first meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties of socialist and capitalist Europe in the postwar history of our movement, is of great international importance.

We, the European Communists, are part of the world revolutionary movement, whose historic mission it is to abolish the capitalist order and build an order of social justice free once and for all from exploitation, national oppression and war. The advance of socialism, which started fifty years ago with the victory of the Great October Revolution, has led to the emergence of the world socialist system and to a powerful development of the revolutionary, democratic and national liberation forces on all continents.

In the past half century, especially after the defeat of fascism in the Second World War, the Communist and Workers' Parties in Europe—those which today hold power and are leading the socialist states, and those that in capitalist countries lead the working class and the masses in the struggle aaginst capital and reaction—have grown into a great force which decisively influences the destiny of our continent.

Socialism has fundamentally changed the life of nations in those countries where it has become the ruling order; at the same time

it has changed the balance of class forces in Europe and has furthered the influence of the workers' movement on the social and political life in capitalist countries.

No problem in Europe can be solved without reckoning with the forces of socialism, the Communist and Workers' Parties, or without their participation.

The central problem of the present time in Europe, as well as throughout the world, is war and peace.

We Communists—as we have rightly said in the Statement of the 1960 Meeting—consider it our task not only to eliminate exploitation and misery, colonialism and neo-colonialism, but also to remove the possibility of war and to deliver mankind already at the present time from the threat of a new world war.

The danger of atomic destruction will hang over mankind as long as nuclear weapons are not destroyed. But already today, thanks to the new balance of forces wrought by socialism, it is possible, by joining the efforts of the world socialist camp, the international working class, the national-liberation movement and all peace-loving forces, to frustrate the forces of imperialism and prevent a new world conflagration.

Each war adventure unleashed by imperialism in any part of the world is liable to grow into a world conflict.

From this point of view Europe is the most sensitive continent. If an armed confrontation of socialism and imperialism occurs in Europe, the danger that such a conflict, though local, will grow into a nuclear war of unforeseeable dimensions is a hundred times greater than if it occurs in any other part of the world.

The establishment of a system of security and the ensuring of lasting peace in Europe is, therefore, the basic problem in the solution of which all European nations are most profoundly interested and which also corresponds to the interests of the whole world.

This is why our Conference, devoted to the question of European security, is of great significance not only for the nations of our countries, but also for all anti-imperialist and peace-loving forces throughout the world.

Last year the socialist Warsaw Treaty states unanimously approved at their Bucharest meeting a declaration in which they submitted their constructive peace proposals. In a similar way, the Communist Parties of Western Europe at their latest meetings also energetically expressed themselves in favor of a system of collective security conforming with the interest of all nations and serving world peace.

Thus, the aspirations and aims of the Communists of both parts of Europe are identical and common. They are based on the spirit of proletarian internationalism, on the profound conviction that the interests of each of our parties, the interests of the interna-

tional labor movement and the interests of each of our nations require unity of action in the struggle against imperialism. This is epitomized by our present Conference. The task of the Conference is to establish a joint platform for our struggle against imperialism, for the broadest mobilization of all progressive, democratic and peace forces in the name of united action in behalf of European security and for the application of the principles of the peaceful coexistence of all states irrespective of their social system.

The most characteristic feature of the present situation is a further change in the balance of forces in the world to the detriment of imperialism. This evaluation does not conflict with the indisputable growth of the aggressiveness of imperialism, which is waging a war in Vietnam and interfering in various forms in the internal affairs of other countries. All this testifies not to the strength but to the weakness of imperialism.

After the Second World War, when the defeat of Hitler Germany and of Japan, and the emergence of People's Democracies in Europe and Asia radically weakened the imperialist system, the United States initiated a course aimed at wiping out socialism, or at least at pushing it back to within the frontiers of the USSR. This was the idea of the notorious policy of "liberation." In the name of this war policy, the United States started the cold war and encircled the socialist countries with aggressive pacts and military bases.

However, this U.S. global strategy failed even before the military pacts that were to serve it had been built up. It failed in face of the Soviet scientific and technical achievements which deprived the USA first of its monopoly and later also of its superiority in modern weapons. It failed in the confrontation with the powerful national liberation movement of the oppressed peoples, which spread throughout the world, shattered the colonial system and forced imperialism to disperse its forces in face of the challenge of dozens of countries in the vast areas of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

In this situation, the United States put its stake on local wars to combat the upsurge of the revolutionary and national liberation movement. The experience of past years proved, however, that even this form of global strategy was abortive. The barbarous U.S. aggression against the Vietnamese people is the most eloquent proof of this.

The United States unleashed this war of intervention in order to suppress the liberation movement of the Vietnamese people. It thought that the balance of strength between a first-class imperialis power and a poor country sucked dry economically by colonial plunder, would assure it an easy and swift victory, especially since the socialist camp was weakened by the policy of the Chinese

leaders. Despite the fact that the USA has already sent an army of half a million men to Vietnam, today, five years later, it is becoming increasingly obvious that the Americans are incapable of crushing the heroic Vietnamese people, who are supported by the USSR and other socialist countries and by all progressive and anti-imperialist forces in the world.

In fact, American imperialism finds itself in deep political isolation as a result of its piratic war. This is a symptomatic and eloquent fact. More than ten years ago, at the time of the war in Korea, the American imperialists were still able to involve almost all their allies in the aggression under the UN flag. This time they have not even succeeded in persuading all their partners of the SEATO Pact, which they had pieced together in this part of Asia, to participate in the Vietnam aggression. Of the two European members of this pact, France has resolutely condemned the Vietnamese adventure, while Britain, though it supports the USA, is avoiding direct involvement., Pakistan, the biggest Asian member of SEATO, refuses to have any part in this aggression. Only the puppet regimes of Thailand and South Korea, which are able to hold on to power solely by virtue of American bayonets, and the Philippines and the governments of Australia and New Zealand, beset by a fear of the "Asian danger," are still aiding the USA.

Apart from the Federal Republic of Germany, which has a vested interest in every increase in tension in the world because tension is grist to its political mill, the U.S. imperialist aggression in Vietnam has caused anxiety in all other Western countries, including a number of NATO member-states. The recent trip of Vice-President Humphrey to Western Europe has shown again that almost all the NATO allies of the United States are disturbed by the aggression in Vietnam.

The French bourgeois daily, *Combat*, wrote on April 12 that "the demonstrations in Rome and Paris were perhaps the work of a minority, but beware of the day when the main forces will follow the vanguard. If the Vietnam escalation drags out a little longer, this day is not far away."

The escalation of aggression in Vietnam, which is imperilling world peace, is a potential danger to all U.S. partners. This has become one of the causes of the international crisis of United States positions, betokened by the disintegration of the aggressive blocs, including NATO.

The point of departure in this far-reaching process is the growing and constantly more profound awareness that peaceful coexistence is the indisputable cornerstone of the policy of the socialist states and not, as has been maintained for many years, a tactical maneuver. As more irrevocable proofs of the consistency and permanence of this general line of the socialist camp are coming to

hand, it is becoming ever more difficult for the champions of the cold war and the anti-communist crusaders to exploit the myth that Western Europe is being threatened by "world Communist aggression."

The first country that drew political conclusions from this was France. Today, similar tendencies are coming to the surface also in other NATO countries, not to mention the neutral European states.

The experience of recent years has undermined faith among Western ruling circles in the desirability of military ties with the USA, which put the West European states at the mercy of U.S. global strategy.

The role of satellites of the American imperialist gendarme who is trying to stem the course of history and suppress the liberation movement of the peoples on all continents, no longer appeals to the European allies of the United States, and goes against their interests. The allies of the USA see more clearly each day that American policy does not reckon with their national interests, and that Washington is in the habit of confronting them with accomplished facts when it makes its dangerous decisions on aggresion and intervention. This creates the obvious danger of their being drawn into military ventures for the sake of alien interests.

The events in Greece, a country where the American anti-communist crusade has been successful since 1947, are a clear indication that the political and class conflict in NATO countries has grown more acute. The pro-American policy of a succession of Greek governments, which kept this country in a state of economic stagnation and political crisis for many years, is running into mounting resistance of the masses, the majority of the nation. This resistance has become so strong that Greek reaction decided to take recourse in open force some days ago, performing a putsch and destroying the remnants of political freedom in order to establish a military dictatorship.

Our Party expresses its firm solidarity with the Communists and democrats, and all patriots of Greece in their struggle for the independence of their country, for democracy and the peaceful life of its people. Final victory shall be theirs. Military dictatorship and reprisals will neither prevent a crisis of the aggressive military pacts nor save the regime which supports them. On the contrary, they will intensify the crisis in the long run and accelerate the defeat of reaction and imperialism.

Economic conflicts are arising alongside the political contradictions that prevail between the West European countries and the United States.

American capital is stepping up its economic offensive in Europe and invading the most modern branches of industry, and thus put-

ting the vital interests of West-European economy in jeopardy. U.S. investments in West-European countries have doubled in the past six years. The migration of science workers and technicians to the USA has reached such proportions as to alarm the governments. In the European capitalist countries the trend is growing stronger to shake off U.S. politico-military tutelage and economic domination. At the same time, the trend towards détente and a normalization of relations with the socialist countries on the principles of realistic economic cooperation and peaceful coexistence, is gaining ground.

Our Party believes that the crisis of U.S. imperialist policy and the latest developments in Europe are presenting new possibilities to all Communist and Workers' Parties, and to all progressive forces, in their struggle for détente and a normalization of relations, and for a system of collective security in Europe.

**What is the Main Obstacle to This?**

The policy of the Federal Republic of Germany has been and remains the main obstacle.

This state is the offspring of the notorious marriage of U.S. anti-communism and the revenge-seeking aspirations of German imperialism. This marriage pact resulted in the remilitarization of West Germany and renunciation of the Potsdam Treaty, on which the anti-Nazi coalition was to have based the postwar order in Europe. It has become the basis on which the United States and the Federal Republic are building their common policy. The German Federal Republic was drawn into the Atlantic Pact and made into a cold war bastion and a forward area of the anti-communist crusade. By way of reward, the Bonn government was given a free hand in usurping the right of the exclusive representation of Germany and of questioning the frontiers agreed upon in Potsdam, and was supplied considerable aid in re-establishing and re-arming the Bundeswehr.

In their efforts to eliminate the consequences of the defeat of the Hitler Reich, the Bonn revenge-seekers are centering their policy on annexing the German Democratic Republic under the signboard of "unifying Germany."

Neither this nor any of the other aims of the cold war policy pursued by the successive Bonn governments have been achieved. They cannot be achieved, because they contradict not only the interests of peace and of all the nations of Europe, but also mainly the existing correlation of the forces of the imperialist and socialist camps.

Bonn's expectations of success in its policy from positions of strength have been dashed. With the crisis of the Atlantic Pact

the present course of the Federal Republic has come to an impasse. The collapse of the Adenauer and Erhard policy vis-a-vis the German Democratic Republic and the socialist countries has forced West Germany to look for new ways and means of solving this crisis in order to avoid the isolation of the Federal Republic of Germany.

The new, so-called grand coalition government, which assumed this task, has not given up any of the strategic aims nurtured by its precedessors. It has only changed the tactics and the language of its diplomacy. This was admitted by the new head of government. "I tried in the government statement to speak a new language," he said. "This was not because I tried fundamentally to change the policy we have pursued up to now." This is borne out by all the statements of the West-German politicians of the Christian-Social Democratic coalition and by all the practical measures of the Bonn government.

This government has proclaimed a so-called new Eastern policy. At the same time, it is working candidly for a change in the territorial status quo in Europe, persisting in the ludicrous claim to exclusive representation and in its claims to Poland and Czechoslovakia, and refusing to admit the invalidity of the Munich agreement. It is persevering in its efforts to obtain access to nuclear weapons and in its attempts to obstruct the conclusion of a treaty for the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

The new tactics have been conceived with a view to long-term efforts to attain these aims and diverse variants of isolating the GDR from the socialist states, infiltrating and undermining it from within. Subordinate to this aim are the new tactics toward other socialist countries, which consist in proposing the establishment of diplomatic relations and exchange of declarations on abstention from the use of force in settling "controversial issues."

Accepting these proposals in the present situation, while the FRG persists in making its revisionist and atomic claims, and its claim to representing the whole of Germany, would not further any normalization of relations in Europe. On the contrary, it would be a disservice to peace on the part of the socialist countries.

Experience has taught us that the nations of Europe have always paid with millions of human lives for relaxing their vigilance towards German imperialism and for believing its professions of "peace" and its unsubstantiated prposals.

It is not only a question of the security of the socialist states. It is also a question of socialism's positions in Europe. The GDR is a barrier to plans of imperialist expansion and at the same time the westernmost socialist country, whose success and development has a strong bearing on the correlation of the forces of socialism and imperialism. Besides, for the German people the GDR is an

alternative to the reactionary West-German regime of capitalist monopolies. This is why, we, the Communists of Europe, shall never allow the historic results of the victory of the forces of socialism and democracy over fascism to be violated. The two existing German states represent two different systems, two opposing programs and development and of the role of Germany in Europe. Our Party ranges itself fully behind the stand taken on Germany by the VII Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany.

The history of Europe is a succession of destructive and bloody wars that have, in our country, claimed hundreds of millions of human lives and destroyed the results of the work of whole generations.

It is only in our time, by virtue of many decades of hard struggle and of the decisive victories of socialism, that a situation has arisen for the first time when it is possible to stop this succession of wars and secure lasting peace and security for the nations of Europe.

Our socialist conception of a Europe unified on the basis of the peaceful coexistence of countries of both social systems and the replacement of military blocs by a system of collective security is opposed to the imperialist Atlantic conception of European policy based on a continuous arms race, on a permanent division of Europe, on opposite military blocs and on the policy of positions from strength under the banner of anti-communism.

The slogan of European unity has been much abused by the American and West-European imperialists, who would like thereby to put our continent under their political, military and economic hegemony. This "unification" of Europe, directed against the socialist countries and the working class in the West, is impossible today. Neither the socialist countries nor the working class and the democratic forces in Western Europe will tolerate it.

A considerable section of the bourgeoisie, which does not want to be relegated to the role of a satellite of the American colossus, does not like it either. It views normalization of relations and economic cooperation with the socialist countries as a way towards strengthening its own independence.

Consequently, the program for European unity and a stronger peace contained in the draft statement of our Conference has a broad political and social basis. Our Party gives its full support to this program and to the concrete and realistic postulates contained in it, which lead to a lessening of East-West tension and clear the road to lasting peaceful solutions. Our Party attaches particular importance to those proposals which concern the settlement of the key German problem on the basis of the recognition of the inviolability of the existing frontiers between states, the

recognition of two sovereign German states with equal rights, and the blocking of access by the Federal Republic to atomic weapons.

A treaty by all states, hence also including the GDR, renouncing the use or threat of force and interference in internal affairs would be a significant step towards a radical improvement of the situation in Europe. Unlike the unilateral declarations or bilateral treaties renouncing force suggested by the Federal Republic, this treaty would contain concrete pledges on security and the inviolability of the frontiers of all European states.

We consider as very significant the proposals concerning the extension of economic cooperation between socialist and capitalist countries, which envisage the removal of artificial barriers and the discrimination practised by the restricted Western economic alignments. A conference of all European states should be called to discuss concrete proposals concerning security and peaceful relations in Europe. The idea of such conference has extensive public support and is being received with more and more understanding by the ruling circles of many West European countries.

Peace is the concern not only of the Communists, although our parties represent the only large-scale political and social movement joining both parts of Europe in the struggle for peace. This common cause can and must unite us in joint actions with the leftist parties, the Social-Democrats, the trade union movement, the progressive trends in the Christian world, the intellectuals and the peace-loving bourgeois groups. The aim of our parties is to build up the broadest possible popular front for the safeguarding of peace, which would, besides ourselves, embrace people with different political and ideological backgrounds who consider the prevention of the catastrophe of war a matter of foremost significance.

No movement and no public organization can be indifferent to the problem of war and peace if it has the least desire to participate in the contemporary life of the nations. This is borne out by the changes taking place in the Catholic church as evidenced by the new tendency of the Vatican towards peaceful solutions which appeared during the pontificate of John XXIII. Although the latest papal encyclical, "Populorum progressio," contains a number of theses with which we Communists cannot agree, it is a step forward all the same in the development of the Catholic social doctrine and creates a suitable platform for the cooperation of Communists and Catholics in the name of ensuring bread, security and peace to mankind.

Our Conference is defining the platform of struggle for a system of collective security, for a Europe united by its craving for peace.

We realize that such a Europe will still be divided into two

social systems and that competition and struggle between these systems will continue. However, the principles of peaceful coexistence would put this struggle and competition on a plane that excludes wars between states as a form of political collision between socialism and capitalism. This means that the victory of socialism in each country and the road leading to this victory will depend entirely on the country's own internal development and the political balance of its class forces. This manner of resolving the basic contradiction of our time, that between capitalism and socialism, conforms with the interest of the working class, the interest of each nation and of the whole of mankind.

We Communists are convinced that in a Europe unified by a system of collective security and the craving for peace, the process of the class struggle and social development will continue and lead ultimately to the final victory of the socialist system on our continent. Our conviction is rooted in the experience gained by the socialist states, the dynamics of their economy and culture, and their social and political development. Socialism has already for two generations exercised a beneficial influence on the destiny of the whole of Europe. The Great October Revolution cut short and reduced the ordeal of the first imperialist world war and saved the lives of millions of Europeans.

Twenty years later, all Europe was saved from the nightmare of a nazi "new order" at the cost of tremendous sacrifice, above all thanks to the Soviet Union.

The existence of the socialist system has ensured peace in Europe in the two postwar decades, and has contributed immensely to all the beneficial changes that the political and trade-union movement of the working class has been able to achieve in this period in the economic, social and political position of the working class in the capitalist part of Europe. Europe owes all this to the working class and the masses of countries which built socialism at the price of tremendous efforts and numerous sacrifices, repulsed enemy attacks and coped with all sorts of difficulties.

The struggle for peace and security in Europen can and must become a powerful lever for a new upsurge of strength and for the advancement of the international working-class movement. The prestige and influence of the Communist parties in the socialist and capitalist parts of Europe will mount in this struggle.

We—the parties of the socialist countries—will center the struggle on applying the energy of our peoples to economic development, to raising the living standards and the level of culture.

For you, comrades from the fraternal parties of the capitalist part of Europe, the struggle centers on unifying the working class and the efforts of all democratic forces against the domination of monopoly capital, and on aligning the struggle for social progress

and democracy with the struggle for the security, sovereignty and dignity of nations.

The common international front of the East European socialist countries and the working class and peace forces in the West is gaining strength in the struggle against the danger of a new world war. It is a part of the world anti-imperialist front and supports the liberation struggle of the working class and of the peoples in other countries.

Unity of action against the common enemy, the platform for which, for today and for the future, will be worked out at the present conference, is essential if our struggle is to be successful.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party I should like to thank the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia for their fine work in organizing our conference. I ask Comrade Novotny to convey our most cordial wishes to the working class and the fraternal peoples of Czechoslovakia.

## SPEECH BY K. JESPERSEN

### I

The Communist Party of Denmark is deeply satisfied with the convening of this Conference of the Communist parties of Europe and looks forward to its results with hope.

We wish to express our gratitude to the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia for its hospitality and its great contribution to the actual preparations for the Conference, as well as to the brother parties of France and Poland for their effort in carrying out the preparation for the Conference. We sincerely appreciate the spirit of cooperation and comradeship shown by the parties concerned in the course of their joint preparatory work.

Our common effort constitutes an important and tangible contribution to the international unity of the Communist movement. This effort is of decisive importance for the course of world development, above all with regard to what must remain the most pressing task of our day: preventing a new world war by winning the battle for peace.

It is only natural that the European Communist parties should see it as their duty to join forces on the issue of European security. Had it not been so, we would be unworthy of the responsibility we must feel for the fundamental interests of our peoples, or of our duty to safeguard world peace, all of which is closely

linked with the effort to prevent Europe from becoming a seedbed of world war for a third time.

We regard it as a particular important and positive circumstance this Conference has brought together representatives of Communist parties from both the socialist and the capitalist countries of Europe. The historic role of Europe today consists in precisely the fact that the greater part of its area and the life of half its population are governed by socialist social relations. The time is past when Europe was merely an arena of the capitalist monopolies' unrestrained drive for power. However, it is decisive for peace in Europe that the peoples of the whole of our continent, that is, also those of the capitalist countries, should furnish proof of their ability to use the entirely new historical opportunities they now have.

This is a common vital concern of the peoples in both Eastern and Western Europe, where neither side can do without the contribution that the other side can make. No one could be more bound by the tasks arising from this situation than the Communists. There are also many other people who have the fortunes of Europe at heart. The movements and trend they bring into being give rise to forces that in our day open new opportunities. It is clear that the new historic problems facing Europe cannot be solved without the Communists.

The Communists in the two parts of Europe are linked by common fundamental views and the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. They are therefore at one in maintaining that imperialism, whose main force is the American big monopolies, presents the greatest danger to peace in Europe. They are also agreed that this danger can be eliminated only if all the peace forces take joint action on a large scale. War is not inevitable. These are ideas that were expressed earlier in the collective statements of the Communist Parties in 1957 and 1960.

The present situation naturally leads us to the common conclusion that *it is now necessary to show bold and broad initiative if decisive changes are to be achieved in the international relations in Europe.* We need concrete action to unite all those forces that are ready to take part in a peaceful settlement on our continent. The fact that such initiative is also supported by parties leading socialist society in their countries enhances the importance of the effort made to this end in the capitalist countries. Thus the Communist movement is proving itself to be a decisive political factor in the world of today, as indeed, it must if the war forces are not to gain the upper hand.

The problems of European security are bound up with both great possibilities and great dangers.

Indeed, it is a question of choosing between two courses of development in Europe. One course—the policy blocs—leads to the piling up of increasing quantities of explosives, both military and political, to a deliberate aggravation of tensions that can be prompted only by aggressive intent. This course is fraught with a real danger of war. The other course is to make substantial and concrete progress in easing tensions through the elimination of the policy blocs. It can result in Europe becoming a bulwark of peace, which would afford our continent entirely new prospects. And it should not really take us many years to see clearly which way development is headed. Much will depend on what is done now.

More and more people have to admit that imperialism, particularly U.S. imperialism, is behind the forces that are trying to push development toward a greater war danger. The American imperialists' infamous war in Vietnam is daily opening the eyes of more people to the crimes the imperialists are capable of committing and to the political hypocrisy they use to mask themselves. The U.S. leaders are trying to involve the European countries which are under American influence in their aggressive ventures, alleging, as Dean Rusk did in the NATO Council, that NATO, too, has a western front — in the Pacific. But the actual result of their efforts was, first of all, that opposition to them became stronger and more resolute, primarily among the peoples, but also among the ruling circles of Western Europe. As we know, this has already led to a number of breaches in their system of blocs and provided a basis for others to follow this example. One result of the broad and widespread protest movement in Denmark, which in recent months has collected over 220,000 signatures to the demand that the American bomb raids on Vietnam be stopped, is that the issue of Denmark's membership of NATO has become topical. It is the first time that we have heard deputies from the ruling Social-Democratic Party say Denmark will have to dissolve its alliance with the United States unless these protests prove sufficient.

It would undoubtedly be one of the more effective forms of assistance to the Vietnamese people to make clear to the American rulers that their aggression will, among other things, lead to the loss of the positions in Europe won by them through their past policy of blocs. In this sense there is a close connection between solidarity with Vietnam and the effort to promote European security. We think it would be definitely advisable for us to use this rostrum as well to assure the embattled people of Vietnam of our solidarity.

An instance of very great harm done to the European nations by the United States is the revival of German imperialism and militarism in the Federal Republic. Contrary to all the hopes and obligations brought into being by Hitler's defeat, this helped the monopolies, cartels and military machinery that had twice already touched off a world war in Europe back to their feet. This reality turned the issue of peace in Europe into the most acute problem. It cannot be played down, let alone removed, by false talk about "democracy" being in power in West Germany. The atmosphere actually prevailing there is due above all else to two interconnected facts: the growing neo-Nazi movement and the banning of the Communist Party of Germany. This situation is causing increasingly widespread concern in such countries as ours. It is a direct expression of the persistent policy line of Bonn, characterized primarily by such declared objectives as annexation and revision and by efforts to obtain atomic weapons.

The revival of German imperialism and militarism would have had the direct consequences for Europe had it affected the whole of Germany. This was prevented by the rise of the German Democratic Republic, a worker-peasant state consistently pursuing peaceful aims and enjoying the unqualified solidarity of all the socialist countries of Europe. This is why the existence of the GDR is so decisive for the future of Europe and why influential West German quarters are striving first of all to do away with this reality. This is only too evident from their refusal to recognize that the frontiers of the FRG have been settled, as well as from the insolent insistence on speaking for the whole of Germany, which may at any time be made an "excuse" for attack. From this position they even allow themselves to threaten any state proposing to recognize the GDR. At the same time they betray their real intentions by stubbornly opposing an agreement that would actually prevent the proliferation of atomic arms. The latest reorganization of the government has changed nothing in this situation, as everyone knows.

As to Denmark, it is above all German militarism that endangers the peace and national security of the country. The leading militarist quarters of West Germany have long since made clear that a component of their plans for a third war is to strike the main blow at the East across the Baltic Sea. In line with this concept they describe the Danish straits as "No 1 strategic point in Europe" in the event of such a war. It is easy enough to imagine what it would be like to be used in this way in a war waged by modern means. Nor should we forget that in the tense situation which developed in German in the summer of 1961 the American press wrote in so many words that Danish territory should be made available for the advance on the GDR and its capital, Berlin.

It is a fatal reality that Denmark is already involved in special military relations, being subordinated to West Germany through the so-called Danish-German joint command. The principal data regarding the balance of forces show whose instrument this command is. In Denmark they are trying to justify it on the ground that it has been set up within the framework of NATO. In reality this is a new indication that NATO can serve as an instrument of German imperialism. The joint command is, in fact, reminiscent of the so-called "protection" to which the Nazis referred in the accursed five years of occupation.

This situation causes deep concern among the Danish people, as even our "Atlantic politicans" are compelled to admit. Ex-foreign minister Haekkerup admitted in an address to a West German audience that it had been "no easy task to execute" the decision on a military alliance with West Germany because it "was largely in contradiction with the sentiment of the people." He expressed regret at the fact that "the German side does not always have a clear idea of the preconceived notions the Danish politicians have to combat."

Not long ago the foreign-policy spokesman of the Conservative Party spoke again of the "fear of German imperialism which virtually persists among the Danish people." From this point of view it is immaterial that Danish ministers try from time to time to assure foreign countries of the allegedly peaceful intentions of the Federal Republic.

Denmark, supported by all the progressive forces and regardless of the conditions prevailing in power politics, has always insisted that the Danish-German frontier, which is a national frontier, has been settled. Denmark has a definite interest in the FRG also recognizing that its frontiers have been irrevocably settled. The fact that our country is an ally and military partner of the only state in Europe whose official policy is aimed at revising frontiers constantly gives rise to uneasy comment in Denmark.

The Danish government, submitting to the Hallstein doctrine, has refused to recognize the GDR and often raises the most diverse obstacles to natural coexistence. This brings growing protests, and more and more people regard it as an unacceptable restriction of the freedom of political action of the country due to the policy of blocs within NATO.

A new settlement in Europe is therefore becoming a vital necessity for Denmark in many respects. Obviously, this settlement should include realities that would make the West German rulers realize there is only one solution for them — to guide themselves by the principles of peaceful coexistence and to renounce a foreign policy line based on aggression and territorial claims and attempting to obtain nuclear weapons. This consideration should be the

main prerequisite of any real settlement of the security problem in Europe.

The historical experience of the peoples of Europe justifies the demand that Nazi forces in West Germany shall have no freedom of action while the democratic, anti-Nazi forces are suppressed. An end to this state of affairs, and above all to the ban on the Communist Party of Germany, would also help to normalize relations between the two German states. This would be in the interest of Europe, and the GDR has put forward valuable proposals in this sense. In general, solidarity with the democratic forces battling with fascism in Spain, Portugal, Greece and elsewhere is an inseparable component of the effort to promote European security.

## III

The real possibilities for a new settlement in Europe which open up today are due both to the people's profound desire to search for new roads and to the fact that the leading quarters of NATO are finding themselves more and more at a loss to continue the policy of blocs. Herein lies the crisis of NATO, and that is why it is so deep.

In Denmark, for instance, Prime Minister and Foreign Minister J.O. Krag admits that "the conditions today differ from those in 1949, when NATO was founded," and urges "rethinking the policy of the entire alliance." One can understand why ruling politicians are reluctant to continue a policy line based on such unrealistic notions as "the menace of aggression from the East," "Atlantic solidarity" or "U.S. nuclear superiority." Where they to stick to it the peoples would no longer believe them.

It is natural that those striving for change should fix their attention on 1969, the year of expiration of the term of the Atlantic treaty. But if there is to be a change, the anxiety, search and discussion of today must be developed into a united and purposeful force.

*We think the important thing is to advocate an alternative to the division of Europe caused by the policy of blocs, doing it forcefully enough for the mass of the people to satisfy themselves that there are real possibilities for progress in a different direction.* Doubts and uncertainty in this respect are the biggest trump on which NATO propagandists stake today.

We have every reason to think highly of the initiative of the socialist countries and the proposals they have made separately or in common, including the joint statement of the Bucharest Conference in 1966. Our Party has a particularly high opinion of the favorable reply to the question about readiness to guarantee an eventual neutral, atom-free zone in Northern Europe. This reply

was given in 1963 to our delegation which visited the brother parties of the socialist neighbors of Denmark—the Soviet Union, Poland and the GDR. It created new political conditions for Denmark and Northern Europe, and the discussions on an alternative to the policy of NATO acquired a new, more realistic basis.

With great satisfaction we hail the fact that this Conference is taking a new initiative to chart new roads for Europe. The character of this problem is such that all-European efforts are needed to solve it. Naturally, this does not run counter to the national or regional efforts now being made but will promote them.

It seems clear to us that we should replace the division of Europe by a *system of collective security.* Suggestions for the specific organization of collective security would no doubt be useful. It would be particularly useful to have it understood that in this way a *guarantee of security* can be achieved on a greater scale than is promised by the NATO policy of blocs.

The task of a European conference should be to give a concrete form to the guarantees which the system of collective security must provide. Such a conference would therefore be very important. We are glad to put on record that a number of West European governments, the Danish government included, are for calling a conference on European security.

Guarantees of peace are especially important for a small country in such a position as ours. The policy of our Party envisages a neutral Denmark. Neutrality is in keeping with both Danish tradition and a widespread attitude of the population. It is important to us· therefore, that the collective security system recognize the *principle of neutrality.*

The NATO politicians oppose the adoption of the policy of neutrality. They assert that a neutral Denmark would be hopeless against an aggressor. This is why we recommend that the great powers should guarantee the status of a neutral Denmark. We consider that neutral countries are entitled to insist on such guarantees.

Such a settlement of the problem of neutrality could also be linked with the establishment of regions or zones of partial disarmament. Then the policy of neutrality could lead in practice to the policy of arms reduction. That is what our Party is working for in Denmark.

In many European countries—in the North and South as well as in Central Europe—the progressive forces speak out for neutrality. These efforts should support each other. We believe that a zone of guaranteed neutral states strengthening across the whole of Europe could become an inspiring component of the system of European security.

In the North of Europe we are striving for the cooperation of

the Nordic states on the basis of neutrality and independence, with a view to establishing a non-nuclear zone and a zone of partial disarmament. A European security system in keeping with the principles recommended by our Conference can only support this striving.

## IV

It should not be overlooked that currently the imperialist side is taking large-scale measures and supporting numerous maneuvers to continue NATO policy and perpetuate the division of Europe.

Some Atlantic politicians realize that NATO is experiencing a crisis but do not want any conclusions to be drawn from this. Hence proposals are thought up to justify the preservation of the NATO political system rather than to bring about a real change.

If, for instance, official Danish quarters proposed that the NATO organization assume the function of an agency negotiating with the socialist countries, this, naturally, should be given preference against plans for "rolling back" communism or for whatever aggressive aims were called in the past. Nevertheless, this begs a question which has been put also by Danish bourgeois politicians: why is NATO, set up for entirely different purposes, particularly suited for this kind of negotiations? Indeed, the Danish Social-Democratic journal described this proposal as an "apology for NATO."

We think that a proper reply would be to call for the acceptance in any case of the proposal of the socialist countries for proceeding to abolish the military organizations of both pacts. If NATO were turned into a negotiating body, it would be impossible to insist that it must keep its military organization to that end. The scrapping of this organization would help inspire confidence that there are real aims behind the talk about NATO being a negotiating agency.

A watchful eye should also be kept on the stepped-up efforts to expand or merge the economic blocs in Western Europe. At a time when there are signs of military and political disintegration of the policy of blocs, undisguised efforts are being made to consolidate a divided Europe in the economic field. The big monopolies possess powerful leverage in this respect, especially with regard to small countries.

All the more important is it to demonstrate the existing possibilities of developing all-European relations in the sphere of trade and economic, scientific and technological cooperation. Even important capitalist circles in Denmark admit that in this way means

can be found of offsetting competition and domination on the part of the Western monopolies.

The Communist Party of Denmark counters the maneuvers aimed at joining our country to the Common Market by stressing the alternative to the policy of blocs in this field as well.

## V

By solving the problems of its security, Europe could begin to play a new role in the world. The democratic and progressive traditions developed by the European nations in the course of time could determine the complexion of our continent as far as the outside world is concerned.

We were for some time in a somewhat ridiculous situation in which those who spoke loudest for Europe at the same time advocated Europe's helplessness and dependence on the USA. By doing so they made the name of Europe hated in many countries exploited by the monopolies of precisely those countries which posed as spokesmen for Europe. By what authority do these people speak on behalf of Europe?

The time has come for the banner of European community to be taken up by those who want to unite Europe in the name of peace and democracy, and not by those who would split Europe through the aggressive policy blocs. This banner should go to those who recognize the European peoples' right to decide their own destiny and refuse to place it in the hands of U.S. imperialism; to those who put the productive and intellectual forces of Europe to use rather than entrusting their use to the U.S. monopolies; to those who strive for friendship and brotherhood with the new countries and support their anti-imperialist struggle rather than encouraging their further exploitation, which has, in fact, made Europe a gigantic debtor.

## VI

When the Communists take the initiative — as they are doing here — of using historical opportunities to put Europe on a new road, they are far from claiming the exclusive right to deal with the problems of European security. We display initiative and make proposals to invite a wide-spread exchange of opinions that could merge the numerous searching currents into a transforming force. We wholeheartedly support the appeal of this Conference to all the groups and strata that are on the move in Europe. It is time to integrate and shape a new future for Europe.

## SPEECH BY MAX REIMANN

On behalf of the Communist Party of Germany I extend the warmest greetings to this Conference and to all its participants.

We regard our joint work as useful for our Party, for all the European peoples and for world peace. Our Conference is not the result of the spontaneous initiative of some fraternal party. We are all aware of our responsibility to the working class and with regard to the peace and progress of our peoples. This sense of responsibility determines our equal fraternal cooperation, and this gives our entire movement the political, moral and material strength which leads to victory. We all bear in mind that the conditions of struggle in our countries often differ and that different forms of struggle can also develop on the basis of the traditions of the working class and the national peculiarities.

These differences, however, do not determine the essence of relationships between the Communist and Workers' parties. *The Communist Party of Germany has held and will hold that absolute fidelity to proletarian internationalism, to our common world outlook—Marxism-Leninism—is the essence or even the determining factor of relationships between fraternal parties.* This invariable stand also serves as the point of departure of our speech at this Conference.

Our thoughts are centred on the problems of ensuring security and peace in Europe. Clearly, we cannot limit these tasks to our continent. We realize the close interconnection between the aspirations and struggles of the peoples of all continents against imperialist aggression, for national independence and freedom and for the preservation of world peace. And success in the fight against imperialist aggression in this or that continent is a success for all the Communist and Workers' parties, for all the anti-colonialist movements. All the peoples have one and the same imperialist enemy which threatens peace and progress. Therefore the valiant struggle of the Vietnamese people against U.S. imperialism is closely connected with the struggle we are waging in our own countries for security and peace in our continent.

Our Party fully subscribes to the view that the forces of socialism continue to grow and that imperialism, on the contrary, is becoming weaker. At the same time imperialism is becoming ever more adventuristic and aggressive. This applies first and foremost to U.S. West German imperialism. Despite the contradictions existing between them U.S. and West German imperialism are at one in the military and strategic field. This encourages the West German imperialists in their striving for an exclusive position and in their revanchist policy. On the other hand, many peoples and many states of Europe, including capitalist states, want a

detente and security. This creates good prerequisites for building a system of collective security in Europe.

Invoking an allegedly new policy, the government of Kiesinger and Strauss is talking today about settlement in Europe. What is understood under this settlement is explained by Strauss in his book *Proposals for Europe*. Settlement is seen as the creation of a capitalist Europe extending from the Atlantic to the Bug and the Black Sea and dominated by the German imperialists and militarists. In this way, Strauss holds, the correlation of forces in the world must change in favor of imperialism and the policy of "rolling back" communism is to be implemented. The appointment of Baron von Guttenberg, who publicly voices the same aggressive concepts, as head of the Federal Chancellor's Office emphasizes the fact that this concept of Strauss dominates official policy as well. It was Kiesinger, the new Chancellor, himself who told U.S. Vice-President Humphrey recently: "A detente between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic cannot take place until Germany is reunited." This is a well-known method of the German imperialists: First comply with our demands and then we can talk about relaxation. This resembles the methods of Hitler, who, depending on his needs, alternated blackmail with protestations of peaceful intentions.

Hitler's *Mein Kampf* and Strauss' *Proposals for Europe* fully conform today, as yesterday, to concepts of the most extreme reactionary and aggressive circles of German monopoly capital. Strauss determines the policy line of the new cabinet and is the ideologue of neo-Nazism and of the striving to secure an exclusive position for West German imperialism. The keynote of his proposals for Europe is this: *to change the status quo so as to change the political correlation of forces. Strauss' "new" eastern policy which he calls the policy for European progress is a component of the aggressive strategy of Bonn's General Staff.*

The uncreasing diplomatic maneuvers of the Kiesinger-Strauss government to block the non-proliferation treaty are designed to secure in various ways access to nuclear weapons. Added to this is the demand to set up a European nuclear force.

Many people link the hopes for a more realistic policy with Social-Democratic participation in the government. This is not the first time in the history of German imperialism when Social-Democratic leaders are invited to enter the government at a moment which the ruling imperialist circles consider it expedient for their interests and aims.

The "position-of-strength" policy pursued by the Christian-Democratic Union has lost people's confidence and encountered resistance both in and outside the country. It finds itself in increasing political isolation abroad. The Social-Democratic leaders

were allowed into the government so that the old policy could be continued and elevated to a higher level. Consequently, what we have is not sharing of power, but the possibility to pursue the old policy by new methods, the possibility to overcome political isolation abroad. Kiesinger confirmed this at a recent businessmen's conference: "The creation of the Grand Coalition became possible only because the internal policy and foreign-policy program of the Social-Democratic Party was more and more approximating that of the Christian-Democratic Union. So far things have been running fairly well."

The role of the Social-Democratic ministers in the Kiesinger-Strauss government consists primarily in forcing the masses into inactivity, exerting pressure on the trade unions, and accentuating the policy of mass dismissal and the establishment of the dictatorship of emergency laws. The Social-Democratic leaders are to help to create political conditions at home for the expansionist foreign policy to acquire greater scope for maneuver. In addition to being directed against both the socialist and capitalist countries of Europe, this expansionist policy is spearheaded first and foremost against the German Democratic Republic. It is becoming increasingly clear that the rulers of the Federal Republic are seeking to strengthen their economic, military and political domination in the European Economic Community and increase their influence in NATO.

It is also this policy that explains the accelerated growth of neo-Nazism. We should not associate neo-Nazism only with the existence and growth of the National-Democratic Party. The imperialist circles and the government have a kind feeling for the NDP and support it precisely because the forces of Nazism and neo-Nazism operate also in the CDU/CSU. The chief aims and slogans of the NDP fully coincide with the aims and slogans of Strauss, Kiesinger, Guttenberg and other CDU leaders. The soil on which neo-Nazism can grow and flourish is anti-communism and revanchism, this principal doctrine of all the successive governments of the Federal Republic and of the Right-wing Social-Democratic leaders of the Wehner type. The Bundeswehr was created by officers of the Hitler Wehrmacht, its members were educated in the spirit of German militarism and revanchism, and it is small wonder that the NDP enjoys special influence among the officers and professional cadres of this army.

Many trade unionists, a considerable part of the humanitarian intelligenstia and democratic-minded citizens agree with us as regards the basic principles of this appraisal.

Hence it is not surprising that the Federal Government, through its Minister of the Interior Lucke, flatly rejects all demands of the democratic public to ban the National-Democratic Party and

at the same time comes out against the forces demanding legalization of the CPG. The continued ban on our Party, the emergency laws and the attacks on fundamental trade union rights are an expression of the accentuated aggressiveness of internal and foreign policy.

We believe that a penetrating analysis of the situation and the constructive proposals for European collective security which we are discussing here will help our Party and the peace-loving democratic forces in the Federal Republic to broaden and invigorate resistance to Nazism and the military preparations, to encourage the struggle for the relaxation of international tension, disarmament and peace. The position of many trade unions and Social Democrats, the activity displayed in the course of the campaign for disarmament and the "Democracy in Need" movement show that there are operating in the Federal Republic—though not on a very large scale—active forces favoring the realistic policy of detente and mutual understanding. Not only our Party, but also the trade unions, young workers, students and intellectuals demand that the Federal Government renounce the claims to exclusive representation and recognize the German Democratic Republic and the existing borders in Europe. To overcome the crisis-like phenomena in the West German economy, they insist on a drastic reduction of military spending in favor of social expenditures. Opposing the Federal Republic's sabotage of the nuclear non-proliferation treaty, they demand that it pledge to accede to this treaty, renounce atomic armament in any form, and support the idea of a non-nuclear zone. The population of the Federal Republic increasingly opposes the U.S. war against the Vietnamese people and the Federal Government's support for this war.

The social contradictions are sharpening, for the Federal government, confronted as it is with the crisis phenomena in the West German economy, is accentuating its reactionary policy in the social field in order to ensure the financing of armament and guarantee huge monopoly profits at the expense of the working people. The Kiesinger-Strauss government wants to subjugate people to its military policy with the help of emergency legislation.

Our Party has for many years been fighting against the anti-communist trends, against chauvinism and the strong propaganda machinery used to indoctrinate and deceive the masses. We can say that we have succeeded, despite the ban on our Party, in strengthening our ranks ideologically and organizationally and that we have been able, without violating the rules of underground work, to shift the bulk of our activity to the sphere of legal work among the masses. In the trade unions, in the "Democracy in Need" movement, during the Easter marches and various actions

for disarmament and detente, in social struggles, in the fight for democracy and above all in the movement of solidarity with the people of Vietnam valiantly fighting against U.S. imperialists and its Bonn henchmen — everywhere Communist ideas and their creative force are at work. In these activities we orient our policy on cooperation with the Social Democrats, on enlarging the wealth of socialist ideas, on joint actions for common democratic and social interests. This helps us divert Social Democrats from the policy of their Right-wing leaders and induce them to work more actively, together with the trade unions and all democratic forces, for a policy of peace, democracy and social progress.

The world has been changing rapidly in the fifty years since the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The victorious advance of Marxism-Leninism cannot be halted. The emergence of the socialist world system and the successful development of the GDR, the first socialist and peace-loving German state, have created favorable conditions also for the accomplishment of the principal task of our Party, namely, to prevent a new war from originating on our soil. But we should not underestimate the complexity of this task. The government of Kiesinger and Strauss is trying hard, with the help of new methods and high-flown declarations about international relaxation and peaceful settlement in Europe, to create illusions and thereby accomplish the old aims of its revanchist policy. We see it as our task to work constantly to shatter the myth about this government and expose the essence of its policy before the masses.

If the ruling circles succeeded in deceiving and weakening the forces of resistance by means of what they call the "new" eastern or "new" German policy, the peace and security of all the European nations would be gravely endangered. We should do everything to prevent by joint effort the creation, with the help of new methods, of greater possibilities for the realization of their expansionist policy. This Conference and its results will give new strength to peace supporters in the Federal Republic and further stimulate their activity. The establishment of a collective security system in Europe would also conform to the genuine interests of the West German population wishing for peace. This system would check the danger of revanchism and neo-Nazism in the Federal Republic. The population of the Federal Republic, like all the peoples of Europe, would be spared the danger of the flames of war again spreading from German soil. People in the Federal Republic have a special interest in building a European security system, for where they live stand opposed to each other the main forces of the two military pacts whose clash would spell immediate destruction of the Federal Republic. If the European collective security system were established the Federal Republic would cease being a bridge-

head for the U.S. imperialists, a spearhead aimed against the socialist countries. The more than 5,000 nuclear warheads which may invite an atomic counter-blow would disappear from its territory. The European collective security system would make it possible to restrict the role of the Bundeswehr to defending the borders of the Federal Republic. The swollen military budget would thus be reduced by half, and the released means used for urgent economic and social needs. Collective security would also avert the danger to peace and civic rights emanating from the emergency legislation. Hence, the collective security of all the European peoples would conform to the popular democratic interests of our population and benefit those who want peace, freedom and social justice.

If our population is to live in peace, we must mobilize all responsible forces to secure the accession of the Federal Republic to the European security system. This will render possible development of relations between European states with different social systems on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence, as well as economic, scientific and cultural cooperation. Then the peoples will be able to devote all their forces to improving their well-being and promoting culture and progress.

For this reason the Communist Party of Germany hails the Conference, being confident that it will adopt a joint statement which will also contain the ideas and proposals of our Party, of the West German peace movement.

We shall exert every effort to carry into life the policy of peace and European security in the Federal Republic, in order to fulfil our duty with regard to the peaceful interests of all the European nations.

## SPEECH BY V. PESSI

It is my pleasant duty to greet this meeting of European Communist and Workers' parties on behalf of the Communist Party of Finland and to wish it the best of success. I avail myself of this opportunity to express cordial thanks to the brother party of Czechoslovakia for creating excellent conditions for the successful work of the meeting.

The Communist Party of Finland thinks highly of this meeting, the broadest forum of the Communist and Workers' parties of European countries ever held. Attended by participants from socialist as well as capitalist countries, the meeting reflects the great potential and contribution we can offer in promoting the effort to

solve the major problems of today which concern all of us alike. I am convinced that large sections of Finnish opinion will show respect and interest for the work and the decisions of this meeting, as does our Party. The working people of our country note with joy every initiative and every action aimed at strengthening peace and security in Europe and consequently in Finland.

Finland is among those countries which had to undergo all the suffering caused by the two world wars. Our people know what the armament of Hitler Germany on the eve of World War II meant, and they paid dearly for the political and military cooperation of the Rightist forces of Finland with Hitler.

Today the peace and security of Finland is at issue again. The militarization of West Germany, its bid for the possession of nuclear weapons, the danger of neo-fascism, the aspiration for a revision of frontiers, the persecution of Communists and other progressive forces by the Bonn government all cause growing concern. Today we are discussing these problems in an entirely different situation than was the case before World War II, but the problem is essentially the same: *How to avert the threat of war, how to safeguard peace and security*?

The draft document prepared for the meeting points out a number of changes that have taken place in Europe in late years. We see a particularly clear reflection of them in the evolution of the situation in Finland.

We believe that the policy pursued by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries — a policy based on the principles of peaceful coexistence—meets with growing understanding and approval among the peoples of the capitalist countries. The U.S. war of aggression against the Vietnamese people, who are upholding their freedom, is in sharp contrast to this policy of peace. As a result of such comparisons the socialist countries continue gaining in prestige while the policy of war pursued by the USA is condemned. In the capitalist countries, growing confidence in the socialist countries' policy of peace encourages the forces fighting against the arms race. A search is going on for possibilities of safeguarding and promoting peace other than military blocs.

In the sphere of trade policy, too, a new trend of thought has been spreading. The closed trade blocs created on a political basis have not played their role either in the sense of solving the problems of the capitalist economy, or in the sense of undermining the economies of the socialist countries. The failures that have occured in the capitalist countries lead to the demands for freedom of trade being voiced more and more emphatically, and give rise to initiatives towards greater economic cooperation with the socialist countries. This is also true of mutual links in every field of science, technology and culture. Gradually the idea is gaining

ground that the peoples who live on one planet and seek better conditions of life need one another more and more and that there is a need for united action on the basis of mutual understanding. The problems of mankind have never been solved through war, and still less will be possible in future.

Until recently anti-communism was a very effective instrument of domination over the peoples of the capitalist countries, which helped to block the effort to raise the standard of life and extend the democratic rights of the people. Today the concept of anti-communism is gradually losing support, which heralds the beginning of a new era in relations between political parties and between people generally in the capitalist countries. In terms of the further social development of these countries, we attach great importance to the positive changes that have come about in the fields of unity of action of the working people and the relations between Social-Democratic and Communist parties. The strengthening of this trend and its spread on an international scale could open up entirely new prospects for the development of contacts between states with differing social systems. At the same time conditions are shaping in every capitalist country for the working people to step up their fight for better conditions of life.

The gradual weakening of the positions of anti-communism creates possibilities for cooperation on a larger scale than between workers' parties. This applies especially to the struggle to promote peace; however, ever wider social strata are uniting also in anti-monopoly struggle.

In the Finnish Parliament the majority belongs to the Left—103 out of 200 MPs represent workers' parties. After 18 years in opposition the Communist Party and the Democratic Union of the People of Finland are again in the government together with the Social Democrats and the bourgeois Center Party, which relies on the rural areas for support. There is greater unity of action of the workers in the enterprises and now the restoration of organizational unity of the disintegrated trade union movement is under discussion. The foreign policy line based on the idea of friendship and cooperation between Finland and the Soviet Union, which the Communists once advocated almost alone, has now been recognized as the official foreign policy of the state and enjoys the approval and support of the majority of the people. The latest evidence of this trend was the joint appeal of the workers' parties and the bourgeois Center Party to Urho Kekkonen, the President of the Republic, asking him to be their common candidate in the presidential elections to be held next winter. In our opinion, he has personally done a very great deal to promote our country's foreign policy of peace, especially by strengthening Finnish-Soviet relations. Popular confidence in him has also been growing due to

his approach to foreign policy and his recent activity in that field. It is only the Right extremists and the small peasant party that demonstratively put forward their counter-candidates, thereby revealing their negative attitude towards the present foreign and home policy of the country.

The peace movement, once stigmatized as a purely Communist movement, has been winning growing support and respect among different social strata.

Public life in Finland shows clear signs of a leftward trend which has an effect on the various parties, and makes them revise their attitude towards a number of problems. This is particularly obvious in the Social-Democratic Party. During the 1962 presidential and general elections this party suffered serious reverses due to its anti-Soviet platform and its alliance with the Rightist bourgeoisie. The Social-Democratic Party was forced to change its policy in this respect, which was neither easy nor simple. The struggle over this is still going on inside the party. However, the Social-Democratic Party seems to have realized the necessity for altering its policy. The question is of a positive attitude towards the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and their Communist and Workers' parties, as well as of a positive approach to cooperation with the Communist Party of Finland. Progress in this direction is slow, but noticeable results have already been achieved which we Communists are happy to welcome. To contribute to this cooperation we, for our part, are willing to remove prejudices and doubts hindering it.

The Finnish government pursues the policy of peaceful coexistence with other countries, laying special emphasis on closer friendship and cooperation between Finland and the Soviet Union. It takes a positive approach to the issues of relaxing international tension, bringing about general disarmament and establishing a nuclear-free zone in the North, as well as to the proposals for a conference on European security. However, a broad debate has been going on lately on the necessity for our country to pursue a more active foreign policy. We Communists realize that the status of a neutral country does not at all demand that we adopt a waiting attitude or treat world events as mere onlookers.

Our Party believes that an official declaration that the country is for peace or for closer relations between Finland and the Soviet Union is not enough. That is why we have been striving for the foreign policy of Finland to be active and constantly put forward new practical proposals and measures for really strengthening our relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, with all the peoples, and in general, for easing world tensions in every way. The draft document prepared for this meeting includes a number of questions in which neutral Finland carrying on its peace

policy can play an active role. From the point of view of our country, we regard it as an especially important task—along with efforts to stop the war in Vietnam and to intensify our action in the UN—to establish diplomatic relations with both German states, with which Finland already maintains equal relations on the level of trade missions. In the present situation Finnish initiative could, in our view, have a positive influence on the convocation of a conference on European security. The struggle for a bloc-free North is a particular issue connected with this. We think further steps in this direction are especially pertinent today, when the term of validity of the Atlantic Treaty is about to expire. We see the greatest threat to the security of the North in the fact that two Nordic countries—Denmark and Norway—are members of NATO. The campaign for discussion and action to bring about the withdrawal of these countries from NATO meets the interests of the Nordic states and all the nations of Europe.

The bourgeois Right in our country is opposed to a more active foreign policy because this would allegedly contradict the neutral status of Finland. It refuses to recognize that Finland can consolidate its neutrality and show its effectiveness only by concrete deeds aimed at relaxing international tension and preserving peace.

The draft document of this Conference contains what we consider a correct estimation of the situation. It puts forward proposals and objectives corresponding to our Party's conception of the system of collective security in Europe and the nature of activity in favor of it. Our comments on the structure and formulations of the document do not concern its substance but are aimed first and foremost at making the document more convincing. We consider it incontestably correct to proceed, in the matter of creating a system of collective security in Europe, from the inviolability of existing frontiers and from the need to abolish military blocs, withdraw foreign troops, renounce atomic weapons, effect gradual disarmament and promote the peaceful coexistence of states.

Our evaluation of the situation coincides with the conclusion given in the document, that the situation calls for special emphasis on the issues of European security. We have not for a moment accepted the idea that the problems of European security can be solved by the joint efforts of only the Communists and their parties. European security rests, after all, in the hands of the peoples of Europe. That is why this activity requires cooperation on the broadest possible basis, nationally as well as internationally. We think it right to appeal to the European working-class movement, which is the main factor for safeguarding peace. We think it right to appeal to the democratic forces active in various religious, political and other groups of the population, whose participation in the struggle for European security is not only desirable,

but also necessary. When cooperation in favor of security and peace in Europe grows on the basis of mutual respect, equality and non-interference in the affairs of other participants, it will have a chance to progress and win.

We are glad to be among people who are paving the way for a great cause uniting all of us, and to contribute our share to a lasting peace in Europe and the rest of the world.

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97(9)
98(10)

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## ON EUROPEAN SECURITY

**Proceedings of Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe in Karlovy Vary, Czechoslovakia April 24-26, 1967.**

**STATEMENT ON PEACE AND SECURITY IN EUROPE**

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*contents*

PROCEEDINGS OF CONFERENCE OF EUROPEAN COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES ON EUROPEAN SECURITY, Karlovy Vary, Czechoslovakia, April 24-26, 1967. See also Information Bulletin No. 96 (8).

COMMUNIQUE Of Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties 5

SPEECHES by T. Zhivkov 6
G. Danelius 19
J. Kadar 22
E. Papaioannou 28
D. Ibarruri 33
J. Blume 39
J. Gollan 41
E. Woog 46
A. Grozos 48
W. Ulbricht 56
D. Urbany 70
H. Moore 73
L. Longo 76
M. O'Riordan 85
A. Cunhal 87
E. Gasperoni 93
F. Lager 100
L. Brezhnev 103

CLOSING SPEECH by L. Longo 104

FOR PEACE AND SECURITY IN EUROPE
Statement by European Communist and Workers' Parties, Participants in Conference in Karlovy Vary 107

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# COMMUNIQUE

## ON CONFERENCE OF EUROPEAN COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

A Conference of European Communist and Worker's Parties on Questions of Security in Europe was held in Karlovy Vary on April 24 to 26, 1967. It was attended by the delegations of the following fraternal parties: the Communist Party of Austria, the Communist Party of Belgium, the Bulgarian Communist Party, the Communist Party of Great Britain, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the Communist Party of Germany, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany — West Berlin, the Communist Party of Greece, the Communist Party of Denmark, the Irish Workers' Party, the Communist Party of Northern Ireland, the Communist Party of Spain, the Italian Communist Party, the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus, the Communist Party of Luxembourg, the Polish United Workers' Party, the Portuguese Communist Party, the Communist Party of San Marino, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of Finland, the French Communist Party, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Swiss Party of Labor. The Conference was attended by a representative of the Communist Party of Sweden.

European problems and measures necessary to safeguard security in Europe, which is of great importance for the strengthening of world peace, were examined in a free and broad discussion and fraternal cooperation, in the spirit of internationalism, which distinguished both the preparatory work and the Conference itself.

The Conference adopted a Statement emphasizing the danger created by the collusion between American imperialism and West German militarism and also the significance of specific peace initiatives, prompted by the situation in Europe.

The program of action contained in the Statement opens up to the peoples a real prospect of peace, proposing that antagonistic military blocs be replaced by a system of collective European security, resting on the principles of peaceful coexistence between states with a differing social order.

The Statement supports the idea of convening a conference of all European states with the object of studying problems of security and development of European cooperation, and also other initiatives in this direction.

It is with a sense of high responsibility that the Conference

addresses the working class, the Socialist and Social-Democratic parties, trade union organizations, believers of all creeds, intellectuals, the rising generation, women and all peace forces. The Conference urges them to unite and unfold in each country and on the entire continent broad campaigns, mass actions, directed at safeguarding collective security in Europe, at ending the ruinous arms race and defeating the war forces.

The participants in the Conference are convinced that the program of struggle for collective security in Europe drawn up in Karlovy Vary could be the basis for joint actions by all Communist and Workers' parties in Europe.

The Conference adopted an appeal calling for the rallying of forces, wider development of struggle in support of the Vietnamese people; it denounced the barbarous United States aggression emphasizing that this aggression constitutes a danger to universal peace.

The Conference called on all who cherish freedom to step up joint actions to secure an end to the American intervention and ensure to the heroic Vietnam people the right to independence.

The Conference also adopted a Statement condemning the military coup d'état in Greece. It called for the organization of a broad movement of solidarity with the Greek people.

The participants in the Conference in Karlovy Vary are deeply convinced that their meeting helped strengthen the fraternal ties among the Communist and Workers' parties, helped rally the peace-loving and anti-imperialist forces in Europe and throughout the world.

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## SPEECH BY T. ZHIVKOV

### FIRST SECRETARY, BULGARIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

I would like to join other comrades in expressing our thanks on behalf of the Bulgarian Communist Party for the hospitality of the Czechoslovak comrades, for the good organization of our Conference in Karlovy Vary. We also express our gratitude to the Polish and French comrades for the splendid work they did for the preparation of this Conference.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party I heartily welcome the initiative for the convocation of this Conference of Communist and Workers' parties in Europe, the first of its kind ever held. I also express our satisfaction at the opportunity of meeting and working together with delegations from almost all the fraternal European parties.

We believe that this Conference is timely and useful. It is fully in keeping with the spirit of our common views and in harmony with the common line, the methods of work and mutual relations among our parties. The 1957 Moscow Declaration already emphasized that it would be expedient to call whenever the need arose broader conferences of Communist and Workers' parties in order to evaluate current problems, to exchange experiences, to acquaint ourselves with the views and standpoints of the various parties, and to coordinate the common struggle for our common aims: peace, democracy and socialism.

It is quite natural and normal, therefore, for representatives of fraternal European parties to meet here and jointly to examine the problems of European security the solution of which requires the joint efforts of our parties and all other peace-loving forces of our continent.

We are deeply convinced that the Conference of European Communist and Workers' parties will contribute to strengthening and expanding their mutual cooperation; we are convinced that it will once again demonstrate to European and world public opinion their devotion to the cause of peace and will increase their influence and prestige among the broad masses of the people and among all social and political forces whose vital interests require that peace and security be strengthened in Europe.

No one can doubt the urgency of our meeting, its usefulness and positive influence on the struggle for peace and collective security.

The situation in Europe is complicated and full of contradictions.

The establishment of the European socialist countries after the Second World War, the establishment of the two German states, the political, economic and military penetration of U.S. imperialism into our continent, the growing contradictions among the European capitalist countries themselves and also between these countries and the USA, the revanchist claims of the FRG—these are the factors that determine the character and the complexity of the European situation. It is here that the strongest forces of the two camps—the socialist and imperialist—are directly facing each other. Any clash provoked between them could grow over into a world thermo-nuclear war.

Peace and the security of the nations on our continent are imperilled above all by the reactionary policy and actions of the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany. On the other hand, the Soviet Union, the other European socialist countries, the Communist parties, the workers' movement, the great number of progressive mass organizations, the democratic and politically active intelligentsia, and all the peace forces in the capitalist countries are powerful factors capable of foiling the intentions of the U.S. and West-German imperialists and the reactionary circles in Europe.

In this situation it is especially important to alert the broad public in Europe and elsewhere in the world to the pressing need to organize and unite the efforts of all in order to thwart the plans of imperialism and revanchism and to strengthen peace and security. This is the most urgent task for Europe. Taking into consideration the significance of the European continent and the reflection of the events in Europe on the international situation; it is evident that this is a task of vital concern to the whole of mankind.

I would like to outline the views of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party on the questions being discussed by our Conference.

We share the general view that due to the growing aggressiveness of imperialism we have entered a period marked by a dangerous aggravation of the international situation.

The fact is that the most reactionary circles of imperialism, above all U.S. imperialism, are launching a frontal attack against the forces of peace and socialism. The USA is intensifying its aggressive actions in a number of areas of Asia, Africa and Latin America, directly threatening world peace. It seems that aggressive American circles are of the opinion that, in view of the existing disagreements in the community of the socialist countries and in the international Communist movement, the world situation today is favorable to the realization of U.S. intentions to consolidate and expand their positions—and that this permits them to go over to greater activity. The extremist circles responsible for the present dangerous political trend in the foreign policy of the United States are gaining an upper hand in the U.S. government.

The heightened aggressiveness and adventurism of U.S. imperialism should be regarded above all as a reflection of the growing contradictions and difficulties of the capitalist system, as a reflection of the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism and the constant shift in the balance of forces in the international arena in favor of socialism, the working-class movement and the national-liberation movement.

It is our common duty to keep close watch on all the actions of international imperialism, above all of U.S. imperialism, the main forces of the imperialist world, to examine them thoroughly and to take the necessary counter-measures in time, so as not to allow ourselves to be taken by surprise.

Before dealing with questions which are directly linked with European security, I would like to explain our attitude towards the U.S. aggression in Vietnam. This is all the more necessary if we bear in mind the latest events in that part of the world.

Developments until now, and especially the recent decision of the United States to step up military actions against the national-liberation movement in South Vietnam, and on the stepping up of

the bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, are a continual and cynical challenge to the nations. The fact that the U.S. has voted additional credits reaching thousands of millions for the continuation of the war, involvement of more states in this war, intensified American interference in the internal affairs of Laos, the growing provocations against Cambodia, plus rejection of all responsible proposals for ending the war through negotiation—all this testifies to the adventurous plans of Washington to continue along the road of escalating and expanding the conflict. U.S. aggression in Vietnam complicates the situation in the world and affects the solution of important national problems.

The position of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Bulgarian People's Republic as regards the war in Vietnam is known. We stand by the Vietnamese people and their struggle to drive out the aggressors. True to our internationalist duty, we—our Party and our people—will continue to give all the political, moral, economic, military, technical and other aid we can to the people of Vietnam in their just struggle against the U.S. aggressors. We declare once again that we are ready to send volunteers, if the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam asks for them.

In view of the latest developments in Vietnam, we are of the opinion that a new initiative and actions along various lines are necessary.

The socialist countries should continue rendering all-round military, economic, as well as moral and political assistance to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

We should redouble our efforts to mobilize world public opinion to intensify political support for the embattled Vietnamese people to unmask American imperialism and isolate it completely internationally.

To ensure a just and speedy solution of the Vietnamese problem united, coordinated action on the part of the socialist countries, the international Communist and workers' movement and all other peace-loving and anti-imperialist forces is imperative. We agree with the view expressed here by Comrade Brezhnev that the fight against the U.S. aggresssors in Vietnam would be far more successful if there were unity of action with the Chinese People's Republic. We fully endorse the stand of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government on united action with China in the planning and practical extension of aid to Vietnam.

There can be no doubt that the document on the Vietnam question which unanimously approved will help to rally world public opinion in support of aid to the Vietnamese people.

In the complicated and tense international situation, European problems undoubtedly occupy a special place.

Taking advantage of the situation which shaped in Europe after

World War II American imperialism set itself the task of subordinating the West European capitalist countries to its political, military and economic influence and turning them into its tools against the USSR and the other European socialist countries.

In pursuance of its political and military-strategic plans, the USA has stepped up its interference in the internal affairs of the West-European countries. It set up the aggressive NATO bloc; created the militarist and revanchist West-German state and assigned it a special role as a reliable ally in the realization of its aggressive aims; located its biggest military bases and stationed staff headquarters, divisions and nuclear weapons in Europe. It brought about the division of Europe into two opposing groupings and created a direct threat to peace and the security of the European nations.

At the same time the U.S. monopolies are continuing to invest heavily in the West European capitalist countries. In this way they are trying to establish control of the latter's economy, particularly in the decisive and leading branches of production, such as electronics, the automobile industry and other branches. In the past 16 years American investments in West European and other countries increased more than four times. Of the $49.2 billion exported abroad, $13.9 billion alone went to Western Europe. More than 80 per cent of the electronic output of the European Economic Community is controlled by American firms, 21 per cent of the automobile production of the EEC is partly or fully American-controlled.

The Federal Republic, which came into being and was consolidated with the help of the USA, has become the most dangerous aggressive force on our continent, the source of growing danger of war and tension in Europe.

In the past 20 years the West German monopoly bourgeoisie has obviously been orientating its policy toward the creation of such a situation that would permit it to change the results attained by the victory over Nazism in its favor, and that by every means at its disposal, including the use of force.

Revanchism and anti-Communism have become the official doctrine of the West-German rulers. The most reactionary militaristic forces have been revived and their activity is being stepped up, and there is a resurgence of Nazism. It raises its head more and more. With the aid of the USA all successive Bonn governments have been continuously strengthening the Federal Republic's military potential. West Germany has today the numerically strongest, best equipped army in Western Europe trained in the spirit of revanchism. The Bundeswehr is the main core of the shock force of NATO. Former Nazi generals are the spiritual fathers of the military doctrine of the Atlantic bloc, a doctrine envisaging aggression

against the East European socialist countries. The bilateral unio between Bonn and Washington which is in the making is becoming the greatest threat to peace and security in Europe and the world. The FRG not only gives political, economic and moral support to the American aggressors in Vietnam, but it also supplies a great amount of arms to the puppet regime of South Vietnam.

However, the tough foreign policy of the Bonn rulers disregards the real situation in Europe and the changed relationship of forces, the improving atmosphere between the countries of the East and the West, and this is leading the Federal Republic into political isolation and compels it to seek new forms and methods for the implementation of its policy.

The Kiesinger-Brandt "grand coalition" government has announced its intention to pursue a "new European policy." However, the very first statements and tactical steps of the new cabinet have shown it is continuing the policy of Adenauer and Erhard —the revenge-seeking militarist policy of West German imperialism.

As before, Bonn does not recognize the Oder-Neisse frontier or the existence of the independent German Democratic Republic. It claims the right to represent the entire German people in the sphere of international relations. It exerts pressure on countries which would like to recognize the GDR. It continues to consider West Berlin part of its territory. It is doing its utmost to gain access to nuclear arms in one way or another. And at present, when hopes for the conclusion of a treaty of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons have greatly increased, the government of the Federal Republic is doing everything in its power to prevent the solution of this important problem. This has also been confirmed in the last memorandum of the Bonn government concerning this question.

With its "readiness" to establish diplomatic relations with the European socialist countries, to go over to a "regulated coexistence" and "negotiate peace," without specifying in a concrete way the position on which it bases itself, the Kiesinger government is trying to present its policy as something novel.

In its proposals for the establishment of diplomatic relations with the socialist countries of Europe, Bonn, however, does not mention the German Democratic Republic. When speaking of a "new" policy in the Bundestag it was precisely the chairman of the parliamentary group of the chancellor's party who declared that the "legal, moral and historical foundations of the Bonn policy remain unchanged. What might and must be changed are only the methods."

One thing is clear: changes in tactics and methods of the ruling Bonn circles, partial modifications of the Hallstein Doctrine, no matter by what motives they could have been prompted, testify to

he absolute failure of the policy from the "position of strength" and to the successes of the policy of the socialist countries.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria is for broadening and improving relations with the European capitalist countries, including the FRG, provided the West German leaders renounce their revanchist policy.

The German Democratic Republic is a sovereign and independent state; it is part of the socialist world system and an important factor of peace and security in Europe. The GDR implemented the Potsdam agreement and is developing further as a new, peaceful and democratic German state. We highly appreciate its contribution to peace in Europe.

Between our two countries and parties broad contacts and close cooperation have been established on the basis of proletarian internationalism and fraternal mutual aid. Our mutual desire to develop these contacts and cooperation is expressed in our readiness to conclude shortly a treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual aid between the Bulgarian People's Republic and the German Democratic Republic.

We pay tribute to the Communist Party of Germany for the courageous struggle it is waging against revanchism, to rally the forces of the working class and other democratic-minded sections in the FRG to change the course steered by the West German rulers.

Not only the peace-loving forces in other countries but also social forces in West Germany itself are coming out more and more against the revanchist policy of the Bonn government.

Some responsible leaders of the Free Democratic Party have expressed themselves in favor of the recognition of the GDR and the Oder-Neisse frontiers. The West German trade unions, too, demand a change in the present policy of Bonn. They are against atomic armament, against the emergency laws and against neo-Nazism; they are also for the cutting down of military expenditures. Social Democrats are also coming out in large numbers against the Bonn revanchist policy as are cultural workers, members of the youth movement, etc.

It is our common duty to help, through our policies as well as our practical actions, the peace and democratic forces in the FRG, which are fighting for a new course.

It is a fact that the relations between the FRG and the USA are not fully idyllic. In the relations between these two countries serious contradictions in views on a number of problems of Europe, on the EEC, on the military strategy of NATO, on nuclear arms, etc., are appearing more and more frequently. Also obvious is the endeavor of the FRG to pursue a more independent European policy, i.e., independent of the U.S., aimed at overcoming its isolation from the other West European countries. The FRG harbors the hope

of assuming the leading role in Western Europe, held thus far by the USA. U.S. leading circles, too, are no longer united on the question of relations with the FRG. There are those who oppose the U.S. close ties with the Bonn government and the latter's militaristic and revanchist poalicy; this tends to strain the relations between the USA and its NATO allies and isolates it from the other European countries.

The economic, political and military strengthening of West Germany, its revanchist plans, the adventuristic policy of the U.S. and the FRG give rise to a certain sobering up, to anxiety and fear in some West-European countries both among the mass of the people and certain influential groups of the national bourgeoisie. Public opinion and also some governments in Western Europe are beginning to tend more and more clearly towards a search for ways and means of counteracting the revanchist policy of the FRG and the aggressive, adventurist policy of the USA, as well as for ways and means of developing mutually advantageous peaceful cooperation between East and West.

Recently a number of facts have become obvious that speak in favor of these conclusions.

U.S. attempts to draw the NATO member-states into its aggression in Vietnam have failed. Some positive trends and actions in the foreign policy of the French government—its initiative to improve relations between France and the European socialist countries, the exchange of visits of statesmen and other personalities of our countries and France—are the expression of these trends.

A number of political personalities and even the governments of the various West European countries support the principles of the inviolability and permanency of the frontiers in Europe, they recognize the need to prevent the further proliferation of nuclear weapons and favor cooperation and mutual understanding between countries with differing social systems. As a consequence of the aggressive policy of the USA and the growing contradictions between the USA and some of its allies, an open and deepening crisis has gripped the Atlantic bloc. Ever wider strata of society are becoming aware of the aggressive character of NATO and question the desirability of its further existence.

The offensive of U.S. monopoly capital and its menacing invasion of Western Europe are meeting with resistance. Contradictions between the separate West European capitalist countries and the USA, and between Western Europe as a whole and the USA, between the Western countries themselves and between the economic organizations that have been established—EEC, EFTA, etc.—are growing sharper. A sharp struggle for markets is taking place among them, clashes and serious conflicts of various political, economic and military interests occur.

These trends, facts and phenomena which I have described above no doubt help to reduce political tensions in Europe, improving conditions for the establishment of a system of collective security and the development of European cooperation.

We believe that useful initiatives could be undertaken together with those forces and governments of European countries wishing to cooperate on questions of European security.

The Central Committee of our Party is convinced that the socialist countries and the democratic forces should persist in their efforts to give added impulse to these tendencies and phenomena which are increasingly asserting themselves in the West European capitalist countries. However, as far as the evaluation of the actual state of affairs in Europe is concerned, we must remain realistic. We must not underestimate the existence of some positive tendencies in the development of relations among the European countries, but at the same time we must not overestimate these aspects in the situation existing on our continent. We are of the opinion that our attitudes and practical actions must take into consideration the motive forces and peculiarities of the present political situation in Europe, i.e., that they must contribute to the mobilization of all the forces in the struggle against the danger of war, the strengthening of peace and cooperation in our continent, and at the same time must not create any illusions among the working class and the people.

We are fully convinced that the problem of ensuring European security, discussed at our Conference, is not a utopian but a fully realistic task, and that the balance of forces in Europe has changed in favor of a sensible solution of this problem that would satisfy all.

What are the main factors and the main forces conditioning the objective reality of this task and capable of putting it into practice?

Above all, these are the countries of the socialist system that have turned into the powerful motive force of development in Europe and the world.

The Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence of countries with differing social systems, a policy supported by the socialist countries, is bearing fruit. Active relations with the Western capitalist countries, more frequent contacts with their state and public leaders, popularization of our all-round successes, the development of trade, economic and cultural cooperation with these countries, all contribute to the establishment of a healthier political atmosphere on our continent.

The foreign policy of the socialist countries profoundly influences the consciousness of the mass of the people in the capitalist countries, exposes anti-communism, shatters the myth of "Communist aggressiveness," strengthens the position of the progres-

sive forces and assists in speeding up the revolutionary process.

The steps taken by the socialist countries to safeguard peace in Europe are meeting with increasing interest and approval. Proof of this is the response to the Declaration of the member-countries of the Warsaw Treaty adopted in Bucharest last July. It gave a concrete perspective to the healthy and positive tendencies in the policy of those West European countries interested in peaceful co-operation with the socialist countries.

The socialist countries exert a positive influence in the sphere of international relations also through their rapid economic progress.

In the years 1950—65 industrial production of the member countries of the Council of Mutual Economic Aid increased annually by an average of 10.1% and total output increased 370%. During the same period, industrial production in the developed capitalist countries increased annually by an average of 5.3%. While the national per capita income in the member-countries of the Council of Mutual Economic Aid in the period 1950—65 increased annually by an average of 6.9%, in the EEC countries the increase amounted to 4.8%, in the USA to 1.7% and in Great Britain to 2.2%. The share of the member-countries of the Council of Mutual Economic Aid in world industrial production increased to 31%, although its population accounts for only 10.2% of the world population.

On the basis of modern science and in line with the tradition, conditions and experiences of the respective countries, reforms in industrial management are effected in a number of socialist countries. After these reforms are fully realized, the socialist countries will have attained still greater successes enabling them to catch up with and overtake the developed capitalist countries in all spheres of material production.

Economic growth and scientific and technical progress in the socialist countries are accompanied by a fast progressive development of social relations, a rise in the standard of living, successes in the sphere of culture and improvements in the way of life. The socialist countries are successfully solving important problems of developing and perfecting socialist democracy.

A major contribution to ensuring stability and strengthening peace in Europe is the new type of interstate relations based on equality, mutual aid and fraternal cooperation which the socialist countries, with their system of treaties of friendship and mutual aid, have created among themselves.

An important condition for the preservation of peace and security in Europe is the military potential of the socialist countries, the united armed forces of the member-countries of the Warsaw Treaty, and above all, the Soviet Union and its army, equipped with the most modern weapons.

We are of the opinion that the Warsaw Treaty Organization must be strengthened as long as the imperialist NATO bloc and the threat presented by the aggressive policy of the USA and FRG exist. Experience shows that the aggressors' every attempt to attack us must be repulsed, for otherwise a military adventure, even world war, might ensue. We hold that it is necessary to continue even more energetically to work for the simultaneous liquidation of both military groupings—NATO, whose term expires in 1969, and the Warsaw Treaty Organization.

The Communist and Workers' parties of the European capitalist countries are an important factor and motive force in strengthening the positive trends in the political situation. We should like to commend them for their contribution to peace and European security.

We, the Bulgarian Communists, have always followed with enthusiasm the struggle waged under difficult conditions by the Communists in the capitalist countries in defense of peace, democratic rights and liberties, for the organized struggle of the working class and the overcoming of splits in their ranks, for cohesion and a unified advance of left-wing and all democratic forces in their countries, to win new allies from among the ranks of the middle classes. We rejoice at the successes of the French Communist Party in the last parliamentary elections, which have again shown clearly that this Party has become the most influential political force in the country standing in the front ranks of the anti-monopoly forces of France.

We welcome the successes of the Communist Party of Italy, the greatest political force in its country, a party that spares no effort in its work among the masses, and helps to maintain their high political activity.

Our revolutionary theory and practice are enriched by the experience and struggle of other Communist and Workers' parties. This is why I would like to express here to the representatives of the fraternal parties of the European capitalist countries, present among us, the sincere greetings of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, of all Bulgarian Communists, and to wish them new successes in their struggle for the cause of the working class and for peace.

The political line elaborated collectively at the Moscow meetings is, as hitherto, of decisive importance for the successes of the Communist movement. The class analysis they gave of contemporary capitalist society, their general assessment of the driving forces of the revolutionary process, their call to direct the main blow against monopoly capital, and the democratic programs appealing to the broadest social forces which they advanced set the correct Marxist-Leninist course for the Communist and Workers' parties.

The development of the situation in Europe and in the world fully confirms the correctness of this analysis, of our evaluations and conclusions.

Continued implementation of this line in Europe opens realistic prospects for the solution of the problem of European security, defense of the interests of the European nations, and preservation of European culture.

I cannot but discuss, if only in brief, the situation on the Balkan peninsula. The general trend of development in Europe is also evident in the relations between the Balkan states and nations. In the last few years there has been a considerable improvement in relations between the Balkan countries, a growing gravitation towards peaceful, good-neighborly intercourse. However, development on the Balkan peninsula is not smooth and simple, but a complicated and profoundly contradictory process. U.S. intervention in the internal affairs of our southern neighbors has not ceased. The latest evidence of this is the military-fascist putsch in Greece a few days ago. Democracy was trampled underfoot. The blow was directed against all the progressive forces in the country. Our delegation adds its voice to the declaration adopted unanimously at our Conference in connection with this military-fascist putsch. It is difficult to say today how events in Greece will develop further, but there is a real danger that the situation on the Balkan peninsula will become more complicated.

The potential danger threatening peace and good-neighborly relations in this region is increasing. We shall carefully watch events in Greece. As far as we are concerned, we shall—in close cooperation with the fraternal socialist countries—continue to pursue a policy of strengthening peace and cooperation on the Balkan peninsula. This policy is in keeping with our common interests, for peace and security in Europe are indivisible.

The Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party is of the opinion that the draft Statement on peace and security in Europe submitted to the Conference is in keeping with the demands of the present political situation and reflects our joint standpoint as regards ways and means of attaining this aim. There is no doubt that this Statement is of great political importance and will carry much weight. It points to the concrete possibilities of establishing a system of collective security. The conclusion that the aim we have set ourselves is attainable, that the European nations can and must solve this vitally important task, is entirely correct.

The Statement will strengthen the faith of the European nations in their own ability to solve the question of peace and security in Europe. It will impart new strength to their struggle against American intervention.

We are of the opinion that at the present moment the struggle

for the attainment of the following aims is of particular importance.

—to prevent all attempts of the FRG to gain access to nuclear weapons, in any form whatsoever, not excluding the establishment of "European armed forces"; it is therefore necessary in the nearest future to conclude a treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons;

—not to permit the renewal of the aggressive Atlantic Pact which ends in the year 1969;

—to launch a broad public movement for calling a conference of all European states on the problem of security and peaceful cooperation in Europe;

—to conclude a treaty among all European countries by which these states would undertake to renounce the use of force or the threat of using it in reciprocal relations, as well as interference in the internal affairs, a treaty which would guarantee solution of all controversial issues exclusively by peaceful means;

—the establishment of an atom-free zone on the Balkan peninsula, in the Danube countries and other regions of our continent and the dismantling of foreign military bases.

We fully share the opinion that under the conditions existing in Europe full mobilization and unanimity of all those who are profoundly interested in repulsing the forces of war and aggression, i.e., the working class, the mass of the peasants and their organizations, the progressive intellectuals, all people of good will on our continent, are imperative.

The Statement indicates a number of important political, ideological and organizational tasks for the European Communist and Workers' parties. There is no doubt that each party, in agreement with the conditions under which it works, will find the necessary forms and the necessary approach in organizing joint actions by all peace forces on a national and all-European scale, for the successful solution of the problem of European security.

Our Conference coincides with the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. In this connection, I would like to express our gratitude to the Party of Lenin and the Soviet Union, which for half a century now have consistently fulfilled their internationalist duty and stand in the forefront of the fight for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism. We deeply respect the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the present Party and state leadership of the Soviet Union, for the Leninist policy they are pursuing towards the fraternal socialist countries and fraternal parties, for their devotion to the revolutionary traditions of the Communist movement and the interests of the world proletariat and all peoples fighting for freedom.

I would like to assure you, dear comrades, that the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Bulgarian People's Republic, in coopera-

tion with the other socialist countries of the Warsaw Treaty and the other fraternal parties, will continue to make its contribution to the victory of the cause of peace and security in Europe and throughout the world.

## SPEECH BY G. DANELIUS

### CHAIRMAN, SOCIALIST UNITY PARTY OF GERMANY— WEST BERLIN

Permit me to express cordial thanks to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the Polish United Workers' Party, the French Communist Party and the Editorial Committee for the good preparation of the Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties, which, in view of the agression of the USA against the people of Vietnam and the growing aggressiveness of West German imperialism, we consider to be of great importance.

Our Party welcomes in particular the clear wording of the draft Statement where it refers to the reactionary and revanchist policy of the ruling circles of West Germany and the role the German Democratic Republic as a significant factor for peace and security in Europe.

In West Berlin, on the borderline between the two social systems, we feel very strongly that the policy of the Kiesinger-Strauss government, in which Social-Democratic ministers also participate, is a direct continuation of the old revanchist policy of the government of Adenauer and Erhard. The Kiesinger-Strauss government, too, claims exclusive representation of the whole of Germany, it is reaching out for nuclear weapons and seeks a revision of the existing frontiers in Europe. It continues to refuse to talk with the government of the German Democratic Republic on the renunciation of atomic weapons and of the use of force in the relations between the two states, on the reciprocal reduction of the military budgets and on other vitally important matters. That is why the anti-fascists and democratic forces of West Berlin have hailed the conclusion of treaties of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance between the German Democratic Republic, the Polish People's Republic and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. This has been a heavy blow to the so-called new Eastern policy of the Bonn government and its attempts to isolate the German Democratic Republic. At the same time this has greatly bolstered up the anti-fascist and democratic forces in West Berlin and those forces in the So-

cial-Democratic Party of Germany which disagree with the participation of the Social-Democratic leaders farthest to the Right in the "grand coalition" and are seeking an alternative to the CDU/CSU policy. The establishment of diplomatic relations with the Federal Republic without resolute rejection of Bonn's claims to the sole representation of the whole of Germany weakens the democratic movement and also the Left-wing forces in the Social-Democratic Party which come out against atomic armament and the revanchist policy, against the state-of-emergency dictatorship, for a rapprochement of the two German states and the lessening of tension in Europe.

As is known, West Berlin lies 180 km. from the eastern frontier of the Federal Republic, in the central part of the German Democratic Republic. The West German rulers have chosen our city as the first target of their policy of annexation. At the present time the unlawful claim of the Bonn government to West Berlin is manifested in sessions of Bundestag committees and in the fact that Federal President Lubke and Chancellor Kiesinger have arrogated the right to hold office and appear regularly in public in West Berlin. They interfere in the internal affairs of our city and prevent normalization of relations with the German Democratic Republic. Some people in West Berlin and elsewhere ask us: Why do you oppose so vigorously the sessions of the Federal parliament and its committees in West Berlin? We oppose them because behind these sessions outside the territory of the Federal Republic are claims to a territory which does not belong and never will belong to the Federal government.

The ruling circles of West Berlin refuse to reconcile themselves to the results of World War Two and concrete reality. This is confirmed by their plans to turn West Berlin into an eleventh Land of the Federal Republic and to deal with the sovereign German Democratic Republic as a twelfth Land of the Bonn state. These are crazy plans, but they endanger peace in Europe. How closely the war in Vietnam is linked with the aggressiveness of German imperialism is evident from the statement of U.S. Vice-President Humphrey in West Berlin a few weeks ago. We consider Humphrey's statement in West Berlin that the Americans intend to play the same role in our city as in Vietnam to be a brazen challenge to the European nations and this is not only Humphrey's idea. It has been repeatedly advocated by the ruling circles of West Germany and West Berlin. They declare that West Berlin is "our Vietnam." You can see that the U.S. and West German imperialists are playing a game with divided roles.

The Bonn government supports the Vietnam policy of the Americans and the U.S. imperialists support the revanchist policy of the ruling circles of West Germany. It is no wonder that Dr. Wilhelm

Bleyer, formerly spokesman of the Nazi party and now of the NPG, feels encouraged to write: "If we place the compass leg in the centre of Germany and Europe, at Cheb, and draw a circle around German national territory, this will include Wroclaw and Lublin in the East, Merano in the South, Strassbourg and Alsace-Lorraine in the West." We can also find this program, less overtly but more officially expressed, as Comrade Reimann said, in Strauss' new book *Proposals for Europe*. All this happened once before. The annexation of Austria was followed by the military enslavement of the countries of Eastern and Western Europe and finally by the Hitler fascists' criminal attack on the Soviet Union. Before that, each claim to the incorporation of so-called German-speaking territories had been put forward in the name of European peace settlement and with the solemn pledge that after the satisfaction of territorial claims it would be possible to speak about reconciliation and disarmament.

That is why one must not whet the appetite of the German imperialists and militarists and make any concessions to them. They want first of all to shift their forward positions up to the Oder-Neisse frontiers in order to remap Europe for a third time and set up a "new order" in Europe. For them West Berlin is only important as the frontline city in the cold war against the GDR and other socialist states. Our citizens, however, cannot gain anything from the continuation of the cold war, and less so from constant provocations against the GDR and other socialist states. West Berlin can only gain if an end is put to the cold war, let alone from constant provocations against the GDR and national problems and in building a system of European security.

We thank the Soviet Union, the other socialist states and all fraternal parties of the capitalist countries for their support of our struggle to transform West Berlin into an independent political unit, into a city which would maintain normal political, economic, cultural and sports contacts with the West and the East, in particular with the German Democratic Republic surrounding us. There is a movement growing in West Berlin for halting the U.S. aggression against the Vietnamese people, against the West German and West Berlin rulers' support of this aggression, for the recognition of the existence of two sovereign German states, for a policy of accepting reality, and the results of World War Two.

We are convinced that the Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties in Karlovy Vary will lead to a further strengthening of the Communist movement and stimulate the democratic and peace-loving forces in our city in their struggle for peace, detente and social progress.

## SPEECH BY J. KADAR

### FIRST SECRETARY, HUNGARIAN SOCIALIST WORKERS' PARTY

From the beginning our Party has supported the idea of a meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties of our continent to discuss European peace and security. We are glad that this Conference has materialized and begun its work. We greet all the participants and convey to you on behalf of the Central Committee and the members of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party the comradely greetings and wishes of success. I greet especially the Czechoslovak comrades to whom we express our cordial gratitude for their warm hospitality and thoughtfulness in arranging good conditions for our work. We Hungarian Communists approve of bilateral and multilateral meetings, and of larger, world-wide conferences of the Communist movement, which are essential from time to time. Our Parties frame their own policy and define their tasks independently, but even when dealing with internal matters they cannot afford to neglect the experience of fraternal parties, and doubly so in relation to international issues.

International developments show, on the one hand, that the strength and influence of the socialist countries, and of the Communist and Workers' parties, are increasing continuously, that the liberation struggle of the people is growing apace and that their efforts to avert a new world war are becoming more vigorous. On the other hand, we see that in the past two or three years the imperialists, especially the U.S. imperialists who are fighting a disgraceful war in Vietnam, have stepped up their aggressive activities in different regions of the world. It is extremely important in these circumstances that Communist parties should meet to discuss the key international issues and coordinate their actions. The masses in the capitalist world, the exploited and oppressed peoples threatened by enslavement, and the liberated nations as well, have to join forces in order to repulse the imperialists. Nothing is, and can be, more important for the Communist parties than to consolidate and extend the anti-imperialist front.

In declining to discuss this question, the Communist and Workers' parties were guided by their historic responsibility.

As far as our Party and the people of Hungary are concerned, we have great and majestic plans for the completion of the construction of socialist society and for the flourishing of our country. The European nations are not the only ones for whom the question of peace and security is of prime concern. The lessons of history

show that it is a big world issue, and that it affects the destiny and future of all countries.

At the recent elections in March, the people of Hungary showed unanimously where they stand and indicated their determination to continue building socialist society. We need peace to accomplish our plans. We shall defend our national independence and freedom from any and all imperialist threats, but we want neither a hot nor a cold war. In close unity with the other socialist countries, we want friendship and mutually advantageous cooperation with all nations and countries which are so inclined, in line with the principle of peaceful coexistence. We cannot and we do not want to separate our fate from that of Europe and the nations of the whole world. Our own experience and our historical past leads us to be vigilant toward the imperialists and constantly and persistently continue our struggle for peace in cooperation with all forces of progress.

We believe that genuine opportunities have appeared lately to consolidate peace and establish a system of collective security in Europe. Apart from the favorable change in the international balance of forces, we owe this to the fact that the imperialist slander about a "danger of Communist aggression," which is the cornerstone of the NATO cold war policy, has been dissipated. The peoples of Western Europe and, what is more, the governments of some capitalist countries, are coming to realize that the socialist countries have nothing but peaceful intentions. The tremendous achievements of the socialist countries, above all those of the Soviet Union, in science, production and living standards, present a bright and attractive picture to the average Westerner, and have, by and large, dissipated the prejudices bred by the falsehoods of capitalist propaganda. The people in the capitalist countries are coming to realize that the destiny of Western Europe is tied up with the world-wide struggle that socialism and peace is waging against reaction and aggression. It is noteworthy fact that the ruling element in the West-European countries is progressively less inclined to support the adventuresome policy of the United States.

For all this, there are also dangerously bellicose reactionary forces, who are generating tensions on our continent. This applies first and foremost to the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany, to their alliance, and to NATO, which is today held up chiefly by this alliance. The anti-popular forces in Europe are backed by the leading NATO powers. It is with the latter's help that fascist regimes have survived to this day in Spain and Portugal, and more than obvious, too, that they are behind the military putsch in Greece, which we resolutely condemn.

The war bases, ground troops and nuclear-armed warships and

planes of the United States on the soil and in the waters and airspace of Europe are a constant threat to the security and life of the nations of our continent. Another grave threat to European peace is presented by the Federal Republic of Germany, which is making undisguised territorial claims, striving to gain access to nuclear weapons, condoning the increasingly active fascist and neo-fascist elements, while persecuting the democratic forces. The "grand coalition" that has come to power in the Federal Republic —the Kiesinger Government and its so-called new Eastern policy —has yielded nothing novel so far, except new semantics. In effect, the Kiesinger Government pursues the dangerous policy of its predecessors, which is leading to an impasse and has failed so many times in the past. Instead of working to resolve Europe's real problems and achieve conciliation with the peoples of the continent, the West-German government is leaning for support on the U.S. imperialists in a bid to win European hegemony. This policy keeps intact all the old revenge-seeking aspirations, and above all the claim to "exclusive representation of the whole nation," the refusal to reckon with the German Democratic Republic and the intention of isolating the GDR internationally. Those are futile designs.

Kiesinger's government has declared on several occasions that they wish to improve and normalize their relations with the socialist countries.

On the strength of the principle of peaceful coexistence, the socialist countries, including the Hungarian People's Republic, are striving for normal, well-adjusted inter-state relations and mutually beneficial economic ties, and for their expansion, with all the European capitalist countries, including the Federal Republic of Germany. But no headway can be achieved in this field, unless the West-German government genuinely abandons its revenge-seeking ambitions and relinquishes its trumped-up and groundless claim to "exclusive representation."

Europe's progressives and the socialist countries, including the Hungarian People's Republic, will continue to fight the peril presented by the West-German monopolists, militarists and revenge-seekers to the peoples of our continent. We have feelings of solidarity for the far-sighted West-German patriots, Communists, Socialists and Democrats who are braving persecution to fight Bonn's revanchist policy in an environment of deliberately cultivated chauvinism.

In face of the disquieting political developments in the FRG, it is a reassuring fact for the peoples of Europe that there exists the German Democratic Republic, the first German workers' and peasants' state in history, which is building socialism and pursuing a policy of peace and growing steadily stronger. This is a highly im-

portant factor of peace and security in Europe. We admire the way the government and people of the GDR have done away with fascism, and appreciate their steadfast policy of exposing and frustrating the plans of the West-German revenge-seekers. This is an invaluable service to the whole German nation.

The Hungarian People's Republic and the German Democratic Republic are linked by strong friendship, by common socialist interests and goals, by fruitful and expanding cooperation, and by an alliance. Nobody will ever succeed in impairing, let alone destroying, our ties. On the initiative of the Hungarian People's Republic, her appropriate organs have recently concluded a Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Aid with the German Democratic Republic, which is yet another token of our determination to continue strengthening our ties.

Both the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party in its activity in the international field, and the government of the Hungarian People's Republic in its foreign policy, spare no effort to contribute to the strengthening of peace and security in Europe. Our delegation, in line with the policy of our Party, will do its utmost at this important Conference as well to ensure the success of this Conference.

We believe that European peace and security can be safeguarded even in this era of countries with different social systems. This can be done by combating militarism, revanchism and neo-fascism, and by working for a modification or abolition of the armed confrontation of different military blocs. In the final analysis, it takes an inter-state agreement to establish a system of collective security in Europe. However, the road leading to such an agreement is an arduous one. It calls for tireless effort and for effective struggle by all the progressive forces and by the masses. This is why we approve and consider it highly important that the Communist and Workers' parties have taken the initiative in behalf of European peace and security.

When we were arranging this Conference, some parties expressed the fear that we might prejudice the chances of mobilizing the masses and might restrict the scope of government policy by discussing peace and European security here, at a conference of Communist parties in Karlovy Vary. We have no such fears. It is on record now that our past efforts attracted public interest and the interest of the European governments, and that, far from retarding matters, they have promoted our cause. This applies to last year's May conference of West-European Communist parties in Vienna, the Bucharest Conference of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee last July, the preparatory meeting for this conference in Warsaw in February, and to the decisions of the above Conferences. This is only natural. We are not advocating

any narrowly-conceived Communist interests, and are dealing with matters that affect the vital interests of all the European nations, not any secret aims, but aims that are publicly and broadly proclaimed.

It is no secret that the system of enduring European security has still to be worked out, and that this system, like peace, has to be fought for. Some one, some force, has to take the lead in this fight. The Second World War is still fresh in our memory. The people in the European countries know that the Communists, the politically conscious workers, were among the first to rise against the Nazis in each country; they were the ones who promoted the solidarity of all progressives in the fight for freedom. Later and this is also known to the people—it was the Communist and Workers' parties that came out against the cold war, against the sabre-rattlers, against those who engage in dangerous provocations; people know that it was the policy, the firm stand for peace and the might of the Soviet Union, the Warsaw Treaty, the socialist countries, that has safeguarded the relative security of the European nations and prevented a new world war.

It is no secret either that a far-flung massive campaign for peace is under way today in the European countries, and that representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties stand in the van of it. For various reasons, some parties are not taking part in this Conference, but we are certain that all the Communist and Workers' parties of our continent will take part in the fight for European peace and security, and that they are able to mobilize the people in the interest of the nations. It is the Communists, above all, who will initiate and organize this struggle in every country. Not because they are bidding for a "leading role," but because this is the historical mission of the parties representing the working class, the most progressive social forces.

We should like to express our gratitude to the Polish and French comrades who, entrusted by the fraternal parties, have carried out great organizational work, and to representatives of other fraternal parties, who have taken part in the work of the Editorial Committee.

Our Central Committee and, later, our delegation have studied the draft texts. We approve and accept the document drawn up on the basis of the amendments submitted by fraternal parties and our own. In our opinion, it contains all the viewpoints and proposals which, once adopted and published, will advance European peace and security and impart fresh scope to our fight for these goals.

We consider as correct that our Conference supports the proposals for the creation of atom-free zones of limited armament, as well as the constructive proposals concerning disarmament. The member-countries of the Warsaw Treaty also today consider as valid

their former proposals and we are ready to negotiate with the NATO countries a non-aggression treaty and also a simultaneous liquidation of both military organizations. The proposal is also still valid on the basis of which—if it be accepted—all military units on foreign territory would be withdrawn to the territory of their home countries. It is necessary to prevent the Federal Republic of Germany from gaining access to nuclear weapons. Very sensible is the initiative proposing the breaking down of all artificial barriers hindering the development of trade between all countries.

In our Statement we propose a number of ways and means towards a better mutual understanding and facilitating an exchange of views. We also support the initiative proposing that the governments of European countries should discuss at an all-European Conference the possibilities of creating a system of European security.

We support the idea of convening a Conference of the Nations of Europe for Peace. In preparing for this Conference, besides Communists, it is also important to invite Socialists and Social Democrats, progressive representatives of the Church and the believers, various organizations and groups of the intelligentsia, youth and women, as well as those representatives of the bourgeoisie standing for security and peace.

We would also consider it expedient to extend contacts as well as exchanges of opinion between Communist parties and parties affiliated to the Socialist International on the questions of peace and security in Europe. In this way the parties representing various groups of the working people could reach agreement on the question vital to them all, that of preserving peace. If Communists, Socialists, Social Democrats and trade unionists join forces in their respective countries and mobilize broad masses of workers, farmers, scientists, artists and other members of the intelligentsia for joint action, they will be able to exert greater influence and induce their governments to carry out a peaceful policy.

The people of Europe must always remember that the struggle for European security cannot be fought in isolation. It is closely associated with the struggle of the peoples of all countries. Our fight for European peace is a support for all the peoples battling for freedom and independence, for the security of their countries, in any other part of the world. The most important thing today is to assist the people of Vietnam, to bridle the U.S. aggression. The Hungarian delegation approves of the fact that the Conference has reaffirmed our unshakable solidarity with the Vietnamese people, and that we are issuing an appeal for greater support to the heroic fight against the aggressor in Vietnam.

The Communists, who are working for the establishment of the new social system, also consider it their historical mission to unite

the peoples and rally them to the cause of delivering mankind from a nuclear war, which would cause untold devastation and suffering. At this Conference, the Communists of Europe also want to reaffirm their peaceful intentions and to call on the millions of honest men and women to work for peace and security in Europe and in the rest of the world.

We should like to avail ourselves of this opportunity and request the representatives of the fraternal parties to take back to their countries greetings and best wishes of the Hungarian Communists and workers.

I assure you that the Central Committee, all the members of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, and the people of Hungary, who are building socialism and cherish peace, will staunchly promote the standpoint of our Conference in the struggle for enduring European peace and security.

## SPEECH BY E. PAPAIOANNOU

### GENERAL SECRETARY, PROGRESSIVE PARTY OF THE WORKING PEOPLE OF CYPRUS

The AKEL delegation conveys to this Conference our Party's and the Cypriot people's warmest greetings and best wishes for its success.

We will not be exaggerating if we say that hundreds of millions of people in Europe and all over the world turn their eyes today towards the heart of Europe, towards the meeting place of our Conference. All these people look forward to the resolutions of this highly important conference with optimism and confidence, and we are certain they will not be disappointed in their expectations.

Europe is one of the most important centers of world civilization. But at the same time a substantial part of the international warlike imperialist forces is concentrated in Europe.The fact that two world wars started here and that the battle on which the fate of mankind depended was fought in Europe, emphasizes the enormous, decisive role Europe has to play.

Also concentrated here, however, is the most important, and decisive part of the international peace-loving forces: the more developed and most of the socialist countries, above all the great Soviet Union the vanguard of the international peace-loving forces; the Communist and working-class movement and the broad democratic peace movement in the capitalist countries of Europe, which constitute a serious factor for peace.

All these factors impart an exceptionally great importance to this Conference.

Our Party has carefully studied the draft Statement of European Communist and Workers' parties prepared at the Warsaw meeting of the Editorial Committee, and we are authorized to approve its contents. We believe that this document contains a realistic evaluation of the conditions prevailing in Europe and proposes equally realistic measures for strengthening peace and security in Europe.

It is evident that strengthening peace and security in Europe means decisively strengthening world peace. It also means support of the colonial and dependent peoples' struggle against imperialist domination, for deliverance from economic and political dependence. It means a severe blow against the aggressive forces of U.S. imperialism presently waging a barbarous war against the valiant people of Vietnam. Consolidation of peace and security in Europe will help substantially to improve the international climate, and this in turn will contribute decisively to the peaceful solution of difficult world problems.

Twenty-two years have passed since the end of the Second World War, but a German peace treaty has still to be signed. Who is to blame? The blame rests with the Bonn revanchists, who, far from having abandoned the road to a new world war, are preparing this war with all the means at their disposal. The blame rests with the U.S. imperialists and the reactionary imperialist circles of NATO who have violated the Potsdam Agreement and who have armed revanchist West Germany.

The revival of Nazism in West Germany and the desperate efforts of that country to obtain nuclear weapons reveal the warlike intentions of the Bonn revanchists. In this lies the greatest danger to European security and international peace.

The Bonn revanchists' attempts to arm themselves with nuclear weapons, directly or indirectly, through a NATO multilateral nuclear force, must be resolutely resisted and frustrated. It would be a crime against our civilization if the very forces which plunged mankind into two world wars in the space of fifty years were allowed access to these terrible weapons of destruction which can annihilate the world.

Any correct approach to the German problem must bear in mind the fact of existence of two German states, the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany, plus recognition of the existing European frontiers as established after the Second World War. This is the only basis for the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany. Only on this reality can peace and security in Europe and all over the world be based.

But there are other major problems connected with the consolidation of peace and security in Europe, such as dismantling the

military bases in foreign countries, establishing demilitarized and nuclear-free zones, and dissolving military blocs. As for the latter, our Party fully approves and appreciates the statement of the Warsaw Treaty states concerning their readiness to dissolve their military alliance simultaneously with the dissolution of NATO.

Dismantling the military bases in foreign countries, dissolving the military blocs and creating demilitarized and nuclear-free zones, being indissolubly interconnected, are of tremendous importance for the struggle waged by the people of Cyprus and our Party over the years.

The West-German revanchists and the NATO aggressive circles headed by the U.S. imperialists, which threaten European security, are the same forces which threaten Cyprus too. They are the same forces which organized the recent fascist military coup in Greece.

Ever since the end of the 19th century the people of Cyprus have been fighting to cast off the colonial yoke and win freedom. This struggle was intensified and reached new heights during the Second World War and in the postwar. In 1959, the Anglo-American imperialists, abetted by reactionaries in Ankara and Athens, imposed on Cyprus the Zurich-London Agreement. Through this agreement the British imperialists obtained 99 square miles of Cyprus territory and 32 other sites in various parts of the island as sovereign military bases. They also usurped the right to use for military purposes all Cyprus roads and ports, the Nicosia airport and Cyprus air space. Furthermore, the British can use other parts of the island for military exercises.

For purposes of military intelligence the U.S. imperialists maintain three radio installations in Cyprus.

The imperialists imposed the Zurich-London Agreement upon the Cypriot people following their success in splitting the ranks of the people with the help of the old "divide and rule" policy. During the national-liberation struggle the British imperialists instigated national strife and succeeded in setting the chauvinist leaders of the Turkish-Cypriot minority, which makes up less than one-fifth of the population, against the Greek Cypriots, who constitute four-fifths of the Cyprus population.

In order to split the people the chauvinist members of the Turkish-Cypriot community, agents of the British colonialists, persecuted and assassinated trade union leaders and other progressive Turkish democrats who stood for cooperation between Greeks and Turks and for a common struggle against colonialism.

The Zurich-London Agreement is, basically, the product of Anglo-American imperialist interests and aims in the Middle East. The chief aim of the imperialists is to hold Cyprus as a springboard for military action against the newly-independent Arab countries and against the socialist countries, as a base for crushing the national-

liberation movements in the Arab countries and for upholding the imperialist oil monopolies in that area.

It is common knowledge that in 1956, at the time of the Suez crisis, Cyprus was used by the imperialists as a base for their disgraceful aggression. The British imperialists use their bases in Cyprus against the people of Yemen and Aden.

It has been reported that the British bases in Cyprus are being used by the U.S. imperialists as a springboard for a planned aggression against the Syrian Republic.

After December 1963 the Cyprus problem entered upon a new phase. Using the Turkish separatist leaders to whip up nationalistic passions, the imperialists plunged the Cypriot people into a new bloodbath with a view to partitioning Cyprus and converting it into a NATO base.

During the struggle for national liberation the British imperialists fomented nationalistic strife and secured the cooperation of chauvinistic leaders of the Turkish minority.

The common struggle of the people, the army and the government, which succeeded largely due to the policy of our Party and international solidarity and aid, especially the powerful support rendered us by the Soviet Union, helped to save Cyprus from aggression and partition.

However, NATO and particularly the Anglo-American imperialists, continue to plot against Cyprus, trying to undermine the Cyprus state and its Government. They cling to their plan for partitioning Cyprus, and turning it into a NATO base. They are exerting all kinds of pressure to impose an imperialist NATO solution of the Cyprus problem—namely the partitioning of Cyprus. The fascist coup in Greece which is basically the work of the American CIA and the Bonn revanchists, is aimed at solving, by fascist means, not only the internal problems of Greece, but also the Cyprus problem in accordance with the wishes of the Americans. In these conditions the danger is exceptionally great, since the putschists will not hesitate to use the same methods in Cyprus. Hence the need for the constant patriotic vigilance of the people, the army and the government.

Our Party has always pursued a correct policy with regard to our Turkish compatriots. We have always stood for friendly relations and cooperation between Greek and Turkish Cypriots. Nobody in Cyprus today thinks of violating the Turkish Cypriots' democratic rights. The Greek-Cypriot people are always ready to guarantee these rights in the best possible way. In 1965 the Cyprus government sent a note to the UNO expressing its readiness to accept international guarantees of these rights.

The Cypriot people are fighting for the dismantling of the military bases and the demilitarization of Cyprus, for the abolition of the

imperialist Zurich-London Agreement, for Cyprus to become really independent and free from imperialist bases and restrictions, for the Cypriot people to be able to decide their own destiny without foreign intervention, by exercising the inalienable right to self-determination.

This struggle of the Cypriot people is struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism, for peace and security. Thus any success in the effort to strengthen peace and security in Europe will directly influence the national-liberation struggle of the Cypriot people and will help in finding a genuine anti-imperialist solution of the Cyprus problem.

The Cyprus problem creates dangers which can lead some countries into war with grave consequences and complications in the international situation and in the relations among various countries of Europe. It hampers the process of strengthening peace and security in Europe. Its solution would remove dangers to peace and eliminate obstacles to this process. The Cyprus problem will be solved when the Cypriot people are left alone to decide their future in a sovereign way, free from foreign bases and intervention.

We are certain that through their united, uncompromising national-liberation struggle and with the solidarity and support of the anti-imperialist forces the Cypriot people will finally win this inalienable right.

Taking this opportunity we consider it our duty to express our gratitude to all Communist and Workers' parties, to all democratic forces, to all countries and first and foremost to the great Soviet Union, for the aid they are rendering to our embattled people.

All peoples expect much from this Conference. And we are confident that its deliberations will be really historic for strengthening peace and security in Europe and thereby all over the world. The deliberations of our Conference will be a manifesto, a banner for peace and social justice. They will be a message of optimism for the life of mankind and its happy future.

At this moment our thoughts are turned to the heroic people of Vietnam. Their unequalled self-sacrificial national-liberation struggle has won them the admiration of the people of the world. And it is not difficult to imagine that if it had not been the thought of Mao, if on the contrary, the thought of Marxism-Leninism, the thought of unity had prevailed in the minds of the Chinese Communist Party leaders, the U.S. imperialists would either have never dared to invade Vietnam or they would have been defeated by now.

We express our hope and confidence that the Chinese Communist Party with its many revolutionary traditions will find the way to lead again this great country to the road of cooperation with the other socialist countries and the Communist and Workers' parties,

for the sake of the victory of the Vietnamese people, the victory of peace, national liberation, social progress and socialism.

We are certain that the spirit of unity prevaling at this European Conference of Communist and Workers' parties will help unite the ranks of the world Communist movement, all anti-imperialist peace-loving forces, and achieve security and well-being for all the peoples of the world.

In conclusion, allow me to thank wholeheartedly the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia for the really splendid way they have organized this Conference.

## SPEECH BY D. IBARRURI

### CHAIRMAN, COMMUNIST PARTY OF SPAIN

On behalf of the Communist Party of Spain I wholeheartedly salute this Conference, which is a great hope in the fight for the maintenance and defense of peace and European security, against West German revanchism and imperialism.

Peace and the security in Europe being closely linked with the struggle against imperialist aggressors and the struggle for world peace, we have started our work with adopting the resolution on solidarity with the heroic Vietnamese people, a resolution expressing the firm will of the European Communist and Workers' parties to spare no energy in contributing in all possible ways to the victory of the just cause of the people of Vietnam.

On behalf of the delegation of the Communist Party of Spain, and being certain that I express the will of the Spanish people, I want to declare our full fraternal solidarity with the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese patriots, and to condemn the crimes of North American imperialism.

This Conference is an expression of the deep changes that have taken place in the world and in the Communist movement. Taking part in it are representatives of the world's first socialist state, the Soviet Union, of Communist parties which are building socialism in their countries, of Communist parties which are fighting in conditions of illegality, of the Communist parties of France and Italy which play so important a role in the life of their countries. After the Communist International ceased to exist Communists have been linked together by what flows from our common ideology, from Marxism-Leninism; these are our common tasks on a world-wide scale: the struggle against imperialism and reaction; the strug-

gle for peace, democracy, independence of nations and socialism; finally, our principles of proletarian internationalism.

No one in our movement today tolerates the possibility of methods and practices being applied that could violate the independence of any party in determining its policy. Therefore the problems that really confront every Communist party today are related, not to a demand for independence, which no one doubts, but to the ability deeply and fully to use this independence.

This means the ability to grasp the reality of one's own country; to identify oneself with the progressive traditions of one's country, to continue them and to carry them forward at the present historical stage; to integrate Marxism-Leninism with national culture and national conscience; to merge with the working class and the people and to become an authentic and great workers', people's and national party.

Real independence manifests itself today in the struggle within each party against routine narrow-mindedness, against reducing Marxism-Leninism to formulas and clichés divorced from reality; in the struggle for a profound understanding of this reality and for the application of our theory in a really creative manner.

It is in these difficult and complicated conditions of struggle under enemy fire in which we have to work that every Communist Party demonstrates its ability and independence, its understanding that theory is not a dogma but a guide to action.

But the independence of Communist parties does not contradict the need for unity. Here, at this Conference, are represented European parties which live, work and fight in different conditions, but which are linked, as has been said, by bonds of a mutual ideology: by proletarian internationalism, Marxism-Leninism.

This Conference is a model of democracy and of free discussion, in which basic agreement has already been achieved. The striving to strengthen unity has been emphasized; the importance of this unity both for the Communist and Workers' parties of the socialist countries and for the Communist parties which are still fighting under capitalism, has been correctly understood.

In the Communist movement, as in any other living organism which grows and develops, there can be different opinions concerning highly diverse problems, including those that pertain to methods of struggle. These differences can be overcome given good will and correct methods.

Such a method can be friendly discussion at bilateral or multilateral meetings, at conferences, with the independence of each party respected.

But the rejection or mechanical transfer of policy from one country to another as anti-Leninist does not mean refusal to learn from the experience of other parties and other nations.

Generalization of the experience of Communist parties enriches our theory, and its assimilation—not imitation or copying—enables every party to adopt a creative and more correct position in solving its own problems.

Therefore we are of the opinion that meetings like this greatly contribute to our own work.

While expressing our agreement with the draft Statement, I would like to deal more specifically with some of its aspects.

The policy of the most aggressive imperialist circles is based on the survivals of Hitlerism, on the survivals of fascism. We Spaniards feel this especially keenly, as do other peoples of Europe.

In West Germany, manifestations of neo-Nazi trends are encouraged by the revanchist and militarist policy of the Bonn government which now threatens the security of our continent. And while the bayonets of Hitler enabled Franco to impose his dictatorship upon the Spanish people, support of the Franco regime has become a permanent policy of West German governments.

In this connection it is perhaps not altogether superfluous to point out that since the Socialist Brandt became West Germany's Foreign Minister there has not been any change in Bonn's policy in relation to the Franco dictatorship.

In this situation it is all the more important to emphasize, as the draft Statement does, the important international role of the German Democratic Republic, a peace-loving, democratic socialist country whose recognition as a sovereign state is essential for European security.

In the face of the growing aggressiveness of German revanchism we want to declare once again our support of the forces in West Germany which are fighting for a genuine policy of peace and for social progress; we want, specifically, to express our solidarity with the stalwart Communist Party of Germany which is condemned to fighting in conditions of illegality whereas neo-Nazi groups enjoy scandalous support in Federal Germany.

It is clear from the present situation in Europe, which has become a crossroads where the main forces of imperialism and socialism confront each other, that the struggle against the forces of imperialism and for democracy is indispensable for safeguarding peace and security.

The recent monarchist military coup d'état in Greece shows very clearly that survivals of fascism, fascist methods continue to threaten the peoples of Europe. This is a serious warning to all democratic forces that makes us aware of the necessity to be vigilant, to unite the masses against reactionary and neo-fascist intrigues.

It must not be forgotten that North American imperialism encourages the use of such fascist methods.

What does Spain mean to European security? The answer is to

be found in the aggressive policy of the USA, which the Franco dictatorship provides with unprecedented possibilities. No other European country has dared to make such concessions as Franco has made to the North American imperialists for helping him to preserve his dictatorship. Just recall the tragic nuclear accident near the village of Palomares which could become a real catastrophe for the whole southern region of our country.

The American 6th Fleet has its main harbor in the town of Rota, which has become a nuclear base. For this reason the creation of an atom-free zone in the Mediterranean, the withdrawal of the 6th Fleet and the liquidation of foreign bases are problems of vital importance to the Spanish people, problems whose solution is in the interest of all the European nations, all the Mediterranean countries, as has already been stressed in other speeches.

Broad circles of West European public opinion—and this is true not only of the masses but also certain bourgeois strata—are today aware of the necessity to overthrow the Franco dictatorship for the sake of Spain as well as for the sake of the whole of Europe.

In the course of the struggle against the foreign policy of General Franco's government a broad front is emerging in which forces of highly diverse political trends are fighting side by side with Communists. Influential Catholic circles declare against the American bases in Spain, against the American aggression in Vietnam, against the German revanchists, for a mutual Spanish policy.

In 1968 the term of the military treaties concluded between Franco and the United States will expire. The new tendencies in Europe are setting in motion forces in Spain which oppose the renewal of these treaties. Not only working-class, and democratic forces participate in this movement; it is also supported, tacitly or openly, by bourgeois strata which used to regard Franco's pact with the United States as a guarantee of their interests but which have changed their views and see this pact as a violation of national sovereignty and a threat to Spain.

The policy of neutrality opens up possibilities and prospects before the forces which consider that Spain can play a positive role in Europe, naturally on the condition that democratic changes take place in the country and the dictatorship is removed.

A characteristic feature of the present-day situation in Europe is that the crisis of the cold-war policy is accompanied by the disappearance of the anti-Soviet and anti-communist hysteria with the help of which imperialism tried to prevent any advance towards the unity of progressive and democratic forces.

These recent changes are evident and should be appreciated, not only because of their own merits but also because they reveal new prospects, new possibilities and forms of unity and alliance be-

tween Communists, Socialists, Christians and other democratic forces.

The progress achieved in Finland and France in building Socialist-Communist unity has great significance and will no doubt contribute to the unitary process in other countries.

We have every reason to approach with full confidence the new phenomena we are witnessing today.

Socialists and especially their grass-roots, labor basis are not and cannot be indifferent towards the changes which have taken place in the world under the impact of the existence of the socialist camp and especially under the influence of the great achievements of the Soviet Union.

To deny the possibility of alliance or agreement between these forces means to deny the influence of the socialist camp, to deny the progressive development in the world, which is not spontaneous, but is the result of the active political and social struggle of the people.

In its long struggle against the Franco dictatorship the Communist Party of Spain has worked out its policy by creatively applying Marxism-Leninism in the concrete conditions of our country.

There has emerged of late, assuming an unprecedented scope, a powerful mass movement which has a unitary character and original forms. The decisive role is played by the workers' commissions, which mobilize the masses of the working people in defense of their interests and in the struggle for democratic aims.

The same struggle is waged by the Students' Democratic Union, various peasant movements, the intelligentsia and the petty and middle bourgeoisie. These movements in our country strengthen the alliance of the forces of labor and culture which will become the basis of future Spanish democracy.

I have already mentioned the activity of Catholics in Spain. As far as this question is concerned, we maintain that one must not ignore the changes taking place within the Catholic church, even if some comrades may get apprehensive and consider it a "heresy" on the part of the Spanish Communists.

The encyclical *Pacem in Terris,* the second Ecumenical Council and the recent encyclical *Populorum Progressio* signify important steps by the Catholics church towards adaption to the present time in which, beside the capitalist system, socialism has become a mighty reality influencing the whole contemporary life. Inside the Catholic movement broad forces are emerging which orient themselves on the future and go over to the positions of democracy and socialism.

These trends are of great importance in present-day Spain. They recognize the fact of the class struggle and the necessity to end it by removing capitalism; they proclaim the necessity of struggle

and condemn resignation and those features of religion that lead to the alienation of man; they voice their determination to strive side by side with their "Communist brethren" for the transformation of society. The Catholic movement with these characteristic features plays a positive role in the struggle for democracy in Spain.

How could we reject this force, which refuses to be the "opium of the people" and wants to act, side by side with the Communists, as the catalyst of the fight for democracy and social change?

In our opinion, far from ignoring these forces, we must meet them halfway. And if the question of allies of the working class from the viewpoint of the progressive and revolutionary movement always requires careful consideration, today this approach is particularly important.

If the possibility of peaceful transition to socialism is not merely an empty phrase, problem No. 1 for the Communist parties is how to gain the majority of the population for the struggle waged by the working class, the bearer of socialism.

We suppose that Marxist theoreticians should pay more attention to the development of Catholic political and philosophical thought. Catholicism is one of the great mass movements of our time, and we must strive for the closest possible contact with it.

Comrades, this Conference has assembled in the year in which we celebrate the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. It must be remembered, and we Spanish Communists will never forget it, that this revolution blazed for the peoples a trail to communism and that this was done by the workers and soldiers of Russia led by the Party of Lenin.

On this occasion I want to express again our immense gratitude to the people and the party which started the world socialist revolution and which are today the most reliable mainstay of all those who are fighting for freedom, peace and communism.

We would like to express our agreement with the ideas and the tone of the speech which was delivered here on behalf of the CPSU by Comrade Brezhnev and which is a valuable contribution to the cause of European security and friendship of nations.

Finally, we would like to thank the Polish United Workers' Party and the French Communist Party for their work in preparation of this Conference.

We also express our thanks to the Communist Party and the government of Czechoslovakia for their hospitality and for having enabled us to meet at this conference, which will certainly be of great importance in the struggle for European security and for the strengthening of the Communist and progressive movement in all countries.

## SPEECH BY J. BLUME

### MEMBER OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU, COMMUNIST PARTY OF BELGIUM

The principal purpose of our contribution is to explain why we think that a conference of all European states to consider the security problem should be held as soon as possible. Our concern is based on a number of facts which it would be useful to cite here.

NATO is discrediting itself more and more in the eyes of European public opinion. This is a fact.

Disturbing features of the present situation are evident from the criminal aggression of the USA in Vietnam, and the danger that Washington will give the Bonn revanchists nuclear weapons. This is also a fact.

As far as our country is concerned—and we think that we are not an exception—it is the opinion of the population that the division of the world into rival military blocs, far from guaranteeing security, can only heighten the danger of war, and hence it is necessary to put an end to it as soon as possible. This is not the opinion of the man in the street alone. This view is shared also by leading politicians associated with state-monopoly capitalism and whose ideology and interests bind them to the United States, but who, aware of the changes in the world balance of forces, are looking for new ways and means of guaranteeing Belgium's security and preventing war.

However, there is an obvious contradiction in their attitude, one which they clearly cannot overcome by themselves.

This contradiction is, moreover, reflected in the present situation in our country. In Belgium, the fight of the masses against militarism and for peace has gained wide scope and is distinguished for its high level of public consciousness. And yet, just two years before its term expires NATO—one of the most dangerous war machines known to history—has chosen Belgium for its headquarters.

In the draft documents submitted to our Conference for discussion, the year 1969 is considered as a crucial point. We fully agree with this.

But it is not enough merely to acknowledge this truth. We should bear it in mind in practical activity.

Bellicose quarters in the United States and their friends in Bonn and elsewhere want to preserve NATO and are preparing to present it under a new guise. Objectively, they are helped in this by the vacillating pacifists who would very much like to get Washington to agree to shelving the bomb, but who do not dare to say so

openly because they do not know as yet where to seek the security guarantees which they had vainly hoped to find in the United States—the Mecca of the capitalist world.

This is where we must make our voice heard, the voice of the Communist parties of the real Europe—the Europe of the first socialist countries in the world, the Europe of powerful, experienced and militant workers' organizations.

Our activity must have two aims: to act quickly because time is short; to create an atmosphere of confidence because without confidence nothing of value can be created.

To act quickly? This means that the statesmen of the European capitalist countries must be induced to express their views regarding renewal of NATO a year or six months before this question is formally submitted to the governments and parliaments of the countries concerned. It is essential that the peoples should be informed about the real intentions of those who govern them. And what better place for this can there be than a conference of states to discuss European security?

It is also essential that it be held at the proper time. A few months, perhaps even a few weeks of delay could result in confronting us with NATO in a "renewed" form, but as harmful as in the past.

An atmosphere of confidence? This means first of all that we should have confidence in our own ability to achieve unity on the basis of concrete proposals. The diversity of situations and national conditions that we like to talk about so much are phenomena that are as old as the world. However, no principles of human activity, whether in the domain of science and technology or in the class struggle, were ever based on diversity alone. Descartes, Newton and Einstein as well as Marx, Engels and Lenin taught us that it is only from the search for common points of contact that the main lines of action, the laws and levers of victorious action are born.

Let us jointly look for a watchword that appeals to all. In this way we shall not only strengthen our unity with the political and trade union organizations of the Socialist and Christian workers; we shall also find new allies.

To inspire confidence also means to show courage, to be in the van, to be among those blazing trails.

It is our duty to interest ourselves in the problems that worry our new allies who, having rid themselves of U.S. influence, are looking for effective ways to express their desire for security and peace.

We, as a matter of fact, are thinking about the question they are already asking us: "What will the United States do in the perspective of the European conference of governments?"

In conclusion, we submit the proposal that we put forward already in Prague.

This is not a document which would amend or replace the main resolution, which our Party approves and considers essential. It is a concluding communique of the Conference which can easily be used for mass propaganda. We submit the following text for your consideration:

"The Communist parties, gathered in Karlovy Vary, from April 24 to 26, 1967, address a message of peace to the European peoples, and their trade union and political organizations.

"They suggest that a determined effort be made to convene a conference, which would bring together all European socialist and capitalist countries at the most appropriate time and whose aim will be to look for ways and mean of ensuring genuine European security.

"The Communist parties are prepared to study any proposal loyally submitted by political groupings or governments wishing to contribute to the organization of peaceful coexistence.

"They declare that the active unity of all those wishing sincerely to safeguard peace is task No. 1 of the day."

Comrades, the Belgian delegation thanks the fraternal parties which did most of the work and bore most of the responsibility for the organization of this Conference.

## SPEECH BY J. GOLLAN

## OF GREAT BRITAIN

This Conference is timely because it is discussing an issue of outstanding importance for all the peoples of Europe—their security.

It was from Europe that two world wars started. What happens in Europe is vitally important for world peace.

The proposals being worked out and advanced at this Conference are intended to be of the most practical nature appealing to all the peoples of Europe.

They are not directed against any particular nation of Europe. They are in the interests of all nations.

The Conference is particularly timely because of recent dangerous trends in West Germany. The people of Britain who suffered so much from Hitler's forces during the Second World War and who were the first victims of rocket missiles, are deeply concerned at the rise of the neo-Nazis.

No less threatening than this open menace is the presence of so many former Nazis in key positions in the West German state and armed forces; the reconstruction of the giant arms firms which backed Hitler; and the aggressive designs of the Bonn Government which refuses to renounce its aims of changing the post-1945 frontiers of Europe, and demands access to nuclear weapons.

All this alone would justify the holding of this Conference, which aims to reach common understanding on how to defeat these new dangers.

What makes the Conference even more timely is the widespread and growing feelings in almost every country that it is high time the divisions in Europe were ended, that the military blocs were dissolved, the cold war finally buried, and that the peoples of Europe irrespective of their different social systems should find the way to live in peace with one another. We need forms of cooperation which will safeguard the security of each, and the peace of all.

The policy of the British Government, far from helping, is obstructing these aims. More and more it has become President Johnson's spokesman. The defeat of American aggression in Vietnam is a central issue for world security, including that of Europe. The British Government is one of the few supporters of U.S. aggression in Vietnam, which increases world tensions and brings the threat of a third world war nearer.

In its attitude towards NATO and West Germany, the British Government is in conflict with the growing trend of public opinion in Britain. Despite the character and policies of the Bonn Government, the British Government flirts with it and George Brown fawns on it as a democratic and peace-loving Government.

The people who control power in the German Federal Republic are no friends of Britain. No one with any sense would place any trust in ex-Nazi politicians and generals, nor feel any confidence in those in the Bonn Government who tolerate the neo-Nazis while maintaining the ban on the German Communist Party and continuing the persecutions against other democratic and peace organizations.

Here let us pay tribute to all those in West Germany who are fighting for peace and against U.S. and German militarism.

It is a scandal that the British Government should be so complacent about the emergence of such reactionary forces in West Germany and yet refuse to recognize the existence of the socialist German Democratic Republic which has carried out the decisions of the Potsdam Treaty, eradicated all traces of fascism, and ended the power of the big monopolies and landlords which backed fascism.

The British Government, far from taking a first stand against the revenge-seeking aims of the West German Government, which openly calls for a revision of Europe's post-1945 frontiers, is evasive

about the Oder-Niesse frontier and refuses to make a categorical and complete denunciation of the Munich Agreement.

Despite the heavy expenditure entailed, the British Government maintains troops in West Germany, not to fulfil any post-war pledge of preventing the emergence of fascism again, nor to save Europe from a mythical "Soviet threat," but in effect to support the West German Government with its military ambitions against other European states. Every attempt by the British Government to persuade the Bonn Government to make a financial contribution towards the cost of the British forces on the Rhine, is treated by Bonn with contempt.

Throughout the Second World War, the British people prevented the German forces landing on British soil.

What the German troops could not achieve then by military attack they have now achieved, and West Germany is allowed to use our countryside for military training purposes.

Britain is dotted, too, with U.S. military and air bases from which U.S. war planes, carrying nuclear loads, take off for regular air missions over Europe. When France made her break with NATO and made the U.S. forces leave, the British Goverment was among the first to rush forward and offer them a home in Britain.

It is now admitted on all sides that the threat of "Soviet aggression"—which was the excuse for the setting up of NATO in 1949—was a complete myth. People are tired of the cold war and its consequences. They want to do away with tension and insecurity in Europe—but the British Goverment still clings to NATO as the cornerstone of its European policy, and to the American alliance in general for its "East of Suez" imperialist policies throughout the world.

The big West German monopolies hope to make use of the European Common Market as an economic counterpart of NATO. They hope that just as NATO has given them the opportunity to become the major military power in Western Europe, so the Common Market will give them the chance to become Western Europe's major economic power.

In his book, *The Grand Design*, Franz Joseph Strauss, a key representative of German reaction in the new Bonn Government, explained that the first objective of West Germany's strategy was that "Britain should be encouraged to enter the Common Market."

We cannot say, therefore, that we have not been warned.

Britain's entry into the Common Market would mean a serious worsening of the economic position of the British working people. The balance of payments—which is already used by the Government to justify its wage freeze policy—would worsen to as much as £250 million or even more.

Food prices to the consumer would rise considerably. With

changes in taxation and in social security methods, there would be further rises in the cost of living by as much as 3½ to 4½ per cent.

The political consequences of Britain's entry would be damaging to European security. It would provide the United States with a new lever for exercising its influence in Europe for the British Government would back U.S. policies in the councils of the Common Market. Britain would become part of the Washington-Bonn alliance, the main force against the detente in Europe.

At a time when many voices are urging an end to divisions in Europe, Britain's entry into the Common Market would deepen the divisions between East and West and so make more difficult the taking of steps to achieve European Security.

Britain's entry would also make the position more difficult for Britain's former colonies whose trading position would worsen, and whose young industries would be damaged.

The Common Market is not a mere economic grouping. Membership of it implies political aims, too. Just before Wilson's visit to West Germany, Kiesinger said he "would tell Mr. Wilson that the Common Market was not a commercial structure only, but it was a political community, requiring a modicum of common foreign policy."

And Kiesinger's foreign policy, which he wants Britain to support, is to use NATO as a means of undoing the results of World War II and once more strive to roll back the frontiers of Europe.

For all these reasons we are utterly opposed to Brittin's entry, and will continue to fight against this.

Our Party has consistently worked for an end to the division of Europe into hostile military blocs and economic groupings.

In June 1966, we produced a Memorandum on European Security, which we presented at a press conference. In this Memorandum we advocated the ending of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization, and their replacement by "an all-European Collective Security Treaty" in conformity with the United Nations' provisions for regional security pacts, and in accordance with the read needs of the. European people.

'We urged the closing down of all American bases, the withdrawal of all American troops and air forces from Britain, and cessation of training facilities in Britain for West German and Italian forces.

We advocated the establishment of nuclear-free zones in Europe, and the signing of a water-tight treaty on the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons.

We drew attention, too, to the dangers arising from a militarized West Germany bent on revenge, to the growing military power of West Germany, and to the presence of Nazi generals in key positions in NATO.

We denounced West Germany's demand for the restoration of its 1937 frontiers—an aim which is only attainable by war.

We still stand foursquare behind this policy.

We are *against* all policies which divide Europe and which increase the dangers of West German aggression.

We are *for* all measures which lessen tension, lead to the ending of the present divisions, and remove the dangers of military adventures by West Germany.

We are *against* Britain's entry into the Common Market — but *in favor* of measures, including an all-European Economic Conference, which will strengthen economic cooperation between all states in Europe, east and west, without hindering mutually beneficial trade between Britain and countries in other countries, including the developing countries and the countries of the British Commonwealth.

We welcome the initiative of Prime Minister Kosygin in having suggested, during his visit to Britain this year, the signing of an Anglo-Soviet Treaty of Friendship. And we are glad to see that talks for drawing up this Treaty have begun. We are convinced that the signing of a new treaty of friendship and cooperation between our two countries could become an important step, especially if accompanied by further measures to safeguard peace in Europe, to bury the cold war, and develop mutually beneficial economic and cultural relations. This can be only of benefit for the peace and security of all Europe.

Policies such as these have long been debated and endorsed, not only by Communists, but by the most varied labor organizations and by the peace movement and the churches.

The feelings of the British people towards the question of peace in Europe have been clearly expressed in this years's demonstrations against the Polaris submarine at Birkenhead, against the U.S. base at Ruislip and in the big traditional Easter March against nuclear weapons and against the war in Vietnam. Over 50 Members of Parliament supported the call for this year's Easter March, and a number took part in the demonstration.

The biggest movement of protest against British Government policy has been in connection with the Government's support for the U.S. aggression in Vietnam. This is not only of assistance to the courageous people of Vietnam, but, by helping to end British subservience to the Pentagon, makes a contribution to peace and security in Europe as well. In this connection we pledge our solidarity with the Greek people in their struggle to defeat the military dictatorship.

Big possibilities now exist in Europe to end the present division and the cold war once and for all. The threats to peace can be removed and all foreign troops sent home. Huge resources now

wasted in war preparations could be devoted to raising living standards, both in Europe and further afield.

But to achieve these aims it is necessary that all democratic and peace forces in Europe unite their efforts. A desire for peace and security is not the concern of any party alone, but the concern of all honest men and women.

Through their unity the people of Europe can check those bent on war and open up a new era of peace and security.

## SPEECH BY E. WOOG

### GENERAL SECRETARY, SWISS PARTY OF LABOR

We think that conferences such as the present one to discuss concrete issues are necessary and useful. Nobody will deny that European security directly concerns the life of our peoples, the peoples of Europe. All the fraternal parties stand to gain from an exchange of views, a comprehensive assessment of the situation and joint elaboration of guidelines as regards the most important questions of policy and the working-class movement.

The draft Statement points out that although the peace forces opposed to war have grown, so has the aggressiveness of U.S. imperialism. If this is true, and it is true, then the forces of war can be defeated only if the forces of peace unite still more closely and exert still greater pressure. They must become a real power, a great force of peace. But, as the draft Statement notes, this can be achieved only through common effort, the joint struggle of the socialist world community, the international working class, national-liberation movements and all peace-loving forces. Our Party therefore supports the convening of conferences such as the present one and also the proposal to hold a new international meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties. We all agree that the task of such a meeting should not be to censure anyone, but jointly to examine the situation, to try correctly to assess the situation and find correct solutions.

Permit me to make a few remarks on the question of neutrality. I should like to speak about this problem because we have already discussed it in the Editorial Committee and because it is on the agenda in a number of countries.

Neutrality is the foundation of Switzerland's foreign policy. Its underlying idea is non-interference in the differences of other countries, non-participation in the armed conflicts of other countries, not to permit its territory to be used for the stationing or

transit of foreign troops. The purpose of neutrality is to preserve the independence of the country.

Swiss neutrality has become a generally recognized common law. But a common law is not treaty law, it does not provide any guaranees. Swiss neutrality, it is true, is a component of a number international agreements. Until now, however, the legal basis of Swiss neutrality—the Paris Declaration of 1815 and the Versailles Peace Treaty confirming this Declaration—has not been recognized by a single Great Power.

Economically, Switzerland is closely associated with international monopoly capitalism; in fact, it is virtually tied to it like no other country. The biggest supplier of and buyer from Switzerland is West Germany, followed up by Britain, France, Italy and the USA. The Bank for International Settlements has its headquarters in Switzerland, and Zurich is second only to London as the biggest gold market in Europe.

In the political sphere the bourgeoisie has supplemented the concept of neutrality with the concept of solidarity, implying, of course, solidarity with the bourgeois, that is, with the capitalist world.

Like the bourgeoisie, we reject ideological neutrality and maintain that neutrality, the idea of neutrality and the policy of neutrality should be imparted a content which would reflect the genuine interests of our people and the genuine interests of our country.

Neutrality reflects the desire to avoid war. The Swiss people have always linked neutrality with the preservation of peace. However today, in the face of the danger of nuclear war, neutrality is not enough. Switzerland would not escape the effects of a nuclear war in Europe let alone a world nuclear holocaust. It would be contaminated with atomic fall-out, everything living would be imperilled and possibly destroyed. The question of neutrality must therefore be linked with the question of security. Such is the purpose of the guidelines elaborated by the present Conference. We counter the armed, unilaterally oriented neutrality of the Swiss bourgeoisie by peaceful all-round neutrality of the people, the neutrality of truly equal political, economic and cultural relations with all countries and nations, irrespective of their social system. This implies also recognition of the German Democratic Republic, of the existence of two German states.

There are signs of change in the political sentiment of the people also in Switzerland. The criminal war of the U.S. imperialists in Vietnam, the valiant struggle of the Vietnam people for freedom and independence, and also the aggressive economic policy of the Americans in Switzerland itself have greatly damaged the image of the "country of boundless opportunity." Developments in West Germany, too, are being viewed with growing anxiety. The econo-

mic miracle has become less of a miracle, while the election successes by the revanchists and neo-fascists show that certain quarters in West Germany have not drawn any lessons from the past. These circumstances and also the growth of the socialist camp, its economic achievements and steady efforts to maintain peace are contributing to a greater interest, understanding and confidence in the policy of the Soviet Union, in the policy of peaceful coexistence. In short, sound and sober views are spreading in the country, including a substantial section of the Swiss bourgeoisie itself. We are confident that sooner or later Switzerland, too, will make its contribution to European security, to the preservation of peace in Europe and throughout the world.

## SPEECH BY A. GROZOS

### CHAIRMAN, COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREECE

Our delegation would first of all like to thank the Central Committees of the French Communist Party and the Polish United Workers' Party for the preparatory work they did to make this Conference a success. We also want to thank the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia for its great effort to provide smooth working conditions for all of us.

This Conference of European Communist and Workers' parties, in which the Communist Party of Greece also has the honor of participating, is bound to have a great impact due to the tremendous, vital importance which the problem we are discussing—security and peace on our continent—has for the peoples of Europe and the world. We are therefore firmly convinced that this Conference will be an important stimulus for the further development of the struggle of the peoples for peace, security and peaceful cooperation in this critical international situation.

Our deliberations are taking place at a time of swift progress registered in the socialist countries, the working people's movement in the capitalist countries and the national-liberation movement; this leaves its imprint on the international situation. On the other hand, the situation today is characterized by the invariable aggressiveness of imperialism, particularly of the American imperialists, in almost every part of the globe. The Greek people are well familiar with this aggressiveness, which between 1946 and 1949 took the form of interference and of fomenting the civil war in every way.

Our people suffered from the dire effects of dependence on the Americans throughout the post-civil war period. A few days ago

they experienced them again in the form of gross interference in Greek affairs by the U.S. imperialists. Inspired and backed by the American imperialists, the Royal Court and the extreme Right are trying to establish a military fascist dictatorship.

They have launched a savage campaign of terror. They seize leaders of the Left and the Center Union, MPs and other democrats. They carry out mass arrests among Left-wing and democratic-minded citizens. Word has come of the assassination of patriots. Parties and other organizations are being banned. Concentration camps have been set up. In short, fascism—bloody, infamous fascism—is coming back to Greece.

The new government is composed of junta militarists and judges known for their fascist convictions. The Prime Minister is the General Procurator of the Supreme Court, a follower of Hitler, a blind tool of the Royal Court, notorious for his scandalous interference in the investigation of the murder of the Left-wing MP, Grigoris Lambrakis, by which he wanted to mask the guilt of the Royal Court.

The fascist character of the government is only too evident from a declaration reminiscent of similar declarations by Metaxas, Hitler and Mussolini.

We think the significance of the imperialist action in Greece goes beyond the boundaries of the country. It is an attempt to carry into Europe methods used elsewhere, an attempt to stop the growing trend toward an international détente in this area and thwart the fight for European security, the fight for peace.

The situation in our country is extremely difficult. The Greek people will have to wage a grim struggle. The Communists must be extremely disciplined and must devote all their energies to this struggle. The Greek people are determined not to submit to the dictatorship and will spare neither effort nor sacrifice to overthrow it.

The fact that our Conference adopted a declaration on the military coup in Greece, the addresses of the delegates of fraternal parties, the recent Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the position of the French, Italian and other fraternal parties, and the solidarity actions taken in all countries immediately after the coup all show that the Greek people do not stand alone, as they never have in the past, in their difficult fight against home and foreign reaction. Our delegation, conveying the sentiments of our people, extends thanks to the brother parties and peoples for their heartfelt solidarity and support.

The Communist Party of Greece, which has been fighting in the front ranks against the American imperialists' meddling in the affairs of our country throughout the past twenty years, approves of the draft submitted by the Editorial Committee. From this ros-

irum, too, it stresses the grave menace to world peace coming from the unjust, barbarous, dirty war against the people of Vietnam, an unprovoked war in which the U.S. imperialists use the most inhuman methods.

The reactionary governments of our country, which blindly obey American orders, tried in this case as well to use the methods of escalation and to send military aid to Vietnam. They wanted to do this behind the back of the people. When the public learnt from the American press that Greece had sent medicines and other medical supplies to the imperialist aggressors, a wave of indignation surged in our country and so far it has been possible to prevent all further participation of Greece in this war. Reactionary attempts to break the spirit of resistance of our courageous seamen, who refused to transport war supplies to South Vietnam, were frustrated. The courts, which were expected to punish the seamen for their action, acquitted them and thus proved that they are not indifferent to the people's condemnation of the American aggression. The 10th Plenary Session of the CC CPG, held last March, called on the Greek people to continue giving aid and support to the heroic Vietnamese people. Its appeal states that our people's struggle in support of the fighting Vietnamese people is at the same time a struggle to stop U.S. interference in the affairs of our country. The Greek people, who suffered from America's gross interference in their affairs in 1947, when the Truman Doctrine was proclaimed, and from the disastrous effects of a civil war unleashed by the Americans, sympathize with the Vietnamese people, who are going through severe trials, and express their admiration for the Vietnamese people's gallant, unbreakable resistance. The example of Vietnam shows that the policy of U.S. imperialism, which is striving for world supremacy, is in a deep crisis and is doomed to failure. The assistance which the courageous people of Vietnam have been getting from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and the peoples' solidarity with their fight are increasingly helping them to repel the aggression and win freedom and independence.

The U.S. imperialists' policy of gaining world domination is being put to a test also in Europe, where an open crisis has gripped their main aggressive bloc, NATO. We know that the Federal Republic of Germany and its Bundeswehr constitute the backbone and main force of this bloc in Europe. The possession of this new Wehrmacht by the Bonn revanchists, who are trying with the help of their American allies to equip it with nuclear weapons, creates a serious hotbed of war in Europe. The government of the Federal Republic of Germany ignores the results of the Second World War and refuses to recognize the frontiers established in Europe after the defeat of Hitlerism. It refuses to recognize the existence of the German Democratic Republic, claims West Berlin as part of its

territory and continues to entertain the illusions created by the Munich agreement. It is trying to isolate the GDR, hoping to annex it as soon as the opportunity presents itself. Hence its desire to be treated as the sole spokesman for the whole German people. Former Nazis are again in the state administration and the Bundeswehr. In foreign relations the government of the FRG shows itself everywhere to be anti-democratic and reactionary.

We have dealt with this matter at some length to stress that the danger of German militarism and revanchism and the threat to peace in Europe are not restricted to the narrow confines of the western and central parts of Europe, to the geographical area of the FRG. Indeed, the West German revanchists, profiting by their position in NATO as the next in importance to the Americans', are trying to spread their strategic forces over as wide an area as possible and to distribute them outside Germany, in other regions, one of which is Greece. The Bonn militarists have already appeared in Greece—one of their military formations is in charge of the NATO missile base in Crete. But their activity goes further than that. Bundeswehr units are periodically sent to Greece to take part in military exercises, and Bundeswehr generals, being among the leaders of NATO, often inspect NATO bases in Greece and the Greek formations in NATO. The Hitlerites, who first broke into Greece in April 1941, have now invaded our country again in a different way.

At the same time, the interest of West German monopoly capital in the Greek economy is increasing, which is in complete accordance with the expansionist tendencies of revived German imperialism.

Thus this part of Europe, where the south-eastern flank of NATO (Italy, Greece, Turkey) is situated, is a continuation of the zone of the danger to peace which the revanchists present to Western and Central Europe. It is with a view to stressing this danger that we have just raised the issue of Greece's links with NATO, beginning with its links with West Germany.

It is obvious that the danger comes not only from West Germany and certainly not only from there, for Germany is also the mainstay of the U.S. world strategy of aggression in Europe. The role of the American imperialists in Europe is fully realized in our country. The Greek people experienced their arrogant and brutal interference and their unleashing of a civil war in Greece after the Truman Doctrine was proclaimed in 1947, and saw the American imperialists move into important positions in our country after the defeat of the democratic forces in 1949, positions which brought Greece under their military, economic and political control. In this situation Greece, a Balkan and Mediterranean country, was soon after the civil war dragged into NATO.

In addition to having definite commitments as a member of NATO,

Greece is linked with the United States by a bilateral military agreement signed on October 12, 1953. Under this agreement the American military, forces can at any time, without having to notify the Greek authorities, use Greek territory—its land, sea and air space—for their purposes. Besides, Greece is linked with the American imperialists by a series of particular agreements. Not long ago it became known that Greece is one of the NATO countries equipped with nuclear arms. These arms are at the Crete military base.

The Greek territory is dotted with military bases—military airfields, bases of the American Navy, etc. The U.S. Sixth Fleet "visits" Greece almost daily, above all when political events take place in our country that might endanger the position of the imperialists.

It is important to note that of the fourteen divisions now at the disposal of the Greek Army eight are directly subordinated to the NATO command.

What is more, Greek territory is regarded by the Americans and in case of war. This is why military maneuvers are regularly held along the northern frontier of Greece. The latest large-scale maneuvers were held last summer under the code name of "Summer Express." Military units of the West German Bundeswehr participated. The "mobile force" of NATO was used and its combat readiness tested.

These maneuvers, held in war conditions and using also atomic weapons, always have, with monotonous regularity, one and the same objective: beating off an enemy threatening Greece from the north. In the north Greece only borders on socialist countries. It is obvious therefore—and in any case neither the Greek government nor the Americans conceal this—that all these military maneuvers, which are in fact provocations, are diretced against the socialist countries and, in the final analysis, against the Soviet Union. Thus Greece has been turned into a military base and operational center of the American imperialists and their NATO allies, including West Germany. It follows that our people are threatened by a terrible danger—in case of war Greece will be threatened by an atomic catastrophe.

The USA and NATO also regard Greece as a strongpoint in the vast area of the Middle East.

Ever since the West European crisis of NATO the American imperialists have been trying hard to keep at least the southeastern flank of NATO (Italy, Greece, Turkkey) intact. They have for some time now regarded it as something special and separate from NATO, as an independent if limited military alliance. They are trying to link this flank with CENTO, which comprises Middle Eastern countries. The U.S. imperialists, who have powerful positions in Greece and are continuously striving to strengthen them, reject the very idea of a Greek withdrawal from NATO or a neutral

Greece. Speaking of military aid which Greece and other countries should go on receiving after July 1, 1967, McNamara, the U.S. Secretary of Defense, stated in his report to the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives on April 12 last that military aid directly contributed to their increased capacity to defend themselves against the threat of attack from the neighboring Communist countries.

The American imperialists want something more than to have Greece in NATO. As we have said, they are trying to link it also with CENTO, which includes Turkey and Iran. The settlement of the Cyprus question in the interest of NATO, which is what they want, would bring the realization of their desire nearer, for after Cyprus had joined on NATO's terms Greece would become a Near Eastern country geographically as well. Then it would be easier for the American imperialists to force Greece into CENTO. It is also expected that Cyprus will become part of the NATO network of missile-nuclear bases in combination with Crete.

One consequence of these great war preparations is the fact that Greece is compelled to spend a considerable part of its national income on foreign military purposes. War expenditures range between 20 and 25 per cent of the Greek budget.

In view of the fact that in 1969 it will be twenty years since the agreement on the NATO bloc became effective, great efforts are being made to renew it in its present or in another form. But in Europe objective conditions have ripened for the dissolution of this bloc, for its liquidation.

The CPG has always fought for the withdrawal of Greece from NATO. The Greek people want their country to shake off the fetters of military alliances. They have their heart outside NATO, as a Greek bourgeois party had to admit.

Popular resentment and condemnation of the presence of the U.S. Sixth Fleet and of its visits to Greek ports in grave political situations express themselves in different forms. In Piraeus, Phaliron, Salinoka, Khania (Soudas) on Crete, and in other seaports of our country, protest meetings and demonstrations took place whenever American warships sailed into these ports. The Mayor of Piraeus refused to receive the commander of the Sixth Fleet. Such actions assumed a large scale during the July 1965 crisis, when popular resistance to the palace revolution had reached a peak.

Popular resentment over NATO was often so obvious that even the Greek government more than once forbade the Greek armed forces to take part in the military exercises of the south-eastern flank of NATO in protest against the provocations of Turkey against Cyprus, and against American instigation in this sense. For the same reasons, Greek officers were twice recalled from the NATO staff which has its headquarters in Izmir. This testifies to lack of

unity among the allied countries of the south-eastern flank of NATO.

In fighting for the withdrawal of Greece from NATO, the CPG in its program shows the way out for Greece—neutrality. The idea of neutrality, put forward again by the Eighth Plenary Meeting of the CC CPG, is coming up for discussion also in Greek bourgeois quarters.

This Conference should take a positive stand on the issue and include it in the list of measures for collective security in Europe.

The document we are going to adopt should imply that the principle of neutrality is applicable in various countries, especially in small ones like Greece, and that the various proposals and plans for nuclear-free zones in Central and Northern Europe, the Balkans, the Mediterranean area and elsewhere in no way contradict the system of collective security in Europe. Various objections are raised against this. The theory of a "vacuum," or "void," that would allegedly result from certain countries becoming neutral and whole regions turning into nuclear-free zones has lately reappeared. Supporters of this theory maintain that there exists a danger that this vacuum might be filled by powerful military forces which may exist in the neighborhood of these countries and zones. Neighboring on Belgium, for example, is the West German Bundeswehr, which in the event of Belgium's neutrality might fill the vacuum. Such an argument was recently advanced by the former Belgian Foreign Minister, Spaak, when he rejected the return of Belgium to neutrality. But this argument is unwarranted because it is precisely the establishment of a system of collective security in Europe that can halt NATO, which is trying to complete the arming of the Bundeswehr, equip it with nuclear arms and have it in readiness for a war of aggression in Europe. Spaak refers to the danger emanating from West Germany, which is a member of NATO like Belgium. In Greece, the opponents of neutrality generally speak of the danger of the "power vacuum" being filled from the north, by Bulgaria, and hence by the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Treaty forces, although the socialist neighbors of Greece have repeatedly proposed agreements safeguarding peace and security. Some agreements—between Greece and Bulgaria—have already been signed. There are other opponents of Greek neutrality, who see a danger from Turkey, a member of NATO like Greece. But this danger is much greater now, when the two countries are in NATO. It manifested itself more than once during the aggravation of the Cyprus dispute. It is growing in connection with the increasing arming of Turkey, as is noted by the bourgeois parties of the country, due to the fact that the Americans are encouraging the development of the Turkish armed forces in every sphere, especially on the seas, where in the past Greece was superior to Turkey. All these dangers would be eliminated with the guaranteed neutrality of Greece, whose security would

become still more stable if Turkey at the same time opted for guaranteed neutrality.

The example of neutral Austria in the heart of Central Europe, in the neighborhood of powerful armed forces, which are part of military blocs, bespeaks the correctness of the policy of neutrality in Greece. This policy should already be advocated more energetically in view of the approaching expiration of the North Atlantic Treaty (1969), with due regard to the fact that the imperialists are trying to prolong it.

It is necessary to elaborate the problem of neutrality more fully, especially that of guaranteed neutrality in the case of small countries, which could in some way or another be provided for in the system of collective security.

Despite the resistance of the national democratic movement, American domination in Greece so far ensures fulfilment of all the undertakings given by our country under the North Atlantic Treaty and under Greek-American agreements.

Anti-communism is the theoretical foundation of every cold-war action taken by the American imperialists and the reactionary Right in our country.

There is an anti-Communist campaign going on in Greece. It slanders the Soviet Union and the socialist community, distorts and falsifies the policy and program of the CPG, alleges the existence of a Communist danger, and resorts to force and terrorism to stamp out Communist ideas and the glorious traditions of the CPG and to suppress the democratic rights and gains of the people.

It steadfastly promotes the myth of the "danger from the north," a myth which is central to the policy of cold war and subservience to U.S. and NATO plans of aggression. And while this myth has become quite shabby, the struggle over this issue goes on unabated on the ideological front owing to the American imperialists' sustained effort to freshen up the myth by drawing on new material which their psychological warfare keeps on supplying.

The fight for peace, for the withdrawal of our country from NATO, for a neutral policy is inseparable from the fight against the fascist coup, for the restoration of the democratic freedoms and rights of the Greek people.

We are certain that in this fight the Greek people will enjoy international support and solidarity as they always have.

We feel confident that this Conference will make a very important contribution to the difficult struggle to be carried on in the future, particularly during the next two years, to rid Europe of military blocs and bring peace and security to the countries of Europe and the world.

## SPEECH BY W. ULBRICHT

### FIRST SECRETARY, SOCIALIST UNITY PARTY OF GERMANY

It was with great satisfaction and expectation that the Socialist Unity Party of Germany agreed to the proposal for a conference of European Communist and Workers' parties to discuss highly important problems of European security. The Communist and Workers' parties again prove themselves thereby to be the most determined political force providing the European nations with solutions to the burning issues of peace and security and offering all the peace-loving and democratic forces of our continent a program for action. Let this Conference become a new source of strength to the European nations' striving for peace, security and happiness!

I would like to stress the fact that our meeting holds a special place in the history of the Communist movement. The consensus on the fundamental issues of the struggle for European security which is apparent at this first conference of the Communist and Workers' parties of socialist and capitalist countries of Europe will give all the forces of peace and democracy new powerful impetus and promote their unity for joint action.

I wish to thank here the Polish United Workers' Party and the French Communist Party for their initiative in carrying out preparations for this Conference, for the great amount of work done by them with a keen sense of responsibility. I also express our thanks to our host, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, which has provided such excellent conditions for the work of our Conference.

Twenty-two years after World War II a situation has developed in which, owing to the policy of expansion of West German imperialism and the aggressiveness of the Bonn-Washington axis, the struggle for collective security is more necessary than ever. After World War I the nations swore that they would block the way to another war and prevent a new slaughter of nations. Owing to the balance of forces at the time the will of the nations could not prevail. At that time the Soviet Union was the only socialist country in Europe. It exerted enormous efforts for the attainment of collective security. But the imperialist powers' policy of appeasement towards Hitler Germany encouraged German imperialism. From Locarno, where Germany joined the Western powers, ended the policy of Rapallo and refused to recognize the boundaries in the East, the way led through the Munich conspiracy to the attack on Poland and World War II.

Due to the new balance of forces it is now possible to curb the aggressor and prevent a new world war. This can be done provided

the nations recognize the danger in time and resolutely fight for peace and security.

## Closer Cooperation of the Communist and Workers' Parties is Particularly Important

Closer cooperation of the Communist and Workers' parties for the solution of common problems is very important for the unification of all the nations of our continent against the imperialistic policy of expansion. Our parties have never before had such great responsibility for the destiny of mankind as today.

The new problems of the development of socialist society, scientific and technological progress, specialization and coordination among the socialist countries likewise require closer cooperation. In view of the complicated international situation there is a need for constant consultations and common, agreed action by the socialist countries.

Is it a restriction of the sovereignty and autonomy of a party to hold an unconstrained exchange of opinions on the solution of common problems as at this conference? The fundamental principle of Marxism-Leninism—"Workers of all lands, unite"—proceeds on the assumption that each party, as well as being responsible to the working class and the people, bears international responsibility to the whole world Communist movement. In view of the co-ordinated action of imperialism we can make headway only through a collectively agreed policy and collectively elaborated decisions. The experience of our movement and its struggles in the various countries prove that only through close unity of the world Communist movement can each brother party fully cope with its national tasks. The Socialist Unity Party of Germany does not regard, for instance, the building of socialism in the German Democratic Republic as its "autonomous" concern, nor does it see the struggle against West German imperialism as a purely internal problem of Germany. The solution of these problems is in the interest of the whole world socialist system and of all forces concerned with peace and security. This is one of the reasons why our Party advocates constant exchange of experience between brother parties. Study delegations, mutual consultations, meetings of the representatives of two or more brother parties have proved useful in this respect.

The unity of the world Communist movement is based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. In recent years imperialism has intensified its psychological warfare against the socialist countries and our whole movement and this has become the main form of today's cold war. In the light of this fact we attach special importance to ideological cooperation mutual consultations and agreements about carrying out our Leninist policy of peace.

We welcome the fact that the Statement emphasizes the responsibility of each Communist party to the working class and the people of its own country, as well as the international responsibility for safe-guarding peace and developing new international relations in keeping with the spirit of our era. The statements of our conference on solidarity with heroic Vietnam and with the democratic forces of Greece are a vivid expression of the internationalism of our movement.

May this internationalism, which at the same time meets national interests, find its strongest expression in close unity with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the party of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

## For the Unification of the Democratic and Peace Forces in Europe

We have met here as representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties, as representatives of the vanguard of the working class. The purpose of our Conference is to evolve from the collective experience of our brother parties and the international peace movement proposals, policies and peace demands that can bring about the unity of all peace loving and democratic forces in Europe.

We are aware that achieving security in Europe depends to a great extent on the peace initiative of the workers in alliance with the peasants, intellectuals and the realistic-minded sections of the bourgeoisie. Thus the purpose of our meeting is to stimulate the broadest initiative for cooperation, above all with the Social-Democratic parties, the trade unions and all democratic and humanitarian forces in every European country and regardless of frontiers. The Communist and working-class movement can draw on the great example of democratic and anti-fascist struggles. But our present initiative is directed towards much broader cooperation, towards the broadest possible popular movement for European security.

## The Present Situation

We stated our opinion on the international situation of the development of the balance of forces at the 7th Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, and we find that our views fully agree with the substance of the Statement. International development today is characterized, first of all, by the steady growth of the influence of the Soviet Union and the world socialist system as a whole. It is characterized by new achievements of the peoples and countries fighting against colonial domination, for independence and social progress, as well as by the growing effect of mass action by the working class in the capitalist countries. At the same time the general crisis of capitalism has been deepening, and its basic

antagonisms, contradictions and rivalries have been growing under state-monopoly capitalism. This expresses itself in the aggressiveness of the leading imperialist countries—the USA and West Germany. While world imperialism has not become stronger, it has become more aggressive.

Apart from the barbarous U.S. war of aggression against the Vietnamese people, the situation is characterized by the policy of expansion of West German imperialism. The latter tries to overcome its internal contradictions by pursuing a revanchist policy towards the GDR, seeking hegemony in Western Europe through the control of new raw material areas and markets by neocolonialist methods.

It is said in various quarters that a lessening of tension has already been achieved in Europe. Yes, there are symptoms of relaxation. They manifest themselves in the growing activity of nations for the conclusion of a treaty on the non-proliferation of atomic weapons and the creation of nuclear-free zones, as well as in the attitude of the NATO states against the Bonn government's military conception and its bid for hegemony, against the intervention of the USA in the internal affairs of West European countries. Nevertheless, the peace forces will yet have to exert great efforts if the manifold trends towards a détente are to develop into European security.

The constructive proposals and initiative of the European socialist countries, above all the "Declaration on Strengthening Peace and Security in Europe" issued by the Warsaw Treaty countries in July 1966, had a positive effect. The influence of the socialist countries, in the Communist and Workers' parties and the peace forces in West European countries has increased. However, the imperialist forces, too, have stepped up their efforts and oppose the people's demand for security and détente. The criminal war of the USA against the Vietnamese people is a brutal manifestation of this policy.

Here and there the opinion is voiced that things are quiet in Europe because the USA is so strongly engaged in Vietnam. This opinion overlooks, first of all, the fact that the war in Vietnam is fraught with the danger of developing into a world war and throws its sombre shadows on Europe, too. The war in Vietnam is part of the global strategy of U.S. imperialism as is also the policy of "building bridges to the peoples of Eastern Europe," announced by Johnson last October. The purpose of these tactics is to penetrate into the socialist countries by economic means and through psychological warfare and to undermine the socialist system. Since a direct confrontation and military conflict in Europe seem too risky to imperialism, in view of the united front of the Warsaw Treaty

states, the fortress is to be made ripe for storming by turning movements and through disruption from inside.

The policy of the West German government corresponds exactly to this policy, Johnson's theses on "building bridges" were included word for word in the program of the Kiesinger-Strauss government and in the communiqué of the last (December) session of the NATO Council. This shows that even the so-called new Eastern policy of the Bonn government fits in with the coordinated general line of the foremost imperialist powers. However, this imperialist strategy and tactics of aggression is meeting with growing opposition in the NATO states themselves. This manifests itself in the crisis of the NATO pact system.

Neither the mass of the people nor bourgeois politicians who are thinking ever more realistically and soberly see any justification for the existence of this aggressive alliance, and they demand its dissolution. But the Johnson government has been doing its best to bring about a consolidation of NATO with the help of its main ally, West Germany. This came out at the recent meeting of the so-called nuclear committee of NATO at which the West German militarists won new concessions regarding FRG participation in decision-making. During his recent visit to West Germany and West Berlin Vice-President Humphrey dispersed all doubts that the aggressive "special alliance" with West Germany is the mainstay of American policy on Europe. The encouraging words he addressed to the West German government and the Senate of West Berlin, urging them to continue their policy of expansion and policy of a frontline city confirmed the opinion that West Germany is the world's second seat of the war danger and the main disturber of peace and détente.

Due to its particularly aggressive character, West German imperialism has been assigned, as in the past, the role of the spearhead of world imperialism against the socialist world system.

## Real Aims of the Kiesinger—Strauss Government

The time which has passed since the formation of the new West German government enables us to answer the question what the real aims of that government are.

With the formation of the Kiesinger-Strauss government the policy of West German imperialism entered a new phase. The reason for this "new policy" is the aspiration for higher profits and the expansion of political power. It is the old aspiration of German monopoly capital for a redivision of the world which has already led to two world wars. The arms monopolies in the Rhineland and the Ruhr, the Abses and Krupps, feel in alliance with former Hitler generals strong enough to proceed, after the restoration of their

power, to a policy of foreign and domestic expansion. The policy of expansion means: struggle for supremacy, first in Western Europe; non-recognition of the existing frontiers in Europe and of the status quo; the restoration of imperialist Germany, first within the frontiers of 1937; incorporation of the special political entity, West Berlin, in the West German state as an eleventh Land; the effort to participate in controlling atomic weapons so as to give this policy of expansion proper military emphasis. Twenty-two years after the end of World War II, which the peoples waged in order to end Nazism and militarism for good, 22 years after the adoption of the historic Potsdam decisions, neo-Nazism is again rearing its ugly head as a shock troop of expansion-thirsty West German imperialism. It is infiltrating every sphere of public life in West Germany.

The main form of struggle of the West German imperialists against European security today is the fight against the German Democratic Republic and their main method, the aggressive claim to exclusive representation. The claim to spokesmanship for the whole of Germany is a concentrated expression of the revanchist policy of West German imperialism.

Since the defeat of Hitler fascism Germany no longer exists as a state. There exist two German states—the sovereign German Democratic Republic and the West German Federal Republic. The claim to exclusive representation and non-recognition of existing realities are a potential declaration of war on the German Democratic Republic. Thus recognition of the status quo as a basis for all peaceful settlement in Europe, and recognition of the German Democratic Republic, becomes a key problem as far as real progress and safeguarding European security are concerned.

Those who want to evaluate the policy of West German imperialism, of the Kiesinger-Strauss government, must not let themselves be misled by the Chancellor's non-committal words and the smile of his Foreign Minister. We are accustomed to get to the root of things and we have tested the policy of this government in terms of its content. Anyone who wants to know the truth about its real aims should measure it by its deeds, should judge it by its actual program, by Franz Josef Strauss' book, *Proposals for Europe*, which sets forth the far-reaching expansionist aims of West German monopoly capital. While Hitler's notorious book, *Mein Kampf*, served the ideological preparations for World War II, Strauss' work conttins the program of a revision of its results.

The main blow of this revanchist policy is directed against the sovereignty and the socialist system of the German Democratic Republic. Due to the changed balance of forces, to the might of the Soviet Union and the entire socialist system, as well as to the increased strength of the German Democratic Republic, West German imperialism has been unable to achieve its aggressive aims. The

German Democratic Republic is a solid integral part of the world socialist system. Its sovereignty is reliably protected, as is also the sovereignty of the other Warsaw Treaty countries.

This was emphasized by the bilateral treaties of friendship, co-operation and mutual assistance with the Soviet Union, the Polish People's Republic and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. But has West German imperialism drawn proper conclusions from it, has it given up its revanchist plans and turned to a policy of peaceful coexistence, to the policy of recognizing realities? We cannot say so. It has not renounced these aspirations.

The Kiesinger-Strauss government proceeds from the fact that West German imperialism is not yet strong enough to revise existing frontiers and to annex the GDR by resorting to the policy of strength. That is why it has decided on devious routes and a more flexible policy. To achieve its aims, Bonn has worked out the following tactical plan:

In the *first stage* of this policy of expansion the special political unit of West Berlin is to be "annexed" to West Germany as an eleventh Land. At the same time the Kiesinger-Strauss government is concentrating on efforts to penetrate into the socialist countries in order to disrupt the policy of the Warsaw Treaty countries laid down in the July 1966 Bucharest Declaration and thus to get around the main obstacle on the way to the expansion of West German imperialism.

In the *second stage*, the German Democratic Republic is to be liquidated, so to say, in the course of an inner-German police operation and incorporated in the West German state as a "twelfth Land." These plans have the full approval and support of the United States. Not long ago Vice-President Humphrey stated in West Berlin that a united Germany, would make its own decision without, however, violating the commitment already binding it to other partners in the West.

It is already being made clear that this would not satisfy the predatory appetites of West German imperialism. Thereupon the great march to the East would begin and the old dream of German imperialism would be realized: a Europe dominated by it and stretching from the Atlantic to the Black Sea. Strauss writes in his book: "A united Western Europe should be the first step to the United States of Europe, in which I would like to include all the nations of Central and Eastern Europe." President Hallstein of the EEC expressed these aspirations for expansion in a demand unmistakably linking up with Hitler's policy of *Lebensraum*: "Our economy needs space just as vast as the American and the Soviet economies."

Now some people point to the presence of Social-Democratic ministers in the Bonn government. They erroneously presume that these ministers would come out against the revanchist policy since they

had entered the Kiesinger-Strauss government to some extent for tactical reasons.

Last autumn, when the crisis of the Erhard government was obvious, the Social Democrats were faced with the issue of taking it on themselves to form a government and to embark on a democratic road in West Germany together with the Free Democrats. Instead of this they placed their ministers at the disposal of the CDU/CSU government and entered on an anti-democratic path, the path of emergency laws and anti-trade union policy at home and of an expansionist policy abroad.

On the basis of chauvinism the CDU/CSU succeeded in winning over the Right-wing Social-Democratic leaders as an auxiliary force for the realization of a reactionary domestic and foreign policy. While all the key positions remained, needless to say, in the hands of the representatives of the monopolies, Brandt, Wehner, Schiller and others were to camouflage the expansionist policy of the monopolies at home and abroad by Social-Democratic talk.

West German monopoly capital obviously expects to succeed the sooner when negotiations with socialist countries are conducted by a Social-Democratic Foreign Minister, and when a Social-Democratic Minister of Economy tries to bolster the arms producer Krupp, who is in straits, with millions out of the pockets of the taxpayers and calls on West German workers and trade unions for so-called concerted action, that is, for moderation, wage freezes and social retrogression.

It is obviously supposed to be less awkward when a Social-Democratic minister for so-called all-German affairs appeals to "the brothers and sisters in the East of Germany" to persuade them to give up their socialist achievements, or when a Social Democratic minister for aid to the developing countries tries to blackmail Asian and African countries on instructions from the monopolies.

The role assigned to the Social-Democratic ministers in the Bonn government is disclosed with surprising frankness by Strauss. "A grand coalition," he writes, "could carry out some necessary reforms, which are impossible under another set-up. Think of the necessity to amend certain provisions of our Constitution . . . A grand coalition would surely make an initiative for the great plan of German policy toward Europe more workable." But since when have such imperialist plans hostile to the peoples become "more workable" because they are offered by a Social-Democratic Foreign Minister with a smiling expression and in a sweet voice?

## For Recognition of the German Democratic Republic

The struggle for recognition of the German Democratic Republic is neither a juridical nor a prestige matter, but the key problem of

European security. The West German government regards the denial of the existence of the GDR as a confirmation of Bonn's revanchist claim to exclusive representation, its "right" to interfere in the affairs of the GDR to the point of military aggression.

Needless to emphasize that a mere attempt at such a move would mean world war. But the peoples and governments of Western Europe, for their part, have no interest at all in a change of the status quo to the advantage of West German imperialism. This sentiment is gaining ground in the world. The German Democratic Republic is one of the ten strongest industrial states of the world. Ever since it came into being it has sided with the peace-loving states and peoples and has supported peace and security in Europe and the world. The development of its economic and cultural relations with France, Britain, Italy and other West European countries shows that its existence is being taken into account more and more. But it is compatible with the national dignity and sovereignty of these states to have their governments avoid normal relations with the German Democratic Republic under the pressure of the West German militarists?

How can a situation be tolerated in which the exponents of West German imperialism arrogantly interfere in French policy, demanding as did Strauss, who said: "Further, we must persuade President de Gaulle that we cannot given him a free hand on the issue of German sovereignty as far as it concerns our attitude towards the East." To leave no room for doubt as to what de Gaulle should take "German sovereignty" to mean, his realistic attitude towards the Oder and Neisse frontier is condemned and emphatically rejected—I quote—"when the General declares on his own responsibility where the eastern frontiers of Germany should lie." Attempts to use the contradictions between the German Democratic Republic and West Germany to one's own ends serve neither peace and security in Europe, nor one's national interests.

The Bonn government's claim to exclusive representation goes beyond relations between the two German states. It is a weapon in the hands of the West German imperialists, serving to promote their aspirations for hegemony in Europe. Strauss' book specifies the role to be played by West and North European countries within the framework of West German aspirations for hegemony. I quote: "Only West European unity of action will provide a starting point for a policy through which the demarcation line fixed by the wartime Yalta Conference can be removed."

In other words, these states are expected to be brought into a war adventure with a view to forcibly abolishing the status quo in Europe. If some West European governments paved the way for normal relations with the German Democratic Republic by establishing trade or other missions rather than giving in to West Ger-

man aspirations to hegemony, they would serve the cause of peace and security as well as their own policy.

The claim to exclusive representation is also an instance of gross interference in the internal affairs of Asian and African states and is aimed against their non-capitalist road of development, against all democratic and progressive development in these countries. It would further struggle for European security if some Asian or African states exercised their national sovereignty by establishing diplomatic relations with the German Democratic Republic.

### On Diplomatic Relations Between West Germany and the People's Democracies

It is well known that we favor the establishment of diplomatic relations between all European countries, especially between all European countries and the GDR and vice versa. Needless to say, however, such relations can be established only on the basis of respect for sovereignty, equality, and recognition of the frontiers. Yet Bonn refuses to recognize existing frontiers. It has even passed a law to the effect that it has the right to exercise judicial power over all Germans. This means that with regard to the GDR and other socialist countries the Bonn government allows itself to lay down conditions unacceptable to a sovereign state. These conditions are to acknowledge and tolerate the Bonn government's claim to exclusive representation and its revanchist policy. Thus Bonn demands that in negotiating the establishment of diplomatic relations the socialist brother countries should, in conformity with the clause on good conduct on which Bonn insists, react calmly to the Bonn government's plans for aggression against the German Democratic Republic. It is a variant of Hitler's blackmailing policy which led to the Munich pact.

That is why all attempts that are likely to encourage the revanchist politicians in Bonn must be resisted. The West German rulers' policy of expansion cannot be combated by a policy of appeasement associated with Chamberlain and Halifax.

Whoever respects Bonn's claim to exclusive representation or thinks it is his duty to comfort himself "properly" towards the West German revanchist policy is merely encouraging the militarist and neo-Nazi elements.

The heads of the delegations of the Communist and Workers' parties of the socialist countries have in their addresses at this Conference specified the basis on which diplomatic relations with the West German Federal Republic can be established. It includes renunciation of the claim to exclusive representation, of all revanchist policy, and the recognition of existing frontiers, especially those between the two German states, as well as renunciation of the claim to nuclear weapons.

West German citizens have been asking whether the international struggle against militarism and neo-Nazism is not interference in the internal affairs of the Federal Republic. We counter that by asking: Must the nations who lost millions of their best people through Hitler's predatory war wait or show calm and restraint until West German militarism proceeds to new military provocations?

I would like to recall that the Soviet Union, the USA and Britain have signed the conditions of the democratic good conduct of Germany, that is, of denazification and the abolition of militarism and the monopolies. Subsequently these agreements were accepted by General de Gaulle. Thus it is not at all a matter of interference, but achieving European security in the spirit of the UN Charter and the goals of the anti-Hitler coalition.

## What is the Alternative?

Today, 22 years after World War II, the nations are again confronted, in view of the revanchist policy of West German imperialism, with the urgent alternative of creating a European security system as proposed by the member-states of the Warsaw Treaty and demanded by increasing sections of the population of West European countries, or repeating the policy of appeasing the potential aggressor—a policy leading to disaster. I wish to recall that we have already tried, in the dialogue with the Social-Democratic Party, to launch negotiations with the SDP Executive in order to find in common a peaceful and democratic way. At that time several members of the Executive succeeded in taking the SDP membership unawares and to conclude the pact with Strauss and Kiesinger. The SDP Executive wanted to prove in a coalition government that with the help of the SDP it would be possible to play the socialist countries against one another, and to isolate and undermine the GDR. We know, however, that that policy got stuck somewhere on a country road. The Right-wing Social-Democratic leaders had promised the CDU that they would gain influence on the delegates to the 7th Congress of the SUPG through a psychological attack. As you know, that completely failed. And now leading representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties of Europe have met here and their Statement contains constructive proposals for the Social Democrats and all peace-loving citizens of West Germany. These proposals are aimed at establishing security in Europe, lessening tension between the two German states and safeguarding peace.

The settlement of the German question, which is under discussion in connection with efforts for European security, can bear today, and probably for a rather long time to come, only on arrangements for the peaceful coexistence of the two German

states, including West Berlin, provided the claim to exclusive representation is dropped, on normalizing the relations between the two German states on the basis of peaceful coexistence, and on implementing the principles of the Potsdam Agreement in West Germany as well.

In Section II of our joint Statement these principles of peaceful relations are stated as a minimum program. What is possible, urgent and necessary today in the relations between the two German states was set out in the New Year's message of the GDR and confirmed by the 7th Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. These proposals contain the following immediate steps:

An agreement between the governments of the two German states on establishing normal relations between them; renunciation of the claim to exclusive representation; conclusion of a treaty renouncing the use of force in mutual relations; the recognition of the existing frontiers in Europe through identical agreed declarations; an agreement reducing armaments expenditure by half in both countries; a declaration renouncing atomic weapons in any form and signifying readiness to join an atom-free zone in Europe; the governments of the two German states will strive for normal relations between their respective states, on the one hand, and all European states, on the other, as well as for the establishment of diplomatic relations with the two German states by all European states.

Does West Germany have forces capable of pursuing such a new policy? These forces can be developed there. The champions of a new policy are our courageous comrades from the unlawfully banned Communist Party of Germany, as well as the members of various Marxist groups, the Young Socialists and the members of the German Peace Union. We can say already that most trade union members, a large segment of the membership of the Social-Democratic Party, large groups of intellectuals, some sections of the peasants and even certain sections of the bourgeoisie are in favor of this alternative. This alternative is feasible. The SDP need not allow itself to be misused by the CDU. The results of the elections to the state parliaments of Schleswig-Holstein and Rhineland-Palatinate, as well as the lessons of the latest elections in London, provide the SPD membership with food for thought. At the congress of so bourgeois a party as the Free Democrats, almost half the delegates spoke in favor of a realistic policy.

If the SDP membership draws the lesson of the political events of the past six months and enforces its own ideas, it will be possible for the SDP and FDP, which together command a majority in the Bundestag, to jointly form a government. Then the Social-Democratic leaders could at last show what a new policy corresponding to reality is like. At last the rank and file of the Social Democratic Party knows that their leaders' swing to the positions

of the CDU/CSU is a misfortune for the working people. Now the adoption of the emergency laws will follow. And there is a danger that the burden of armaments will be put more and more on the shoulders of the working people through the so-called regulation on finance, and that the national income will be more radically redivided in favor of the monopolies. Social achievements will be reduced. Is it not high time to make an all-out effort for an independent Social-Democratic policy?

## The National Question in Germany

The Bonn government is trying to mislead the nations by the slogan of the "solution of the German problem" and the "reunification of Germany" in order to conceal its real intentions. But what is the essence of the national question in Germany? It has been, and still is, to prevent a new world war from originating on West German soil. It has been, and still is, to defeat the power of West German imperialism and militarism. It is known that a united imperialist Germany unleashed two world wars. All the less would a Germany united on an imperialist basis and possessing a considerable economic and military potential hesitate now to take up the sword against the peoples of Europe. A Germany united under the symbol of imperialism would not only be a tremendous danger to the Germans and all European nations. It would also strengthen neo-colonialism to an extraordinary extent.

For more than 17 years a bitter class struggle has been going on between the two German states. *With the founding of the German Democratic Republic the Germans began to withdraw from the imperialist system.* It is one of the historic tasks of the GDR to help the population of West Germany as well to find a way out of the imperialist camp. Not until this is achieved can the unification of the two German states become a topical issue. A unification of the German states is possible only under socialism.

Thus the slogan of reunification as a pressing task only serves the purpose of obscuring this historical class conflict by chauvinism. The unification of the two German states is and will remain our objective. It presupposes, however, a democratic transformation of West Germany. This road may be long and strenuous for West Germany.

The working class of the German Democratic Republic and its Party consider it their duty to give the necessary support to their class brothers and to all progressive forces in West Germany on this road. Naturally, an outstanding role in this respect is played by the appeal of socialism in the GDR which we are setting out fully to achieve on the basis of the decisions of the 7th SUPG Congress. We shall do our best to establish friendly relations with

the working class and other working people of West Germany. Unification of the working class of the two German states is the basic prerequisite of safeguarding peace, of fighting for democracy in West Germany and normalizing the relations between the two German states. The common interests of the working class in both German states and in West Berlin will lead to the most diverse forms of cooperation between West German socialist organizations, trade unions, youth leagues and womens' associations, on the one hand, and the SUPG and other organizations of the GDR, on the other.

## The Policy of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany

The policy of peace and security in Europe developed by the Socialist Unity Party of Germany fully accords with the Statement of the Communist and Workers' parties of Europe discussed here and with the July 1966 Declaration of the Warsaw Treaty countries.

The more the revanchist policy of the Bonn Government is curbed, the greater will be the opportunities of developing normal relations between all European states. To the extent that the German Democratic Republic will occupy its position in the community of European states as an equal member, the obstacles to détente, security and peace in Europe will be removed.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the government of the German Democratic Republic support all initiatives and proposals aimed at assuring all-round cooperation between European peoples and states. We are ready to attend and support the conference of *all* European parliaments proposed by some countries. We presume, of course, that all European states without exception will be enabled to participate in consultations and agreements on these problems on an equal footing.

Dear comrades, the delegation of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany would like once more to express its deep satisfaction over the convening of this Conference. It declares for the adoption of the constructive document under consideration of whose programmatic importance and far-reaching effect we are firmly convinced. The results of this Conference will give new strong impetus to the struggle of the European peoples for peace and security and help to forge a united front against the chief enemy of peace in Europe, West German imperialism.

We are convinced that the Karlovy Vary Conference will promote the world-wide unity and militancy of the international Communist movement through its example of successful collective discussion of important common international tasks.

## SPEECH BY D. URBANY

### CHAIRMAN, COMMUNIST PARTY OF LUXEMBOURG

The Communist Party of Luxembourg warmly greets the Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe on the problems of European security and expresses its unreserved agreement with the draft resolution presented by the Editorial Committee. It is a historical and far-sighted document, a reliable guide for all parties in the struggle for peace, the maintenance of which is a question of vital importance, a question of life and death also for our small country, for the people of Luxembourg. Therefore, we are happy to have supported the idea of this Conference from the very beginning and we only regret the absence of certain fraternal parties and cannot approve of the arguments they are putting forward to justify their abstention, their isolationist attitude. What would become of internationalism should the vote of one party alone be enough to make it impossible for all other parties to meet, or to postpone their meeting indefinitely? As for the argument that a settlement in Europe would give a free hand to imperialism in the other parts of the world, we believe that this is an undialectical, ultra-leftist and pseudo-revolutionary concept which gives no real support to the peoples who have fallen victim to U.S. aggression. The dilemma of "everything or nothing" is neither Marxist nor Leninist. On the contrary, we are deeply convinced—and this accords with the spirit of the Conference—that any relaxation in Europe will deal a severe blow to imperialism as a whole. Finally, we fully approve of the special emphasis put by the draft resolution on the vanguard role which the European countries must play. In fact, the working class of Europe is the biggest, the most advanced politically, and the best organized. It was among the European working class that communism and Marxism-Leninism came into being, it was in Europe that the Great October Socialist Revolution was accomplished and the first socialist state emerged, a state whose viability has been proven by history. It should also be stressed that already half the population of our continent lives and works under socialism. This, of course, in no way detracts from the role, the struggle and the merits of other peoples. We just want to state an objective, historical fact which only makes the European working class more conscious of its responsibility for peace in the whole world.

A hundred years ago, a European Conference met in London which was of major significance for the history of our country. On May 8, 1867 plenipotentiary representatives of the major European powers of that time—England, France, Prussia, Russia, Austria,

and Italy—met with delegates of the governments of Luxembourg, Belgium and Holland to peacefully settle the exceedingly acute problem of Luxembourg which threatened to break out into a murderous war between Napoleon III and Bismarck. The conferees unanimously adopted a decision; the object of the dispute, the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, with its fortress, the most fortified place in Europe second to Gibraltar, was neutralized and disarmed. The Prussian garrison stationed in Luxembourg since the Vienna Treaty of 1815, had to evacuate the capital and the fortress. The fortress itself had to be completely demolished and the people of Luxembourg were forbidden to rebuild it and to maintain an army bigger than needed for internal police service. This remarkable London Treaty of May 11, 1867, this statute of unarmed neutrality guaranteed by big powers, for long years—for half a century—ensured our country's peace, security and independence, which conduced to progress in the political, social and economic spheres, due mainly to the fact that there was no compulsory military service and no military budget.

The fact that, subsequently, our neutrality was twice grossly violated by militarist, imperialist and fascist Germany, and that our small country was thus plunged into two world wars—the second being particularly disastrous for our people—in no way detracts from the value of unarmed neutrality for small countries and all the more cannot serve as justification for the senseless, reckless and anti-national action taken by our leading parties, including the Socialists, by renouncing neutrality and declaring the London Treaty out of date and deleting from the first article of the 1868 Constitution the section which declared: "The State of Luxembourg is a perpetually neutral state." The Communist deputies alone voted against this act of national suicide.

Instead of practising active neutrality and contributing by all the means at its disposal—which, by the way, are not at all negligible—together with all the peace forces, to the construction of a peaceful and co-existing Europe, Luxembourg has since 1948 gradually turned into an armed state, and member of the Atlantic pact and other Western political and military pacts, drifting in the wake of American policy. Instead of seeing the main danger to our security and independence in the existence of a militarist Germany, our government, with the constant support of the bourgeois and Socialist parties, has had its share—and it was not a minor one—in the recovery of a militarist and aggressive Germany, today's Federal Republic on Bonn. Thus, our ruling classes and their parties set out on a road at the end of which there may no longer be a Luxembourg, as a Socialist minister himself admitted.

But times have changed, and evolution has confirmed our Party's views. In our country, as everywhere else in the world, the United

States has suffered a great loss of moral prestige. Our people are increasingly concerned about the rebirth of militarism and neo-Nazism in the Bonn republic, our immediate neighbor. Anti-communism and anti-Sovietism are visibly losing ground. Lately, the two government parties, the Christian Socialist and the Socialists, suddenly announced in the Chamber of Deputies their sensational decision to abolish compulsory military service in the current year, the compulsory military service which they themselves introduced in 1952. In the meantime the last conscripts will leave the barracks before the 1st of May, 1967.

This is, without doubt, a great success of our determined opposition to a policy which is absurd, ridiculous and ruinous. Luckily —for some years now—we have not been fighting alone. Young people, students, Socialists, Communists and others have lately waged serious struggles for the abolition of compulsory military service, against persecution in the barracks, against the anti-communist and anti-Soviet sallies of politicking officers, for peace in Vietnam and in the whole world. However, while having given in to popular pressure, our government and its parties are preparing a new maneuver by intending to replace compulsory service by a professional army based on volunteers which would remain integrated in NATO and would be trained abroad, most probably in Federal Germany. Such an army would represent a great danger to our democracy and particularly to our working class. We are pleased to say that young Socialists and some members of the Socialist Workers' Party are beginning to share our concern and demand, as we do, that volunteers should be strictly limited to police needs alone, as at the time of our neutrality, and that this armed force should be withdrawn from NATO and put under the sole control of the Luxembourg state.

The struggle of the people of Luxembourg against domestic militarism is closely connected with the general struggle for the liquidation of the Atlantic pact. Our young Socialists, not daring to take the decisive step, have suggested that our military obligations to NATO be confined to the civil service. Appreciating the importance of such a temporary measure, we are nevertheless of the opinion that our country should at the time of expiration of the term of the Atlantic Treaty in 1969 make use of its rights to achieve complete freedom from NATO tutelage and from that of other Western military pacts, should Europe at that time be still divided into military blocs. It is necessary that our country go back to the system of unarmed neutrality of 1867 and demand a new international statute, a new London treaty, which would guarantee the re-establishment of its full sovereignty, in peaceful coexistence with all countries, irrespective of their systems.

But the most sensitive spot in our security was and is the German

problem, the problem of German militarism. All the measures suggested here with the aim of achieving a peaceful solution of the German problem, concern us directly and deserve to be supported by all people of Luxembourg, because they are fully in keeping with our national interests: the recognition of the inviolability of existing frontiers, refusal to give the German Federal Republic access to A and H bombs in whatever form, the prohibition of revanchist and neo-Nazi activities, legality for the Communist Party of Germany, and lastly and above all, the recognition of the German Democratic Republic as a sovereign German state with equal rights. The future European statute guaranteeing again the integrity, neutrality and security of our country, should also be signed by the German Democratic Republic. Together with the signature of the great Soviet Union, this would be a guarantee far more effective than that of the big powers of 1867.

The fight for peace in Europe is, as the resolution says, a difficult undertaking which, however, can be realized. Everything depends on the unity of all the peace forces in each country and on the international scene. Unity within our own camp, the unity of Communist and Workers' parties, and our close friendship with the Soviet Union, where the glorious October Revolution nearly 50 years ago began with a peace appeal, addressed to the whole world, will be decisive. What would we be—large or small states, whatever our force might be, our past and future merits — without the help, without the friendship of the first socialist state, without its strong and at the same time flexible policy of peace?

Thanks to this policy, war is no longer inevitable, European security is no longer a chimera and the peoples are aware of the wonderful perspectives offered them by peace. But peace can only be achieved by their joint effort.

We are sure that this historic conference will meet the response of all strata of the people of Luxembourg, and we shall do everything in our power to contribute to this.

## SPEECH BY H. MOORE

GENERAL SECRETARY, COMMUNIST PARTY
OF NORTHERN IRELAND

The executive Committee of our Party after a preliminary discussion of the initial document gave a general welcome in principle to the Conference of Communist and Workers' parties on the question of peace and security in Europe.

Though divided from continental Europe by the seas, our country and people have a vital interest in European peace and the future security of the continent.

This is because the result of two world wars have solved no problems for our people but rather have meant the loss of many of our finest sons and daughters.

We welcome therefore the opportunity provided by the Conference to evaluate the present position and with a view to discussing with other parties what is new and the positive steps to be taken that will give our people a picture of the growing forces for peace and at the same give a timely warning of the emergence of aggressive forces as exemplified in the neo-Nazi government of West Germany.

Some years ago our peace movement and our comrades in it organized a petition against the rearming of West Germany. We were told then that it was a Communist trick and that a German army was necessary to stand up to Soviet aggression. Today no one believes this deceitful propaganda. But it is necessary to raise the struggle against the American-Bonn maneuver to keep the cold war going and the inherent danger of a new war in Europe.

Recently, under the leadership of trade unionists, a petition against the war in Vietnam was sponsored by MPs, of all parties in Northern Ireland and other well-known citizens. Over 12,000, or one in every thirty of the adult population in Northern Ireland, signed it. Because of this experience we are confident that given correct leadership and explanations of the European situation a movement for peace and security in Europe can grow in our country.

Northern Ireland, partitioned from the rest of Ireland and under the rule of the British Government, has not known in post-war years the relative full employment in Britain. Today, unemployment has almost reached the proportions of one person in every ten without work and thousands of our citizens emigrate every year. For this reason the section of the document which shows the possibilities of new relations between states and possible benefits in peaceful trade between states with different social systems, is welcome from our point of view.

Because of the position whereby our Government has no powers in relation to foreign policy questions which are reserved to the British Government, the question of Britain and the EEC is of vital interest to our economy. Since the Northern Ireland Government bases its economic policy on branches of the British, American and European monopolies to provide jobs—a policy which is not solving the problems—British entry to EEC would prove disastrous to our economy, since these monopolies at a time of economic stress close the branch factory and retreat to the parent factory.

In our campaigns on the Common Market we have pointed this out and given the alternative of the need to trade with all countries no matter their social systems. Entry to EEC would not solve the crisis affecting three of our biggest industries namely, agriculture, shipbuilding and aircraft. Politically, entry to EEC would be an extremely big handicap to our program for unity of the opposition forces to fight for democratic reforms, better living standards and new approaches towards solving the partition of our country which is one of the foremost tasks facing the working class of both parts of Ireland.

The document quite correctly points out that huge sums are expended on the arms program. This is one of the largest single factors which holds down the living standards of our people. This expenditure on arms also means very heavy direct and indirect taxes on the wages of our working class to pay for the arms spending. At a time when Government policy is to refuse wage increases, prices go up because of Government financial policy. Thus the working class has an extremely deep interest in agreements that will mean an easing of the arms race with a consequent reduction in arms spending and the raising of living standards.

We are in agreement with that section of the document which points out the new cooperation that is taking place between Christians and other social forces for the aims of peace. Of interest in the notable role being played by youth in the peace fight. Their grasp of the nuclear threat, their work on the Vietnam war is a great credit to present young generations. We believe it would be a significant step if the Conference agreed to the British proposal to issue a short appeal for peace and security in Europe that would fire the imagination of our young people and other fighters for peace.

Working in a complicated political situation arising from the national position in our country, our Party seeks areas of agreement with other labor and democratic bodies. The influence of our trade union comrades has enabled us to lead mass demonstrations on unemployment, wages and working conditions. This is positive work which also helped to organize a march to the Northern Ireland Parliament for peace in Vietnam. Thus, despite difficulties, our Party shows the way forward on issues of peace, wages, jobs and social conditions.

We believe the document will mark a new milestone in the struggle for peace and that it will be of benefit for our Communist Party to discuss the new situations that are arising as a further guide to action. We are confident that this Conference of Communist and Workers' parties of Europe will be a step in strengthening the unity of the international Communist movement.

In conclusion, we thank the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia

for the fine facilities they have put at our disposal, for their kindness and hospitality. We also appreciate the work of the Communist Party of France and the Polish United Workers' Party for all the care they have taken in connection with this historic Conference.

## SPEECH BY L. LONGO

GENERAL SECRETARY, ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

### I

Our Party attaches much importance to this meeting of Communist and Workers' parties of Europe. This is the first time we have gathered at an all-European conference to deal with a concrete and definite subject: the struggle to create a system of collective security in Europe. We feel that the Communist parties have a common word to say on this subject and to indicate political perspectives and prospects for action, despite the diversity of the situations in which they live and of the tasks they have to accomplish.

In fact, we know that European security and the creation of new relations of cooperation and understanding between all the countries of Europe can only be the result of the contributions made by all those who sincerely desire peace.

This is why the guidelines which will be issued by this Conference will be of great value not only because they will express the common positions of the Communists but because they will also offer ground for discussion, meetings and understanding to the democratic and progressive forces of each country. I am referring not only to the great politically and socially organized currents but also to the broad mass of the people and, in the first place, to the young generation.

We are living in an era in which socialism has become a great world force; it is also an era of the greatest development of national liberation struggles. All these processes have led to the extreme aggravation of the crisis of capitalism and imperialism. We are living today in an atomic era, in the time of great technical and scientific progress, in a period of conquering space. Man now has vast productive forces at his disposal, but alongside them incalculable forces of destruction have been created. Under these conditions it is clear to everyone that peace is the absolute condition for safeguarding mankind. It is therefore essential that we

should step out along a new road and solve the great and dramatic problems of our time. The fundamental condition for solving these problems is to fight for a policy of peaceful coexistence in the world and for the recognition of the right of every people to freedom and independence. In the first place, we must wage a struggle against the brutal U.S. aggression in Vietnam; against the fascist and militarist regimes which still exist in Spain and Portugal and the similar regime which is at present crushing the Greek people. The dramatic events of these days which so severely hit the Greek people and its democratic movement to which we have expressed and shall in the future show our full solidarity, remind us once again of the links which exist between the struggle for freedom and the struggle for peace. Those who are threatening the national independence of Greece and want to turn its territory into a military and war base, want to kill its freedom. This is why we believe that there is a need to examine European problems, and also stress the link existing between the struggle against U.S. aggression in Asia and the struggle against the reactionary and revanchist spirit and the policy of opposing blocs in Europe.

## II

We fully agree with the assessment contained in the draft document prepared for this Conference. It rightly stresses that after the end of the war there was a real qualitative leap in the European and world situation following the creation of a number of new socialist states, the shattering of colonialism and the sharpening of the general crisis of imperialism. On the other hand, we also agree with the observation that the danger of war which still looms on our continent, due above all to the persistent refusal of the Federal Republic of Germany to recognize existing European reality, the frontiers established by the Second World War and the existence of two German states, should not be ignored.

It is obvious that imperialism has not resigned itself and does not easily resign itself to the decline of its domination. The post-war history of Europe is to a large extent a record of attempts by the imperialist forces to challenge the results of the victory over Nazism and fascism, and to push back the frontiers of socialism. From its birth, the Federal Republic has been striving to achieve this aim. But all attempts in this direction failed because the socialist countries gained strength in all spheres and because the peoples' forces in the capitalist countries waged a persistent struggle against the policy of cold war and division.

This policy has reached a crisis because it did not succeed in reaching its aims. The failure of this policy has had a strong effect on political life in West Germany.

The establishment of the "grand coalition" is no way out of the political crisis gripping the FRG because the new government has, in effect, refused to recognize and remove its basic causes. It would be a serious mistake to underestimate the danger of the neo-Nazi drive which we are witnessing today in the Federal Republic. The terrorist assaults in the Upper Adige, encouraged and organized by groups and forces living on Federal German territory, constantly remind us of the dangers which threaten our frontiers and our national tranquility. This policy is sure to encounter strong and growing resistance on the part of the popular and democratic masses in every country and to provoke new conflicts within the Atlantic alliance itself, precisely because it is in contradiction with the fundamental needs of Europe, that is, peace, with new relations of cooperation between East and West and collective security.

## III

Hostility towards the attempts of Bonn to exercise a kind of right of tutelage over our country's foreign policy is growing in Italy and other countries of Western Europe.

From the point of view of Italian interests there is no reason why it should not be possible to have two German ambassadors in Moscow or in Bucharest and why Italy should not have its representative in the two German states and maintain normal diplomatic and trade relations with both of them. The absurd claim of the Bonn rulers to represent all of Germany is an instance of impermissible encroachment on the sovereign rights of our country and of all other countries. To combat this claim we are intensifying mass action for the recognition of the GDR: it is in the interest of our country and in the common interest of Europe to eliminate as soon as possible the obstacles that still hinder diplomatic relations between West Germany and many socialist countries, on the one hand, and between West European states and the German Democratic Republic, on the other.

The Federal Republic of Germany could also make a valuable contribution to the relaxation of tension in Europe, provided it renounced—as a West German writer wrote recently—what does not belong to it, namely: territories beyond the Oder-Neisse line, the territory of the German Democratic Republic, and nuclear weapons.

Since the creation of the Federal Republic of Germany in 1949, it never owned all this and it cannot deceive itself that it will succeed in ever getting it.

Between the words and deeds of the Bonn leaders—and among the deeds we stress the scandalous continuation of the ban on the Communist Party—there is a flagrant contradiction which provokes

new complications in relations with other countries and within West Germany itself.

These disagreements will be all the deeper and more evident, and the denunciation of the dangers of the policy of Bonn will be all the more effective, if we succeed in developing greater initiatives for the creation of new East-West relations.

We attach much importance to the Bucharest Declaration of the socialist countries and the statement made by Comrade Brezhnev at our Conference, namely, that "the Soviet Union is not opposed to improving relations with the Federal Republic of Germany" and that "it is prepared to do everything in its power to achieve this improvement. If the present FRG Government adopts a sober approach to the present situation in Europe, if it refrains from encroaching upon the interests of other countries and peoples and in its actions demonstrates its desire to strengthen peace in our continent, we shall be among the supporters of such a policy."

We can and must promote a Europe where the security of every people is at the same time the security of all. For this aim, we must promote the struggle of the peoples so as to enable our continent to play a new, autonomous role in its relations with the USA as well as in its relations with the developing countries.

## IV

The peoples of Western Europe do not wish to reconcile themselves any longer to their best territories, their ports and their cities being turned into permanent quarters for the U.S. expeditionary forces.

It is a fact that the policy of opposing blocs finds itself in a crisis into which it has also drawn the Atlantic alliance and the closed economic blocs such as the Common Market.

We are witnessing in Italy and, more generally, in Western Europe, a critical re-evaluation of these problems which includes the very concept of Europe, its relations with the United States and its position in the world.

At the same time, trends favoring efforts for more intensive cooperation with the socialist countries are developing. These trends show that modifications are taking place in the orientation of political and trade union forces within ideological and religious currents and in the world of culture and science.

The consistent peace policy of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, and the struggle waged by the Communist parties and the working class have not been in vain, the concern caused by U.S. penetration did not remain without consequences even in the bourgeois groups.

Among the Social Democrats a process of differentiation is under

way. In some countries they have had to renounce their old position of support of the Atlantic conception and desperate struggle against communism. It is a fact that we are now witnessing, at all levels and in various directions, a search for possibilities of cooperation with the Communist world in specific areas.

This cooperation is developing today particularly in the domain of solidarity with Vietnam and actions for peace and European security. This is not the place to define the fundamental aspects of our Party's action for the creation of new relations of cooperation between all Left-wing forces, both lay and Catholic. But within the framework of the problems we are dealing with, it is necessary to emphasize that these new relations are being put into effect in a number of countries, from France to Finland, as Comrades Waldeck Rochet and Ville Pessi recalled in their contributions.

We are convinced that to stimulate, organize, fight for these objectives, to call for autonomous action of the masses which are not under our direct influence, whatever the forms in which this struggle develops, means to advance in fulfilling a really leading, cementing role in the struggle to safeguard peace, to develop democracy, to abolish exploitation and to win genuine freedom. In short, it signifies the socialist transformation of society.

Needless to say, it is the working class that must be in the center of this struggle. The more united it is, the greater its force and influence. In this respect, cooperation and unity of action between Communists and Socialists could deeply change the climate and balance of forces in every country, and in Europe in general and bar the road to American imperialism and to reaction.

Unfortunately, the leaders of many Socialist and Social Democratic parties are still blinded by the most stupid and profound anti-communism. However, the gravity of the situation impels ever growing numbers of the Socialist rank-and-file to press for the eradication of all vestiges of the cold war and to search, jointly with the Communists, for ways and means of ensuring peace, freedom and progress for the peoples.

In the Unified Socialist Party which was born recently from the merger of the Italian Socialist and Social Democratic parties, pressure is building up for a new orientation of Italian foreign policy, for détente and peace in Europe, and for an immediate and unconditional end to the U.S. bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. This action, which finds its expression in the independent organization of Socialist demonstrations for peace, as well as in the participation of the active members of the USP in joint demonstrations with the Communists, the Proletarian Unity Socialists and Left-wing Catholic and independent forces, is also an aspect of this concrete desire for peace which inspires the Italian people.

The broad mass of the Italian people stands by the Vietnamese

fighters. On many occasions they have held impressive demonstrations of solidarity with Vietnam. And they are ready to send volunteers to participate in the Vietnamese people's armed struggle should the government of the DRV ask for such aid.

## V

Several comrades—Comrade Gomulka, and yesterday Comrade Pasionaria in more general terms—have already drawn the attention of our Conference to the importance which the orientation and action of the Catholic masses could have in many countries in the struggle for peace and collective security, and more generally in the social struggles of our time.

The recent pontifical encyclical "Populorum Progressio" offers to the Catholic masses wider ground for action for peace. Under the threat of a nuclear war, while the armaments race is growing and in the face of the horrible problem of hunger, we believe that our message and our peace initiatives can be augmentd by ideas and meaning comprehensive to the broadest Catholic masses. The stubborn resistance encountered by our peace initiative in the Italian ruling circles cannot prevent the growth of progressive sentiment among the Catholic masses and influential personalities of the Catholic world. We believe that even in the Catholic circles a movement may rise in support of fundamental demands projected towards peace and social progress of the peoples.

As for our country, we find it is significant that while the government, led by the Christian Democrats with the cooperation of Socialists, continuously declare its "understanding for American aggression in Vietnam, 950 students of the most important Italian Catholic university—the Sacred Heart (Sacré Coeur) University in Milano—demand from the Christian Democratic Foreign Minister "an opportune demonstration of the government's disagreement with the United States, since the present mistaken 'understanding' --as the students' document says—is nothing but morally shared responsibility."

The proposal of a group of deputies belonging to the Catholic association of Italian workers (ACLI) is also significant. These deputies proposed to the Italian Parliament a symbolical reduction of the military budget by 0.5 per cent so as to devote the amount saved in this way to the struggle against hunger in the world.

We also want to recall that Catholics living in the most populated district of Florence, addressing themselves to the Pope, asked him to condemn the genocide being perpetrated in Vietnam by the USA. Some 80 Catholic publications and Catholic cultural groups demand that ACLI—which has a membership of about one million Catholic workers—should condemn U.S. aggression.

In the ranks of the Italian Catholics we find influential groups which criticize the action taken by Pope Paul VI in relation to Vietnam. They consider his action in this respect as too "diplomatic," too cautious and too timid.

Under these conditions and in this atmosphere, we believe that it is our duty to appeal to the consciousness and initiative of the Catholic masses. This is what we call the policy of "dialogue" with the Catholics. Needless to say, our object in this "dialogue" is not conciliation between the philosophical and ideological concepts of the Communists and Catholics, which differ completely. But we believe that despite the diversity of these concepts, the Communist and Catholic viewpoints can come close together on the most serious and urgent questions which preoccupy mankind today, such as the defense of peace and struggle against imperialism and colonialism. That is why we attach particular significance to the point in the document submitted to us which deals with joint action for European security on the part of the Communists, Socialists and Christians.

As for us, we consider that this point has a particular value and significance.

## VI

For us the struggle for security in Europe means not only struggle to resolve the problems giving rise to tension on our continent. It is also a struggle to create the conditions which would ensure every European country and Europe as a whole a peaceful future. From this point of view the problems concerning European cooperation are constantly becoming more important for Italy and for many countries of Western Europe. I have in mind two problems which concern the autonomy of our country and of others too. The first concerns the growth of U.S. investments and the fact that the United States is seeking to establish its control over the key sectors of the economy, starting with the electronics industry.

The second problem is the widening gap in the field of technology and scientific research between Western Europe and the United States, on the one hand, and between Western Europe and the Soviet Union, on the other. This second problem is linked with the "brain drain" from Europe to the United States. I should like to recall here what the President of the EEC said: "If the six countries of the Common Market continue to be the main importers of inventions and the main exporters of brains, they will condemn themselves to a collective under-development which, sooner or later will cause their irreparable decline."

Discussion on this subject in our country is being held among all political forces. The lag is keenly felt in Italy, regardless of the

industrial development of recent years. The President of our National Research Center recently said that "in the field of scientific research and technology Italy holds the last place among the developed countries and the first among the under-developed." This confirms the fact that capitalism is unable to resolve the formidable problems facing our country. The Common Market not only failed to hinder the process of colonization but, on the contrary, promoted it. "The United States has conquered the West European economy," bitterly stressed an Italian conservative daily a few days ago. The inflow of U.S. investments in Western Europe went up from $2 billion in 1950 to $14 billion in 1965. These investments concentrated in the key sectors of the economy, will soon reach the $20 billion mark. This inflow of American money threatens to turn every West-European country into a U.S. economic and financial base and to create new obstacles to real political independence.

Discontent with this state of affairs is growing in Italy and in Western Europe generally. But we are also witnessing a revival of nationalist tendencies, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, attempts on the part of the ruling groups to seek impossible solutions within the framework of Atlantic partnership or in the renewal of the process of a closed and discriminatory integration for a large part of Europe, such as that which took place when the Common Market was created.

The international alignments in which West European capitalist countries are participating, are different. This is why the tasks and the way in which every party must accomplish them are also different. But we believe that in the interest of all countries and of Europe in general it is important to fight to remove all artificially erected barriers in economic relations between the capitalist countries as well as between the capitalist and the socialist countries. Elimination of these barriers would facilitate effective cooperation between all countries in production and research as well as in other areas.

The Italian government raises obstacles to the signing of an agreement on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. I should particularly like to underscore what Comrade Brezhnev stated here: "We are ready to reach agreement with European states on assistance in nuclear research and the application of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes." Implementation of this proposal would enable countries to renounce the production and acquisition of nuclear arms and yet have access to all the advantages which peaceful atomic energy presents to mankind.

This Conference has shown that all Communists want a united Europe of peace and progress. As for us, we want to devote all our energies to overcoming the obstacles still impeding the attainment

of this great aim corresponding to the interests of humanity, civilization and progress.

## VII

In conclusion I should like to express the agreement of the delegation of the Communist Party of Italy with the documents submitted to this Conference.

I believe that the Conference has itself shown the need for it and its usefulness.

Our Conference was convened above all as a confrontation of experience and an exchange of opinions on collective security in Europe and the common tasks arising from this for the working-class movement. Permit me to recall here what Comrade Togliatti said on this subject in the Yalta Memorandum: "Without careful collective consideration it is impossible to arrive at a correct definition of the common tasks of our movement." We do not regard the Communist parties as separate compartments concerned only with their own internal life within their own countries. On the contrary, we are of the opinion that an exchange of experience, the passing on of ideas and even discussion and controversies, if they are of a positive character and do not develop into unacceptable interference in the affairs of other parties, are useful and essential for the ideological and political development of the entire Communist movement and for the concrete activities of each party.

We consider this Conference useful because it has concretely applied the method of "organizing a series of meetings by groups of parties for the purpose of closer examination and better definition of the tasks facing the different sections of our movement."

In my opinion, the application of this method in recent years, including the meetings at Brussels and Vienna, as well as others, has yielded positive results.

Needless to say, after this Conference each party, guided by the documents adopted here, will have to elaborate and define its own policy and line of action independently, taking into account each concrete situation. We regard this first meeting of the Communist parties of Europe as the initial step towards effective strengthening of the cohesion and unity of the international Communist movement. However, we do not close our eyes to the difficulties that still exist in this respect.

Our Conference is not attended by the representatives of some parties, though their presence would be highly desirable. We are aware of the concern expressed on this score by some parties. We do not want to discuss the reasons for this here.

In our opinion it would be desirable to have every party make its contribution in an open debate such as we have here at this

Conference, without fearing that any possible differences in judgment or opinions, or even the non-acceptance of some particular conclusion arrived at could spoil the good atmosphere and the positive result of our discussion.

But even if we regret the absence of some parties, this should not constitute any difficulty in the consolidation of relations of solidarity and cooperation among all fraternal parties, including, naturally, the parties that are not present at this Conference.

We fully agree with the comrades—and especially with Comrades Novotny and Kadar—who stressed that the differences of opinion with these parties are not such as cannot be overcome in further discussions or would make it impossible to cooperate with them in the practical solution of problems of security in Europe and other questions.

As for future initiatives for European security, it seems to us that particular attention should be paid to the idea of convening on the broadest basis a Congress of the Peoples of Europe, as well as to the idea of special initiatives relating to scientific research and cooperation in this area.

We believe that the principles which I have just mentioned should govern all our meetings.

The experience of this Conference should stand us in good stead in preparing and conducting other international meetings and in overcoming the difficulties still impeding their convocation.

We believe that the strength of each party and the effectiveness of its work depend on the cohesion and unity of action of all the parties of the international Communist and Workers' movement.

Allow me finally to join other comrades in expressing our gratitude to the French and Polish comrades for the preparation of the Conference and to the comrades of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia for the fraternal hospitality shown us.

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## SPEECH BY M. O'RIORDAN

### GENERAL SECRETARY, IRISH WORKERS' PARTY

Geographically, Ireland is the most western part of the continent of Europe. In terms of area and of population it ranks with the smaller countries, and our Party of scientific socialists is probably one of the smallest in the Continent—but, historically our people have established for themselves a reputation of a continuous struggle, over the centuries, for their national liberation, for an end to the domination of the British imperialists. That struggle still con-

tinues, particularly on the national aim of the undoing of the imperialist imposed partition of our island.

Our peoples' struggle has never been pursued in isolation from the general world fight for freedom and progress. Our people were linked with the First International which played a great role of solidarity with the Irish "Fenian" fighters, the centenary of whose rising our people honor this year. Therefore, it is indeed politically appropriate that the Irish Workers' Party of the Republic of Ireland should be participating in this important Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties. It is also historically and politically appropriate that this Conference should occur in the year of the 50th Anniversary of the Great October Revolution—the source of inspiration for us all.

Because of the strong anti-imperialist feelings of our people, the imperialists have never succeeded in winning our state into either the North Atlantic Treaty Organization or a bilateral military alliance. Consistent with this factor the active development of the fight for peace and security in Europe is of vital concern for our people. This question is of greater importance, now more than ever, with the stepped up activity of the West German militarists.

Our great Irish Marxist, James Connolly, pointed out 70 years ago the important leading role of the Irish working class in the national struggle. This is indeed relevant to the situation today as the Government of the Republic of Ireland abandons more and more this struggle, as shown in its signature of an Anglo-Irish Free Trade Agreement which will further strengthen the British monopoly capitalist domination in our country. It will create further unemployment in our industries. The supposed beneficial features of this Treaty for our agriculture have recently been exposed by the mass agitations and road-block demonstrations of the Irish farmers and their subsequent large-scale jailings.

The Anglo-Irish Free Trade Treaty is presented as a stepping stone to eventual Irish membership, along with Britain, of the Common Market. Such a development would be even a greater retrograde step in our national independence struggle. It would mean industrial destruction by the European monopoly capitalists. It would mean the abandonment of the vital national principle of neutrality. It would mean involvement in a war alliance.

The overwhelming majority of our people are Catholics, so therefore, our Party is pleased to note the recognition in the Conference documents of the fact that "new trends are appearing in Christian circles concerning the questions of social progress and peace" and that "common actions of Communists, Socialists and Christians on the question of European Security could promote the cause of peace on our continent." In the opinion of our Party, a big contri-

bution in this respect was the last Papal Encyclical, *Populorum Progressio.*

The Irish volume of protest against the brutal American aggression in Vietnam grows stronger. The broad "Irish Voice on Vietnam" organization has sponsored protests and pickets at the U.S. Embassy in Dublin. Last week the capital's Mansion House was packed with citizens who endorsed a resolution of protest against the American aggressors which was submitted by a platform of leading personalities connected with the Irish Labor Party, the Irish Workers' Party, the national Republican Liberation Movement and the intellectual circles of our country.

Recently, the Irish National Radio and Television Station, a semi-state authority, made arrangements to send a team of cameramen and reporters to North Vietnam whose Government was willing to accord all facilities. In order not to displease the Americans, the Irish Government suppressed the project. There has been an outcry in our country at this action. The leading producers, contributors, commentators and others involved in our Television Station immediately issued a strong declaration of protest. The National Union of Journalists in Ireland did likewise.

Comrades, our Party is glad of the opportunity to participate in this important Conference. Through it we associate ourselves with the common declaration of solidarity with the Greek people in their hour of trial; with our brave comrades in Portugal and with the fighting Spanish people.

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## SPEECH BY A. CUNHAL

### GENERAL SECRETARY, PORTUGUESE COMMUNIST PARTY

Two contradictory features characterize the international situation: on the one hand, a relation of forces favorable to the struggle for peace; on the other, the increased aggressiveness of U.S. imperialism, with the resulting danger to world peace.

The U.S. barbarous war of aggression against the heroic people of Vietnam, its brutal intervention in the domestic affairs of Latin-American, African and Asian countries show that U.S. imperialism sticks to its claim to the role of gendarme of the forces of reaction, and to its plans for world hegemony. However, its aggressive policy is meeting with growing resistance. The socialist camp, the working class of the capitalist countries and the national-liberation movement, joined in all countries by other large democratic and

peace-loving sections of the population, are strong enough to foil this policy.

The Communists of the European countries display active solidarity with the Communists, the working class and the peoples of the other continents who in most different conditions are fighting for democracy, national independence and socialism. They vigorously support the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people against U.S. aggression, regarding the cause of the Vietnamese people as their own, as the cause of all forces fighting against imperialism, for peace.

The problems of the struggle for peace and security in Europe should be viewed in their connection with the general common interests of the socialist camp, the international working class, and the national-liberation movement. This struggle contributes to the isolation of U.S. imperialism, impedes its acts of aggression, undermines the system of military pacts created by the United States, prevents the expansion of imperialism and checks its aggresiveness. It constitutes a highly effective and important contribution to the fight against imperialism on a world scale, to the struggle for preventing a nuclear war.

The aim of our Conference is not only to analyze the situation but also to outline a common course towards coordination and intensification of the struggle of all forces which want peace and security on our continent.

Just as the other fraternal parties the Portuguese Communist Party believes that the organization of a European security system calls for the attainment of three chief aims: to free Western Europe from U.S. economic, diplomatic and military tutelage; to check the growth of the revanchist and expansionist forces in Federal Germany; to prevent the prolongation of the Atlantic pact in 1969.

The Portuguese Communist Party agrees with the aims defined in the draft Statement prepared by the Editorial Committee in whose work it participated. The European collective security system must be based on the recognition of existing frontiers; on the recognition of the fact of existence of two German states and on the normalization of the relations of all states with the German Democratic Republic; on preventing the nuclear armament of the FRG; on the liquidation of the Atlantic pact. The Portuguese Communist Party expresses its agreement with setting it as a task of the Communist and Workers' parties to work for the development of peaceful relations between all European states on the principles of sovereignty, equality and mutual benefit, and for the conclusion of an agreement between all European countries ruling out the use of force and interference in internal affairs.

The Portuguese Communist Party also expresses agreement with

the importance attached to measures to promote a détente in Europe, to eliminate the barriers in the economic relations between the socialist and capitalist countries, and to intensify exchange and cooperation in all forms.

Our Party is fighting in extremely difficult conditions for friendship and cooperation between the peoples of Portugal and the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. Even though fascist government is in power in our country, it is our firm conviction that trade and cultural relations between Portugal and the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries would be beneficial not only for the cause of peace but also for the struggle of the Portuguese people for their freedom.

When the materials of our Conference were being drafted every party had an opportunity to state its viewpoint and contribute to the analysis of the situation and to the elaboration of conclusions. This method of work represents important progress in the forms of cooperation of fraternal parties and helps strengthen unity. In our view, in future actions, it will be useful to further improve the cooperation of fraternal parties in the preparatory stage. What was done during the preparation of this Conference has proved to be of great practical use and greatly facilitated the work of the Conference.

On our part, our Party would only like again to give its opinion on three aspects which it considers very important in the struggle for peace and security in Europe: its close link with the struggle for democracy, its close link with the struggle for the genuine national independence of the European peoples, and its close link with the struggle against the policy of exploitation, enslavement and colonial wars pursued by some European countries on other continents. Under the conditions that now exist in Portugal, these aspects are inseparable. For the people of Portugal, the struggle for peace and security in Europe means at the same time struggle against the fascist dictatorship, for a democratic regime, for the true independence of Portugal, which is now in the position of a dependent country, for the right of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies to self-determination and independence. Despite the diversity of situations, similar problems also exist in other capitalist countries of Europe.

Permit me, therefore, comrades, to say a few more words on this subject.

Historical experience has shown that reactionary regimes are the best instruments of the policy of aggression. The Second World War was for the peoples of Europe a tragic lesson which showed them what fascism is in general, and what fascism is in a large industrial country such as Germany.

The expansionist and revanchist claims of the FRG are closely

linked with an anti-democratic and chauvinist policy, with the ban on the Communist Party of Germany, with the persecution of champions of peace, with protection given to neo-Nazi organizations, with the participation of former Nazi officers and politicians in the government, the armed forces and in the entire machinery of state. The democratization of political life in the FRG is justly demanded not only by the working class and the peace and progressive forces of West Germany, not only by the German Democratic Republic, threatened most directly, but by all the peoples of Europe, who must be alerted to the danger reviving Nazism presents to their security, freedom and peace.

In our opinion, much political work must be done to prevent the struggle against West German militarism from giving rise to anti-German feelings. There exists a socialist German state, a state of workers and peasants which is the pride of the entire German people and a bastion of peace in Europe. In the FRG the Communist Party, forced into illegality, and the other progressive people are fighting against the adventuristic policy of the Bonn government. Allow me, comrades, to assure you at this Conference of the solidarity of the Portuguese Communists with the GDR, with the socialist Unity Party of Germany, the Communist Party of Germany and all the sons of the homeland of Marx and Engels fighting in Western Germany against militarism and revanchism, for democracy, socialism and peace.

It is also a lesson of history and an obvious aspect of the concrete international situation that the aggressive forces of imperialism always rely, outside their own frontiers, on the most reactionary regimes and forces, supporting them in turn. The recent reactionary putsch in Greece is another proof of this. Instigated and supported by the imperialists, the reactionary coup in Greece, hindering the development of political life towards democracy, is creating in Europe, close to the frontiers of the socialist countries, new seats of danger to security and peace. We express here to our Greek comrades our solidarity and our firm belief that the Greek people will defeat the forces of reaction and imperialism and win freedom for their country.

The existence in Europe of fascist and reactionary dictatorships, such as those in Portugal, Spain and Greece is a threat to peace. To pay for the assistance they need to keep in power against the will of the peoples of these countries, the fascist and reactionary governments give full assistance to the aggressive forces of imperialism. These regimes are centers of conspiracies against peace and are bases of aggression. The situation in Portugal also confirms this conclusion. The growing cooperation between the Lisbon and Bonn governments plays an important part in the main-

tenance of the fascist dictatorship in Portugal and in providing the West German revanchists with bases of aggression.

For many years Salazar was one of the most faithful and reliable allies of Hitler fascism. Side by side with Hitler he participated in the war of intervention in Spain. Believing, with Hitler and Mussolini, that "the whole of Europe will be fascist," he maintained that the Munich diktat paved the way for the realization of this prospect. He supported Germany during the Second World War up to the moment when he saw that its defeat was inevitable. And even after Hitler's death, expressing his devotion to Nazism, he ordered national mourning and declared that Hitler's biggest error was to have lost the war.

The revival of militarism and Nazism in the FRG has enabled Salazar fascism to revert to its traditional policy. Constantly strengthening cooperation with Federal Germany, in whose state apparatus he again finds old Nazi friends, Salazar sees in the success of West German militarism and revanchism the greatest hope of a long life for the fascist dictatorship in Portugal. He regards the FRG, as he did Hitler Germany, as the gendarme of European reaction called upon to accomplish a revenge to defeat the socialist camp and restore fascist rule in Europe. The fascist dictatorship of Salazar has thus openly placed itself at the service of the aggressive plans of West German imperialism.

The establishment in Portugal of the air-base at Beja, second-biggest after the air-base in the Azores, is a most vivid illustration of this policy.

The case of Portugal shows the interrelation between the forces of fascism and of war, it proves that European security is menaced by fascist and reactionary dictatorships.

We want to mention one more aspect of this problem. When discussing the problems of peace and security in Europe at this Conference, one has in mind elaboration of a guide to action. It is therefore necessary to bear in mind the exceedingly difficult conditions in which some European peoples are struggling. In Portugal, the struggle for peace in all its forms is at the same time, in its content and expression, a struggle against fascism, for democracy.

To struggle for peace means also to struggle for the right to do so, i.e., for basic democratic liberties. The struggle of the people of Portugal against the Salazar government's policy of submission to the most reactionary and most aggressive forces of imperialism, against NATO, against the military bases of the U.S. imperialists and Bonn revanchists on Portuguese territory, is at the same time a struggle for overthrowing the fascist dictatorship and establishing a democratic regime. The disappearance of fascist and reactionary dictatorships will be in the interest of security and peace. The preservation of peace in Europe and the creation of an effec-

tive system of collective security call for democratization of political life in the capitalist countries of Europe so that the working class and the large masses of the people could influence the policy of their governments, be vigilant and capable of opposing effectively the attempts of the ultra-reactionary circles of imperialism to rekindle the cold war and create seed-beds of insecurity and conflict.

Thus, the close connection between the struggle for peace and the struggle for democracy is, in our view, one of the essential aspects in the struggle for the establishment of a system of European security.

The struggle for peace and security in Europe is also closely linked with the struggle for the genuine national independence of all the European nations.

Dominating economic positions are means of influence and intervention in the internal policy of other countries and of diplomatic pressure resulting in the imposition of military cooperation. The subordinate position of some European nations favors neither detente nor the establishment of lasting peace.

The case of Portugal is characteristic in this respect. For a long time foreign monopolies have had control of the main sources of our national wealth. Under the fascist dictatorship imperialist domination has been further consolidated. Foreign monopolies closely linked with domestic monopoly groups are seizing more and more branches of industry; they control and manage the basic sections of the national economy against the national interests of the people.

It is important to pay attention to the consolidation of the positions of the FRG in the Portuguese economy. Within a few years the West German monopolies took possession of enterprises very important for the industrial development of our country. Encouraging private initiative, Bonn grants big credits to the Salazar government. The FRG is today the chief supplier of industrial products to Portugal. It accounts for 19 per cent of all Portuguese imports. What we are witnessing is a veritable offensive of West German finance capital intent on elbowing out Great Britain and the United States from the dominant positions in Portugal.

Portugal's participation in the European Free Trade Association and the intensive economic relations with the FRG increase its dependence on the foreign imperialists. Under the pretext of creating conditions that would make it possible to compete with more developed countries, centralization is stepped up, small enterprises are forced out of business, the exploitation of the working class is intensified, accompanied by an increasingly active wage freeze policy. The domestic market is flooded with goods from more developed countries, with which home-made products cannot com-

pete. Agriculture is in the grip of severe crisis resulting from the discriminating measures with regard to agricultural products taken within the framework of free trade agreements.

The Portuguese fascists and the foreign imperialists assert that aid is being given by more developed countries to less developed ones. But this "aid" from the imperialist countries can never be considered as such by countries dependent on imperialism. Under the cover of this "aid" imperialism is penetrating into these countries to get its hands on the natural riches, plunder the national resources, exploit the proletariat, establish economic domination and carry out political and military interference for purposes of aggression. Our people know from their own experience that imperialist "aid" spells worsened conditions for the toilers and subjugation of the country.

The fact that some nations of Europe are deprived of real national independence hampers the establishment of lasting peace. National subjugation is expressed not only in the economic, but also in the political, diplomatic and military spheres. Fascist Portugal, economically dependent on big imperialist countries, presents today a base for military aggressive preparations of the United States and Federal Germany. In Portugal, the struggle for peace and security is inseparably linked with the struggle for liberation from the imperialist yoke, with the struggle for real national independence.

That is why the connection between the struggle for peace and the struggle for the genuine national independence of all European countries is, in our opinion, one of the essential aspects of the struggle for the creation of a system of European security.

The struggle for peace and security in Europe is also closely linked with the struggle against the policy of expansion and colonial domination of the European imperialist countries in other continents and against the colonial wars and other military actions with the help of which they are trying to stifle the national-liberation movement.

The Communist Parties of the European capitalist countries should not forget that the monoply groups of the respective countries exploit and oppress many peoples. From this follows the special responsibility of the proletariat and the Communist Parties of the European countries with regard to the peoples fighting for independence. Colonial domination and neo-colonialism constitute, at the same time, sources of tension and of a danger to the peace of the people of Europe.

Imperialist expansion, military agreements, the warmongering policy of the more reactionary European circles do not have Europe as their only aim. The West German, British, Belgian and French monopolies, often supported by U.S. imperialism, continue

the policy of colonial domination and practice other forms of oppression of the peoples of other continents. European imperialism, especially the expansionist policy of West Germany, cannot be fought in Europe only, but also in Africa.

As far as our country is concerned, Portugal is a characteristic example, being at once a country dependent on foreign imperialism and a colonial power still holding sway over vast territories. Paradoxical as it may seem, the fact that Portugal is a dependent country enables the Portuguese colonialists to maintain traditional forms of colonialism and to try to stifle by force of arms the just struggle of the people of Angola, Guinea and Mozambique for independence. Both in Portugal and in its colonies, the British, American, Belgian, West-German and other imperialists, closely linked with the Portuguese monopoly groups, mostly in dominant positions, plunder the natural wealth, exploit the working people and suppress the striving for freedom. Salazar's colonialists are able to continue colonial exploitation and colonial wars thanks to the financial, military and diplomatic support of the United States, Britain and especially the FRG, which is interested in the exploitation and subjugation of the peoples of Portugal and its colonies. Without the assistance of the NATO countries, the fascist and colonialist dictatorship of Salazar could not resist the struggle of the Portuguese people and the peoples of the Portuguese colonies. It would not be able to continue its policy of terror in Portugal and the criminal war in its colonies.

We Portuguese Communists, fulfilling our internationalist and patriotic duty, support the struggle of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies for independence, and will do our best to help them, just as they are helping the struggle of our own people. It is not only in the interest of the Portuguese people and of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies, but also in the interest of all European peoples to put an end to the Salazar government's war against the peoples of Angola, Guinea and Mozambique. This war is a serious threat to European security. Colonial wars and other military actions of European states in other parts of the world can lead to serious conflicts with countries in those regions; they generate tension in Europe and may cause an explosion dangerous to world peace.

The struggle for peace and security in Europe means at the same time a struggle against the expansionist policy of imperialism, against colonial oppression and neo-colonialism, against the military terroristic actions and colonial wars conducted by European states to crush the peoples fighting for freedom.

The creation of a system of collective security in Europe, which would eliminate the danger of aggression and ensure a lasting peace, is not an easy task. Its realization requires ever closer cooperation

between the socialist camp, the working class in the capitalist countries and the national-liberation movement. It calls for stronger unity of the Communist and Workers' parties of Europe and their solidarity and cooperation with the fraternal parties of other continents. It demands tremendous political work to win all the democratic and peace-loving forces of our continent for the cause of peace and security in Europe.

The program of action to be worked out by our Conference will provide a political basis for common struggle for European peace and security. The determination of the guidelines and of the common aims will make it possible to undertake joint actions whose success will depend on the efforts of the Communist and Workers' parties.

There is no contradiction between the responsibility of each party to the working class and the people of its country and its internationalist responsibility. On the contrary, the accomplishment of its mission as the vanguard of the working class and the leading political force in its own country and the fulfilment of its internationalist duties are integral aspects of the activity of each Communist party.

The situation in the world demands that Communists wage a stubborn, selfless struggle, being confident of victory.

In close fraternal cooperation with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, with the Communist and Workers' parties of the socialist camp, with the fraternal parties of other countries, the Portuguese Communists will spare no effort to carry out their task with honor.

In conclusion, we want to thank the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia for the warm fraternal welcome and for the good conditions it has provided for our work.

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## SPEECH BY E. GASPERONI

GENERAL SECRETARY, COMMUNIST PARTY OF SAN MARINO

The Communist Party of San Marino believes that the international situation is becoming more and more serious and that the threat to European security and world peace is growing. In the light of the expansionist and aggressive designs of U.S. imperialism and the increasingly dangerous trend of the revanchist policy of the leaders of the Federal Republic of Germany, we regard as a positive and useful development the convocation of this Conference of European Communist and Workers' parties which is aimed at giving a broader and more progressive content to the struggles of

the democratic and anti-imperialist forces championing peace. These parties respect the autonomy of one another and are inspired by socialist and proletarian solidarity.

In our view, this Conference should yield the following positive results:

It should promote the development of stubborn and concerted popular struggles for the solution of the problems of European security, so that Europe should move into the forefront of the defense of world peace and the freedom of the peoples. It should create favorable conditions for a persevering and consistent search for a new unity of the Communist and working-class movement, for without the unity of all peace-loving, democratic and anti-imperialist forces it is impossible to use the enormous peace potential capable of blocking and defeating the forces of war.

We believe that conferences of our movement have a political value and should be convened by representatives of the fraternal parties only when they have been properly prepared through bilateral and multilateral meetings and when there are favorable conditions for their complete success.

By making it possible to exchange experiences and views on specific and general problems, these conferences contribute to mutual understanding, enhance the weight and authority of our movement, inspire the masses and give them confidence in the success of the struggle for peace, freedom and European security. While eschewing all attempts to reconstitute directing centers, these conferences enable us to arrive at common aims and to reach agreement, which makes for more effective use of the strength of our movement and enhance the role played by the Communists on the world political scene.

Today, when all our parties have to bear great international responsibility, especially in these times of tension, American aggression expresses itself in a destructive war against the heroic Vietnamese people who have chosen to fight rather than to submit to slavery, we need more than ever unity and clarity as to intentions, directed towards strengthening the united action of the democratic, peace-loving and anti-imperialist forces with a view to settling the Vietnamese conflict on the basis of the 1954 Geneva agreements.

At present Vietnam is a most sensitive neuralgic point of the world situation showing the peoples of Europe the danger that threatens peace and their own security.

Europe is faced with a great task. Our movement can fufil it effectively provided it takes into consideration the peculiarities of each particular state.

Europe needs above all a new policy which would rid it of the adverse influence of the forces which have nothing in common with

the European continent, and of the economic infiltration of powerful American trusts, which on balance is part of the consequences of various contradictions and of military, political and economic alliances. We know, indeed, that all the disagreements and contradictions of imperialism on our continent are deepening as a result of the aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism, which affects the economic, military, and strategic interests of the big international monopoly centers.

This leads to the extremists and warmongers becoming more aggressive and raises international tension, which, in turn, increases the danger of war. This aggressiveness, however, is meeting with growing resistance on the part of the forces of peace, democracy, national independence and socialism.

The present situation, characterized by the crisis I have mentioned, on the one hand, and by the upsurge of the mass movement, on the other, affects the political orientation of the capitalist governments of Europe. Some of them have begun to take a relatively outspoken and independent attitude to the war in Vietnam, to aggressive military pacts, the revanchist aspirations of Bonn and the increasing penetration of American capital into Europe. This attitude could make for a summit dialogue on problems of European security, which could become a point of departure for turning our old continent into a region of peace, cooperation, and the coexistence of countries with differing social systems.

A Europe following this path could, due to its weight and its important role in international relations, contribute very considerably to the creation of a new atmosphere and the preservation of peace. It could substantially promote general and controlled disarmament, which would deliver mankind from the horrors of a disastrous war and make it possible to spend the vast sums wasted on armaments for combating the poverty, hunger, disease, illiteracy and social injustice still existing in every part of the world.

The fact that America's isolation in Europe is increasing and that the governments are assuming new attitudes towards the socialist countries, our movement and the problem of security is obviously due to the increasing world significance of the socialist camp and its consistent and firm peace policy, its rapid economic, social,. technological and scientific progress. It is due to the change which took place in our movement on the basis of the decisions of the 20th Congress of the CPSU and on the basis of the policy lines adopted by fraternal parties at their congresses, which stressed the importance of action to unify the efforts of the working class, and which began the dialogue on the Left-wing secular and Catholic forces, with the result that the political and electoral positions of our parties were strengthened everywhere.

It was these policy lines, these meetings and political initiatives

that extended the basis of the popular struggle for peace, democracy and independence and furthered the working people's struggles for better living and working conditions. It was the development of this struggle which formed the basis of progress towards greater proletarian unity and created favorable conditions for agreements and united action by Communists, Socialists, Social Democrats and the Catholic Left.

The division of Germany into two states with differing social systems is a characteristic product of that divisive policy the aim of which is to maintain constant tension on our continent and to prevent the European nations, even under existing differences, from reaching unity. The peoples of Europe certainly need this unity if they are to follow an autonomous peace policy and to achieve democratic progress, economic independence and the dissolution of all military blocs. They need it if they are to benefit by the fruits of the effort aimed at relaxing international tension and bringing about the victory of the idea of peaceful coexistence.

West German imperialism, whose revival for anti-Communist purposes was fostered by reactionary governments and international warmongers, has entered upon a new period of its policy endangering peace.

The new threat stems from the fact that there is no democratization in the FRG, that the governments which came into power after the defeat of Nazism continue to pursue a revanchist policy. This policy is based on the theory of some statesmen who would like to speak for the whole of Germany, on the theory which refuses to take into account the defeat of the Nazis and seeks to reunite Germany within the old boundaries—those of 1937—even by using force, on the conspiracy between the racist regime of South Africa and the government of Kiesinger, Strauss and Brandt, on an open alliance between the ruling parties and the neo-Nazi and revanchist movements. All this strengthens the reactionary forces, which, having forced the Communist Party of Germany and the progressive and democratic organizations into illegality, raise the threat of a new dictatorship of big monopoly and finance capital.

If the FRG wants to prove that it is striving for a new policy, it must give up its claim to exclusive spokesmanship for the whole German people and recognize the existence of two German states, as well as the frontiers existing in Europe. It must solemnly promise the government of the GDR that it will give up the use of force, recognize the present state of affairs and stop trying to isolate the GDR, since East Germany and the frontiers which resulted from the last world conflict are realities which cannot be reversed nor violated.

The GDR is not only a state having a socialist structure but a democratic reality having deep roots in denazification and the

installation of genuine democracy born of the creative spirit of the people.

The German Democratic Republic with its peace policy, its vast transformations and great achievements in the economic and social spheres is a socialist state in development which defeats—thanks also to the solidarity of the socialist camp—all intrigues of those who want to destroy it. This is the reason why the problem of the German Democratic Republic is most urgent and why it is necessary to fight immediately for its full recognition. To solve this problem would mean achieving the main prerequisite of European security and new relations on the continent, relations of equality and mutual respect between the European countries.

The Communists and the democratic forces want a free and peaceful Europe, a Europe in which the nations would live within existing frontiers, respecting one another's sovereignty and independence. Both German states should be sovereign states recognizing each other and should establish normal diplomatic relations with each other and with the other European countries, contribute to European security and take a resolute stand against military blocs, against armaments, the proliferation of nuclear arms, and the penetration of economic and political forces having nothing in common with the interests of our continent.

At present Germany is the most sensitive barometer of the European situation, showing whether the nations can by their struggle make the governments proceed if only to a partial solution of the problems preventing a more constructive development of a truly European policy. This aim can be attained step by step, by following the paths indicated in the document, to which we fully subscribe.

We also appreciate the proposal for a conference of all European governments and for a meeting of representatives of the parliaments. However, before becoming the subject of discussion between governments, this problem must become a problem of class struggle and action by the masses guided by the fundamental idea of peace, progress and civilization.

Our contribution towards the solution of European problems with the aim of achieving security and a lasting peace can be proportionate to the population of San Marino, which is close on 17,000.

Despite this fact, which makes it impossible for large sections of the people to join in struggle and to show initiative on all levels, the working class and the people of San Marino are keenly aware of the problems of European security, of the problem of establishing demilitarized zones, promoting trade and assuring peaceful coexistence. It was with these aims in view, meaning above all the struggle for peace and solidarity with the Vietnamese people, that we developed our initiative, held public conferences and called the

attention of the Great General Council of our country to questions bearing on these problems.

The struggle for the objectives of our Conference in our country must assume greater scope and become more dynamic if the government is to be forced into taking a more favorable stand on the issue of European security.

Our Party has on a number of occasions recommended to the public and the Great General Council paying attention to the question of the recognition of the GDR by our government and reaffirming the inviolability of the frontiers of the European states.

Our country would benefit a great deal if the present state of tension were overcome and if cooperation between states in the spheres of trade, culture and tourism increased to such an extent as to make economic cooperation possible.

Such cooperation would help to break the fetters shackling economic, social and prductive life in ur republic, fetters that bind the economic fate of San Marino to Italian monopoly interests.

A Europe living in peace on the basis of its own security system would stimulate tourist travel, which would also benefit our country because its economic and social life depends largely on tourism.

We have participated in this Conference in the firm conviction that it will promote peace, democracy and the security of Europe and help to overcome certain obstacles to the unity of our government. This conviction, which is probably shared by the delegations of all fraternal parties, is the reason why we wish full success to this Conference, which will undoubtedly evoke interest and help the growth of our movement and the peace and anti-imperialist forces participating in the heroic struggle for peace, European and international security and the general progress of socialism in the world.

In conclusion we should like to express our heartfelt thanks to the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia for its wonderful and comradely hospitality. Our thanks also go to all the parties and comrades who contributed to the convening and success of this Conference.

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## SPEECH BY F. LAGER

### BOARD MEMBER, COMMUNIST PARTY OF SWEDEN

I did not intend to ask for the floor at this Conference. As Comrade Novotny said in his welcoming address, I am not here as a delegate but as an observer. But if I have now nevertheless asked

to be able to say a few words, it is because some of the delegates, as far as the main problems under discussion here are concerned, have shown interest in the situation in Sweden. Hence the information I should like to give you.

Actions of solidarity for fighting Vietnam are increasing in scope and force. In recent months demonstrations of various kinds against the American representative offices have taken place every week in Stockholm and elsewhere. The meetings on Vietnam developed into street demonstrations. I think the May Day demonstrations will also to a considerable degree be marked by expressions of solidarity with the people of Vietnam.

Actions of solidarity are taking place at the same time in the form of collections of funds for the people of Vietnam.

Great attention is being paid to the war in Vietnam by the press. The overall picture of the press coverage of this question speaks of growing resistance to the American intervention and of increasing demands for an end to the terrorist bombing of North Vietnam and the demand that the United States withdraw from Vietnam. Many oustanding personalities of Swedish cultural life are actively participating in creating this mood together with some Swedish bourgeois and Social-Democratic dailies.

The United States, which for various, to a considerable extent historical, reasons enjoyed great popularity among the people of Sweden is now fast losing its popularity. The counter-action of the United States, including organized visits by Vietnamese propagandists to support the Ky regime, are of no effect. In some cases their meetings had to be called off as a result of public demonstrations.

A weak point in the movement of solidarity with the people of Vietnam has so far been the fact that the trade unions are not particularly active in the movement. However, the Congress of Swedish trade unions representing 1,600,000 members sent a declaration to President Johnson last September.

Bertrand Russell's letter to the Swedish trade unions, seeking their support for the so-called war crimes tribunal, has certainly helped to increase activity. The letter gained vast publicity and was directly supported by leading trade union officials.

On my way to this country I read in one daily that Russell's tribunal could not be held in Paris. An earlier request for its partial or complete transfer to Stockholm was refused by the Swedish Premier. I presume, however, that Swedish opinion will develop in favor of the transfer of the tribunal to Stockholm.

The Communist Party of Sweden with all its might supports the movement of solidarity with the people of Vietnam. The demands submitted to the government by the Communist Party of Sweden are as follows:

1. Officially condemning the U.S. war of aggression in Vietnam, and insisting on the withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam.

2. Recognizing the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

3. Establishing solid official links with the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam.

The Swedish Foreign Minister has announced on behalf of the Swedish government, which still has its representatives at Saigon, that after the departure of the present Swedish diplomatic representative there, which will take place in the autumn of this year, it will not see its way to appointing another diplomatic representative.

In Sweden the problems of European security are to a considerable extent linked with the German problem. I believe I correctly express the opinion of the Swedish people if I say that the Oder-Niesse frontier is considered final and permanent. There certainly are extremists faithfully echoing the views of Bonn, but they are an exception.

On the question of recognition of the existence of both German states opinions differ as to whether such recognition has to be brought about early. Soon, however, the government will find itself completely isolated in its hesitation to recognize the German Democratic Republic. In Swedish business, cultural life, sports and tourism—in short, among the ordinary people—it is known that the German Democratic Republic exists as an independent state entity. Only the government refuses to recognize this fact. The reason for this is largely the pressure exerted by West Germany. But there are also forces in Sweden advocating the view that the German Democratic Republic should disappear.

All this notwithstanding, the opinion is gaining ground that Sweden should normalize its relations with the GDR. A proposal for the normalization is being discussed by the Swedish parliament this week. Such a proposal was submitted in parliament by the Communists some years ago. That time, however, the Communists were alone. The present proposal has been made by members of the parliamentary groups of all five parties represented in parliament, which in our country is quite an extraordinary phenomenon in the discussion of political problems.

It is a matter of course for the Swedish people that the Munich agreement was a fascist diktat and is null and void. I think that the opinion prevails that the Federal Republic of Germany must be barred from nuclear weapons.

Our Party has been fighting to the best of its ability for the limitation and prohibition of nuclear weapons, for disarmament and peaceful coexistence, and will continue to do so. It has for years fought a hard battle against Sweden joining the EEC and against the powerful forces seeking such membership. We are of

the opinion that world trade should be free. Lately the campaign for Sweden to join the EEC has been renewed. This is partly due to economic decline and partly to the structural rationalization of Swedish industry. I think that the congress of our Party, to be called in a few weeks, will deal with these problems, as well as with the support of developing countries and the exploitation of these countries by Swedish capitalism.

The issue of unity of the working-class movement is of special importance to us in Sweden because in our country there is a strong Social-Democratic Party whereas our party is relatively small and weak. Besides, the Swedish working-class movement is largely influenced by tradition, and tradition is a great force. We are striving to rally all forces that are willing to participate in the struggle to break up the power position of the financial oligarchy and to bring about social changes in our country.

Permit me to end by expressing my thanks for the invitation to this Conference, for respecting my limited mandate and for the opportunity to give you this brief information. I should also like to voice my thanks for the hospitality offered me.

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## INVITATION TO DELEGATES TO ATTEND 50th ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATIONS IN USSR

In a short speech, L. I. Brezhnev said:

The leaders of fraternal parties noted in their speeches that our Conference has assembled at a momentous time—the eve of the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

For my part, I want to say that in preparing for the anniversary celebrations we are laying the accent on the spirit of internationalism. The October Revolution and Lenin belong to the whole of mankind. The celebrations of the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution will epitomize not only the triumph of the teaching of Marx and Lenin and of the proletarian revolution in our country, but also proletarian internationalism and unity of all the revolutionary forces.

On behalf of and on instructions from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, I should like to take this opportunity to invite all representatives of fraternal parties present here to send delegations to Moscow to the celebrations of the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution. Our Party and the Soviet people will be grateful to you, comrades, if you join us in the great holiday which the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution is for our state, our Party and our people.

## CLOSING SPEECH BY L. LONGO

Our work is drawing to a close and as chairman of this session I have the honor of expressing, confident that I am expressing the feelings of all delegations, our satisfaction at the success of this Conference and our conviction that it was necessary and, what is more, that it was useful. This was the first conference at which parties of the socialist and capitalist countries of Europe have met. It is our desire that it should make for the further development and strengthening of relations between the Communist parties and the expansion of links between our parties and the broad masses of working people. This desire, which we all share, is an expression of our intention to give new impetus to the struggle for peace and security in Europe.

Our continent has a long history, a history rich in deeds which do honor to all mankind. From Leonardo da Vinci to Shakespeare, from Victor Hugo to Pushkin, from Goethe to Einstein, from Karl Marx to Lenin, from Antonio Gramsci—the 30th anniversary of whose death we shall mark tomorrow—to the heroes of all countries who gave their lives in the fight against fascism and nazism, many men of our continent belong to the whole world and to the history of our civilization.

It was on our continent that 50 years ago the October Revolution opened a new vista of socialism and peace to all peoples. But it was also on our continent that the two world wars of the first half of our century started. The last of these wars cost the European peoples scores of millions of dead killed on the battlefields, in large cities that were destroyed, or in concentration camps.

Twenty-two years have passed since the end of the war and the time has come to build lasting peace in Europe by eliminating all existing sources of tension.

For this, it is necessary—as our Conference stressed—that all governments, starting with the government of the German Federal Republic, should recognize the reality, that is, the frontiers established after the Second World War and the existence of two German states, and set out to create new relations of cooperation in all fields among all European states.

All our countries have suffered too much by the cold war and the policy of division which pitted them one against the other.

The perspective outlined by the conclusions of our Conference is a perspective of unity: unity of all the peoples' forces, from Communists to Socialists, Catholics and all others who long for peace, in the struggle for a Europe united in security and peaceful endeavors. We have unanimously signed the documents summing up our discussion, but as has already been said at our Con-

ference, we do not think these documents give us a monopoly in drafting a peace program.

On the contrary, our proposals are meant to be our special contribution to a discussion with other political forces with a view to elaborating a common platform of action and struggle. With this aim in mind we have viewed with interest the idea put forward by certain circles in European public opinion to convoke a Congress of European peoples to discuss problems of united action to ensure European security and genuine cooperation between all countries.

We are also ready to examine all proposals likely to strengthen links between all European peoples.

Naturally, we are addressing ourselves in the first place to the working class. Its significance is growing day by day and it is called upon to play the decisive part in the struggle for progress and peace in Europe.

The call issued by the *Communist Manifesto* over 100 years ago—Proletarians of all lands, unite! is today of greater significance than ever before.

The dangers of division emphasize the need to unite to do everything possible to achieve unity.

Above all it is imperative to fight imperialism and its policy of war and aggression, to combat all the consequences of the policy of exploitation and oppression pursued by the capitalist and monopolist groups, to launch all mankind on the road of building a society without wars and without exploitation.

We opened our Conference by expressing our concrete solidarity with the heroic people of Vietnam and at the conclusion of our work we wish to assure the Vietnamese fighters once more of our full support, just as we assure the peoples of Spain, Portugal and Greece who are fighting against the fascist and military dictatorships oppressing them.

It is imperative to fight—in a world so many continents of which suffer the tragedy of hunger—to put an end to the armaments race, to abolish colonialism and neo-colonialism, to ensure the utilization for peaceful purposes of the great resources made available to man by scientific progress.

In short, it is imperative to ensure relaxation of tension and peace, and this—I want to stress the point—implies, ensuring unity and progress.

Deep-going changes are now taking place, particularly in Europe, in the orientation of major political, social and religious forces.

Our Conference addresses itself to all, and in the first place to the Socialists and Catholics, in a most sincere spirit and firmly convinced that a peaceful and united Europe will be built as a result of our common struggle.

We address ourselves particularly to the younger generation. We know they hate war and want peace. It is therefore up to you, young people, to devote all your intelligence, all your energies and all your enthusiasm to building this Europe united in peace and security.

As Comrade Novotny foresaw and wished in his opening address, our Conference made an important contribution to the unity of the revolutionary forces and of our movement. We have had a useful and fruitful debate in a fraternal atmosphere of friendship and cooperation and with the greatest consideration for the experiences and positions of each party. It goes without saying that each delegation will submit the conclusions of the Conference to the leading bodies of its Party, and that each party will, freely and in accordance with the specific conditions prevailing in each country, make its contribution to the attainment of the aims we have outlined by common agreement.

Although some parties, regrettably, did not consider it possible to take part in the Conference, we believe that their abstention will not hinder the development of fraternal contacts with these parties or possible meetings at all levels to examine common problems, or prevent active cooperation among all Communist parties in the struggle to create a system of collective security in Europe.

I am certain I am expressing the feelings of all delegations at the Conference in warmly thanking the comrades from the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia for the attention and hospitality they have accorded us, and all those who contributed to the success of our Conference, beginning with our interpreters and including the technical staff and the various services.

Allow me also to address our greetings to the journalists who came to Karlovy Vary to follow our work. In this way I want to emphasize the importance we attach to the press as a means of communicating ideas and promoting cooperation between all peoples. The journalists will allow me to express the hope that regard for truth, even when opinions differ and political passions mount, will be an aspect of a genuine policy of relaxation of tension and peace.

Happy journey, comrades, and every success in your work.

I declare the Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties in Karlovy Vary closed.

# FOR PEACE AND SECURITY IN EUROPE

**Statement by European Communist and Workers' Parties, Participants in Conference in Karlovy Vary**

We representatives of European Communist and Workers' parties gathered in Karlovy Vary realize our responsibility for the future of our peoples and the cause of the international working class and believe that preservation of peace is the most important question for all the peoples of our continent. We met to discuss the present situation, to exchange experience and jointly work out ways and means of helping unite all forces of peace and progress in the struggle for European security.

## I

The experience of recent years has borne out the correctness of the Communists' thesis that world war is not inevitable and that it can be averted by the joint efforts of the world socialist community, the international working class, the national-liberation movement and all states opposed to war, all peace forces. These forces have grown considerably, but the aggressiveness of American imperialism has also increased.

The United States, the main force of aggression and reaction, is trying to reverse the march of history and wipe out the right of the peoples to decide their destinies themselves. It is grossly interfering in the home affairs of countries in Latin America, Asia and Africa and is extending its war of aggression against the Vietnamese people, a war which represents today the most serious danger to world peace.

In this situation the struggle against the imperialist forces acquires special significance in Europe. Every success in this struggle means not only a step toward a stable peace in this part of the world but also a new blow at the policy of strength and the system of interconnected aggressive military pacts with which imperialism has girdled the globe.

Europe, which has experienced two world wars, remains a troubled region where the main forces of the imperialist camp and the socialist community confront each other. An armed conflict between them could grow into a total nuclear war. This danger is hanging over the entire life of the European peoples, it retards social and economic progress, vitiates international relations and involves tremendous wastage of material means in an arms race.

Military intervention by some European states to suppress the national-liberation movements also creates seedbeds of tension and imperils peace.

After the Second World War the imperialist countries, headed by the United States, concluded the North Atlantic Pact, spearheaded against the socialist states, and also against the democratic movements in the capitalist countries. This brought about the division of Europe into counterposed military blocs. Having remilitarized the Federal Republic of Germany and supported its unlawful claims to represent all Germany, the imperialists assigned it the rolē of an advanced anti-communist bastion which became a seat of tension and which threatens peace and security in Europe as a whole. The Bonn state, where revenge-seeking and militarist forces have come to power, has become the mainstay of United States global strategy in Europe. The growing strength of the Bundeswehr, which is commanded by former Hitler officers, testifies to increasing military preparations. The Communist Party has been banned in the FRG, while other democratic and peace-loving organizations are subjected to repressions. Broad scope is being given at the same time to extremely reactionary and neo-fascist forces whose growing influence deeply alarms the European public, which knows from painful experience that fascism is always accompanied by aggressive militarism.

The cold war has become for the monopolies of all the European capitalist states an instrument of waging an offensive against democracy, for exerting pressure on the working people with a view to suppressing their struggle for better conditions, for restricting their social gains, a means of shifting the growing burden of armaments on the masses.

The cold war concept, the myth of the menace of "communist aggression" used by the United States to justify its hegemony in Europe have failed. The aggressive course of imperialism was undermined by the active foreign policy of the socialist states which are consistently implementing the principle of peaceful coexistence, a policy which has been carried through on an ever-growing scale, especially since the 20th Congress of the CPSU. The aggressive course was also undermined by the struggle of Communist and Workers' parties, the actions of the masses, the activity of broad sections of the West European public. The joint defensive might of the socialist states, deriving from the technical and scientific achievements of the Soviet Union, is an obstacle barring the way to war.

The Atlantic bloc has entered a stage of open crisis. The rulers of some Western countries challenge the value and expediency of the policy of military alliance with the United States or participation in the NATO joint armed forces, which threatens to embroil

their states in war and which has nothing in common with their national interests. Tendencies towards emancipation from the political and military trusteeship of the United States are growing in the European capitalist countries. At the same time anxiety is growing over the increasing penetration of American capital.

The contradictions have also been aggravated between the national interests of West European states and the expansionist aims of the Federal Republic of Germany, its desire to occupy a dominating position in NATO, in the Common Market and in Euratom.

The German Democratic Republic, which has carried out the Potsdam agreements, has strengthened its sovereignty as a state and its international prestige. Its growing strength and constructive peace policy are a barrier to the plans of West German imperialism. Recognition of the GDR and defense of its sovereign rights have become one of the main tasks in the struggle for European security. The existence and development of a peace-loving socialist German states has great implications not only for the German people but also for peace throughout Europe.

The crisis of the cold war policy has opened up new opportunities for the democratic and progressive forces in West Germany, forces that sincerely demand a radical change in foreign policy and deserve every support. The change of government in Bonn was brought about precisely by this crisis. However, there are no signs that the new government of the so-called grand coalition has abandoned the imperialist aims of its predecessors. On the contrary, despite assurance of peaceful designs, it upholds claims to represent all Germany, continues to persist in its striving to swallow up the GDR, to restore Germany within the frontiers of 1937, refuses to recognize the unlawfulness of the Munich diktat, continues to advance provocative claims to West Berlin and wants access to nuclear arms.

Serious changes are taking place in public opinion. Awareness of the fruitlessness and the danger of the imperialist policy of splitting Europe is growing. Ties of cooperation, specifically, in the fields of economy and culture, are developing between the countries with differing social systems. In the course of establishing relations representatives of the governmental and public circles of socialist and capitalist countries are carrying out a useful exchange of views on problems of European security.

The constructive proposals for the strengthening of security and peaceful cooperation in Europe, set out by the socialist countries in the Bucharest Declaration of the Warsaw Treaty states, and the proposals of the Communist parties of the capitalist countries put forward at their meetings and in their decisions

provide a realistic basis for strengthening peace and security in Europe.

New and positive trend toward an international détente and co-operation with Communists are appearing in the Socialist and the Social-Democratic movement in some West-European countries. New trends are emerging in Christian circles as regards problems of progress and peace. New possibilities have arisen for contacts and cooperation between various trade union and other democratic organizations. Cooperation of Communists with Socialists and believers in European security can promote the cause of peace on our continent.

The people of Europe do not want another war: "They want neither the cold war nor the "balance of terror" which leads to a still more intensive arms race and increases the risk of a deliberate or accidental conflict.

It is high time to achieve new relations in Europe, resting on a genuine relaxation of tension and mutual confidence.

We Communists operating in different national conditions will spare no effort to build a system of collective security, to establish such relations between states which would preclude any possibility of aggression and ensure enduring peace in Europe and throughout the world. This is a difficult but feasible task.

The Communist and Workers' parties of Europe submit for consideration by public opinion and by all the political and public forces concerned a program in the interests of creating a system of collective security, based on peaceful coexistence. This requires, primarily, that all states should recognize the existing situation as it has developed in Europe in the post-war period. This means:

—recognition of the inviolability of the existing frontiers, in Europe, particularly on the Oder and the Neisse, and also of the borders between the two German states:

—recognition of the existence of two sovereign and equal German states, the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany, which requires of the latter renunciation of its claim to represent the whole of Germany;

—preclusion of any opportunity for the FRG to gain access to nuclear arms in any form, either European, multilateral or Atlantic.

—recognition of the Munich Treaty as invalid right from the moment of its concluion.

The European working-class movement and all democratic forces are faced with the task of ensuring the development of peaceful relations and cooperation among all European states on the basis of respect for their sovereignty and equality. With these aims in view it is necessary to work for the realization of a number of aims which can be achieved in the new situation, namely:

—conclusion by all European states of a treaty renouncing the

use of force or the threat of force in their relations and interference in internal affairs; a treaty guaranteeing the solution of all disputes by peaceful means only, in accordance with the principles of the UN Charter;

—normalization of relations between all states and the GDR, as well as between the two German states and between the GDR and West Berlin as a separate political entity;

—consistent defense and development of democracy in the FRG —the right to demand this is given to the peoples by law, historical experience and postwar international agreements. This envisages universal support for the struggle of the FRG progressive forces for banning neo-nazi organizations and all revenge-seeking propaganda, annulment of the emergency legislation, freedom of activity for the democratic and peace loving forces, lifting the ban on the Communist Party of Germany;

—conclusion of a non-proliferation treaty as an important step towards halting the arms race.

The system of European security must contain recognition of the principle of neutrality and unqualified respect for the inviolability of neutral states. A more active peace-loving policy by these countries and their contribution to disarmament would help establish such a system.

Ending the artifically created barriers in economic relations between the socialist and capitalist states of Europe would be of particular importance for all states and would be conducive to fruitful cooperation, including broad agreements in the sphere of production and scientific research.

Striving to open up the prospect of European security and cooperation, we are resolutely for the conclusion of agreements on partial solutions, above all, in the sphere of disarmament, which would create a favorable climate for more far-reaching treaties. All proposals in this area advanced by governments, parties, public organizations, political leaders and scientists deserve thorough examination. Particularly topical among these proposals are those which refer to the withdrawal of foreign troops from the territory of European states, dismantling foreign war bases, establishing denuclearized zones in Central Europe, in the Balkans, the territory of the Danube countries, in the Mediterranean and in Northern Europe, and also zones of thinned-out or frozen armaments and, in general, zones of peace and cooperation in various regions of the continent. These and other steps would check the tendency towards intensifying the arms race.

The twenty-year period of validity of the Atlantic Treaty expires in 1969, and this heralds a clear alternative: a Europe without military blocs.

No efforts should be spared in order to develop a broad move-

ment of the peace-loving forces of our continent against extension or modification of the Atlantic Treaty. This movement is favored by the constructive attitude of the Warsaw Treaty member-states, which have repeatedly stated and solemnly confirmed in the Bucharest Declaration their readiness for the simultaneous abolition of both military alliances. We second the moves of these states regarding an immediate agreement on abolishing the military organizations of the Atlantic Treaty and the Warsaw Treaty.

We express readiness to support any initiatives or proposals pursuing the aim of achieving a détente and strengthening the security of the peoples of our continent.

We fully support the proposals for a conference of all European states on the question of security and peaceful cooperation in Europe. The proposal for a conference of representatives of all the European parliaments also merits support.

Consolidation of security and peace will open up before the peoples of our continent new prospects for progress and prosperity.

The peoples of Europe are faced with important social, economic and cultural problems. A Europe rid of the arms race, which consumes tremendous economic resources and the fruits of labor of workers, engineers and scientists, will be able not only to ensure higher living standards to its population, but also to make a valuable contribution to man's further development.

The struggle for this Europe is closely associated with the struggle for genuine national independence, for democracy, against reactionary and fascist dictatorships such as exist in Spain, Portugal and Greece. The fact that the governments of Spain, Portugal and Greece assist American imperialism in building atomic bases in exchange for U.S. support for these discredited regimes shows the grave danger they are to Europe. European Communist and Workers' parties express complete solidarity with and support the struggle that is now being waged by the united front of Spanish workers and democratic forces, and all peoples fighting against reactionary regimes, for freedom and democracy.

The Communists, who have always fought against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism, will strengthen their solidarity with the peoples still fighting for national liberation. They will act for the development of new relations with the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, relations based on respect for national independence, sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs, mutually advantageous economic cooperation and effective aid by industrial developed countries to the newly free countries now taking the road of socio-economic and cultural progress.

## II

The Communist and Workers' parties of Europe are ready to de-

dicate all their strength to the realization of these tasks, serving the cause of peace, progress and democracy.

Our movement, which this year is marking the 50th anniversary of its great victory—the Great October Socialist Revolution—has become a mighty political force exerting a decisive influence on the development of all mankind.

Each Communist Party, in the specific conditions in which it works, is responsible to the working class and the working people of its country, to the people in general. At the same time each party is aware of its international responsibility for safeguarding peace, for forming new international relations conforming to the needs of our time.

This sense of responsibility requires of us, the Communist parties of Europe, that we pool our efforts for the solution of these problems. The stronger the unity and solidarity of the Communist and Workers' parties in Europe and all over the world, the more effective our struggle.

This sense of responsibility obliges us to address primarily the working class, the main producer of material values, the most conscientious and progressive class in modern society. We address the close ally of the working class, the peasantry, and also the middle strata, which are vitally interested in peace and prosperity. The workers and other working people in Europe, combining patriotism with international fraternal solidarity, are capable of playing a decisive role in the struggle for peace and European security, for democracy and social progress on our continent.

We address the Socialist and Social-Democratic parties which exert a big influence on the European working class and take part in the governments of a number of European countries. The experience of decades has shown that joint action by Communists and Socialists enables the working class to exert a decisive influence on political life and rally around themselves sections of the public that are interested in peace and in democratic social changes.

We address the trade unions of Europe, which for the past 100 years have been the biggest mass organizations of the working class, defending its material and social interests. We call upon the trade union organizations to use their authority and influence in the struggle for a peaceful Europe.

We address scientists, writers, workers of art, all European intellectuals, whose finest representatives have always defended human rights and freedom, the independence of the people, and have supported international cooperation and peace.

We address the Christian forces, Catholics and Protestants, believers of all denominations, whose striving for peace and social justice is motivated by religious conviction.

We address the young generation in Europe whose future is inseparably bound up with victory of the idea of collective security and peace. The place of the youth is in the first ranks of the fighters against the policy of war, against reaction and fascism, for freedom and progress, for friendship of the peoples.

We address the women, whose role in social life is growing all the time and whose participation in upholding peace and the security of mankind is so important.

We address the bourgeois groupings displaying a realistic approach to modern reality, who realize the danger of a nuclear war, who wish to rid their countries of dependence on the United States and are ready to support the policy of European security.

We call upon all the peace-loving forces to rally and launch broad campaigns in their countries and on a continental scale to expand direct actions for collective security. We urge support in every possible way of the proposal to hold a conference of European nations.

The Communists of Europe are deeply convinced that by defending peace and security on their continent against the forces of aggression and war they are promoting the interests of democracy, social progress and national liberation, the interests of the peoples of the whole world.

The present historical period requires courage and initiative. We urge all people of good will, irrespective of political convictions and party affiliation, nationality and religion to use all their influence and exert every effort to achieve our common goal—peace. By overcoming all that divides us, we shall be able to create a mighty force, capable of triumphing over war and uncertainty about the future, of paving the way to lasting peace and prosperity for the peoples.

The European peoples are capable of deciding themselves the questions of peace and security on their continent. Let them take the destinies of Europe into their own hands!

FRANZ MUHRI
*Chairman, Communist Party of Austria*

FRANS VAN DEN BRANDEN
*Vice-Chairman, Communist Party of Belgium*

TODOR ZHIVKOV
*First Secretary, Bulgarian Communist Party*

JOHN GOLLAN
*General Secretary, Communist Party of Great Britain*

JANOS KADAR
*First Secretary, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party*

WALTER ULBRICHT
*First Secretary, Socialist Unity Party of Germany*

MAX REIMANN
*First Secretary, Communist Party of Germany*

GERHARD DANELIUS
*Chairman, Socialist Unity Party of Germany—West Berlin*

ASPOSTOLOS GROZOS
*Chairman, Communist Party of Greece*

KNUD JESPERSEN
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HUGH MOORE
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DOLORES IBARRURI
*Chairman, Communist Party of Spain*

LUIGI LONGO
*General Secretary, Italian Communist Party*

EZEKIAS PAPAIOANNOU
*General Secretary, Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus*

DOMINIQUE URBANY
*Chairman, Communist Party of Luxembourg*

WLADYSLAW GOMULKA
*First Secretary, Polish United, Workers' Party*

ALVARO CUNHAL
*General Secretary, Portuguese Communist Party*

ERMENEGILDO GASPERONI
*General Secretary, Communist Party of San Marino*

LEONID ILYICH BREZHNEV
*General Secretary, Communist Party of the Soviet Union*

VILLE PESSI
*General Secretary, Communist Party of Finland*

WALDECK ROCHET
*General Secretary, French Communist Party*

ANTONIN NOVOTNY
*First Secretary, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia*

EDGAR WOOG
*General Secretary, Swiss Party of Labor*

Karlovy Vary
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**STATEMENTS AND COMMENTS ON THE SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST**

**SEVENTH CONGRESS OF THE SOCIALIST UNITY PARTY OF GERMANY**

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*contents*


**COMMUNIQUE AND DECISION OF THE CC, CPSU**
June 20-21, 1967 **5**

**STATEMENT OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE, CP OF ISRAEL** **9**

**SPEECH BY MEIR VILNER**
Communist Deputy in the Knesset **9**

**COMMENTS ON THE SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST** **14**

**STATEMENT ON MIDDLE EAST**
by Central Committees of Communist and Workers' Parties and the Governments of Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, GDR, Hungary, Poland, USSR and Yugoslavia **21**

**DOCUMENTS OF THE ARAB COMMUNIST MEETING, MAY, 1967** **24**

**SEVENTH CONGRESS OF THE SOCIALIST UNITY PARTY OF GERMANY**
Reports and Resolutions **42**

**50th ANNIVERSARY OF THE GREAT OCTOBER REVOLUTION** **88**

**ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES** **93**



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# COMMUNIQUE

## ON MEETING OF THE CC, CPSU

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union held a plenary meeting on June 20 and 21, 1967.

The items on the agenda were:

1. The policy of the Soviet Union in connection with the Israeli aggression in the Middle East.

2. Theses for the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The report on the first item was presented by L. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU.

The meeting unanimously adopted a decision on the question under discussion.

The meeting discussed and approved the Theses of the CC, CPSU for the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

L. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU, spoke in reply to the debate.

The meeting elected Y. Andropov alternate member of the Political Bureau of the CC, CPSU.

The meeting relieved Y. Andropov of the duties of Secretary of the CC, CPSU in view of his appointment to another post.

With this the Plenary Meeting of the CC, CPSU concluded its deliberations.

## DECISION
## ADOPTED BY PLENARY MEETING OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE CPSU, JUNE 21, 1967 ON THE POLICY OF THE SOVIET UNION IN CONNECTION WITH THE ISRAELI AGGRESSION IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Having heard and discussed the report "On the Policy of the Soviet Union in Connection with the Israeli Aggression in the Middle East" presented by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU, this Plenary Meeting of the CC, CPSU resolves.

*Fully to approve the policy line and the activity of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee directed toward ending the Israeli aggression, supporting the UAR, Syria and the other Arab states that were attacked, and preventing the dangerous consequences of the aggression for world peace.*

The Israeli aggression is a result of a conspiracy of the more reactionary forces of world imperialism, primarily of the USA, against a contingent of the national-liberation movement, against the foremost Arab states which have taken the road of progressive socio-economic changes in the interests of the working people and are following anti-imperialist policies.

At a time when the United States is continuing its predatory war in Vietnam, the Israeli aggression in the Middle East is yet another element of the overall policy of bellicose imperialist circles intent on stopping the historic advance of the cause of national independence, democracy, peace and socialism.

The Soviet Union, other socialist countries and all progressive anti-imperialist forces are on the side of the Arab peoples in their just fight against imperialism and neo-colonialism, for the inalienable right to decide as they see fit every question bearing on their internal life and foreign policy. This meeting, expressing the will of Soviet Communists and the Soviet people as a whole, emphatically condemns the Israeli aggression and voices its solidarity with the peoples of the UAR, Syria, Algeria and the other Arab countries.

The Meeting puts it on record that the prompt and resolute joint action taken by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries played an important part in calling a halt to hostilities in the Middle East. The attitude of our Party and the Soviet government, and their concrete steps in connection with the events in the Middle East were fully supported by all Soviet people.

This Meeting notes with satisfaction that at a crucial juncture in international development the fraternal socialist countries which

signed the June 9, 1967 Statement acted together, shoulder to shoulder. That joint action by the socialist countries is a powerful factor in combating the aggressive intrigues of world imperialism was confirmed once again.

This Meeting approves the Statement of the Central Committees of Communist and Workers' parties and the governments of socialist countries of June 9 last, and confirms the Soviet Union's resolve to do, in conjunction with other socialist countries, all that is necessary to help the peoples of the Arab countries in administering a firm rebuff to the aggressor, safeguarding their legitimate rights, stamping out the embers of war in the Middle East and restoring peace in that area.

Now that the forces of imperialism and neo-colonialism, taking advantage of the situation created by the Israeli aggression in the Middle East, are encroaching on the independence and territorial integrity of the Arab states, it is a most important task to prevent the aggressor from profiting by the results of his treacherous action, bring about the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the invaders' troops from the territories occupied by them behind the armistice line, and compensation for the damage done by the aggressor to the UAR, Syria and Jordan.

In keeping with the fundamental objectives of the policy of our Party as defined by the 23rd Congress of the CPSU and reaffirmed by the Central Committee in December 1966, it is necessary to continue the fight against the warlike forces of imperialism and their policy of interfering in the internal affairs of other countries, continue the line of supporting the Arab states in their struggle for freedom, independence, territorial integrity and social progress.

It is necessary to continue promoting friendship and unity between the Soviet Union and the Arab countries, firmly resist imperialist intrigue, expose the real, anti-popular nature of imperialism, and combat the slander campaign and splitting activity of the Mao Tse-tung group designed to disunite the anti-imperialist forces and undermine the mutual trust of the peoples of the Arab states and the socialist countries.

The Meeting considers that the events in the Middle East lay fresh emphasis on the need for unity of action of the Communist and Workers' parties, the international working class movement, the national-liberation movement of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, all forces of peace and progress, all who cherish the cause of freedom, national independence and world peace.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, putting the decisions of the 23rd Congress into practice, will continue to fight unremittingly against the imperialist forces of aggression, maintain a high degree of vigilance in the Soviet people, consistently implement the Leninist policy of the peaceful coexistence of states with differing

social systems, and fulfil its internationalist duty by rendering the fullest support to the peoples fighting for freedom, national independence and social progress. Joint action by the forces of peace, democracy, socialism and national liberation can curb the aggressor and avert a new world war.

The Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the CPSU calls on Party organizations and on all working people of the Soviet Union to work with still greater energy as they build communism and strengthen the economic and military might of the country, and to mark the glorious 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution with fitting achievements.

* * *

## ON THE THESES OF THE CC, CPSU FOR THE 50th ANNIVERSARY OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

### Decision Adopted by the Plenary Meeting of the CC CPSU June 21, 1967

The meeting approves the Theses of the CC, CPSU for the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

# STATEMENT* OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, CP OF ISRAEL

## ALL OUR FORCES TO DEFEND PEACE AND PREVENT WAR

A dangerous and explosive situation has developed now in the Middle East in consequence of American and British imperialist plots supported by the Israeli government, disregarding Israel's security and true national interests. The Israeli air attack on Syria on April 7th and repeated threats by the Israeli Prime Minister and Chief of Staff about new large-scale military action against Syria were a prelude to the present dangerous escalation. The main aims of the imperialists and their henchmen are to overthrow the Syrian anti-imperialist regime, weaken Aden and the South Arabian national-liberation struggle and safeguard oil concessions and bases.

The Communist Party of Israel condemns the Al Fattah acts of sabotage in Israel and declarations against the right of the State of Israel to existence, which harm the political struggle of the Palestine Arab people for their legitimate national rights and are exploited by the imperialists and their henchmen as a pretext for military intervention against anti-imperialist Arab regimes.

Israel's right to free passage in the Red Sea should be ensured only by political means and agreement with the states concerned, and not through war.

The Communist Party of Israel calls for a peaceful settlement of the Israeli-Arab conflict and of the Palestine problem.

The Communist Party of Israel demands that the Israeli government recognize the legitimate national rights of the Palestine Arab people and above all the right of Arab refugees to choose repatriation or compensation. Such recognition will lead to recognition by the Arab states of the State of Israel and its legitimate national rights, including free navigation.

Israel's security and well-being demand the adoption of a new policy: not with imperialism against the Arab peoples, but with the Arab peoples against imperialism.

The Communist Party of Israel calls on all peace-loving forces in Israel for united action to prevent war and safeguard peace. The Communist Party of Israel calls on the Israeli government to adopt an independent peace policy, not to pull chestnuts out of the fire for the imperialists, not to take any military steps beyond the

*This statement was released to the local and foreign press on May 26, 1967.

armistice lines, and return to the armistice commissions with Syria and Egypt.

The Communist Party of Israel highly values the policy and endeavors of the Soviet Union and other peace forces aimed at frustrating the warmongers and safeguarding peace and people's independence, a policy serving the interests of both the Israeli and the Arab peoples.

The Communist Party of Israel calls on all forces interested in maintaining peace and preventing war in the Middle East to condemn the imperialist plots and maneuvers in our region, demand the withdrawal of the United States Sixth Fleet from the Mediterranean and stay the hand of those who want to kindle the flames of war.

*Central Committee, Communist Party*
*of Israel—Meir Vilner*

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## SPEECH* BY MEIR VILNER,

### COMMUNIST PARTY MK IN THE KNESSET, MAY 22, 1967

Speaker of the Knesset, Honorable Knesset.

The Prime Minister's statement confirms the fact that tension in our area has reached serious dimensions. In all walks of life people ask anxiously: what will the next day bring, how is it possible to avoid slipping into a war? The Prime Minister's statement gave no answer whatsoever to this question and contributed nothing towards quietening down the anxiety.

The Premier tried to explain the latest developments which brought about the present tension. But his explanation was very far from being objectively presented and showing realism.

Until the month of April this year, during some months, the northern borders (with Syria) were relatively quiet. The Israeli-Syrian armistice commission held several special meetings, on the proposal of the UN Secretary-General, in order to try to find a peaceful solution and come to agreement about tilling the soil in the demilitarized zone. Suddenly, and without considering the interests of peace, the interests of quiet borders and the security of the border settlements, the government decided, at its meeting on April 2nd, to till the disputed plots in the demilitarized zone. It is nearly impossible to think that the government, in taking this decision, did not take into consideration possible chain reac-

*Abridged from the **Information Bulletin** of the CC, CP of Israel, April-May, 1967.

tions, including the bombing of settlements. This proves *that this decision was taken for political reasons.*

On April 7th, the Israeli air force was put into action and its planes reached even Damascus.

Instead of taking the proper political initiative there came a new wave of threats of military action against Syria. In an interview published on the 10th of May, 1967, in the organ of the army *Bamahaneh,* the Prime Minister said: "Israel has the right to act in self-defense according to the circumstances." And at the meeting of Mapai speakers on the 11th of May, the Prime Minister said openly: "It may be that we shall be forced to take steps not less serious than those we took on April the 7th." (The air attack on Syria.)

On May 14th the Chief of Staff said again in an interview published in the daily *Hayom*: "One action is not enough to bring about the change in the Syrian government's policy concerning the acts of sabotage." In the same interview the Chief of Staff talked of the "instability of Syria." These statements caused concern in world public opinion. The French, British, American and West German press reported in those days that the only point Israel is debating is "*how* to invade Syria, and not *if* it is necessary." (STA press agency report, May 13th, 1967.)

The Israeli press even published articles on the kind of action to be taken. According to *Yediot Ahronot,* it would have to be forceful and quick, so as not to enable Egypt and the Soviet Union to interfere and stop it.

Some states which are interested in peace in our region, and first of all the Soviet Union, officially warned the government that to threaten Syria with military actions meant playing with fire and was contrary to the national interests of Israel. But the government did not listen to this warning and this friendly advice. The Prime Minister's statement today gave an untrue description of the stand taken by the Soviet Union. The sole aim of the Soviet Union is that peace in the area be kept.

Even American sources are forced to admit in public today, after consulting with Soviet spokesmen, that "the Soviet Union has shown great interest in ensuring peace in the Middle East, and it opposes any use of force."

On the other hand, the government listened to the advice of the rulers of the USA and Great Britain, who are interested in raising the tension in the region, even at the cost of the blood of our sons.

The government is pursuing an unrealistic policy. All its reckoning was upset by the events of these days. It had believed that the anti-imperialist Arab states would split, and had thought that

a repetition of the events of April 7th would be possible. But events took a different course.

The experience of the last 18 years prove that the official policy was a serious failure and was not able to reach peace and security. In these fateful days we emphasize again that there is a road to peace, but to take this road means altering the official policy entirely. We must do two main things: first, become independent from the Western colonial powers, and secondly, recognize the legitimate national rights of the Arab people of Palestine, above all the rights of the Arab refugees. Such a change in the Israeli policy would lead to the recognition of the national rights of Israel by the Arab states, including the right of free navigation.

Therefore, for the security of Israel, we must find a common language with the Arab people, with the Arab anti-imperialist forces. Experience proves that peace can only be established through mutual recognition of national rights. We have no need for preaching peace but for a policy of peace. No international law whatsoever recognizes as self-defense military action on the territory of other states.

MK Ben Gurion sought to prevent the debate in the Knesset. In 1956 too, when he was Prime Minister, he used to act behind the back of the sovereign Knesset. And as Mr. Anthony Eden did in the British Parliament, so Mr. Ben Gurion did in the Knesset by withholding the truth from us. Anthony Nutting's revelations, which we published recently, are very enlightening. Ben Gurion declared then that Israel never would be the first to start war. But only two weeks later she started a war in conformity with the governments of France and Britain. Is it not possible that, one or two years hence, we shall learn that we did not today hear the whole truth from the Prime Minister, especially concerning regional cooperation between the Israeli government and the governments of the USA, Great Britain and other colonial powers?

We propose that the Prime Minister close—in case he is really concerned with lessening the tension—the "open notebook" in which he pencils down military operations across the border. Instead he should open a new book, a book of peace and a different policy, which would serve the security of Israel and not foreign interests.

In 1956 the world forces of peace, progress and socialism prevented an aggravation of the war, and stopped it before it grew into a major conflagration. In 1967 there are reliable prospects for preventing war in our region by the common effort of the peace forces in Israel, the Arab countries and the whole world.

We call on all who are really concerned with the well-being of our sons and daughters, with the security of Israel and her taking root as a recognized state in the region, to mobilize in unity

against being pushed into war and military adventure, for peace.

We propose deciding to return permanently to the Israeli-Egyptian and Israeli-Syrian armistice commissions, according to the advice of the UN Secretary-General.

Let us defend peace with all our might, for peace assures the security of Israel.

# COMMENTS ON THE SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST

The present dangerous crisis in the Middle East, posing a real threat to world peace, has been provoked by the U.S.-imperialists, who want to overthrow the progressive regime in Syria, said the Central Committee of the Syrian Communist Party in an Appeal issued on May 27th and addressed to the brother parties of the world in connection with the situation in the Arab East. "The CIA," it went on to say, "whose attempts to alter the system prevailing in Syria with the aid of home reaction have miscarried, is now trying to bring about aggression against our country from without. These plans of the American imperialists are evident from the massing of mercenary and reactionary armed forces on the Syrian-Jordanian frontier, from the Israeli rulers' inciting appeals for aggression against Syria, from attempts to impose on the Lebanon a long visit to Beirut by the U.S. Sixth Fleet. At present the U.S. imperialists have decided to put their greatest stake on Israel, which has concentrated huge quantities of armor and artillery and large numbers of infantry near the Syrian frontier and keeps them on the alert to carry out aggression."

The Central Committee called on the Communist parties of the world to support the Syrian people in foiling the Israeli aggression inspired by the U.S. imperialists and to expose the plans of aggression of the Israeli rulers, who sought to prevent the Syrian people from following the path of social progress.

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Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party of the USA, published a statement about the Middle East conflict, saying that whatever the view taken of the Middle East crisis, there could be only one way out of the armed conflict that had developed between Israel and the Arab countries. This was an unjust war, a war that could only benefit the American and British oil monopolies and no one else.

Problems of the Middle East could not be solved through armed conflict. In the interest of the peoples of the Middle East—Arabs and Jews alike—the armed forces of all countries should pull back and stay within their national boundaries.

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The resolution of the 21st Congress of the Communist Party of Australia dealing with the Middle East crisis said, in particular, that Congress welcomed the cease-fire in the Middle East and called

on the parties involved in the conflict to negotiate so as to find a way of settling the issue by peaceful methods, on the basis of equality and mutual benefit, ruling out territorial aggrandizement.

The tragic conflict between Israel and the Arab countries was an outgrowth of the Middle East policy of the imperialist powers which had economic and strategic interests in the area and were constantly generating conflicts through military intervention, CIA intrigue and political assassination. It was these powers that had a stake in the Middle East war.

The Israeli government's complicity in the West's Middle East schemes had made for the tension which had led to the armed conflict. Despite the military victory of Israel, this war would injure the interests of Israel, whose future hinged on cooperation with the developing Arab countries striving for an independent existence.

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A statement by the Political Bureau of the French Communist Party on the situation in the Middle East said that the Communist Party insisted on the Israeli troops being pulled out of the territory they had seized and on all the problems which had caused the conflict being settled by negotiation.

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According to *Kansan Uutiset*, the Political Bureau of the CC, CP of Finland, having examined the situation in the Middle East, considers that the Finnish government was right in supporting the Soviet proposal for calling an extraordinary special session of the UN General Assembly.

The Political Bureau noted that the situation in the Middle East was still tense because Israel refused to withdraw its troops from the occupied territory.

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The Political Bureau of the CP of Belgium issued a statement expressing satisfaction at the cease-fire in the Middle East, a sensible measure delivering the country and the world from the threat of world war.

The Political Bureau hailed the outstanding role played in the matter by the Soviet Union.

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A statement by the Political Committee of the British CP said that Israel must pull its troops behind the lines they occupied before hostilities began, and solve the problem of Palestine refugees. Meeting these two requirements was a prerequisite of talks to bring about a political settlement of the Middle East conflict.

The U.S. and British governments had played a disgraceful part in the Middle East war. In furthering their imperialist interests in the area, they had constantly backed Israel and combated the national-liberation movement of the Arab peoples.

A statement issued by the CC of the Communist Party of Canada in connection with developments in the Middle East pointed out that bourgeois propaganda was trying to distract atttention from the real causes of the crisis and was fomenting national enmity between Arabs and Jews.

The point at issue in the Middle East was not the artificial antagonism between Jews and Arabs but peace and security in the area and, in the final analysis, in the world.

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A statement published by the Swiss Party of Labor on the Middle East conflict called for the restoration of peace by negotiation. Negotiations should not be restricted to a peaceful settlement of the Middle East conflict but should result in ending the U.S. war of aggression in Vietnam, an infamous war which for several years had been piling up ruins and dead bodies by the hundreds of thousands in that martyred country fighting for its independence.

These negotiations should make it possible to re-establish democracy and social freedoms in Greece, where the military fascist coup had been carried out with the backing of U.S. intelligence agencies, and should provide for an end to direct or indirect interference in Latin American affairs.

The deep concern caused by the dangerous development of the armed conflict in the Middle East must not let us forget that peace is indivisible and should be restored and safeguarded throughout the world, for all peoples and all countries.

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*Charavgi* carried an article setting out a decision of the Political Bureau of AKEL. The decision said that responsibility for the events in the Middle East rested on Israel and the U.S. and West German imperialists, who backed it by helping it launch the aggression against the United Arab Republic. The decision stressed the danger coming from the existence of British bases in Cyprus and noted that there were forces in Cyprus opposing the Arab peoples and President Makarios' message to President Nasser of the UAR. The decision set specific tasks before the Party and the people with a view to bringing about an end to the Middle East war, the abolition of the British bases in Cyprus, and the elimination of the threat of a coup.

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Speaking at a meeting in Palermo, Luigi Longo, General Secretary of the Italian Communist Party, said that the International situation was grave and dangerous and that while the UN appeal for a cease-fire had cleared the skies somewhat this first step should be followed by others if there was to be an equitable settlement of antagonisms, with due regard to the legitimate rights of the Arab peoples and Israel's right to existence.

Such a solution, difficult in itself, was threatened by the Israeli leaders' designs on Jerusalem and other areas. Whoever wanted to see peace in the Middle East restored and peaceful Arab-Israeli cooperation promoted should strive to reject these designs.

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A resolution on the international situation passed by a Communist Party conference in Vienna said that world peace and national independence were in danger because the United States, as well as escalating the war in Vietnam, was carrying out plans of aggression in other areas.

This danger was being heightened by the crisis in the Middle East, where the American imperialists were trying to block the independent development of the newly-free Arab countries, to overthrow the democratic government of Syria and establish control over the oil resources of the area.

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The CC of the Communist Party of Ceylon condemned the Israeli government's deliberate and criminal aggression against the UAR and other Arab countries.

The Central Committtee signified its full support of and solidarity with the UAR, Syria, Iraq, Algeria and other Arab countries in their just struggle for national interests, against the acts of provocation and aggression of the Israeli government, which followed the instructions of imperialist powers.

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*Akahata,* the Japanese Communist newspaper, carried an editorial saying that the Party condemned the aggression and interference of the U.S. imperialists and the reactionary rulers of Israel in the Middle East and supported the just struggle of the Arab peoples.

Developments showed that the reactionary rulers of Israel, surrounded by Arab countries on three sides, took account, when launching their adventurist aggression, of the presence in their rear of a powerful backer, U.S. imperialism.

Under the guise of false neutrality, the U.S. imperialists sought through various intrigues to wrest unilateral concessions from the Arab countries and to force them into surrender.

While extending its barbarous war of aggression against Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists were at the same time pressing forward their policy of aggression and war in every part of Asia, Africa and Latin America. They were laying plans of aggression in the Middle East, against the Arab countries. The situation that had shaped here lately was a striking indication that U.S. imperialism was the world policeman and a common enemy of the peoples of the world.

Israel was a weapon of U.S. imperialist domination in the Middle East. It was undeniable that the reactionary rulers of Israel had not only flouted the rights of the Palestine Arabs and expelled them

but, having become agents of imperialism, with the U.S. imperialists and the reactionary rulers of Israel. The Arab people's fight for national independence and sovereignty was very important also because it made for the international isolation of the U.S. imperialists in Vietnam and elsewhere.

Along with increasing solidarity with the people of Vietnam, it was an important international task actively to support the struggle of the Arab people.

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The Central Committtee of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam published a statement condemning the U.S. and British imperialists and the Israeli reactionaries for their warmongering and aggressive moves in the Middle East, according to a report by the Liberation news agency.

The people and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam were deeply angered by the American and British imperialists and emphatically condemned them for using the Israeli reactionaries for a war of aggression against the Arab peoples. They insisted on the troops of the Israeli aggressor being withdrawn from the territories of the Arab countries forthwith, and on the United States, Britain and Israel respecting the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of these countries.

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Speaking at the Third Congress of the republic's agricultural cooperatives, Y. Tsedenbal, First Secretary of the Central Committee, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Mongolian People's Republic, said that world reaction was trying to check the course of history, crush the national-liberation movement and do away with the historic achievements of the socialist countries. The imperialists engineered military conflicts and hatched criminal conspiracies against peace-loving peoples in various parts of the world.

Early this month the world had witnessed a new disgraceful venture by the imperialist reactionaries of the world when Israel, instigated by the imperialist reactionaries of the world when Israel, instigated by the American and other imperialists, had committed aggression endangered world peace and security, causing deep concern to world opinion, first of all in the socialist countries.

In view of the increased aggressiveness of international reaction it was necessary to consolidate the anti-imperialist front and promote the unity of the socialist countries and the world Communist movement.

The Mongolian people cherished and would continue to cherish their fraternal friendship with the peoples of the first socialist country, the Great Soviet Union, which had been, and remained, a reliable supporter of the progressive forces of the world in the

struggle for a better future for mankind. The indestructible Mongolian-Soviet friendship had been, and would remain, an inexhaustible source of progress and happiness for the Mongolian people.

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The joint communique on the talks held in Belgrade between Josip Broz Tito, the Yugoslav President, Chairman of the LCY, and Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the CC BCP, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of Bulgaria, said that Yugoslavia and Bulgaria emphatically condemned the Israeli aggression against the UAR and other Arab countries, an aggression encouraged by the imperialist and reactionary forces.

The two sides reaffirmed their view of the U.S. aggression in Vietnam and expressed serious concern about the extension of military operations by the United States.

The participants in the talks expressed their support of all initiatives and proposals aimed at fostering cooperation and security in Europe.

The communique expressed serious concern about the situation in Greece. Whatever was likely to disturb peace and tranquility in the Balkans and hamper better and broader relations between Balkan countries was contrary to the interests of the Balkan peoples. The increasingly complicated problems confronting the international working-class movement called for an exchange of views and experience between Communist and Workers' parties.

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The hostilities going on in the Middle East are a criminal act for which the U.S. imperialists are responsible, said a statement of the Political Commission of the CC, CP of Chile. This new seat of war was yet another attempt by the United States to put down the national-liberation movement in the Middle East.

A statement by the Executive Committee of the CC, CP of Colombia, said that the new seedbed of war had come into being after the U.S. imperialists had taken further criminal steps towards escalating the war against the people of Vietnam by extending their aggression to the demilitarized zone, bombing urban centers and attacking a Soviet merchant vessel. At the same time it had been announced that the OAS, that instrument of neocolonialism, was to meet with a view to adopting new sanctions against Cuba on the strength of certain declarations by the Venezuelan government, which accused Cuba of pursuing a "policy of intervention." In reality, however, this meeting was designed to organize a new intervention against the Cuban people by the American interventionists and their agents.

The United States armed and used the reactionary government of Israel—which should not be mistaken for the Jewish people—to encroach on the independent development of the Arab countries.

*El Pueblo*, a newspaper published by the CC, CP of Ecuador, carried an editorial condemning the Israeli aggression against the Arab countries. The American imperialists had used the Israelis to kindle the flames of a new war. Persistent warmongers, they were trying to check the development of the Arab countries and their fight for national independence and democratic change.

In addition to oil, the imperialists were interested in the Suez Canal and the Gulf of Aqaba. It was from this position that they were carrying on their colonialist policy towards the Middle East and towards Asia. They needed this position for aggression against the DRV and the Vietnamese patriots fighting for their independence in the South.

The CP of Argentina issues a statement saying that the U.S. and British imperialists and their accomplice, the Right Zionist government of Israel, had prepared a new aggression against Egypt, Syria and other Arab countries without stopping to think that this aggression could lead to a nuclear war.

By starting a destructive war in the Middle East, the American and British imperialists and other reactionary forces were trying to divert the attention of world opinion from the criminal war of annihilation against the heroic people of Vietnam, and to retain or regain their colonialist privileges. They wanted to exercise unlimited control over the immense oil resources of the Arab countries. They also wanted to restore their complete control over the main shipping routes, re-establish old strategic bases and build new ones in these areas for use against national-liberation movements.

The reactionary pro-imperialist government of Israel had once again assumed, as in 1956, the unseemly role of underling and executor of the will of the imperialists. This was due to the fact that it was run by Right Zionists, pro-fascist elements, and big foreign monopolies which were taking possession of the wealth of the country and plundering its people, thinking of nothing but their own interests.

The Communist Party warned against the allegation that Israel is defending democracy while the Arab countries are not. The facts showed that in this dirty business the Right Zionists were backed by the reactionaries of the world, including sworn enemies of the Jews, the Bonn revanchists whose hands were still red with Jewish blood, as well as by the British and American imperialists, whose atrocities towards the courageous people of Vietnam in no way differed from the atrocities perpetrated by the Nazis.

*Leaders of the Communist and Workers' parties and governments of socialist countries—the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Hungarian People's Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the Socialist Republic of Rumania, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia—met in Moscow on June 9 to discuss the situation in the Middle East.*

# STATEMENT

## OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEES OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES AND GOVERNMENTS OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BULGARIA, THE CZECHOSLOVAK SOCIALIST REPUBLIC, THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC, THE HUNGARIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC, THE POLISH PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC, THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS AND THE SOCIALIST FEDERATIVE REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA.

Leaders of the Communist and Workers' parties and governments of socialist countries met in Moscow on June 9. There were present from the People's Republic of Bulgaria—Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the CC BCP, and Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Zhivko Zhivkov, Member of the Political Bureau of the BCP and First Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers; from the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic—Antonin Novotny, First Secretary of the CC CPC, Josef Lenart, Member of the Presidium of the CC CPC and Chairman of the Government; from the German Democratic Republic—Walter Ulbricht, First Secretary of the CC SUPG and Chairman of the State Council, Willi Stoph, Member of the Political Bureau of the CC SUPG and Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Hermann Axen, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC SUPG; from the Hungarian People's Republic —Janos Kadar, First Secretary of the CC HSWP, Jeno Fock, Member of the Political Bureau of the CC HSWP and Chairman of the Council of Ministers; from the Polish People's Republic—Wladyslaw Gomulka, First Secretary of the CC PUWP, Josef Cyrankiewicz, Member of the Political Bureau of the CC PUWP and Chairman of the Council of Ministers; from the Soviet Union—L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, A. N. Kosygin, Member of the Political Bureau of the CC CPSU and Chairman of the Council of Ministers, N. V. Podgorny, Member of the Political Bureau of the CC CPSU and President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet; from the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia—Josip Broz

Tito, Chairman of the LCY, President of the Republic, Vladimir Popovic, Member of the Presidium of the CC LCY.

The participants in the meeting examined the situation that has developed in the Middle East following the Israeli aggression, which is the result of a collusion among certain imperialist forces, the USA in the first place, against the Arab states, and exchanged views regarding measures necessary to cut short the aggression and prevent it from having consequences dangerous to universal peace.

The participants in the meeting deem it necessary to draw appropriate conclusions from the fact that Israel has not abided by the decision of the Security Council and has not stopped hostilities against the Arab states. The occupation by Israel of the territory of Arab states would be used for restoring the regime of foreign colonial rule.

On June 9, Israeli troops, despite the Syrian Government's declaration of ceasefire, are waging a new offensive on the Syrian border, subjecting Syrian cities to brutal bombing.

The peoples of Arab countries are upholding a just cause in their fight against imperialism, for their freedom and independence, for the integrity of their territory, for the inalienable sovereign right to decide independently all questions of their internal life and foreign policy. The peoples of the socialist countries are fully on their side.

The peoples of the UAR and a number of other Arab countries have scored in recent years great historic victories for their national independence and freedom. Important social reforms in the interests of the working people have been effected.

We express confidence that these gains will be preserved and the progressive regimes strengthened, despite the difficulties confronting the Arab peoples.

In this hour of trial for the states of the Arab East the socialist countries declare that they are fully and wholly on their side in their just struggle and will give them assistance in repelling the aggression and defending national independence and territorial integrity.

The states taking part in the meeting demand that Israel immediately discontinue hostilities against the neighboring Arab countries and withdraw all its troops from their territory behind the armistice line.

It is a duty of the United Nations Organizations to condemn the aggressor. If the Security Council does not take proper measures, grave responsibility will devolve upon the states which would not fulfil their duty as members of the Security Council.

Resolute joint actions by all peace-loving and progressive forces, all who cherish the cause of freedom and independence of nations are needed today more than ever before.

If the Government of Israel fails to stop the aggression and withdraw troops behind the armistice line, the socialist states signatory to this statement will do everything necessary to help the peoples of the Arab countries to give a resolute rebuff to the aggressor, safeguard their legitimate rights, put out the fire of war in the Middle East, and restore peace in the area.

The just struggle of the Arab peoples will triumph!

# DOCUMENTS OF THE ARAB COMMUNIST MEETING, MAY, 1967

## STATEMENT ON THE SITUATION IN THE ARAB COUNTRIES

The Communists of the Arab countries, meeting in May 1967, discussed the present situation in the Arab countries and the course of the struggle going on on the main front between imperialism, reaction and Zionism, on the one hand, and the Arab national-liberation movement, on the other. They also exchanged information on the peculiarities and perspectives of the development of the actual situation in the various Arab countries. In connection with all this the meeting also discussed the problems of links and unity between the Arab patriotic, progressive and revolutionary forces.

The meeting believes that the present situation in the Arab world is characterized by the extension and intensification of the national struggle against colonialism and neocolonialism, and by a deepening of the content of the national liberation movement. Large sections of the Arab peoples and influential social forces are increasingly becoming attracted to the slogan of socialism, which is the right way of development for our countries, for them to build their independent economies and do away with their backwardness.

The participants in the meeting note with satisfaction that the struggle of their parties over a long period, the sacrifices they have made and the light of socialist ideas, which have triumphed in the socialist world, have been, and will be, the most important factor in this development.

In such new states as the United Arab Republic, Syria and Algeria, where deep-going social and economic changes have been effected, the Communists and other progressives see it as their task to uphold, consolidate and extend these gains, and to complete the job of providing the necessary political and social prerequisites of their countries' advance to socialism.

The Arab peoples are stepping up their fight against imperialism and its plans, against reaction and Zionism. Cooperation and solidarity between the newly-free Arab countries are becoming closer. Their policy of liberation and their progressive achievements play an important part in intensifying the struggle of the Arab peoples for freedom and progress and in carrying it deeper.

The national revolution of the peoples of Aden and the occupied south of Arabia against the British imperialists, for freedom and

independence is gathering momentum. This sacred revolution involves the working class and all other patriotic forces. It is supported and assisted by all progressive and patriotic forces in the Arab countries and throughout the world.

The people of the UAR and their revolutionary, progressive and patriotic forces are increasing their resistance to the American and other imperialists, who are intent on changing the progressive policy line of the country. The UAR continues to develop its independent economy and to build important economic projects, first of all the Aswan Dam. It continues to extend fraternal support and assistance to the Yemen, which is defending its revolution and its republican system.

The Arab people of Syria have, thanks to the cooperation of their progressive forces, won an important victory over the oil monopolies in seeking higher royalties. Syria foils all the conspiracies and threats of imperialism, Zionism and reaction directed against it, which intensified above all after February 23, 1966, and after Syria began to extract its oil by itself and to build economic projects of its own, primarily the Euphrates Dam.

In Algeria the main trend is to fight imperialism, and Algeria is carrying on this fight together with other newly-free Arab and African countries, in the face of attempts on the part of the reactionaries backed by the imperialists to do away with the political, economic and social gains of the Algerian people. However, the social forces opposing the road chosen by the people and trying to abolish the people's achievements have not laid down arms yet. To foil the schemes of the imperialists, defeat the home reactionaries, maintain and consolidate the gains of the revolution and raise the creative enthusiasm of the masses so that they may overcome the political difficulties facing the country by peaceful and democratic means, it is necessary for the revolutionary, progressive and patriotic forces, both those participating in the present government and those not participating to achieve unity and wage a joint struggle in accordance with the aspirations of the people.

In Jordan, after Israel's aggression against the village of Sumu, the people took vigorous patriotic action against the imperialists and the policy of the pro-imperialist regime. This action is evidence of the great revolutionary potentialities of the Arab people of Jordan and of their progressive and patriotic forces fighting for a national system that would side with the free area of the Arab world and ensure freedom and democracy to the people.

The Lebanese people are intensifying their fight against imperialism and reaction. By rallying their patriotic and progressive forces, they have succeeded in preventing a visit by the U.S. Sixth

Fleet, which is used as an instrument of conspiracy and intimidation against the Arab liberation movement.

In Iraq the patriotic forces and the masses generally are fighting with increasing resolve to establish a democratic system opposing imperialism and its oil monopolies, taking steps to settle the Kurd question and leading the country to liberation and to social and economic progress.

We support the people of Iraq, the Iraqi Communist Party and the progressive forces of that country in their struggle and their effort to secure the release of thousands of Communists and other progressives who are tortured in Iraqi jails. The continued detention of these fighters for freedom, progress and socialism is a violation of human rights and a challenge to Arab public opinion and to the progressive forces.

In Saudi Arabia, the isolation of the feudal reactionary puppet government is increasing, and the struggle of the masses and their progressive forces against this regime and the American monopolies which plunder the people of their riches is growing in breadth and depth.

The people of Bahrein are opposing the imperialists and the oil monopolies. By consolidating their revolutionary front they are fighting for liberation and independence, against the British colonialists' plans for setting up a new military base in that country.

New steps are being taken in an increasing number of Arab countries toward cooperation and mutual support of the progressive, revolutionary and patriotic forces. There are objective and subjective conditions for this cooperation to become closer and to develop into a broad front in each Arab country, in keeping with the actual situation there, and in the Arab world as a whole.

In the Syrian Arab Republic, the Communists and Left Baathists are engaged in cooperation that yields important results. It is in the interest of progress in Syria to promote this cooperation.

In the Lebanon the front of the progressive and patriotic parties, forces and political leaders, which furthers the popular movement and influences developments in the country, is going from strength to strength.

In the Sudan the progressive and patriotic forces are closing their ranks. These forces are in the van of the mass struggle in defense of democracy and the Constitution, against the reactionaries and the Rightists, who are trying to abolish democracy and the Constitution, taking advantage of the attempt to dissolve the fraternal Sudanese Communist Party.

It is a legitimate historic aspiration of the Arab peoples to achieve unity. A new conception of the idea of Arab unity is evolving, a conception prompted by the interests and the will of the

masses, the new social content of the national liberation movement, objective conditions, the free expression of the will of each Arab country on an equal footing, and solidarity and cooperation against imperialism and reaction, for social progress. The experience of the struggle for Arab unity has helped to ascertain this new content, and our Communist parties have enriched it.

Relations between the newly-free Arab states and some other Arab countries, on the one hand, and the socialist countries, particularly the Soviet Union, the cradle of the Great October Socialist Revolution, a true friend of the Arab peoples, a bulwark of world peace, on the other, are growing and strengthening. These friendly countries render vast disinterested assistance to our countries in every field, which makes for the consolidation of their political independence and helps them to build up their independent economies and to combat backwardness.

The struggle of the progressive forces for full-fledged diplomatic relations with the friendly German Democratic Republic is gaining in scope. Imperialist and reactionary attempts to restore the relations between the Arab countries and the Federal Republic of Germany, which backs Israel, participates in supplying it with all that is needed for aggression, takes a provocative stand against the cause of liberation of the Arab countries and helps neo-colonialism to strengthen its positions in the Arab world, fall through.

The imperialists, particularly the American imperialists, do all they can to prevent the progressive liberation movement in the Arab world from growing, to stop and eliminate it, to maintain their positions and privileges, to continue plundering the Arabs of their riches, regain lost positions, and penetrate into various Arab countries by neocolonialist methods. The imperialists continue their feverish activity in support of the plan for a so-called Islamic pact, which is plainly intended to camouflage their criminal schemes in the Arab world. They bribe the home reactionaries in the Arab countries and help them to gather strength in the hope of re-establishing their rule in those countries.

The reactionary puppet rulers of Saudi Arabia and Jordan not only carry on subversion against any joint Arab action against imperialism and Zionism but try, on the instructions and according to the plans of the Anglo-American imperialists, to aggravate the situation in the area and to divide the Arab countries. They encourage Zionist aggression and reactionary conspiracies as they clear the ground for open imperialist intervention. The rulers of Saudi Arabia are continuing and extending their military intervention against Yemen to restore a medieval regime in that new republic. They are in open collusion with the imperialists against

the revolution of the Arab people in Aden and in the occupied south of the Arabian peninsula. As for the rulers of Jordan, they bribe and mobilize mercenaries from among Syrian exiles and train them for hostilities in Syria with a view to undermining the progressive gains of the Syrian people and to replacing the progressive national system there by a reactionary Rightist regime that would suit its activity to imperialist plans.

The progressive patriotic forces are subjected to brutal repressive measures in both countries. Nineteen patriots were executed in Saudi Arabia. The prisons are filled with those who oppose reaction and American domination in the country. In Jordan the reactionary rulers have arrested Communists and other progressives, and hold rigged election to impart a semblance of legality to their rule and to continue their policy of conspiracy.

The imperialists arm Israel, supply it with all that is required for aggression, and support its efforts to usurp the legitimate rights of the Palestine Arabs in their own country. They incite it to continuous sorties in the Arab border area aggravating the situation in that area and endangering peace. Israel committed its latest act of aggression against Syria last April. It showed itself once again to be a tool and the main base of imperialism in the area. The imperialists use Israel to combat the Arab liberation and progressive movement, to back reaction and rotten reactionary regimes, and to prevent the Arab peoples from using their riches and other resources to develop their countries.

In northern Iraq (Kurdistan), where the Kurd question has yet to be settled, the Iraqi rulers are committed to a policy which does not in fact lead to meeting the Kurd people's lawful demand for autonomy. The imperialists and reactionaries are trying to aggravate the situation in Kurdistan by refusing to recognize the legitimate rights of the Kurds, thwarting the armistice agreement and resuming the civil war.

In the Lebanon the imperialists instigate and encourage the reactionaries to provoke religious discord with an eye to establishing a reactionary regime that would take its cue from the imperialists and the Arab reactionaries against the interests of the Lebanese people and the newly-free Arab states, primarily against fraternal Arab Syria.

The imperialists try to take advantage of border disputes between Arab states to aggravate the relations between them and to exhaust their strength.

In North Africa—in Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco—and particularly in the relations between Algeria and Morocco, the interests of the two brother peoples require that the two states should do all in their power to avoid violence and the use of arms, to make earn-

est efforts toward settling their disagreements through direct peaceful, fraternal talks. In this connection it is necessary to note that to bring about such a settlement, the progressive and revolutionary forces in both Arab countries must play a decisive role in the interest of uniting the Maghreb as an important step toward the unity of the whole Arab world.

The U.S. Sixth Fleet cruises in the Mediterranean and in Arab territorial waters, endangering the Arab national liberation movement and supporting Israel.

The military coup carried out in Greece according to the plans and instructions of U.S. intelligence agencies and directed against the vital interests of the Greek people should not be viewed in isolation from the conspiracies the U.S. imperialists hatch in the Mediterranean and the Arab world.

In a number of Arab countries whose rulers do not—primarily because of the struggle of the progressive forces—play the role played by the rulers of Saudi Arabia and of Jordan, the imperialists try to reinforce the reactionary elements and to crush the Communist, progressive and patriotic forces. They strive to establish territorial regimes there whose entire activity would serve imperialist interests and plans.

Everywhere the imperialists are out to undermine or prevent cooperation between Communists and other progressive and patriotic forces.

All this imperialist activity is aimed at undermining the regimes existing in the newly-free Arab countries, deliver a blow to the Yemeni revolution, thwart the revolution in Aden and the occupied south of the Arabian peninsula, prevent the liberation and progress of other Arab countries, check the upward trend of the national democratic movement in the Arab world and strike hard at the whole liberation movement of the Arabs, so as to strengthen the shaken position of the imperialists and to regain those of them that were lost, assure the continued plundering of our countries of their riches, first of all of their oil resources, and perpetuate the backwardness of our countries.

The meeting, exposing the plans of the imperialists, Zionists and Arab reactionaries and their acts of aggression, wants to reveal the immense danger threatening the Arab national liberation movement today, to contribute its share to the definition of the objects of the movement and to the planning of actions necessary for staving off this danger and to defeat those from whom it emanates. We are certain that there is every opportunity of achieving this lofty goal.

In view of the fundamental contradiction existing in the Arab world, where the imperialists, Zionists and reactionaries are at

one pole and the peoples of the Arab countries, their patriotic, progressive and revolutionary forces supported by the forces of liberation, progress and socialism throughout the world, and above all by the Soviet Union, at the other pole, we consider that the chief method of countering the impending danger is to promote the solidarity and cooperation of these forces, join their efforts together in each Arab country and throughout the Arab world despite certain differences, which should not be an obstacle to joint action on the principal agreed issues.

The Communist, revolutionary and patriotic forces must coperate to beat off the furious attacks of the imperialists and reactionaries on the Arab peoples, to eliminate colonialism and neocolonialism in the Arab world, mobilize the masses against all imperialist intrigues, conspiracies and blocs, and bring about the withdrawal of the U.S. Sixth Fleet from the Mediterranean. They must cooperate to support the struggle of the Arab countries to establish national anti-imperialist and progressive regimes leading these countries along the road to progress and prosperity.

The progressive and revolutionary forces must cooperate to maintain the progressive achievements and changes won or being won in the newly-free Arab countries, to strengthen these countries and develop them with a view to encouraging the initiative of the masses and to drawing them into the creative endeavor in those countries. They must cooperate to curb the enemies of progress who are operating and gathering strength and are supported from without, and to close all the loopholes in the policies and the economies of these countries that may be used by imperialist and reactionary conspirators. They must cooperate to ensure that the Arab peoples have all their natural resources, particularly oil, put at their complete disposal, and that these resources are used wisely for developing the Arab countries and doing away with their backwardness. They must cooperate to give the fullest moral and material support to the revolution in Aden and the occupied south of the Arabian peninsula, to support and strengthen the Yemeni Republic and end all interference by the imperialists and by Saudi Arabia aimed at re-establishing the hated monarchic regime there. They must cooperate to step up the fight against continual acts of aggression on the part of Israel, to identify themselves with all progressive and patriotic groups and organizations fighting courageously in those countries whose governments submit to an imperialist diktat, and to fight for an end to terrorism and repression in those countries.

The Communists of the Arab countries are inspired by the ideas of creative Marxism-Leninism. They are inspired by a high morale in the fight against the imperialists and reactionaries, and are carrying on a selfless struggle for social progress. Ever since their par-

ties came into being the Arab Communists have been fighting for the triumph of socialism and for the deliverance of the masses from backwardness and exploitation, and they have always put the interests of their peoples above everything else. They earnestly and sincerly call on all patriotic, progressive and revolutionary forces in the Arab countries irrespective of the parties or trends they may belong to, to rally together against imperialism, Zionism and reaction in order to fight for the complete liberation of the Arab world, for progress and the elimination of backwardness in any political, economic and cultural field, for a radiant future for their peoples, for Arab unity on a sound basis.

The road to these cherished aims and aspirations of the Arab masses lies through close relations between these forces, relations ruling out all discrimination against this or that trend and based on mutual respect, on fraternal, frank and principled exchanges of views. All this will make for an atmosphere of mutual confidence without which no cooperation can be fruitful.

The imperialists and reactionaries raise the banner of anti-communism as they strive to prevent the unity of the patriotic, progressive and revolutionary forces. Hence every attempt to split the progressive forces, bring confusion into their ranks, ignore or attack the Communist parties serves, as the sad experience of the past has shown, none but the interests of the imperialists and reactionaries and injures the national liberation movement and progress, that is, the cause of the whole Arab people.

In the interests of the fight against imperialism, for progress, for the unity and cooperation of the progressive forces, all progressives must strive for the release of imprisoned Communists and other revolutionaries and champions of progress in Iraq, Algeria, Jordan or any other Arab country. Meeting this demand will go a long way toward closer links and cooperation between all progressive forces.

A very important task in this respect is to foster cooperation between the newly-free Arab countries and to promote their relations with other Arab countries through the fight against imperialism. This will weaken the positions of reaction and strengthen the progressive and patriotic forces of various trends.

The nature of the struggle going on in a number of Arab countries against continued imperialist influence and reactionary domination calls for the cooperation of the revolutionary and progressive forces and all other patriotic forces and for the rallying of all sections of the people interested in complete emancipation from imperialism.

Our parties believe that at a time when semi-feudal regimes and the rule of the big bourgeoisie are being abolished and when society is advancing to a socialist future, it is necessary to realize the increasingly important role of the working class, which has nothing

to lose in the fight for socialism but its chains. It is necessary to respect its rights and democratic freedoms, provide conditions for it to display initiative, and enable it to take part in production management and in the implementation of reforms. This has been confirmed by the experience of the socialist countries.

The Communists have been and will remain an indispensable and effective force in the fight against imperialism with all its old and new methods, for the provision of prerequisites of the transition to the socialist stage of development.

That is why it is in the interest of liberation and progress to increase and deepen the present cooperation between the Communist parties and other progressive forces and parties and to launch this cooperation where it is still lacking.

The unity, solidarity and consolidation of the Communist parties of the Arab countries are highly important. They contribute to the unity of the progressive forces in the Arab world, to the maintenance of democracy and freedom for the people, to the struggle of the Arab peoples against imperialism, for progress and socialism.

We believe in the future of our countries, in their inevitable victory over the enemy—imperialism and reaction. The potentialities of our countres, of their patriotic, progressive and revolutionary forces, are very great, particularly if there is unity, cooperation and mutual support between them.

The world forces supporting us are mighty. We have on our side the socialist camp and its chief force, the Soviet Union. We have on our side the international working class and all the peoples of the "third world" who are fighting for freedom and progress.

## RESOLUTION ON THE SITUATION IN THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

The events that have taken place in the world during the year that has passed since the last meeting of the Communist parties of the Arab countries confirm the fact that the general line of the world revolutionary and Communist movement is a line of unity and cohesion, of new victories in every field. The economic and military power of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries is growing steadily and so is their international prestige, and their positions in the economic competition with capitalism are becoming stronger. The Communist and Workers' parties in the capitalist countries have registered new gains in class battles against capital and monopoly domination, in their effort to promote close unity of the democratic and other Left forces. In Asia, Africa and Latin America the Communists have, together with other forces of liberation and progress, scored new successes in the struggle against

colonialism and neocolonialism, for liberation and for economic and social progress. The relations of cooperation and solidarity between the socialist community and the national-liberation movement, between the Communist parties and other progressive parties, movements and forces in Asia, Africa and Latin America, including the Arab countries, have become closer.

This period has seen a number of meetings of Communist and Workers' parties reflecting the growing unity and cohesion of the world Communist movement on the basis of creative application of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The Karlovy Vary Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties, which outlined a specific program for maintaining peace and security in Europe, was a new important step in this direction. This program is very important for world peace and security.

The entire course of development during this period has proved the Marxist-Leninist general line of the Communist movement, jointly formulated at the Moscow meetings of the Communist and Workers' parties in 1957 and 1960, to be perfectly correct.

On the other hand, there have been attempts during this period to step up the offensive of imperialism and reaction on a world scale, which expressed itself in the continuation and extension of the U.S. aggression in Vietnam, in reactionary coups in a number of countries, in increased pressure and terrorism against Communists and other patriotic and progressive forces in various countries, in greater activity aimed at splitting the revolutionary movement. It is now more obvious than ever before how very urgent is the need for world Communist unity, for the unity of the socialist countries, for united action by all patriotic and revolutionary forces to repel and thwart this furious offensive of imperialism and reaction.

The situation reveals the vast extent of the responsibility of the Mao Tse-tung group of renegades for their subversive and disruptive activity. It is already clear that the so-called "cultural revolution" is aimed at radically reshaping the superstructure in China by eliminating the cadres of the Communist Party of China that went through the revolution and are devoted to Marxism-Leninism, by routing the Party, the trade unions and other mass organizations, as well as the government apparatus, by establishing a military dictatorship in the country. This has created a serious threat to the existence of the Communist Party of China, to the achievements of the Chinese working class and the people as a whole, to the future of socialist construction in China.

This activity, in the course of which the Mao group went as far as to deny the role of the Party and to liquidate it, is a natural result of the dogmatism underlying this deviation. The group, which

lyingly and slanderously accuses other Communist parties of revisionism, has in the end arrived at extreme revisionism and liquidationism.

Our Communist parties, which have condemned the Mao group for its departure from the general line of the world Communist movement and for its renunciation of Marxist-Leninist principles, will always adhere to the documents of the 1957 and 1960 meetings of the Communist and Workers' parties. They will steadfastly uphold the purity of these principles against the danger of bourgeois nationalist deviations, revisionism and dogmatism.

The Mao group has replaced the fight against imperialism by a fight against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, against the world Communist movement, the national-liberation movement, the revolutionary movement as a whole. It has openly declared the Soviet Union, the first socialist country, a bulwark of the freedom and security of all peoples, to be Enemy Number One.

In carrying on its disruptive and subversive activity, the Mao group now links up in many respects with the American and other imperialists by coming out against the interests of the people. The most striking proof of this is the group's attitude toward Vietnam and its refusal to cooperate with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in joint efforts directed against the U.S. aggression, as well as the fact that the group obstructs the delivery of Soviet arms and other kinds of Soviet assistance to Vietnam.

These disgraceful events, which have been taking place in China under the flag of the "cultural revolution," have not only confirmed the Mao group's break with Marxism-Leninism but have exposed its far-reaching and dangerous home and foreign policy plans.

However, the objectives of the Mao group have lately been laid bare. On the international scene the group finds itself completely isolated in the world Communist movement, the national liberation movement and other spheres, since those who formerly misjudged the group have been turning away from it in increasing numbers. Inside the country the group is meeting with widespread resistance —verging on civil war—on the part of Party organizations, workers, peasants and other sections of the people. This is why we are certain that the Chinese people and their working class will maintain their achievements and weather the severe trial to which the Mao group has put them. We are also certain that the Chinese Communists, loyal to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, will under all circumstances bring their party back into the world Communist movement.

The Communist parties of the Arab countries, realizing the gravity of the situation in China, have taken a stand in common with the world Communist movement by condemning the Mao

group for its apostasy from Marxism-Leninism and for all its activities in and outside the country.

During the past year the Communist parties of the Arab countries have come to know many new facts showing how Mao Tse-tung's emissaries and hirelings carry on their subversive policy in the Arab world and how this policy links up in many respects with imperialist plans in the Arab countries.

The Mao group is making feverish attempts to poison the relations of friendship, cooperation and solidarity between the new Arab states and the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, to undermine the relations between the Arab countries themselves. It concentrates on combating the Communist parties of the Arab countries as it continues its fruitliess attempts to split their ranks. It tries to foil efforts toward cooperation between the revolutionary and progressive forces throughout the Arab world and in each particular Arab country, and makes futile attempts to strengthen adventurist trends in the Middle East, playing by its activity into the hands of the imperialists and of Israel.

In the light of the foregoing, the participants in the meeting reaffirm the determination of their parties, which are loyal to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the general line of the world Communist movement, to continue the fight against the splitting and subversive activity of the Mao Tse-tung group, for closer unity and cohesion of the world Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The participants in the meeting declare that their parties unanimously support the idea of convening a new world meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties and are convinced that the conditions are already ripe for beginning the necessary preparations for such a meeting. This is needed for the unity of the world Communist movement. Besides, in the seven years that have passed since the 1960 meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties, life has posed numerous new problems that must be examined and assessed. Experience has shown that such meetings are the best form of discussing common problems facing the Communists, for exchanging views and experience and for promoting unity in the fight for the victory of the cause of peace, liberation, socialism and communism.

## RESOLUTION ON VIETNAM

The barbarous war of aggression which the American imperialists are waging against the heroic people of Vietnam has lately entered a new dangerous stage. The imperialists have massed over half a million troops in South Vietnam and want to increase their strength. They are steadily extending their bombing and shelling of the

Democratic Republic of Vietnam from the air, the sea and the ground, and continue to bomb Hanoi and Haiphong, destroying factories, residential districts, hospitals, schools and other objectives in the north and south of the country created by many generations of Vietnamese people. They use the most barbarous methods, scorch whole areas with napalm, resort to chemical and bacteriological warfare, destroy crops, spread epidemics and hunger. They do all this in the hope of breaking the resistance of a heroic people who have risen to a man to defend their achievements, their freedom and their future.

The U.S. imperialists, who with maniacal obstinacy continue and escalate their war of aggression in Vietnam, challenge the whole of progressive mankind. They expose world peace to a terrible danger by pushing mankind towards a holocaust. They have turned down the DRV government's proposals regarding unconditional discontinuation of bombing and all other hostilities against the DRV as a prerequisite for starting talks on the settlement of the Vietnam problem.

The hypocrisy of Washington's protestations of its desire to settle the Vietnam problem through negotiation has been exposed in the eyes of the whole world. It has become clear that the U.S. aggressors want to have done with the Vietnam problem by force of arms, hoping thus to deal a blow against world socialism, the national-liberation movement and the forces of progress and peace the world over.

It is evident now that the U.S. imperialists are making the maximum use of the policies of the Peking leaders. They would not have dared to expand their aggression in Vietnam, and the Vietnamese people would not have had to suffer until this time, if the Peking leadership had not refused to act jointly with all the socialist countries and had not obstructed Soviet aid and the delivery of Soviet weapons to Vietnam.

The participants in this meeting, voicing the firm conviction of their parties that Communist unity and joint efforts by the socialist countries in support of the people of Vietnam are urgently needed to put an end to this war of aggression and frustrate the attempts to expand it, resolutely condemn the stand of Mao Tse-tung's group and highly appreciate the vast assistance being rendered to the people of Vietnam by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. This assistance is a new vivid example of proletarian internationalism displayed by these countries.

All the attempts of U.S. imperialism to conquer the Vietnam people are being shattered against the rock-like resistance of this heroic people, who are inflicting increasing losses on the aggressors and their associates.

U.S. imperialism is finding itself in growing international isola-

tion, even as far as some of its allies are concerned. At the same time the international campaign in support of the Vietnam people is mounting, embracing all continents and rousing the masses—even in the United States itself—to work for ending the U.S. aggression.

In our Arab countries the campaign of solidarity with the people of Vietnam is assuming a nationwide character. The U.S. aggression is denounced by the progressive Arab governments, many progressive parties and mass organizations, representatives of different political and social trends. At public, political and national assemblies representatives of our peoples denounce the U.S. aggressors and express support for the people of Vietnam.

The participants in this meeting resolutely condemn the brutal aggression of the U.S. imperialists against the people of Vietnam and demand its discontinuation. They hail the heroism of the Vietnam people, whose valiant struggle and heroic sacrifices greatly contribute to the cause of freedom and peace all over the world. They reaffirm their full support of the struggle of the Vietnam people and the proposals of their leaders regarding the discontinuation of the hostilities in Vietnam in keeping with the four points of the DRV government and the five points of the National Liberation front of South Vietnam, which fully conform to the Geneva agreements of 1954 and constitute a just basis for settling the Vietnam problem.

The participants in the meeting hail the struggle of all the peoples of the world and of the progressive forces in the United States against this dirty war. They urge all the Arab peoples, all patriotic and progressives forces, parties and organizations in the Arab world to exert still greater efforts and fight still more resolutely, using all means and methods, in support of the valiant people of Vietnam and to halt the brazen U.S. aggression.

## RESOLUTION ON THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE GREAT OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

The Great October Socialist Revolution which was prepared and led by the glorious Party of Lenin, ushered in a new era in world history, the era of the downfall of capitalism and the transition to socialism. For half a century mankind has been developing under the impact of the ideas of the October Revolution and the great revolutionary gains which have cardinally changed the political and social outlook of the world.

The October Revolution initiated a new stage in the development of the revolutionary movement of the working class, in the rise and development of the modern Communist movement, the most influential political force in the present-day world; it signified the

beginning of the epoch of the general crisis of capitalism, the disintegration of the colonial system and the rapid upsurge of the national-liberation movement.

The victory of the October Revolution and the triumph of socialism in the Soviet Union, the emergence of the socialist system indisputably testify to the correctness of Marxist-Leninist theory. The authority of the Soviet Union and the socialist system and their influence on the development of the revolutionary process created still more favorable conditions for the triumph of the cause of socialism and for the consolidation of the Communist and progressive movement and resulted in the convergence of the tasks of national liberation and those of social progress.

In the half-century since the October Revolution the Soviet Union has become a great and mighty industrial power where the economy is developing at an ever faster pace, exploitation of man by man has been abolished once and for all, and the nationalities question has been fully solved. The Soviet Union has become a country of brotherhood and equality of nations; the Soviet people are the master of all means of production, and their material and cultural standards are rising rapidly. Soviet science has vastly contributed to the development of man's knowledge.

In the 50 years of its existence the Soviet Union, led by the Party of Lenin, has realized the great ideals of the October Revolution, the lofty principles of proletarian internationalism.

The peoples of the Soviet Union made tremendous sacrifices during the Civil War and the Second World War, upholding the socialist system and defending all mankind. The Soviet save mankind from the threat of a devastating nuclear war.

Since its emergence the first socialist state has backed the peoples fighting for liberation and progress, and has rendered them every possible material and moral assistance.

For the Arab countries these fifty years have been an unforgettable and glorious period of constant and unselfish assistance and support given to our peoples by the first socialist state. The Soviet Union supported in every way our peoples in the anti-imperialist revolutions that broke out after the October Revolution both in the eastern and western parts of the Arab world. It was on their side in the battles for national independence, against imperialist blocs, conspiracies, threats and acts of aggression; it helped them in their battles in Suez, Algeria, Syria, Iraq, Lebanon, Jordan, Tunisia, Morocco, Libya, Yemen, throughout the Arab world. It has been helping them to muster forces to fight back imperialist and Zionist aggression. It has been rendering them assistance in economic development. The Aswan and Euphrates dams, the dozens of factories and other enterprises in different Arab countries are everlasting

monuments of unselfish Soviet aid to our peoples, of Soviet-Arab friendship.

The victories of our peoples in the struggle against imperialism and reaction, the important progressive changes in the Arab world, and growth and victories of the Arab revolutionary movement are all directly connected with the victory of the October Revolution, with the development of close cooperation of Arab countries with the Soviet Union and the other socialist states.

All this explains why the anniversary of the October Revolution is near and dear to our peoples, just as it is to the peoples of the world. It is a holiday of all Communists in the Arab countries, all forces of liberation, peace and progress in the Arab world.

In connection with this great historical date the Communist parties of the Arab countries wholeheartedly greet and congratulate the Party of the great Lenin, its Central Committee and the entire Soviet people and wish them fresh victories in all fields for the good of mankind.

The Communist parties of the Arab countries, as they prepare to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution, reiterate their firm resolve to make this historic anniversary a stimulus for new victories of the ideas of the October Revolution in the Arab world, for consolidating the unity and cohesion of their ranks, for educating Communists in the spirit of the great principles of the October Revolution, Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, for new victories of the Arab revolutionary movement over imperialism and reaction, for promoting the unity of action and struggle of the revolutionary forces in the Arab world, for further consolidating friendship, cooperation and solidarity between the Arab countries and the country of the October Revolution and the other socialist countries.

## RESOLUTION ON THE KURD PROBLEM IN IRAQ

The participants in the meeting have studied the Kurd problem in Iraq, the attitude of the various political forces to it, and its close connection with the struggle of the Iraq people—Arabs and Kurds—and the other Arab peoples against imperialism, reaction and Zionism, for progress. They have also discussed the relevant events of recent years, and arrived at the conclusion that the policy of ignoring the national rights of the Kurd people, of attempting to suppress by force of arms their struggle and their liberation movement is a policy doomed to failure which can only gravely harm the interests of Iraq, of its Arab and Kurd populations.

It is perfectly obvious that the road to settling the Kurd problem is through recognition of the legitimate national rights of the Kurd people, through granting them autonomy within the framework of

the Iraqi Republic. As regards solving this problem by methods other than this realistic road, it was precisely these methods that complicated the situation in Iraqi Kurdistan, with the resulting sporadic eruption of hostilities there.

The armistice concluded in Iraq more than ten months ago could, given appropriate conditions, serve as the starting point for a just and peaceful settlement of the Kurd problem on the basis of the national demands of the Kurds. For this reason the meeting considers that violation of the armistice and resumption of hostilities in Iraqi Kurdistan would only be in the interest of the imperialists, reactionaries and all enemies of the Iraqi people—Arabs and Kurds alike.

Developments have confirmed that the Kurd problem is intrinsically linked to the problem of democracy in Iraq and that the motto "Autonomy for Kurdistan and Democracy for all Iraq," advanced by the Iraqi Communist Party, the Democratic Party of Kurdistan and other sincere democrats, is correct and realistic, as the events in Iraq have shown. It is the sure road to a peaceful, just and durable solution of the Kurd problem in Iraq and could strengthen unity between the Iraqi Arabs and Kurds and stimulate their joint struggle against imperialism and reaction, for progress. This would be a major contribution to the national-liberation movement in the Arab countries.

The Communist Parties of the Arab countries reaffirm their support of the legitimate national demand of the Kurd people for autonomy within the framework of the Iraqi Republic, and call upon all the progressive and patriotic forces of the Arab world to support the efforts towards this just solution.

## RESOLUTION ON THE SITUATION IN GREECE

The military coup in Greece, engineered and accomplished by U.S. imperialism, the NATO top circles and the extreme reactionaries at home, is a new link in the chain of attacks of imperialism and reaction in the international arena, and proof that U.S. imperialism is beginning to apply in Europe the methods of reactionary military coups it has been applying in Latin America, Asia and Africa. U.S. imperialism has thus made a new dangerous step along the road of conspiracies against universal peace and the security of all peoples.

The coup is a malicious attempt to break the will of the Greek people, who staunchly resisted U.S. imperialism and domestic reaction and were preparing to inflict a major defeat on the Rightists in the elections scheduled for May 28. That is why the putschists have resorted to openly dictatorial methods. They have unleashed bloody terror against all patriotic and progressive forces and, in-

stead of a constitutional regime, established a military dictatorship in a country known as the cradle of democracy. They have trampled underfoot the Constitution and law, disbanded the democratic parties and more than 300 trade union and other mass organizations, suppressed newspapers and strangled all freedom for the people. They continue the campaign of arrests and repressions in the course of which thousands of Communist fighters and other progressives and patriots have been imprisoned and put in concentration camps on remote islands where they are faced with the danger of physical destruction.

But at the very outset the putschists came up against the mounting resistance of the Greek people, against wrathful protests and condemnation throughout the world. The coup has been denounced, and solidarity with the Greek people expressed, by the governments and public of the socialist countries, a number of West European governments, the Communist parties, the peace movement in all countries, and representatives of various sections of world public opinion.

Our peoples see the close connection of the events in Greece, which lies close to the Arab world, with the conspiracies of U.S. imperialism and its henchmen against the Arab national-liberation movement. The U.S. imperialists are out to turn Greece into a permanent base for their Sixth Fleet, the chief instrument of imperialist aggression in this region. Therefore our peoples are following particularly closely the developments in that country.

This meeting, resolutely condemning the military coup, its organizers and inspirers, reaffirms their full solidarity with the Greek Communists, with all the patriotic and progressive forces of Greece, with the entire Greek people, and calls upon all the Arab peoples to intensify support for the people of Greece in their struggle against imperialism and reaction, for an end to the bloody terror, for the release of all detainees, for the restoration of constitutional institutions and democratic freedoms in Greece.

# SEVENTH CONGRESS OF THE SOCIALIST UNITY PARTY OF GERMANY

## SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE GDR UP TO THE ACHIEVEMENT OF COMPLETE SOCIALISM

REPORT* BY WALTER ULBRICHT

This Seventh Congress of our Party will thoroughly evaluate the rich experiences of the working people in carrying out the program of socialism. On the basis of these experiences and a forecast of scientific and technological development, as well as the level reached in the realization of the program of socialism, we are jointly charting the further road of our society, creating the developed social system of socialism.

### The Germans Have Taken the Road to Socialism

The heirs of the Communist Manifesto, the working class of the German Democratic Republic and the working peasants, intellectuals, craftsmen and tradesmen allied with it have realized the teachings of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels on German soil. They have made good progress in carrying out the program of socialism.

In the 50th year after the Great October Revolution it is widely visible to the world that the Germans have also taken the road to socialism. Friendship with the Soviet Union has given and gives us valuable experience. It has given and gives us valuable aid and augments our strength in the construction and consolidation of the first democratic state in German history, the socialist German Democratic Republic.

### A United Germany only Possible as an Anti-Imperialist Germany

During the Hitler period we suffered telling defeats and painful losses. But in the struggle against fascism we saved the honor of the German working class and proved to the world that there is a new Germany. We, our Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the National Front, have prepared the road for humanity in our socialist Germany, our socialist fatherland. To act *humanly* means above all making war impossible. To be *human* means above all unfolding all the forces of the people so that they can liberate

*Abridged.

themselves from militarism, nazism and the rule of the trusts.

Since the turn in world history that began with the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution an unchangeable historic law has been valid for all Germans in East and West. It states that the German people can never gain the respect, appreciation and friendship of the peoples of the world and at the same time win peace and security for themselves by imperialist expansion, but only by the achievements of their scientists, the efficient work of their working people, by works of their humanist culture. A reunified Germany in Europe is possible only as a factor for peace, as a state of progress and socialism.

## Nation-wide Discussion Contributed to Preparations for Congress

In the period ahead we shall have to raise the state, the economy and culture to the heights of complete socialism. It is a question of reaching the highest scientific and technological level—with due regard to the outlook for science till 1980—of holding this position permanently and forming the whole of social life in a socialist way.

We consider the great discussion in preparation of our Party Congress an important creative contribution to the working out of the general line of our policy. This great creative achievement characterizes the evolution of the socialist consciousness of the citizens of the GDR, the development of the socialist community and the new social life. The significance of these processes appears in a proper light only if we remember that the working people had to liberate themselves not only from capitalist exploitation and subjection but also from old habits inherited from capitalist times. The Party discussion showed how most citizens take part in thinking, working and planning together. We examined and evaluated the proposals and criticisms very carefully. The reports presented to this Party Congress and its resolutions are therefore a result of the collective work of the Party members and functionaries, the scientists and other working people of our nation.

## State Sovereignty of the GDR Perfected

In the period between the Sixth and Seventh Party congresses our Party carried out creative work on a particularly large scale both in the theoretical and in the practical fields, with due regard to future requirements. This fruitful creative work is not only an expression of the new quality of the tasks confronting us. Above all it is an an expression of the growing maturity of our Party. It proves that our Party is equal to its tasks and is fully aware of its duties as advance guard of the working class and leader of the nation.

I would like to stress our main achievements of the past four years from yet another important angle. The perfecting of the sovereignty of our socialist GDR—particularly by safeguarding our state border in Berlin—has proved advantageous and fruitful for all our citizens as well as for our entire socialist society.

The absolute growth of the national income in 1966 was three and a half times as high as in 1962. The volume of investments in 1966 corresponds to the total investments of 1953, 1954 and 1955 put together. Since the Sixth Party Congress, 67,000m. marks has been invested, so that in 1966 investments exceeded those of 1962 by roughly 31 per cent.

## New Quality of the Development of the Productive Forces

Marxist-Leninist theory has demonstrated the revolutionary role of the productive forces in the progress of social formations. Our Party has ascertained and drawn proper conclusions from the fact that in the last third of this century the development of the productive forces and of science in the industrial countries of the world has acquired a new quality.

Where the working class has won political power and built modern socialist industrial states it must prove that under the progressive relations of production developed by it the revolution in science and technology is being accomplished successfully.

Imperialism has accepted the challenge presented by the rise and rapid development of the Soviet Union and a number of other socialist states. There has come about an extremely drastic concentration of forces under state-monopoly capitalism involving an enormous intensification of the exploitation of the workers, peasants and intellectuals. On the basis of the vast force of accumulation of the modern productive forces and the immense plunder of its own people and the economically dependent countries, the imperialists use the profits of the monopolies and of finance capital as a whole, plus a large proportion of state finance to hasten the growth of the productive forces through the intensive developmnt of the relevant sciences. On this basis imperialism carries on unprecedented preparations for an atomic war.

## State-Monopoly Capitalism Fleeing Forward

Today we must proceed from the fact that the imperialists assess every achievemenl of the human genius primarily from the standpoint of whether it can be used as an instrument of their power politics or as a source of profit. This is only too evident from the military uses of nuclear, bacteriological and chemical research.

Present-day state-monopoly capitalism is hard hit by the grow-

ing strength and appeal of the socialist world system and beset by the internal contradictions of the predatory imperialist system. It has therefore begun to some extent to flee forward. It would like to support its increasing aggressiveness with economic efficiency. It is trying to use science and technology on a large scale as decisive weapons in the economic, political, and eventually military contest between the two world systems.

This road is bound to lead to an aggravation of the internal contradictions of monopoly-capitalist rule and at the same time to sharper competition on the world market. But capitalism cannot survive even by fleeing forward. For the attempt to develop the productive forces at a higher rate, as far as capitalist relations of production will allow, is at the same time a foredoomed attempt to preserve through scientific and technological progress a system of social reaction, of "man plunder man," and maintain a permanent war menace. This attempt sharpens the contradictions of modern capitalism to the utmost and is fraught with economic, social and political upheavals.

## The Big Monopolies are Bound to Lose their Power

The facts bear out the teachings of Marx and Lenin, who said that the high degree of socialization of production has created a situation in which divesting the big monopolies of power has become inevitable and vitally necessary for the peoples, being the only way of overcoming the contradictions of capitalism from which the peoples suffer.

Although many Social-Democratic Party leaders are deluded by the fact that monopoly capital has scored relative gains by taking advantage of the revolution in science and technology, this changes nothing in the fundamental trends of development and in the inevitable downfall of imperialism.

Marx and Engels founded scientific socialism and critically revised, as Lenin put it, all that had been created by human society, making it usable for the emancipation and welfare of the working people. Ever since it came into being socialism has been linked, by its very nature, with science and its practical utilization for human society.

## Science Under Capitalism and Socialism

Science, which capitalism uses in an effort to save its out-dated system, is for socialism, which is itself a product of scientific work, the main instrument for building the new society. Scientists, of whose skills and achievements the monopolists take advantage to boost their own profits and maintain their reactionary rule, work

under socialism with and for the whole people. These relations fully satisfy them as regards their work and their private lives.

We witness again and again amazing achievements of Soviet science. The Soviet Union makes tremendous efforts to utilize science as a productive force to the utmost. Soviet scientists and researchers have registered achievements of great importance for the safeguarding of world peace. It is not only a duty of the GDR but it also meets the national interest of our state to take upon ourselves an appropriate part of the necessary effort and honorably to contribute our share. We have already done much in this respect. But there are even greater tasks ahead.

## Development of the Socialist Community to the Fore

Once labor leaders strove to defend the interests of the working class from the capitalists' thirst for profit through strikes and other actions. Today, in the socialist state, a state that is the homeland of the working people, labor leaders must prove their worth in mastering social science and in the scientific and technological revolution. For this is the only way in which the vital interests of the working class and the people as a whole can in the long run be upheld.

What is the important thing now? We must concentrate our attention and our effort on developing the socialist community, for all that we do serves man.

The development of the socialist community and the well-being of every citizen of the GDR depends, in the final analysis, on the scientific and technological base. What is the task that we must accomplish speedily if we want to develop this base faster, in step with the steadily rising world standard? The important thing is to develop science as a productive force. This is what the thoughts and deeds and initiatives of all should be directed to. It calls for scientific prognostication. It calls for scientific management and organization of the entire socio-economic system of socialism, because this is the only way in which all the motive forces and advantages of our system can be fully utilized. It calls for purposeful research, scientific organization of labor and the mastering of technological processes.

## Problems of the Development of the Sociailst Economic System

The planning and realization of the economic system of socialism is the basic question of the transition to the developed social system of socialism in the GDR. The fundamental significance of this task lies in making unlimited use in our republic of the productive potentialities of socialism as the most advanced social order. This

is the key to the correct solution of all further economic and social problems involved in achieving complete socialism.

In accordance with the resolutions of the Sixth Party Congress we set out to introduce the new economic system of planning and management. We have in the various spheres laid the groundwork for the complex transition to the socialist economic system. The further shaping of the economic system of socialism in the GDR is being carried on in continuation of the development of the new economic system over the past period, with special attention to the specific directive measure adopted in the second stage of its realization.

## Decisive Qualitative Change

The task now before us is to tackle all the particular problems with due regard to their interrelations and to establish the economic system as a universal system. Thus, carrying on the full-scale construction of socialism, we shall go over from quantitative changes and from minor qualitative changes in particular fields to the decisive qualitative change that will bring the universal economic system of socialism into being as the core of the developed socialist society in the GDR.

The socialist economic system provides for the full use of the advantages and the motive forces of development of the socialist mode of production in every sphere of social reproduction. As a universal system it compels the thorough consideration and utilization of economic laws and demands the fullest implementation of socialist democracy in the management of the economy and the state. Thus it makes the material and moral stimulation of the working people, combined with socialist consciousness and scientific planning and management, really effective.

## Contribution to World Socialism

Consistent realization of the economic system of socialism as an integral whole is making the scientific and technological revolution really effective, leading to a stronger and more productive national economy in the GDR, both internally and externally. In the final analysis, it is a question of the contribution of the working class of the GDR to world socialism. It is a question of consolidating the economic foundations and the prestige of our republic and, consequently, of the political, moral, military and cultural potential of our workers' and peasants' state in the struggle for European security and the maintenance of peace.

Herein lies the deep historical political significance of the socialist economic system. Its consistent implementation as a whole com-

plex is therefore the main task in shaping the developed social system of socialism in our republic. The question in the GDR is of nothing less than achieving through the economic system of socialism, the historically most progressive form of development of the productive forces and of society.

## Mastering the Scientific and Technological Revolution

We can provide the material production basis for socialism and create a socialist system only if we master the scientific and technological revolution. This demands above all that we shall make the socialist economic system effective as a whole and achieve in every sphere of the economy and social life a considerably higher standard of work, work that will be more rational and more socially effective than ever before. This sets us the objective criteria. Measured by them, the results attained in the execution of the Party Program in this field, and the quality and pace of the changes effected to date are by no means enough for us to accomplish our tasks successfully in the coming years.

To work out the economic system of socialism and to implement it calls fundamentally, in continuation of our consistent policy, for the creative application of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions and law-governed connections of the developed social system of socialism. All scientific achievements and the experience of socialist construction must be utilized.

## A Task of Fundamental Importance

This is a task of fundamental importance and not an eclectic agglomeration of seemingly useful forms and methods of economy as monopoly capitalist propaganda makes out to the public. And it is for this reason that working out the economic system of socialism has nothing in common with a mere copying of capitalist market research methods. It also has nothing in common with ideal constructions thought up at a desk, and absolutely not with sporadic experimentation. Nor could we make progress by clinging dogmatically to outdated thinking patterns and work methods.

The objective decisive criteria for the planning and implementation of the socialist economic system are inherent in the socialist relations of production. They consist in making the advantages and the motive forces of development of socialism fully effective in order to use the economic laws of socialism without reservation.

## Advantages and Motive Forces of Socialism

The advantages of socialism consist in the inseparable and ef-

fective unity of the comprehensive and active participation of the working people in the fulfilment of social tasks and in the management of the economy, on the one hand, and the all-round scientific planning and rational organization of the economic and social development of the whole country, on the other. The motive forces of development of socialism, directly connected with this, consist in the concrete and tangible harmony of the personal material and ideological interests of the working people and their collectives and the given social requirements, and in the working people's awareness of this.

The international, but particularly the national experience in socialist construction gained so far confirm that the actual art of properly utilizing the advantages and driving forces of the socialist mode of production is mastery of the dialectical unity of the main factors of socialism contained therein.

## All-Round Promotion of Socialist Democracy

Hence the standard and greater effectiveness of planning and organization of the entire process, particularly of the scientific organization of labor and the consolidation of our state, are inseparable from the comprehensive development of socialist democracy and the all-round practical application of material and moral stimuli. This must be connected in its entirety with the continuous further development of the socialist consciousness of the working people, i.e., with the political and moral factor.

## Planned Economy Must Be Highly Effective

Of decisive importance for the fulfilment of the task of building the developed socialist society in our republic is the extent to which the socialist planned economy is functioning effectively.

In terms of content and system, the starting point of social planning is analysis and the prognostic elaboration of the main trends of development in science and technology as well as of the chief factors in long-term economic, social and overall development.

The scientific character of long-range plans depends on the degree of their prognostic soundess, the accuracy of calculation of long-range target decisions with due regard to initial conditions, and on the corresponding optimum design of proportions and of their budgetary soundness. At the same time this is the basic condition for the stability of long-range plans.

## Long-Range Plan Decisive for Guiding Development

One must distinguish between long-range planning, which sets all the decisive targets, and short-term planning, which by nature is an operative one. The latter type of planning cannot be the instrument of structural-political decisions in the conditions of the technological revolution. But it is necessary as an immediate complex basis of the practical organization of the future economic process.

It is primarily essential for the proper functioning of the entire system that the scientific, and hence stable, long-range plan, which concentrates on the basic questions and sets the tasks of the state as development tasks, should become the decisive instrument for the systematic centralized control of the entire process of economic reproduction and development by the state.

## Planning of Processes Decisive for Structure

With regard to content the qualitatively new in planning is that it concentrates pre-eminently on prognostically sound planning of the structural processes which determine the growth of effectiveness, and that it firmly links these with the complex planning of proportions and economic interrelations. This is why planning must be developed according to chief products and important groups of products.

The new element in planning from the standpoint of the development of the socialist economic system is that the entire planning process gives priority to the elaboration and obligatory planning of the basic economic indicators in direct combination with the responsible planning done by the managements of the various branches and with full scope for independent economic management by the socialist commodity producers. The issue in the socialist economic system with regard to the enterprises is essentially to entrust to them the full responsibility for what they must necessarily do in any case, i.e ., the responsible preparation, implementation, improvement and expansion of reproduction.

## Cost Accounting

Under the economic system of socialism, cost accounting is organized in such a way that it encourages the socialist producer, in accordance with the development targets of the plan, to keep expenditures as low as possible and profit as high as possible. In the socialist economy, the orientation towards higher profit—an orientation caused by cost accounting—means nothing more than increasing the national income as the basis of the living standard

of all working people, as well as the economic strength of the workers' and peasants' state, with socialist surplus value.

To save time by way of enforcing the fundamental principle of economic activity is, in the final analysis, the main function of the socialist economic system. Thereby it acquires a new and higher quality characterized by the fact that everyone is fully aware of his social responsibility and therefore does his best personally, refuses to live at the expense of others, feels jointly responsible and strives to ensure that his work is part of the labor of society and contributes towards making the national economy as effective as possible.

## Automation and Rationalization

In accordance with the requirements of the scientific and technological revolution and the structural development of our national economy, it is the main task of industry to produce at the lowest cost and in the shortest time goods having the highest quality and capable of competing on the world market. The main way to this end is consistently to press forward all-round socialist rationalization, including its highest stage, the automation of whole production processes.

The growth of the productive forces in agriculture, which is absolutely necessary, depends in decisive measure on up-to-date means of production. This puts high demands, particularly on the engineering, chemical and building industries. These demands can only be met if there is rational cooperation with the socialist countries, above all with the USSR, in research and development as well as in the manufacture of means of production.

## Further Rise in Standard of Living

The experience of ever closer economic cooperation with the USSR and our socialist neighbors, Czechoslovakia and Poland, as well as with other sociailst countries, shows that traditional foreign trade, oriented chiefly on the mere exchange of goods, is becoming too narrow to use the manifold new opportunities of all-round economic cooperation. It is therefore necessary to develop foreign trade relations as a complex of exchange of goods, of scientific and technological cooperation, specialization and coordination, starting from the major export enterprises.

## Main Trend of the International Situation

The main trend of development of the international situation will continue to be characterized by the growth of the forces of

peace, democracy, national independence and socialism. But we must not overlook the fact that at the same time all contradictions and antagonisms in the imperialist sphere of domination are being intensified by the general crisis of capitalism. This leads to greater aggressivness of the imperialists and to growing international tensions and an increased war danger.

Economic progress in the socialist countries is becoming all the more evident this year since some important imperialist countries are struggling with structural crises in various fields, with currency and financial crisis and also with certain general crisis phenomena. This applies in particular to Britain, West Germany, and also to some other countries. In West Germany, for example, industrial production has month after month for half a year been below that of the previous year. On the whole the instability of the situation in the capitalist countries has become greater and above all more obvious.

## The Balance of World Forces Continues to Change in Favor of Socialism

Decisive for the development of the progressive forces in the world is the economic, political and military strengthening of most of the socialist countries, their increasing ability to meet the requirements of the development of the socialist social order and the scientific and technological revolution. The cooperation of the majority of the socialist countries is consolidating. The socialist countries' tendency towards cohesion on the basis of proletarian internationalism is stronger than certain transient tendencies of national narrow-mindedness.

The shift in the world balance of forces between socialism and imperialism in favor of socialism is continuing despite some setbacks and impeding factors. This applies to the economic as well as to the political and military relation of forces. It is one of the most important reasons why U.S. imperialism so far has not dared to expand its aggressive actions into a world war. The peoples and most of the governments in Europe are striving more and more to consolidate the status quo on the basis of realities and to promote the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

## Tribute to the Peoples of the Soviet Union

A tremendous path has been travelled by the international Communist and Workers' movement in the glorious 50 years since the Great October Socialist Revolution. From our Seventh Party Congress we send particularly cordial greetings to the peoples of

the Soviet Union, the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Soviet government whose new great deeds in all fields are a fitting preparation for the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution. We are happy that we Germans in the GDR have long been part of the great socialist family of nations and that we are able to contribute our share to the world-wide result of the Red October with achievements in our socialist construction.

## Harmful Attitude of the Chinese Leaders

The regrettable anti-Marxist attitude and anti-Soviet policy of the leaders of the People's Republic of China have done great damage to the international Communist and Workers' movement. A policy of splitting, the anti-Soviet policy of the Chinese leaders has enabled the U.S. imperialists to deploy vast military power and set about building up South Vietnam as another military base, as a base of aggression on the Asian continent. From here the colonialist and neo-colonialist positions of imperialism are to be brought under U.S. control. Besides, the U.S. government is hoping to exert stronger military pressure from here on developments on the Asian continent.

## The GDR Sides Firmly with the Vietnamese People

The criminal war of the U.S. imperialists against the courageous Vietnamese people, who are heroically fighting for their liberty and their rights, is meeting with abhorrence and condemnation throughout the world. We, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, renew also at this Congress our emphatic protest against the shameful, barbarious aggression of the U.S. imperialists.

We note with satisfaction that primarily the Soviet Union, but also the other socialist countries, each to the best of its abilities, are giving varied assistance and support to the fraternal Vietnamese people. In the German Democratic Republic, too, a powerful solidarity movement has developed in support of the liberation struggle of the Vietnamese people. We, the German Democratic Republic and its citizens, will continue to do everything in our power to help the fraternal Vietnamese people in their hard struggle against the imperialist aggressor. We shall continue to side with the Vietnamese people to whom we are linked by fraternal ties. We demand the unconditional cessation of the bomb raids and other military attacks by the USA on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, so that the most elementary prerequisites will be created for restoring peace. We demand the cessation of the U.S. aggression in Vietnam, and respect for the Geneva agreements.

## The Situation in Europe

The influence of the socialist states and of the peace-loving forces which are ready for understanding, in the capitalist states of Europe has grown. The changed balance of forces in favor of socialism—particulary the increased defense power of the Soviet Union and the other states of the Warsaw Treaty—has revealed the hopelessness of the military plans of the American and West German imperialists concerning Europe. The economic and political growth of the socialist countries, as well as the successes of the policy of peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems have stabilized the situation in Europe to a far-reaching extent.

It has been proved—particularly in Europe—that wherever U.S. imperialism is opposed by the united front of the socialist states it does not dare to attack. Rather it is forced to take the principle of peaceful coexistence into consideration.

Under the pressure of all these peace forces stronger trends are developing in favor of relaxation and understanding. In some areas this compels even the aggressive imperialist states to follow somewhat more flexible tactics in foreign policy and diplomacy.

## Global Strategy of the USA Doomed

The strategy of the U.S. government is at present directed towards increasing political, economic and military expansion with regard to those states of Asia, Africa and Latin America which have achieved political freedom and independence.

The global strategy of the USA, as the leading power of the imperialist world system, is aimed, now as before, at preventing the spread of democracy and socialism, which is inevitable and which historical development has made the order of the day, at holding the present positions of world imperialism and regaining lost positions if possible. But this strategy misfires despite temporary local gains.

## Growing Responsibility of the Socialist Countries for the Maintenance of Peace

In the coming years the responsibility of the states of the world socialist system for the maintenance of peace and for the prevention or repulsion of imperialist provocations will grow. The policy of the socialist states towards the imperialist states will take into consideration their more "flexible" tactics and will have to effectively counter their tactics with appropriate measures. As a result of the development of the balance of forces between socialism and

imperialism, prerequisites can mature for the complete or partial solution of some problems through agreements and treaties between the socialist and imperialist states. They could be agreements on the maintenance of peace and the safeguarding of security in Europe and other parts of the world. They could also concern the problem of disarmament, the establishment of atom-free zones, and could perhaps also be agreements between the major military and economic alliances. As is known, the most pressing task on the international agenda is to conclude a treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

## The Washington-Bonn Axis

In view of their strong engagement in Southeast Asia, the West German militarists and the Washington-Bonn axis are no less important for the U.S. imperialists than hitherto. The West German imperialists not only use this to put the USA under pressure and wrest special financial advantages. Above all they are out to secure for themselves the political and economic, and at a given time possibly also the military, support of the USA for their own program of winning hegemony over Western Europe and of pursuing on this basis their policy of expansion to the north, south and east.

In this situation it is evident that the stability and strength of the German Democratic Republic, the German ani-Nazi state, and its consistent policy of understanding and security are vital factors for European peace. The German Democratic Republic is striving for an understanding, it insists on unconditional support for a treaty on the non-proliferation of atomic arms, on the renunciation of nuclear weapons by both German states and on the establishment of an atom-free zone. It also wants to help ensure that no nuclear arms shall be stockpiled on the territories of the two German states.

## The Warsaw Treaty Countries Bent on Safeguarding Peace

In this international situation the foreign policy of the states of the world socialist system united by the Warsaw Treaty will continue to be aimed primarily at safeguarding peace, preventing or defeating imperialist aggression, promoting the democratic development of the peoples and creating the most favorable international conditions for the construction of socialism and communism. The Warsaw Treaty countries are making a special effort to expand to the maximum the relations between the socialist states on the basis of socialist internationalism and mutual advantage.

## Principal Foreign Policy Tasks of the GDR

The foreign policy of the GDR is keeping to the steady course of close, friendly cooperation with the state of the Great October Socialist Revolution and with the other members of the great socialist community of states fraternally linked with us, particularly with the Warsaw Treaty countries.

To promote the political and ideological unity and cooperation of the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties remains a vital task of the policy of our Party and our socialist state. We are happy to be able to state that the vast majority of the socialist countries and of the Communist and Workers' parties carry high the banner of their political and ideological unity and cooperation against all attempts at division and subversion. I am convinced that our joint striving for political and ideological unity will lead to a higher level of cooperation and cohesion of the socialist states and the Communist and Workers' parties on a Marxist-Leninist basis.

## Closer Cooperation of the Warsaw Treaty Countries

To contribute to closer cooperation of the Warsaw Treaty countries is another major task of our foreign plicy. The common ideology of Marxism-Leninism, the joint and consistent striving to safeguard peace, the identity of our security interests, as also our interest in the closest economic cooperation and division of labor link us firmly. We are determined to promote to the utmost the union of the Warsaw Treaty states and the varied bilateral and multi-lateral cooperation with the Soviet Union, People's Poland and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, with the Hungarian People's Republic, the Rumanian Socialist Republic and the People's Republic of Bulgaria. The establishment and maintenance of normal relations with the states of Asia, Africa and Latin America are of paramount importance. It is a general rule that, given mutual interest, the potentialities for establishing economic relations with these countries can be used without hindrance only when state relations have been normalized.

## For Normal Diplomatic Relations with all Capitalist States of Europe

One of the main tasks of our foreign policy during the next few years will be to normalize relations with all European states. In the phase of preparing complete normalization, inter-governmental relations, especially in the fields of trade, economy, science, culture and sports will play a growing role. It will be absolutely necessary to concentrate our means and resources and to act in har-

mony with the other socialist states.

We are prepared to establish normal diplomatic relations with all European countries and to cooperate with them to our mutual benefit. We are convinced that this gradual normalization of relations between all European states is indispensable for European security. The realization of the full international equality of the GDR, the elimination of all discrimination and of the vestiges of the Second World War are also in the interest of peace and European security.

## Foreign Economic Relations of the GDR

The foreign economic relations belong to the keystones of our foreign policy. We shall base our bilateral and multilateral cooperation within the Council of Mutual Economic Aid and the Warsaw Treaty organization on the common interest we have in achieving the highest scientific and technological level. Our efforts are aimed at bringing about a firm and harmonious combination of national interests and tasks with the requirements and interests of the socialist community of states.

For the German Democratic Republic, close and trustful cooperation with the Soviet Union and at the same time with our immediate socialist neighbors, the People's Republic of Poland and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, is of first-rank importance. The cooperation and division of labor with all fraternal socialist states which is making good progress within the farmework of the Council of Mutual Economic Aid and the Warsaw Treaty, releases new large potentials in all fields. Last but not least, the participating states will derive a growing benefit from this cooperation and division of labor, which are becoming ever closer. Needless to say, the German Democratic Republic will continue to develop its manifold relations with the other states of the world socialist system on the basis of socialist internationalism.

## European Securiy—an Urgent Task

According to our assessment of the present situation in Europe, all peoples, without exception, and the governments of the European states—with one exception—are striving for a system of European security. The only government in Europe putting obstacle upon obstacle in the way of the peoples striving for guaranteed security and their governments is the government of the West German Federal Republic. After having split Germany in league with the USA, it is now trying to play off the states of Europe against each other in order to gain predominance over Western Europe. It is the only government in Europe that has set out to change existing

frontiers, and to wipe out or divide other states.

Recognizing the fact that in the long run Bonn is isolating itself by its policy of revenge and predominance the Kiesinger-Strauss government has from the very beginning of its activities talked a great deal about the "new policy" allegedly pursued in the interests of peace and security in Europe. But when one checks the substance of the statements made by representatives of the Kiesinger-Strauss government, including its Social-Democratic ministers, one sees that the Bonn rulers have maintained the old revenge-seeking policy, including the arrogant claim to sole representation.

## Social-Democratic Ministers to Help Remove the Danger of Isolation

The essence of this policy is therefore quite clear. With the help of tactical flexibility to be made plausible primarily by the Social-Democratic ministers because no one would believe it of Herr Strauss, Herr Seebohm or even Herr Kiesinger, the danger of West German isolation is to be removed and at the same time the road to penetration into the socialist countries opened. The Kiesinger-Strauss government still rejects any disarmament. The calculation is that once the West German Federal Republic has come into possession of atomic warheads, the revanchist aims and the whole program of expansion can be tackled by other means, and then the "more flexible" Social-Democratic ministers will hardly be needed any longer.

## Treaties of Friendship for the Good of All Socialist Countries

After the treaty concluded in 1964 with the Soviet Union, we have now concluded similar treaties with the People's Republic of Poland and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

Our treaties with the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia and other socialist countries are, however, not only a protective wall. They also open the way to understanding between the European states. An important component of the struggle of the socialist states for European security is to promote the idea that the incorporation of the GDR in the system of European security on the basis of equality is indispensable and corresponds to the basic peace interests of the European peoples, including the population of the West German Federal Republic.

## Appeal to the Peoples of Western Europe

As the allies of the West German Federal Republic are reluctant —either in the interest of their own security, as is the case with

France and the smaller NATO states or in the interest of maintaining their own military predominance, as is the case with the USA —to give unlimited support to the West German militarists' effort to come into possession of nuclear weapons or to win the right to participating in controlling them, it should be possible to conclude certain treaties and agreements on disarmament.

Non-aggression commitments by all European states towards all other states, including the GDR, plus the recognition of existing frontiers and the status quo would go a considerable way towards safeguarding European security. I want to appeal in this connection to the peoples of the West European states and to their leading statesmen, President de Gaulle, Prime Minister Wilson, President Saragat, President Kekkonen, King Gustav VI of Sweden and the heads of government of the other states to support the efforts to safeguard European security with the participation of all European states, including both German states, and to dissociate themselves in no uncertain terms from the West German politicians who demand frontier changes and deny the status quo in Europe, for their policy is intended to prevent the safeguarding of peace in Europe.

## The Problem of West Berlin

We are in favor of easing the problem of West Berlin and, furthermore, the problem of the other vestiges of the Second World War. We are also prepared to make sacrifices in the interest of peace and security. West Berlin is a special political area and lies on the territory of the German Democratic Republic. Nothing can be changed about that. And under no circumstances will West Berlin ever belong to the West German Federal Republic.

But we are prepared to allow West Berlin by treaty, in agreement with the USSR, to have an independent status as a special political entity. On the basis of appropriate treaties, we are prepared to allow this special political entity of West Berlin to use the transit routes of the GDR. We strive for normal and good relations between the government of the German Democratic Republic and the Senate of West Berlin. We are prepared to cooperate in the economic field and in other fields. A prerequisite, of course, is that West Berlin, which we wish to have good relations with all countries, including West Germany, should not serve the West German imperialists and politicians of revenge as a bridge-head of cold war and subversion against the German Democratic Republic. The GDR is also prepared, in agreement with the Soviet Union, to conclude regular state treaties with the USA, England and France on civilian air traffic to and from West Berlin, using the air space of the GDR, as well as on transport using the railways of the German Democratic Republic.

## Unification of the GDR and an Imperialist West Germany Unrealistic

A unification of the Socialist German Democratic Republic and an imperialist West Germany is natuarlly unrealistic. For the GDR and its free, self-confident citizens there is no return to capitalism, no submission to capitalist servitude and exploitation, no return to medieval social development. A Germany united under the badge of imperialism would, moreover, be a deadly danger for all Germans and all European states. It would also give a strong impetus to neo-colonialism. For all these reasons the further consolidation and universal recognition of the GDR is in the interest of all, including the liberated states of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

In view of the present situation and, furthermore, of the actual situation in Europe, the existence of two German states, one socialist and the other imperialist, to which is added the special political entity of West Berlin, must be expected for an unforseeably long time.

## Democratic Transformation of West Germany Needed

The unification of the German states remains our aim. But it is completely clear to us that this presupposes a democratic transformation of West Germany and that the road there may be long and difficult for West Germany. To settle the German question, discussed in connection with the efforts to guarantee European security, can only mean, now and probably for rather a long time to come, organizing the peaceful existence of the two German states side by side—and the special political entity of West Berlin —lessening tension between the two German states, normalizing their relations on the basis of peaceful coexistence, and applying the principles of the Potsdam Agreement, already realized in the GDR, in the West German Federal Republic as well.

The present situation can be described in general as follows:

On the one hand, the rulers of West Germany, who would like to extend their rule to the GDR, are not in a position to do so. On the other hand, the progressive forces in West Germany are not yet in a position to change the conditions in the Federal Republic in the sense of a fundamental democratic change with due regard to the achievements of the GDR. The all-round consolidation of the GDR will increase the attractive power of the GDR with its socialist system and encourage and strengthen the democratic forces in their struggle against militarism, neo-Nazism and imperialism.

## Proposals for a Peaceful Coexistence of the Two German States

What we propose today as possible and necessary in the relations between the two German states is for the two governments to conclude an agreement establishing normal mutual relations;

The present situation can be described in general as follows:

—to conclude a treaty renouncing the use of force in mutual relations;

—to recognize the frontiers existing in Europe in agreed identical declarations;

—to agree by treaty to reduce their armament expenditures by 50 per cent each.

—to renounce the possession, control, or share in the control of atomic weapons in any form. At the same time they agree and give assurances in identical declarations, issued simultaneously, that they are willing to participate in an atom-free zone in Europe;

—to make efforts for the establishment of normal relations between both German states, on the one hand, and all other European states, on the other, and vice versa.

The Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the German Democratic Republic and the Chancellor of the West German Federal Republic—supported by delegations and vested with proper authority—should meet at a place to be agreed upon to negotiate the first steps on the road to an understanding between the two German states and to conclude appropriate treaties.

## Unity of the German Nation Under the Leadership of the Working Class

I want to reply to all those who are of the opinion that a unification of the two German states could never take place. I would like to answer that clearly and distinctly. The Socialist Unity Party of Germany, we German Marxists and Leninists have never written off the united peaceful and progressive, democratic and anti-imperialist German state and will never do so. On the contrary, what has been blown up by imperialism will be fitted together by the working class of the two German states in close mutual alliance. Before this can happen and to make it possible, the working class of the GDR and the working class of West Germany must unite in common action. However, he who believes in the eternal existence of reaction and the rule of monopoly capital in West Germany has written off the possibility of the creation of a unified German state.

As German socialists and Marxist-Leninists we know that progress, democracy and socialism will not make a detour around West Germany and West Berlin. Thus the time will come sooner

or later when there will be two progressive, anti-Nazi and anti-imperialist German states side by side. And the West German anti-Nazi and anti-imperialist state can only be created under the leadership of the working class.

But once two progressive German states have come to live side by side it should not be long before these two states reach agreement. Then it should not be very long before they are at one on the road to creating a peaceful, anti-imperialist and progressive German state.

That is our answer, the answer of the Seventh Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. Unity of the German nation under the leadership of the imperialists is impossible. But we desire with all our heart unity under the leadership of the working class which in alliance with the peasants and progressive intellectuals will determine the future in both German states.

The unity of the working class of the two German states is also the most elementary prerequisite of safeguarding peace, of the struggle for democracy in West Germany and for the normalization of relations between the two German states. We appeal to all Social Democrats: let us come to an understanding about our common interests and our joint struggle for the democratic power of the working people, for European security, for the relaxation of tension between the two German states.

## West Germany Needs Democracy and Socialism

An analysis of social development in the West German Federal Republic shows unmistakably that with regard to material factors and the achieved level of social development West Germany needs democracy and socialism. The contradictions rending West German society can only be resolved if the working class in alliance with the other working people seizes political power and if the wealth created by the people becomes the property of the people.

West German imperialism, the main source of trouble in Europe, breeds expansionism, aggression and the danger of war by striving for profit and power. The greater the concentration of capital and the more closely the monopolies intertwine with the reactionary government apparatus, the more ruthlessly the remnants of bourgeois democracy are eliminated. State-monopoly capital and democracy are mutually exclusive.

All these facts testify to the historic outdatedness of the rule of the class of monopoly capitalists and the necessity of replacing this system with socialism. The GDR is a living proof that the monopoly capitalist exploiter is superfluous and that the workng people can shape their destinies themselves and in a far better way.

## IMPORTANT PROBLEMS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

REPORT BY WILLI STOPH

As a result of the implementation of the decisions of the 6th Party Congress and the introduction of the new economic management and planning system, the GDR has grown stronger, the national wealth has increased, economic development has accelerated, the national income has been growing faster, and the living standard of the working people has risen.

All this is due to the conscious effort of our socialist community. A major contribution to the achievement of these positive results for the socialist society and for every citizen has been made by the parties and public organizations united in the National Front, particularly the trade unions.

All our efforts are aimed at further developing our workers' and peasants' state politically, economically and militarily, at making the moral and political unity of our people even more effective. Good reliable friends who, like us, are putting into practice the great ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin, stand firmly at our side. Faithful to the principles of proletarian internationalism, we shall go on strengthening the fraternal ties and friendly cooperation with the Soviet Union, which leads all other peoples in building communism, and with the other socialist countries and our class brothers throughout the world. The Vietnamese people who are valiantly resisting the brutal U.S. aggression have our deep sympathy and full support.

### The Tasks of the National Economy up to 1970

Planned, proportionate development of the national economy, the building of the socialist economic system is decisive for the future of our peace-loving socialist state. After this Party Congress the long-term plan for the period up to 1970 will be finalized and submitted to the People's Chamber.

A considerable growth of the national economy is planned for the coming years. In 1970 the national income is to be 28 to 32 per cent higher than in 1965. The decisive prerequisite for this is the slated rise of labor productivity in industry by 40 to 45 per cent, in building by 40 to 45 per cent, and in agriculture by 30 to 35 per cent. This poses the task of utilizing investments primarily for complex socialist rationalization, to be combined with the most effective use of the available fixed assets.

In 1970 investments will grow by 48 to 52 per cent compared with 1965, which necessitates an increase in building of at least 40 per cent. Industrial production is to go up by 37 to 40 per cent.

Preference will be given to those commodities and lines of output, enterprises and branches which are especially important for carrying out the scientific and technological revolution and for raising the efficiency of the national economy. In keeping with prognostic estimates, we are concentrating efforts and resources on the production of commodities which can stand competition on the world market and bring in foreign currency, and also on modern means of rationalization.

In agriculture, the increase in the output of livestock products and crops is to be such as to ensure to a considerable extent the supply of the population with foodstuffs from our own sources. The production of marketable livestock produce is to grow by 20 to 25 per cent.

Foreign trade will increase considerably to reach 33,000-35,000 million marks. The economic contacts with the socialist countries, specifically with the USSR, are decisive for the all-round and steady growth of our economy. The economic, scientific and technical cooperation, the exchange of goods are to be systematically expanded and deepened. On the basis of long-term treaties and other agreements, the exchange of goods with the USSR will grow by 45 to 50 per cent.

The long-term plan will contain the chief tasks and structure-determining stipulations. It has to be constantly perfected in step with the continuous growth of knowledge.

The task of the various state bodies and enterprises is to specify the long-term plan proceeding from the preliminary estimates and above all from the decisions of the 7th Party Congress. In this connection it is necessary to discuss thoroughly once again the rationalization plans with the working people, and to improve them. The task before us is that of conscious and planned utilization of the economic laws of socialism and thereby of the possibilities for constantly increasing labor productivity and profitability in all branches of the national economy.

The all-round consolidation of our socialist state, in which the working. class—the leading force of the people—in alliance with the cooperative peasantry, the intelligentsia and the other strata of the working people exercises political power, depends in no small measure on the strengthening of the economy. In implementing economic tasks we rely on the valuable knowledge gained in the process of socialist construction in our country as well as on the rich experience of the USSR and the other socialist countries.

The progress of the socialist society, the further improvement in the living standard of our people depend on the effectiveness of the national economy, on its scientific planning and manage-

ment, its structure and rate of growth. Therefore the planning and organizing work of the state officials and economic executives should be aimed at ensuring consistent fulfilment of the long-term plan and annual plans. The successes will be all the greater the better we are able to generalize and utilize the best achievements and the best experience of the activists and innovators, of those socialist working communities and research teams which set the pace.

The state and economic organs bear great responsibility for the realization of the economic goals laid down by the Party. They are to make the necessary changes in research activity, technology and the economy, to organize creative work and stimulate the intellectual endeavor of the millions of working people.

In building up the socialist economic system we proceed from the proposition that only complex utilization of the economic laws of socialism guarantees high economic efficiency. After the 6th Congress, with the participation of thousands of scientists and experienced practical workers, a great deal of creative work was done to prepare the necessary estimates and basic prerequisites for a better utilization of the economic laws. All our measures are based on Marxist-Leninist theory and the experience of the best workers. We creatively apply the scientific teachings of the great founder of the Soviet state, Vladimir Lenin, whose 97th birthday anniversary we shall mark this year. His fundamental works on scientific management, the economic and organizational tasks of the socialist state, the decisive importance of labor productivity, economic cost accounting and control, the guidance of science and technology, as well as organization of labor and labor discipline, are of great topical importance for us.

Proceeding from Lenin's counsel regarding the motive forces of development of socialist society, it is necessary to achieve harmony between personal and collective interests and the interests of the whole society. This demands of leading state functionaries and economic executives scientific foresight and precise analysis, for this harmony must be constantly brought in line with the dynamics of development of the modern productive forces and socialist relations of production.

The methods of planning and management employed up to now are no longer adequate for running the economy efficiently and for carrying out the scientific and technological revolution. Knowledge accumulates at a much faster rate than before, and science increasingly is becoming a productive force. There are many examples to show that the complicated processes taking place in the economy, science and technology cannot be planned and managed with the help of old, traditional means and methods.

We must study the economic interconnections in order to understand and utilize the inherent laws of development. Therefore it is also necessary thoroughly to study and apply the latest achievements in cybernetics, the theory of information, maintenance and modelling, and other specified fields of science.

## On Forecasting and Structure Policy

High demands are made of structure policy in view of the present dynamics of the productive forces and the increasing interaction of science and production. There is the need for the most rational utilization of the available manpower and material resources and systematic organization of the international division of labor with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

Proceeding from forecasts and applying economical-mathematical models and methods and modern computer technology, it is necessary to make calculations with variants for separate as well as interconnected sectors as well as for the economy as a whole and on this basis to lay down perspective structural decisions economically purposeful and expedient with regard to effectiveness and proportions.

## On Cooperation

Of extraordinary importance is effective contractual cooperation. Further development of cooperative relations is objectively conditioned by the constantly growing social division of labor in the economy. The good examples in the organization of cooperation chains, societies and associations show the way to more effective cooperation relations between the branches and in the branches.

Socialist cooperation develops not only through the correct coordination of production tasks and the appropriate arrangement of economic contracts. It requires a high sense of responsibility and discipline and mutual understanding of all partners, which make it possible to utilize the existing reserves and ensure smooth production.

With the further development of cooperation with the USSR, Poland, Czechoslovakia and other socialist countries, strict fulfilment of export orders becomes increasingly important. Consistent fulfilment of cooperation commitments must become a principle of the economic activity of every enterprise and association.

At the same time we are faced with the necessity of narrowing down the range of items put out in order to attain greater serial or quantity production through the use of highly effective production processes and modern forms of organization of production.

In keeping with the agreements that have been concluded, much fuller use must be made of the possibilities of specialization and cooperation with the USSR and the other socialist countries.

## Scientific and Technological Development

The constantly growing scientific knowledge, the greater possibilities for its utilization and the outdating of products and methods which becomes apparent in ever shorter periods of time demand prompt application of new achievements and hence the maximum effectiveness of the scientific and technological potential. This goal cannot be reached without unconditional concentration of research and development capacities on tasks which greatly benefit the economy and guarantee good sales possibilities on the world market.

The key problem of our scientific and technological work is to create the necessary designs in advance of production. The research and development capacities must therefore be used first of all for the solution of tasks essential for the quick growth of output and labor productivity. This applies above all to the development of new work methods and technologies. In working out further details of the long-term plan guidance should be taken from the corresponding scientifically-grounded estimates. Owing to the concentration of research capacities the GDR can contribute more fruitfully to expanding the knowledge of laws and interconnections in nature.

A drastic increase in the effectiveness of the research and development potential can be achieved through intensifying industrial research. The research capacities in industry must be maximally concentrated on the economically most important tasks. It is primarily this sphere that must provide impulses to creating the scientific base for the manufacture of world-marketable products and to introducing highly efficient work methods and technologies.

Deep-going social changes have taken place in the course of socialist construction. For instance, characteristic traits of collective socialist labor and genuine socialist consciousness are more and more coming to the fore. Creation of a new type of social organization of labor and implementation of conscious socialist discipline was regarded by Lenin as a fundamental, most difficult but also one of the most thankful tasks of the entire socialist transformation. In the pre-Congress period innumerable examples testified to the creative initiative of our working people in all branches of the national economy.

It is an expression of the new social relations and socialist work-

er's dignity that more and more workers feel responsible for the development of the entire society and act accordingly. At the same time, the tasks arising from the new economic planning and management system and from the scientific and technological revolution demand of all workers a higher qualification, joint analysis of problems and tasks, and a sense of discipline and responsibility. The responsibility of every individual worker grows as the economy is equipped with more and more modern means of production.

## Working and Living Conditions

To produce more, better and cheaper with a high labor productivity is, as is well known, a prerequisite for the further development of the living standard of the working people. The need to raise labor productivity is underlined by the existing situation with regard to manpower. There has been no manpower reserve in the last eight years, and none will be available in the near future.

In this connection I want to comment on Walter Ulbricht's proposal on the introduction, as from September this year, of a five-day week, with the resulting reduction in working time of 1.5 to 2 hours a week. To ensure continuous and rhythmic production during all weeks of the year with a shorter working week, a number of holidays will no longer be work-free days. This new arrangement as well as the raising of the minimum wage, pensions, allowances to families with four or more children and the extension of the minimum vacation to 15 days show that the Party and government continue to pursue the policy of raising the living standard of the people. Thus we are putting into effect, as far as the economic strength of the GDR allows, many of the proposals made during the preparation of the 7th Congress.

A few words on the principles of socialist economic management. It has been demonstrated that the working class freed from capitalist exploitation and suppression learns to manage the state and the economy very well. But at the new stage we want to advance still faster. Therefore the economic executives and staff members of state and economic organs must learn how to run the socialist economy even better.

To manage the economy the socialist way means, under all circumstances:

—to achieve the highest social benefit with the lowest expenditure;

—to put to full use the advantages of the socialist system through planned scientific management of the process of reproduction;

—by applying the latest achievements of science and technology

and the latest experience, to reach world standards in quality and cost for the main lines of output;

—to promote in every way the initiative of the working people in order constantly to increase the wealth of the state and raise the standard of living of the people.

The optimal utilization of the fixed assets and consistent pursuit of a far-sighted investment policy aimed at attaining the best economic result are of great importance for increasing the efficiency of the national economy. At present our state possesses fixed assets worth about 400,000 million marks, with approximately two-thirds of these falling to the share of industry, building, agriculture and forestry, transportation, post and telecommunication services, trade and water distribution. A one per cent increase in the effectiveness of the fixed assets in the socialist industry alone would boost commodity production by about 1,000 million marks.

The quality of maintenance and rational organization of transportation substantially contribute to raising the efficiency and profitability of the fixed assets. It has been estimated that standard loading units and suitable packing combined with corresponding changes in storage and machine handling will cut the time spent on transportation in the distributive system by about 75 per cent.

Work in the publicly-owned enterprises demands our whole attention. These enterprises shoulder great social and economic responsibility. Great material values are produced here every day by the millions of people working in them. The implementation of our plans depends ultimately on the diligence, initiative and discipline of the workers and office employees, engineers, technicians and enterprise managers. In our administrative work we must constantly bear in mind that the enterprise is the chief testing ground for the development of the socialist economic system, and that in the last analysis the correctness of decisions taken by state and economic organs is verified there.

Effective cooperation is decisive to the economic operation of an enterprise. More than hitherto cooperation relations should be extended to joint prognosis-making, the elaboration of long-term tasks, the carrying out of research and development tasks, joint rationalization measures, and the making of the necessary investments. This calls for long-term contracts.

At this Congress we have determined the historical tasks in the further development of the socialist society in the GDR. This corresponds to the high responsibility of our Party as the leading force in the first German workers' and peasants' state. United and confident in the victory of our socialist cause, and relying on the big advance made in the past years, in this new period of our so-

cial life we shall make new strides forward in the economy, science and technology.

The responsible thinking and acting of the millions of workers, farmers, engineers, scientists and other working people, and the mobilization of their creative abilities are decisive for completing socialist construction. Drawing all citizens into the implementation of the social tasks is a prime duty of every state official and economic executive, who must manifest his abilities as leader of a socialist collective and not merely administrator of things.

We have a clear-cut aim—socialism, and we know the road leading to it. Let us pool all efforts to strengthen still more our economic potential and thus enhance the political power of attraction of our socialist state—despite all attempts at sabotage by the enemy—so that it can live up to its historic responsibility in safeguarding peace and European security. In this we have the support of our loyal and reliable friends.

We are closely united with the CPSU and the peoples of the Soviet Union who are scoring ever bigger successes as they approach the historic 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. We maintain increasingly fruitful fraternal relations with the other socialist countries which are also working hard for lasting peace and the victory of socialism.

## STERENGTHENING THE WORLD SOCIALIST SYSTEM AND THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT: A SUPREME INTERNATIONAL DUTY OF THE SUPG

### REPORT BY ERICH HONECKER, MEMBER OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU AND SECRETARY OF THE CC, SUPG

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany sees its supreme international duty, now as in the past, in consolidating the world socialist system—the main revolutionary force of our time—and in strengthening the Communist and Workers' parties.

Loyal to the international character of the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin, the SUPG carries forward its policy in accordance with the general line of the world Communist movement laid down in the Moscow statements of 1957 and 1960. Our Party is a solid and inseparable component of the world Communist movement, which is the most influential political force of modern times. At this congress of the Party it is not only to the Party membership and the people of the German Democratic Republic that the Central Committee is submitting its report. It is also reporting to the international working-class and national liberation movement. By

building socialism in the GDR and consolidating the German worker-peasant state, we are making our most important contribution to the power of the socialist community, helping considerably to enhance and extend the influence of socialism in the world.

We regard it as a pressing requirement to strive for closer unity of the world socialist system, for the cohesion and united action of the world Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, for greater proletarian internationalism. Our Party will steadfastly foster relations and all-round cooperation with the CPSU and the other brother parties. This will help to solve common problems of building socialism and communism and to promote the common fight against imperialism and neo-colonialism. Our Party strengthens the bonds of friendship with the national democratic parties of Asian and African countries. It shows solidarity for all peoples seeking national and social freedom, and strives to help extend the world-wide front of the democratic, anti-imperialist forces.

The world Communist movement in recent years has registered a substantial growth in numbers. It has gained in militancy and influence by implementing the general line adopted in Moscow in 1957 and 1960, a line confirmed by developments. Since 1960 the membership of the movement has increased by 14 million and the number of brother parties has risen to 88.

World developments since the Sixth Congress of the Party have shown that the socialist world system is the most reliable supporter of the peoples striving for peace, national liberation, democracy and socialism. The fact that the socialist countries and the national-liberation movement are on the whole making progress and that world peace is being maintained is due, first of all, to the growth of the economic, political and military might of the socialist commonwealth of nations. This development is promoted in decisive measure by the immense successes which the peoples of the Soviet Union are scoring as they build communism under the leadership of their Leninist party, the CPSU.

The 23rd Congress of the CPSU demonstrated the consistency of the policy of the CPSU and its fidelity to principle, as has been shown most convincingly since the October 1964 meeting of its Central Committee. The Leninist policy line of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU is a guarantee that the Soviet Union will fulfil its far-reaching Eighth Five-Year Plan and make further progress in the fight against imperialism, for peace. The 23rd Congress of the CPSU convinced us still more that the balance of world forces will continue to change in favor of peace and socialism.

The main feature of the development of the world socialist system is that its economic power has grown substantially, the socialist system has been perfected still further, and friendship and cooperation between the socialist countries have become closer. This

is the important thing in the great socialist community of our peoples and states. It heightens their international prestige and their influence on the destiny of mankind.

The Communist and Workers' parties have won greater influence in the capitalist countries as well. Upholding Marxism-Leninism and applying it in a creative spirit, they are marching in the van of the great class and popular struggles against the intensifying dictatorship of state-monopoly capitalism, against increased exploitation and oppression, against the policy of armament and war pursued by the ruling circles.

Speaking of the national-liberation movement, it is fair to say that the policy of the Marxist-Leninist parties has contributed to the strength of the alliance of the socialist countries and the national-liberation movement. The order of the day in the developing countries is to establish a modern national economy and a just social system. These objectives can be attained only by democratic, non-capitalist methods.

In many countries the brother parties, operating in the trying conditions of illegality, show themselves to be the staunchest and most courageous champions of national interests. From the rostrum of this Congress we insist on abolishing the ban on the Communist Party of Germany, that courageous champion of peace, democracy and socialism in the West German Federal Republic. We protest most emphatically against the persecution and imprisonment of our comrades in West Germany, Spain and Portugal, in Greece and Turkey, in Venezuela and Colombia, and in other countries. We reaffirm our solidarity with the Indonesian Communists.

The Mao Tse-tung group's adventurist policy of great-power chauvinism has created serious difficulties for the socialist world system and the entire anti-imperialist movement and has aroused deep concern. This policy has caused setbacks in some sectors of the world revolutionary movement. The disruptive activity of the Mao group has enabled the U.S. imperialists to carry their campaign aimed at crushing the national-liberation movement to the point of military escalation in Vietnam, of barbarous acts of aggression against a socialist state, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

Those Chinese leaders who are forcing the People's Republic of China onto the road of enmity with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are objectively playing into the hands of the imperialist aggressors.

The fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties must take an explicit and principled stand against the harmful policy of the dominant group in the leadership of the Communist Party of China, a policy that has nothing to do with Marxism-Leninism and serves nationalist and hegemonist aspirations.

Deep distrust of the strength of the working class, the pressure of petty-bourgeois elements in the Communist Party and in its leadership, the cult of Mao's personality carried to extremes, the lack of inner-Party democracy, the introduction of military-administration methods in the Party, the state, the economy and throughout public life, and above all nationalism have led to the renunciation of Marxism-Leninism and the general line collectively agreed by the brother parties. The history of the international working-class movement tells us that nationalism has been, and still is, a dangerous source of deviations from Marxism-Leninism. Nationalism is poison for the working class, for any revolutionary movement. We see its tragic effects in a concentrated form in today's policy of the Mao group.

The instance of the Mao group bears out Lenin's warning that nationalism becomes the greatest danger for a party when that party underrates the need to turn the dictatorship of the proletariat from a national into an international factor and overemphasizes the national peculiarities of its struggle. Mao Tse-tung and his followers have isolated the Communist Party and China itself. We share the brother parties' serious concern about the fate of the Communist Party of China and the cause of socialism in that country. We have sympathized and continue to sympathize with the Chinese Communists. Our Party will aways uphold its solidarity with them and its friendship with the great Chinese people.

Typical of the world Communist movement and decisive for the course of international development are the great achievements of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, the increasingly resolute fight of the masses in the capitalist countries and the gains of the revolutionary national-liberation movement. Typical of our time is the effort of the Communist and Workers' parties to strengthen their ranks on Marxist-Leninist lines. Our Party has always done, and will always do, its utmost to contribute to this process of consolidation of the world Communist movement.

The Communist movement is profoundly internationalist by its very nature. The Communist and Workers' parties are united by a common class point of view. Our unity is based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, on the brother parties' political and ideological concord in accomplishing common tasks, on agreement as to objectives, the more important means of achieving them, and tactical principles. This concord necessitates regular meetings and conferences of the brother parties and makes them a normal practice.

It is particularly important to strengthen the unity and cohesion of the world Communist movement because the responsibility of the Communist and Workers' parties for the fortunes of mankind has never been as high as today. The world Communist movement,

being a truly universal force, can exert a decisive influence on world developments. However, the danger threatening mankind owing to the U.S. and West German imperialists' policy of aggression is, for its part, greater than ever before.

In view of this situation, our Party considers that an international meeting of Communist and Workers' parties should be prepared and convened. It reaffirms its point of view to the effect that the growing aggressiveness of the U.S. and West German imperialists imperatively demands a higher degree of cooperation and joint action by the Communist and Workers' parties. The Communist and Workers' parties that are continuing the policy line developed at the 1957 and 1960 meetings should take a stand on new phenomena and new pressing problems and collectively formulate their view on fundamental issues. This is why we consider a world Communist meeting necessary.

The general line of the world Communist movement, which should take into account and encompass the whole of international development and the totality of the revolutionary processes going on in the world, cannot be worked out by one party. This task can only be accomplished by all brother parties cooperating. Each Marxist-Leninist party has a right and, what is more, is in duty bound to take part in collectively formulating Marxist-Leninist strategy and tactics and in carrying them forward in creative fashion.

The fact that numerous countries have set out to build socialism, that the peoples of Asia and Africa have joined in the liberation movement against imperialism, and that the working class and other working people are rallying against state-monopoly capitalism has given rise to a multitude of peculiarities and distinctions in the conditions in which the Marxist-Leninist parties are carrying on their struggle. Each brother party must assess the situation and the tasks facing it in its own country on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and must draw appropriate conclusions for its actual policies, its strategy and tactics. It is fully responsible for this to the working class and the people of its country.

Furthermore, each Party is answerable to the world Communist movement, for the evolution of the working-class movement in every country, the policy of every party as well as its achievements and difficulties affect the interests of the entire world Communist movement. No party exists by itself. Marxism-Leninism is the treasure-house of the collective experience of the world Communist movement to which each party contributes its creative share. Comradely exchange of experience and utilization of the collective experience of brother parties are of invaluable help to every Communist Party, specifically in avoiding mistakes and biassed estimations.

We therefore declare for closer unity of our movement because we in the GDR, at the boundary line between the two opposing world systems, are particularly aware of the effects of the strengthening or weakening of world Communist unity. We are not facing West German imperialism alone. Our Party and our republic are daily confronted by the policies of the imperialist powers, particularly of the United States and West Germany. This puts an especial international responsibility on us.

We do not divide the world Communist movement into leading parties and parties that are led. But Communists all over the world know that history has assigned Lenin's party, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the role of pioneer of human progress, of vanguard of the international movement.

The CPSU is the first party to have led the workers and peasants of a country to victory over capitalism and imperialism, and hence to have brought about a turn in man's history towards socialism. It is the first to have built a socialist society in the face of formidable difficulties. During the Great Patriotic War the CPSU led the Soviet people to victory over the strongest war machine of imperialism. These historic achievements alone are adequate proof of the outstanding role of the CPSU in the world Communist movement.

However, it is now a question of something much more. With the provision of the material and technical base of communism, the pioneering role of the Soviet Union is increasing, as is only logical. Today the Soviet people are moulding, ever more convincingly and edifyingly, the image of a new, communist society for all peoples on a new basis, using the potentialities of a mighty socialist industrial power.

The Soviet Union is, now as in the past, the country having the world's most progressive social system. Now as before, it is the impregnable bulwark of all forces fighting for national liberation and social progress. Mankind owes it to the existence of the Soviet Union that it can now look forward, not to destruction in a nuclear war, but to life under socialism and communism, in conditions of peace, democracy and national independence. That is why the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution is a holiday, not only for the peoples of the Soviet Union, but for working men and women throughout the world. And that is why friendship with the Soviet Union *today* is the most important yardstick and touchstone of proletarian internationalism. History tells us that anti-communist policy and hostility toward the Soviet Union are the greatest crime against one's own nation. It tells us that solid, unbreakable friendship with the Soviet Union fully meets the vital interests of our nation.

Our Party has always regarded it as a paramount task to promote militant unity with the CPSU. We state with satisfaction and pride

that our two parties, linked by fraternal bonds, are completely at one on all political and ideological issues. Our Party will continue to do all in its power to safeguard this unity as the apple of its eye. Our Party is loyal to the banner of proletarian internationalism. It will honorably acquit itself of its sacred duty as a contingent of the world Communist movement.

Now that the Right Social-Democratic leaders in West Germany have deserted completely to an imperialist regime and serve monopoly capital as ministers in the Kiesinger-Strauss cabinet, it is appropriate to recall a recent lesson of the history of the German labor movement. I mean the time when an anti-fascist democratic system was established in what was the Soviet occupation zone. In those days Kurt Schumacher, Chairman of the Social-Democratic Party in the Western zones, showed that he did not trust the working class. He therefore entered into a traitorous alliance with Adenauer, a spokesman of the big bourgeoisie. He split the working class under cover of "socialism as the order of the day." It was done by the same method as Social-Democratic ministers used in 1918.

What became of Schumacher's "socialism as the order of the day" in West Germany? Finance capital with its reckless exploitation of the working people is again in the saddle there. Besides, this capital and its representatives in the government, the state and the armed forces are committed to a particularly dangerous policy of revenge that jeopardizes peace all over Europe.

We took a different road. We did not prate about socialism when there were no prerequisites for it yet. We did not mislead people, unlike Schumacher or his present-day followers, the Right Social-Democratic leaders who render services to the German imperialists. Realizing our responsibility to our people and the international working-class movement, we first uprooted Nazism and established an anti-fascist, democratic system, genuine democracy for the people, and then proceeded to lay the groundwork for socialism step by step. With us socialism is not a slogan but a living reality. When we say "socialism" we mean socialism and act accordingly.

The German imperialists, their ideologues and Social-Democratic underlings have always turned their fire on the Marxist party of the working class because this party is a source of moral and material strength necessary for replacing a system of exploitation by a society in which everything created by the people belongs to the people. Is it surprising, then, that the enemies of the GDR today concentrate their fire on the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, on its Central Committee, and particularly on Comrade Walter Ulbricht? Not at all. Indeed, it would be unfortunate for the working

class if spokesmen of militarist capital had reason to praise us, as they now praise West German Social-Democratic leaders on their policy of unity with the leaders of the CDU-CSU. We represent the interests of the working class and other working people. We are carrying socialism in the GDR onwards, to complete victory, setting an example for the whole of Germany. This is why the capitalist exploiters hate our Party. This is why there is so much hostility and slander, and why ample use is made of half-educated "theoreticians" posing as "modern Marxists."

Our Party embodies the lessons of the history of the labor movement and of decades-long class struggles. Led by our Party, its Central Committee and its First Secretary, Comrade Walter Ulbricht, the working class of the German Democratic Republic will honorably fulfil the task set for it by history.

## MANIFESTO*
## TO THE CITIZENS OF THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

The solid foundations of the socialist edifice in our Republic have been laid. The task now is to build this socialist house and to finish it. Proceeding from what has already been achieved, from the citizens' love of their socialist fatherland, from their creativity, their sense of responsibilty to state and society, and the achievements of Marxist-Leninist science, the Seventh Congress of the SUPG has set a task of historic significance: *the formation of the developed social system of socialism in the German Democratic Republic.*

The developed socialist society is characterized by the further strengthening and perfection of our socialist state order. Socialist democracy reaches a high degree of maturity. The management of the state, the economy and other fields of public life meets the citizens' growing need to take part in the shaping of socialist relations.

The developed socialist society makes the economic system of socialism fully effective in the conditions of the scientific and technological revolution. This economic system is the core of socialist society. It makes it possible to comprehensively utilize the advantages of socialism for the good of the people. It combines central state planning and management of the decisive social processes with a keen sense of responsibility on the part of the socialist indus-

*Abridged.

trial enterprises and associations of nationally-owned enterprises, with a keen sense of responsibility on the part of the local people's representative bodies and government agencies, with vast initiative by the people. Thus the historic superiority of our progressive social system over capitalism is proved still more convincingly.

The developed socialist society will be characterized by an agriculture organized according to scientific achievements and by industrial methods and distinguished for high soil fertility and stable yields.

The developed socialist society requires a high scientific and humanist education of its citizens. To work well, to study constantly, to develop one's personality and to participate competently in the management of public affairs is to be the aspiration of the members of this society.

The developed socialist society is imbued with the ideas of socialism, democracy and peace. It is inspired by friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, by peaceful relations with all peoples. The socialist thoughts and deeds of the working people in production, science and culture, their socialist work methods in every walk of life will lead our society to its full blossoming.

The developed socialist society needs everyone's preparedness to jointly protect what has been jointly created. It needs a national defense in keeping with the latest achievements of science and technology.

The developed socialist society, our great goal, requires creative ideas and energetic action. This humanist task is worth the struggle for the new.

The Seventh Party Congress therefore appeals to the people of the German Democratic Republic,

—to the working class experienced in the management of the socialist state and of production,

—to the class of cooperative farmers, who have proved themselves to be skilful masters of socialist agricultural production,

—to the scientists, artists and other intellectuals, whose humanist accomplishments serve the people,

—to the craftsmen and tradesmen, who have diligently done much for the good of the people,

—to women, who give evidence of their talent and ability in every sphere of the life of our Republic,

—to our youth, who are eager for knowledge and action as they shape their future under socialism.

The developed socialist society can only evolve from the collective work of all of us. We urge everyone to be equal to the scientific and technological revolution, to acquire a higher education, and to enrich himself with the treasures of culture. These are

demands which life makes on every citizen of our country.

Whoever wants to shape the future must have great foresight. The decisions of our Seventh Party Congress are permeated by this spirit. With Marxist-Leninist discernment they are planning a scientifically grounded and rousing socialist future for the German Democratic Republic. Our economy is to grow substantially by 1980. We are confronted with the task of planning the national economic structure in such a way as to ensure that science and production meet the requirements of the future.

To master socialist economic management will mean in the years ahead using steadily growing scientific and technological knowledge in the natural and economic conditions of our country and together with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries in such a way as to guarantee in the long run a steady high growth of the national income.

We have successfully tackled this great task. But what we have achieved is only a beginning in comparison with the requirements of the scientific and technological revolution. The decisive tasks are automation, mechanization and all-round rationalization of many processes of production and management, the extensive application of electronic computing and cybernetics, the growing chemicalization of the national economy, the introduction of new and highly resistant materials and the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes.

In ever larger areas of the economy, labor is to be conditioned by the achievements of modern science. It is to become physically easier and mentally more exacting. In the years from 1975 to 1980 there will be as many people working in the field of computing as there are today in the whole coal industry. However, the means for the introduction of new science and technology in our enterprises must be accumulated at each work place by our own labor. The new science and technology demand high competence and their judicious application requires the experiecne and careful consideration of everyone. This is the road to economic development which lies before us and which we must follow.

★ ★ ★

The Seventh Party Congress has set high aims. All of us are filled with joy and confidence because the world of tomorrow is becoming reality in our socialist fatherland, for it is here that there began, as it says in our Party Program, the era of peace and social security, human dignity and brotherhood, liberty and justice, humanity and joy of life. In the process of building the advanced socialist society, the program adopted at the Sixth Party Congress is being realized.

We all must now thoroughly think over the ideas, proposals and decisions of the Seventh Party Congress. It is the task of every one to help implement our far-reaching plans by showing initiative and by cooperating in a creative spirit. The motive force and at the same time the superiority of our socialist system lies in the fact that the interests of society accord with the personal interests of the citizens. What the individual does for society he is also doing for himself.

It is not surprising that we are proud of our socialist achievements and that everything links us to our German Democratic Republic.

We are ahead of imperialist West Germany by a whole era of social development. There the condition of the working people is characterized by social insecurity and uncertainty about the future. Under the deceptively shining surface of lacquer and chrome, the past still prevails over the present.

Here, however, the present has long prevailed over the past: Not imperialist expansion but the inspiring ideas and the humanist deeds of socialism. Not aggressive Great German self-glorification but love of the people and friendship with all peoples—that is our German contribution to security in Europe, to the world of tomorrow. It is not surprising that nothing links us to the imperialist state of social injustice, of militarism and neo-Nazism, of threat to peace, democracy and the happiness of the people.

However development in West Germany may shape, we shall go our good socialist way, unswervingly, with a clear goal and consistently, in firm alliance with the Soviet Union and all socialist countries. We shall complete the building of socialism on German soil, in the homeland of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. Thereby we shall also set a great example for the workers, farmers, intellectuals and other peace-loving people in the West German state. We shall show what Germans can do when they are guided by the spirit of peace and the world-transforming ideas of socialism.

Socialism will win throughout the world. We are convinced that in West Germany, too, the workers in alliance with all working classes and sections of the population will one day overcome imperialism. They, too, will travel the road to democracy and finally build socialism. This is the only way in which the unification of the two German states can eventually be achieved. To contribute to this great task, the German workers must win power. What imperialism has torn asunder the working class of the two German states in close alliance will reunite. The imperialists have split Germany. The working class of the two German states will reunify it.

We know that this process will take a long time. But normal and hence reasonable relations between the two German states and their governments, mutual recognition and complete equality are

an urgent necessity of today and should be possible in the interest of peace. We have shown over a period of two decades that we are ready to do all we can to this end. The governments of West Germany have always replied with intensified revanchism, the claim to exclusive representation, and increased hostility to the German Democratic Republic. Now even social-democratic ministers are participating as helpers in this dangerous CDU-CSU policy. It is for the West Germans to finally force on Bonn a government policy which will make it possible to establish relations of peaceful coexistence between the two German states. It is for the West Berliners to win a Senate policy making normal and mutually useful relations possible between the German Democratic Republic and the special political entity of West Berlin.

Only such a development can bring a real relaxation of tensions, lead to disarmament and benefit the interests of European security.

We have a goal before us—the developed socialist society.

We know the road to this goal—our own creative effort.

We have an unfailing compass—our Marxist-Leninist world outlook.

We have the conviction, the strength and the enthusiasm to travel this road.

Long live the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the foremost champion of freedom, democracy and socialism!

Forward together to the achievement of socialism! The people are with us and victory will be ours.

Everything for the German Democratic Republic, our socialist homeland!

## DECLARATION*
## AGAINST U.S. AGGRESSION IN VIETNAM

Filled with abhorrence and anger, the Seventh Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany condemns the barbarous war of aggression of the U.S. imperialists in Vietnam. With every passing day the crimes are becoming more monstrous and the brutality more ruthless, and the war is being expanded and intensified.

By using a vast military potential the most aggressive and predatory imperialist power of the world is trying to bring the people of Vietnam, who are waging a heroic fight for their liberty and independence, under the yoke of the U.S. monopolies.

The inhuman war of extermination against the population of

*Abridged.

South Vietnam and the barbarous bombing and shelling of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam show U.S. imperialism as the main citadel of aggression and neo-colonialism, as the world center of social, national and racial oppression.

The U.S. aggression against Vietnam is a dangerous firebrand in the hands of the imperialists. The U.S. imperialists are unscrupulous in expanding their attacks and provocations to the territories of other peace-loving countries of Southeast Asia. Thus peace in this part of the world is being increasingly undermined and, what is more, the steady expansion of the war in Southeast Asia is worsening and aggravating the international situation and endangering world peace.

The crimes of the USA against the people of Vietnam encourage the West German imperialists and militarists in their dangerous bid for supremacy and revenge in Europe. German imperialism, burdened with the curse of two world wars, actively supports the criminal war which its Washington axis-partner is waging against the Vietnamese people.

It is a crying infamy that the Kiesinger-Strauss government, directly supported by Social-Democratic ministers, participates in the U.S. imperialists' dirty war in Vietnam in word and deed, with money and goods, with arms and personnel. The American invasion of Vietnam serves as a model and experimental field for the West German arms monopolists and the forward strategists of the Bundeswehr who have created the Kiesinger-Strauss government as a tool of intensified expansionist policy.

The active participation of the West German imperialists in the U.S. aggression in Vietnam is an especially strong proof of the existence of a plot between Bonn and Washington and of their conspiratorial actions against peace, democracy and national independence in Asia, Africa and Europe. The struggle to end the American colonial war in Vietnam is at the same time a component of the struggle for peace and security on our continent.

The Seventh Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany sends the people of Vietnam, who are carrying on a heroic struggle, its warmest greetings expressing solidarity. Honor and glory to our courageous and staunch brothers and sisters in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and to the brave patriots of the Liberation Front of South Vietnam. We delegates to the Seventh Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany declare the firm and unbreakable unity of the SUPG and the people of the GDR with the Party of the Working People of Vietnam, with the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam and the whole Vietnamese people.

We especially thank the Central Committee of the CPSU, the Soviet government and the entire Soviet people, who spare no sacrifice or effort and do everything in their power to ensure the

Vietnamese people the necessary material, military and political help in their just struggle against the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys. This exemplary help, inspired by socialist internationalism, contributes in decisive measure to the failure of the war plans of the U.S. military camarilla in Vietnam.

Together with the Soviet Union and other socialist brother countries the GDR, consistently carrying out the decisions adopted by the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty countries in July 1966, has taken comprehensive steps to increase support for fighting Vietnam. The relief movement of the GDR for Vietnam is growing. We delegates to the Seventh Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany once again give assurance that the population of the GDR will fulfil its international duty of actively supporting the Vietnamese people in due manner.

We appeal to all people of good will in West Germany:

Rally against the imperialist policy of escalation and expansion! Declare your solidarity with the long-suffering people of Vietnam evermore emphatically! Force the Kiesinger-Strauss government and its Social-Democratic ministers to end their disgraceful complicity in the dirty U.S. war in Vietnam!

We delegates to the Seventh Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany reaffirm our conviction that the war plans of the U.S. imperialists in Vietnam are doomed to fail in the end. The most powerful military machine of imperialism is spreading death and destruction. Nevertheless, it is proving incapable of vanquishing the people of Vietnam.

The Seventh Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany calls on all the peace forces of the world to unite and intensify their efforts to ensure that the U.S. aggression in Vietnam is ended. The U.S. invaders can be defeated through the inter-action of three factors—an increase in the defensive strength of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, unrelenting military and political struggle of the Liberation Front of South Vietnam, and by still more powerful and united political actions of the people against the U.S. interventionists and their henchmen.

We resolutely support the proposals of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam for an end to the war in Vietnam and for a peaceful settlement on the basis of the 1954 Geneva agreement. The inalienable right of the Vietnamese people to determine their destiny without foreign interference must be recognized and respected by the United States.

The noble efforts of all countries, peoples and other forces interested in peace for Vietnam must merge into a single stream. They must become a worldwide anti-imperialist united front that will break the teeth of the U.S. imperialists in Vietnam. In this spirit the Seventh Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany

appeals to the Communist Party of China to join in the fight against the common imperialist enemy.

We delegates to the Seventh Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany emphatically protest against the U.S. imperialists' murder campaign in Vietnam. We most sharply condemn their war crimes against the Vietnamese people. We accuse the West German government of participation in infringing peace, and in violating international law and human rights. We insist on the immediate and unconditional cessation of the barbarous air raids on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

End the U.S. aggression in Vietnam!
Withdraw all aggressors from Vietnam!
End West German participation in the U.S. war of aggression!
Freedom and peace for Vietnam and the whole of Southeast Asia!

*Delegates to the Seventh Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany,*
*Berlin, April 21, 1967.*

## PROTEST RESOLUTION

### End the Terror in Greece

We delegates and guests to the Seventh Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany have with great indignation heard the news of the coup that the reactionary monarchist forces in Greece have carried out at the demand of the U.S. imperialists.

We protest most sharply against the prohibition of the activity of the democratic forces and parties, against the arrests, the persecution and suppression of all democratic movements. The establishment of an open monarcho-fascist military dictatorship is directed against the interests of the working men and women of Greece and against the Greek people as a whole. It is directed against peace and the security of the peoples, and is aimed at keeping Greece in the shackles of NATO and at strengthening the influence of the aggressive imperialist forces of the USA and West Germany contrary to the will of the Greek people.

We demand the immediate cessation of terrorism and monarcho-fascist arbitrariness. We demand the immediate release of all political prisoners. We demand freedom for the Greek people.

## POSITION OF THE SEVENTH PARTY CONGRESS

### On the Letter of the Board, Social-Democratic Party of Germany, and the Statement of Federal Chancellor Kiesinger

The steering committee of the Seventh Congress of the Party has expressed its opinion on the speech delivered by Klaus Teschendorf, of Berlin, who on behalf of the Berlin delegation dealt with the letter of the SDP leadership circulated among the delegates to the Seventh Congress of the SUPG and with the statement of Federal Chancellor Kiesinger of West Germany. The steering committee accepted the estimations contained in Klaus Teschendorf's speech.

Walter Ulbricht, First Secretary of the Central Committee, likewise stated, in his policy speech, the point of view of the SUPG on the relations between the two German states. Unlike the Bonn government, our policy proceeds from reality, which shows undeniably that there now exist two German states with completely opposing socio-political systems—the socialist German Democratic Republic and the monopoly-capitalist Federal Republic. It is impossible to merge in one state the power of the working class and the people and the rule of monopoly capital, the West German feudal nobility and Hitler generals.

To the GDR and its free citizens, who are devoted to their state, there can be no return to a medieval social system.

The SUPG, the National Front and the government bodies of the GDR are striving to establish relations of peaceful coexistence between the two German states. This can be achieved only if both states recognize the status quo. To bring about the peaceful coexistence of the two German states in the interests of all Germans and of European security, all peace forces must join efforts to resist the revanchist policy of West German militarism and neo-Nazism, a policy endangering world peace.

The government of the GDR has been and is willing through business-like negotiations with the government of the West German Federal Republic on an equal footing to search for possibilities and to embark on détente, disarmament and normalization of the relations between the two German states. Negotiations could be held at the seats of government in Berlin and in Bonn.

However, neither the statement of the Bonn government nor the letter of the SDP leadership says a single word about the Federal Republic renouncing its annexationist claim to spokesmanship for the whole of Germany. This claim, tantamount to declaring war on the GDR, is a decisive obstacle to normal relations between the two German states. True, the Kiesinger-Strauss government declares that no preliminary conditions should be put forward before

establishing relations. Nevertheless, the West German government is putting forward a most harsh condition—its claim, which contradicts international law, to represent the whole of Germany without the German Democratic Republic, and all Germans.

When the Bonn government preaches humanity, it would be most logical for it to show real humanity with regard to the unemployed and those temporarily employed in West Germany, to take humane steps, rather than making the working people shoulder the burden of thousands of millions in military spending, to repeal the inhuman emergency laws, renounce atomic weapons and stop spreading the poison of militarism and anti-communism. Let the Bonn government prove its humanity by ending the persecution of peace supporters in West Germany!

The ruling circles do not adhere to even the elementary principles of relations between government agencies or public organizations —in every international body they oppose participation of the two German states on an equal footing. They even influence the representatives of the three Western occupation powers in West Berlin by impeding foreign trips by citizens of the GDR. How can the Bonn government speak of normalizing telephonic communication since it rejects relevant agreements between the ministries concerned? As long as the Bonn government lays claim to exclusive representation of the whole of Germany, stubbornly upholds its man-hating plan of destroying the GDR, seeks a share in the control of atomic arms and aspires to a revision of European frontiers, all its declarations about European security, détente and humanity are untruthful and pointless.

The Kiesinger-Strauss government cannot really expect the GDR to open its frontiers to revanchism and plunder, for our population had to pay dearly for a frontier that was open until 1961. Every attempt by the Bonn government to penetrate into the GDR by other methods in order to take the first planned step forward forcibly revising the results of the Second World War is therefore doomed to failure.

What is necessary and possible in the present situation is only relations of peaceful coexistence between the two German states. A special task of the West German working class and all peace-loving and democratic forces is to make these relations a reality by resolutely combating revanchism, militarism and neo-Nazism in West Germany. It is in this sense that we are continuing the dialogue with West German workers and Social Democrats.

The steering committee of the Seventh Congress of the SUPG proposes that the delegates instruct the Central Committee to be elected at this congress to draft a letter to the West German working class and the membership of the SDP of Germany, as well as a letter to the members and supporters of the CDU-CSU. These letters

should, on the basis of the decisions of our Party congress, state our opinion regarding working-class unity and implementation of the principles of peaceful coexistence by normalizing the relations between the governments of the two German states, as well as regarding European security.

# THE IDEAS OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION ARE WINNING

## DECISION* OF THE CC, POLISH UNITED WORKERS' PARTY

The October Revolution brought into being a new, socialist social formation. In the 50 years that have passed since 1917, socialism as a social system has not only proved its historical stability but has shown its superiority over capitalism in every sphere of man's political, economic, social and cultural activity.

In the lifetime of one generation, socialism became a world-wide social system comprising one-third of the population of the globe. Today it exerts decisive influence on the course of history.

The leading force of socialism is the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the first and most powerful socialist state, the one that is most developed economically and socially. What the Land of Soviets has achieved in economic, social and cultural development is unprecedented in history.

The Soviet Union's decisive contribution to the victory over fascism in World War II promoted the rise of the socialist world system and initiated the process of extending socialism to more countries and more continents, a process that has been going on to this day.

The victory of the October Revolution and the building of socialism in the USSR and other socialist countries demonstrated the correctness and creative power of Marxism-Leninism. The Communist movement which took shape under the influence of Lenin's ideas and the victory of the October Revolution has become the mightiest political factor in the world of today, a force fighting against imperialism, for socialism, democracy, people's freedom and peace.

The cause of the Great October Revolution greatly influences the political consciousness and the lives and fortunes of the working people in the countries under capitalist rule.

The first decree of the Soviet state protested most emphatically against the barbarous imperiaist war and tlhe policy of strength in international relations. As a result of the victory of the revolution and the establishment of the Soviet Union, a great state stepped on to the world scene for the first time in history to pro-

*Abridged from **Trybuna Ludu**, May 19, 1967.

claim the principles of peace, which it has been successfully applying in its foreign policy ever since.

The world of socialism counters the imperialist policy of war and aggresson with the Leninist concept of peaceful coexistence. The struggle for peaceful coexistence is a struggle to curb the forces of war and aggression, to ensure respect for the right of every nation to choose the social system that suits it, to prevent violations of the sovereign rights of nations, to rule out interference in the affairs of other countries and the use of force in settling international disputes. The key role which the socialist world system and the world Communist movement play in the effort to safeguard mankind against world war is the deepest source of the moral and ideological prestige of socialism.

Fifty years of building socialism and fighting for national and social emancipation, against capitalist rule, against colonialism and war, have shown that the national and international unity of the socialist commonwealth, the world Communist movement and other anti-imperialist forces is an earnest of their victory over imperialism.

The October Revolution today exerts powerful influence on the destiny of the world. Its ideas have transformed the lives of the nations building a new, socialist system. It has paved the way to independence for peoples oppressed by imperialism.

By overthrowing the power of the landowners and capitalists in Russia and by voiding predatory treaties of the tsarist state, the October Revolution enabled Poland to gain independent statehood after more than a century of national bondage.

The international ties linking the Polish and Russian revolutionary movements for decades became closer in the course of the October Revolution. We will always be proud of the fact that thousands of Polish revolutionaries and many Polish troop units, inspired by the noble slogan "For your freedom and for ours," fought alongside Lenin's Party at the barricades of the October Revolution and on the civil war fronts.

In the period between the two world wars, when the national and foreign bourgeoisie tried to turn our country into an anti-Soviet bastion, Polish Communists, revolutionaries, peasants and revolutionary intellectuals countered that policy, which was disastrous to Polish independence, with the policy of solidarity with the Soviet Union in the struggle for collective security, against the threat of Nazi aggression.

During World War II the idea of a joint armed struggle, of alliance with the Land of Soviets, acquired paramount importance for our national existence. It was this idea that formed the basis of the political concept of the Polish Workers' Party, as well as of the other patriotic and democratic forces of the embattled Polish people.

The Soviet Union, by making a decisive contribution to the defeat of the Nazi invader, a deadly enemy of Poland, supported the Polish people's fight for freedom and an independent state within the boundaries on the Baltic Sea and along the Oder and Neisse (Nysa Luzycka).

Today People's Poland and the Soviet Union, the Polish United Workers' Party and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union are united by unbreakable friendship, a common Marxist-Leninist ideology and common vital national and political interests.

The Polish people, who for centuries had to resist the expansion of a militarist Germany, see the alliance with the Soviet Union as the most effective barrier to the revanchist intrigues of the West German imperialists.

On behalf of the Party, all working men and women, and the Polish people as a whole, the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party hails the approaching 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution and sends heartfelt fraternal good wishes to the peoples of the USSR, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its Central Committee.

The Central Committee of our Party subscribes to the Leninist foreign policy of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union is the main force assisting the heroic people of Vietnam and other peoples fighting for freedom, a force thwarting the plans of the U.S. imperialists and West German revanchists, a force fighting for peace and the triumph of progress and socialism throughout the world. The Polish United Workers' Party identifies itself with the CPSU in the effort to re-establish world Communist unity on the lofty principles of proletarian internationalism.

The celebration in Poland of the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution will make for stronger ideological bonds and closer friendship between our parties and peoples.

The Central Committee of our Party calls on all Party organizations to widely explain in their own ranks and among the general public the significance of the October Revolution as a turning point and the impact of socialism on the history of the modern world and the Polish people, and to popularize the achievements scored by the Soviet peoples under the leadership of the CPSU.

The key idea of the celebrations will be to make the whole of our public more keenly aware of the special role of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the Soviet Union and the socialist system in human history, the superiority of socialism over capitalism, and the decisive importance of the alliance and friendship with the USSR for the security and sovereignty of Poland and for the socialist progress of our country.

# HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

## AN INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM SPONSORED BY *PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM*

Party leaders and prominent Marxist scholars from more than forty Communist and Workers' parties of Europe, America, Africa and Asia took part in the international symposium on "The Historical Significance of the Great October Socialist Revolution" held in Prague, Czechoslovakia, over June 22-24.

The conference was opened by G. P. Frantsov, Chief Editor of the journal *Problems of Peace and Socialism,* which sponsored the conference.

B. N. Ponomaryov, Secretary of the CC CPSU, was the first to take the floor to speak on "The October Socialist Revolution—the Beginning of the Era of Socialism and Communism."

The other speakers included Jacques Duclos, member of the Political Bureau of the French Communist Party, V. Koucky, Secretary of the CC of the CP of Czechoslovakia, R. Palme Dutt, editor of the journal *Labor Monthly,* who represented the CP of Great Britain, V. Vitello from the Italian CP, Todor Pavlov, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the Bulgarian CP, Honorary President of the Bulgarian Academy of Science, Friedl Fuernberg, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC of the CP of Austria, Hermann Matern, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Ernesto Giudisi, member of the CC of the CP of Argentina, Fuad Nassar, First Secretary of the CC of the Jordanian CP, W. Jarosinski, Secretary of the CC of the Polish United Workers' Party, Ib Norlund, Secretary of the CC of the CP of Denmark, Gheorghe Unc, from the Rumanian CP, Dezso Nemes, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Santiago Alvarez, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the CP of Spain, and Franco Calamandrei, member of the CC of the Italian CP.

The contributions at the conference dealt with the various aspects of the significance of the October Revolution for the working-class and national-liberation movements, for changing the world along socialist lines. The speakers stressed the tremendous importance of communist construction in the USSR for the development of the world revolutionary movement, for the growth of

the struggle against imperialism, for the consolidation of peace and international security, for enhancing the influence of socialist ideas in all parts of the world.

Great prominence was given to proletarian internationalism, whose new stage of development was initiated by the October Revolution. Today proletarian internationalism is the banner under which the Marxist-Leninist parties are working tirelessly for the cohesion of the socialist countries, for stronger Communist unity. The speakers pointed to the imperative need for greater mobilization and cohesion of all progressive forces opposed to the growing aggressiveness of imperialism.

All contributions highly appraised the role of the Soviet Union, which is waging a principled and consistent struggle for the purity of Marxism-Leninism, for unity in the world Communist movement, for the consolidation of all anti-imperialist forces.

Closing the conference, G. P. Frantsov summed up the results of the fruitful discussion, which reaffirmed the great influence of the October Revolution on the theory and practice of the revolutionary movement in the 20th century.

# ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

**June 4.** The joint communique on talks between delegations of the Bulgarian CP and the CP of Germany published in Sofia states the complete identity of views of the two parties on all questions under discussion. In connection with the forthcoming 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the two delegations stressed the historic importance of the October Revolution for the struggle for the liberation of the working class and all working people from capitalist exploitation.

**June 6-7.** A delegation of the CC CPSU consisting of L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC, M. A. Suslov, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC, and B. N. Ponomaryov, Secretary of the CC, and a delegation of the CP of Finland consisting of Ville Pessi, General Secretary of the Party, Aarne Saarinen, Chairman of the Party, Political Bureau members Erkki Tuominen and Anna-Liisa Hyvonen, Erkki Kivimaki, member of the Secretariat of the CC, and Pauli Salonen, met in the CC CPSU offices.

During the meeting, which passed in a warm, comradely atmosphere characteristic of the relations between the CPSU and the CPF, opinions were exchanged on topical problems of the international situation and the world Communist and working-class movement, as well as on questions of the further development of Soviet-Finnish relations.

The delegations put on record the complete identity of views on the questions they discussed, noting that regular meetings, traditional in the relations between the two parties, strengthen mutual understanding and fraternal cooperation between the Soviet and Finnish Communists.

The representatives of the CPSU and the CPF noted that the consolidation of the forces of socialism, their historical advance, constitute a dominant feature of the present-day world development. At the same time, international reaction headed by U.S. imperialism stops at nothing, not even wars of aggression, to suppress the struggle of the peoples for freedom, independence and social progress.

The delegations condemned the policy of U.S. imperialism, aimed at expanding the criminal war against the people of Vietnam and flouting all international norms. The delegations consider that the

U.S. aggression in Vietnam is a threat to peace not only in Southeast Asia, but throughout the world.

The CPSU and the CPF fully support the well-known proposals of the DRV government and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam as the basis for settling the Vietnam problem. They consider that the U.S. ruling circles, which replied to the DRV government's statement opening the road to talks by intensified bombing of Hanoi, Haiphong and other DRV cities and villages, have fully exposed the hypocrisy of their protestations of peaceful intentions.

The delegations informed each other about the work their parties are conducting to help the heroic people of Vietnam in their just struggle. Fulfilling their internationalist duty, they reaffirmed the determination to promote in every way the movement of solidarity with the people of Vietnam and to keep supporting them in the struggle for the freedom and independence of their country.

The delegations voiced serious concern in connection with the situation in the Middle East, the venue of a clash of two lines—the line of the most aggressive imperialist forces and the line of the peace-loving states and peoples. The responsibility for the emergence of a seat of tension and for the outbreak of hostilities in that area, for the aggression against the UAR, Syria and other states rests with the Israeli government and well-known imperialist circles. Noting that the Soviet Union and the peace forces in all countries are resolutely demanding an end to Israel's aggression against the Arab peoples, the delegations of the CPSU and the CPF consider that the interests of universal peace imperatively call for an immediate cease-fire, the withdrawal of troops to the armistice line, and the restoration of peace in the Middle East.

The delegations denounced the monarcho-fascist coup in Greece, an element of the imperialist conspirary against democracy. They declare their solidarity with the people of Greece and demand immediate discontinuation of political terror in Greece and the release of all democrats whom the military junta has imprisoned or put into concentration camps.

The representatives of the CPSU and the CPF paid much attention to the problems of European security. They highly appraised the results of the Karlovy Vary conference of European Communist and Workers' parties and the documents adopted by it. The two delegations expressed full support of the program of measures to ensure European peace and security which was worked out by the conference, and exchanged opinions on ways of putting it into practice.

The representatives of the two parties stated that West-German revanchism and militarism, which is encouraged by the U.S. imperialists and which has become a NATO shock force, is the main danger to the security of the European peoples, those of the Nordic

countries included. The delegations came to the conclusion that the establishment of a European collective security system can become a reliable guarantee of peace and tranquility in the north of Europe as well.

The representatives of the CPSU noted the useful contribution to the solution of the problems of European security being made by the Finnish Communists, who are actively working for the recognition of the sovereignty of the GDR and for the establishment of an atom-free zone in Northern Europe.

The delegations expressed the negative attitude of the two parties towards the closed economic groupings, such as the Common Market, being set up by the monopoly circles of the West European countries. They noted that the interests of the peoples of all European countries, the Nordic countries among them, would be furthered by their extensive economic cooperation and the removal of discrimination and other barriers preventing this cooperation.

The delegations exchanged opinions on the situation in the world Communist and working-class movement and noted the striving for unity growing in the fraternal parties. They consider that the certain aggravation of the international situation insistently demands unity of all anti-imperialist forces for successful struggle against imperialism and reaction, for universal peace and national independence, for democracy and socialism. In their opinion, the achievement of these aims would be prompted by a new international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties. The delegations expressed readiness to undertake the necessary practical steps towards preparing and holding such a conference.

The representatives of the CPSU and the CPF informed each other about the situation in their countries and the activities of their parties. The CPSU delegation told the Finnish comrades about the progress of communist construction in the USSR, the implementation of the decisions of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU and the preparations for the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution.

The delegation of the CPF stressed the epoch-making role of the October Revolution, of which Finnish independence was one of the results, and the fundamental importance of communist construction in the Soviet Union and the foreign policy of the Soviet state for the entire working-class and liberation movement.

Touching upon the political situation in Finland, the CPF delegation noted that at present the country is ruled by a government consisting of representatives of the Communists and People's Democrats, the Centre Party, the Social-Democratic Party and the Social-Democratic Union. This government coalition, despite resistance from the Right circles, which have grown more active of late, has proved its viability. It has demonstrated the possibility of cooperation of broad democratic forces in the interests of the country's

development along the road of peace and progress and consolidation of the friendly Finnish-Soviet relations, which have a firm basis in the 1948 Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance. Therefore the CPF regards it as its duty to do everything for the further consolidation of mutual understanding and sincere cooperation between all the political forces represented in the present Finnish government.

The representatives of the CPSU expressed full understanding of the position of the CPF on this matter and confidence that this political line conforms to the interests of the working-class movement and all working people of Finland, the interests of further consolidation of Soviet-Finnish relations.

On the initiative of the CPF delegation a number of questions were discussed pertaining to the development of Finnish-Soviet economic and cultural cooperation. It was noted with satisfaction that the proposals on this cooperation formerly put forward by the CPF either had already been carried into reality or were under consideration by competent government agencies of both countries.

The CPF delegation stated some considerations regarding certain new steps in promoting Finnish-Soviet economic and cultural cooperation. In view of the recent aggravation of the problem of employment in Finland, the CPF delegation asked whether the Soviet Union, as a state friendly to Finland, could help in solving this problem, for instance through utilizing Finnish manpower at Soviet building projects. The CPSU delegation evinced understanding of the importance of the problem for the working people of Finland. Mindful of the wishes of a fraternal party, the CPSU delegation assured the Finnish comrades that the matter raised by them would be carefully studies by appropriate Soviet organizations. It also reaffirmed the Soviet Union's readiness to expand considerably, on the basis of reciprocity, trade and economic and cultural cooperation with Finland.

The representatives of the two parties discussed joint activities in connection with the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution and Finland's independence.

The CPF and the CPSU expressed firm determination to continue to promote their contacts and cooperation on the basis of the principles of proletarian internationalism, for the good of the working people of Finland and the Soviet Union, in the interests of strengthening the unity of the entire world Communist movement.

**June 6-9.** The CC of the CP of Japan held an enlarged plenary meeting to hear reports by S. Itikawa, member of the CC Secretariat, on the outcome of the municipal elections, and by R. Fuji-

wara, alternate member of the CC Presidium, on enlarging the circulation of the Party's publications.

Both reports were unanimously approved.

The CC unanimously approved the statement of the CC calling "to condemn once again the invasion of the Demilitarized Zone and the aggression of U.S. imperialism against Vietnam, and sharply to intensify the movement in support of the people of Vietnam."

The CC heard and unanimously approved the report of Z. Geshi, alternate member of the CC Presidium, on the events in the Zenrin Kaikan building, which houses the Japanese-Chinese Friendship Society, in connection with the attack of Chinese students.

The CC also unanimously approved the statement "Concerning the Events in the Zenrin Kaikan."

**June 10.** At a plenary meeting of the CC of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, First Secretary of the CC, Y. Tsedenbal, reported "On Amending the Model Rules of the Agricultural Cooperatives and Establishing a Union of Agricultural Cooperatives." CC Secretary D. Molomzhamts spoke on "Measures to Strengthen the Links of the MPRP with the Communist and Workers' Parties." Corresponding resolutions were adopted.

The CC adopted a resolution supporting the Statement of the central committtees of the Communist and Workers' parties and governments of European socialist countries issued by the June 9 meeting in Moscow.

**May 27-June 11.** The CC, CPSU played host to a delegation of the French Communist Party headed by G. Plissonier, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC.

The delegation visited a number of cities as well as industrial enterprises, construction projects, collective farms and educational establishments to familiarize itself with the activities of Party, state, trade union and Young Communist League organizations.

In Kiev the delegation met with P. Y. Shelest, member of the Political Bureau of the CC, CPSU and First Secretary of the CC of the CP of Ukraine.

The delegation also met with CC, CPSU secretaries I. V. Kapitonov and B. N. Ponomaryov and had a talk with them, which passed in a cordial comradely atmosphere. Speaking on behalf of the delegation, Comrade Plissonier highly appraised the achievements of the CPSU in the fifty years of existence of the Soviet state and the great successes of the Soviet people in communist construction.

The representatives of both parties reaffirmed the identity of views of the CPSU and the FCP on all major problems of our time.

The visit of the FCP delegation furnished fresh proof of the genuinely fraternal relations existing between the two parties.

**June 10-11.** The CC of the CP of Finland held a meeting to discuss the draft of the new Party program, presented by Party Chairman A. Saarinen.

The CC also heard the report of General Secretary Villie Pessi on the visit of the CPF delegation to Moscow and its talks with CPSU leaders.

It is pointed out in the resolution adopted by the CC that the independence of Finland, whose 50th anniversary is celebrated this year, is indissolubly linked with the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

**June 10-11.** A meeting of the Central Board of the CP of Norway discussed preparations for the forthcoming municipal elections and adopted the Party's electoral program.

The CC also passed a resolution urging the government not to take part in the baiting of the Arabs, for that could contribute towards an unjust and unworthy settlement in the Middle East.

**June 12.** The 21st Congress of the CP of Australia closed after four days' work. The congress approved the Central Committee's report and adopted the Party's program documents and new Rules. The congress instructed the National Committee to prepare for the next congress the draft of a new program of the Party.

Resolutions on the situation in the Middle East and the war in Vietnam were among the documents adopted by the congress.

The delegates unanimously decided to instruct the new National Committee to draft and send to the CPSU a message of greetings on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution, and to arrange a series of activities to explain the international significance of the October Revolution.

The congress unanimously approved a resolution on the world Communist movement stressing the imperative need for unity of action in the movement, above all in support of the struggle of the Vietnamese people.

The resolution recalls that the CPA took part in the Moscow Meeting of 1960, which adopted the Statement of 81 Parties, and expresses regret that this document was attacked by the Communist Party of China and the Albanian Party of Labor in an attempt to justify their splitting activities.

The congress elected the National Committee and the National Executive Committee. R. Dixon was elected National Chairman and L. Aarons, National Secretary of the Party.

**June 14.** The CC of the Bulgarian CP assembled to hear its First Secretary, Todor Zhivkov, speak on the events in the Middle

East and on the Moscow meeting of leaders of the Communist and Workers' parties and governments of European socialist countries in connection with the Israeli aggression against the Arab countries.

A corresponding resolution was adopted.

**June 14.** The results of the recent regional and municipal elections in a number of regions of Italy, and the present international situation were discussed at a meeting of the Leadership of the Italian CP.

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# bulletin

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*Included in this Issue*

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**(Theses of the Central Committee of the CPSU)**

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# information bulletin — 101 (13)

*contents*

**THESES OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE CPSU** 5

—Heroic Road of Struggle and Creation. Historic Significance of the Complete and Final Victory of Socialism in the USSR

—The Building of Communism—Continuation and Development of the Great Cause of the October Revolution

—The Great October Socialist Revolution and the World Revolutionary Process

**ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES** 55

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# 50th ANNIVERSARY OF THE GREAT OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

## THESES OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE CPSU

In 1967 the peoples of the Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries, the world Communist and working-class movement, and all progressives celebrate the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Half a century ago our country entered upon the socialist path of development. The October Revolution initiated the deliverance of mankind from the exploiting system and the realization of the ideas of scientific Communism, exercising a tremendous influence on subsequent world history. It ushered in the epoch of the general revolutionary rejuvenation of the world, the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism.

During the past decades the cause of the October Revolution has stood a thorough test of time, demonstrating the invincible strength of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, their everlasting significance both for our country and for all the other peoples of the world. It lives triumphant in the victory of socialism and the achievements of communist construction in the USSR, the growth of the world socialist system, in the mighty upswing of the working-class movement and the successes of the national-liberation struggle. Marxism-Leninism has captured the minds of hundreds of millions of people in the world; the Communist movement has become the most influential political force of our time. All this is a result of the historical development initiated by the Great October Socialist Revolution.

In accomplishing the Revolution and in carrying out the colossal tasks that history set us, the working class and the entire Soviet people demonstrated boundless devotion to the ideas of communism, courage and self-sacrifice, and a high degree of political consciousness and organization. Soviet people expressed profound respect and gratitude to the men and women who fought for the victory of the Revolution, the victory of socialism. Our people will always revere the Bolshevik Leninists, the heroes of the Socialist Revolution, the Civil War and the Great Patriotic War. The courageous builders of the factories and collective and state farms of the first five--year plans, all those who built socialism and fortified the might of the world's first socialist state will never be for-

gotten. Their exploit continues to serve the great cause of the revolutionary remaking of the world.

From the summit of the 50th anniversary, the Party and the Soviet people look back at the path traversed in order the better to resolve the new problems. The revolutionary cause started by the Great October Socialist Revolution is broadening out, growing stronger and winning. Socialism has become the present for hundreds of millions of people and the future of all mankind.

## I. HEROIC ROAD OF STRUGGLE AND CREATION. HISTORIC SIGNIFICANCE OF THE COMPLETE AND FINAL VICTORY OF SOCIALISM IN THE USSR

1. *As the result of an armed uprising of workers, peasants, soldiers and sailors led by the Bolshevik Party and headed by the great Lenin, a socialist revolution was accomplished in Russia on November 7 (October 25), 1917.*

The working people overthrew the landowners and capitalists and smashed the exploiting system. Power was seized by the proletariat in alliance with the toiling peasants. The Revolution established the dictatorship of the proletariat and created a state of a new type—the Socialist Republic of Soviets—and a new type of democracy—democracy for the working people. This furnished the first and principal political condition for economic and cultural reconstruction and for the building of socialism and communism—these great goals of the working class.

The transition from capitalism to socialism is a law-governed process, an inevitable result of social development. Early in the 20th century there took shape in Russia objective conditions as well as subjective prerequisites for a victorious socialist revolution, and Russia became the centre of the world revolutionary movement.

Although Russia was a predominantly agrarian country, capitalism developed rapidly and industrial production reached a high degree of concentration. There emerged a working class, with the industrial proletariat as its core. Ruthless exploitation of workers, land hunger and poverty of peasants, denial of political rights to the people, oppression of national minorities, survivals of feudalism and patriarchism, and dependence on international capital—all this made Russia the focal point of social and national oppression, the storm centre of the contradictions of imperialism and its weakest link. The revolution of 1905-07 shook the foundations of the tsarist autocracy and was a prologue to the revolutionary battles of the working class and peasantry in 1917.

The socio-economic and political contradictions came to a head in Russia during the imperialist world war, which undermined the

country's economy and totally exhausted the workers and peasants. The revolution of February 1917 swept out the tsarist autocracy, but the bourgeoisie who came to power neither wanted nor was able to satisfy the vital needs of the workers and peasants. Only the conquest of political power by the proletariat could ensure the solution of cardinal social problems. Their vital interests and deep anxiety for the country's destiny spurred the toiling masses towards revolutionary change. Socialist revolution became the immediate practical task.

The working class headed the Revolution. Tempered in hard class battles, the Russian proletariat, led by the Bolshevik Party, displayed a high degree of political consciousness, organization and staunchness in the struggle against all forms of exploitation and oppression, and proved capable of leading the toiling peasantry. Personifying the splendid revolutionary traditions of the people, it succeeded to and carried forward the cause of the glorious galaxy of fighters for the happiness of the working people. From the very outset the proletariat of Russia was an internationalist class, raising on high the red banner of the first fighters against capitalism, the banner of the International Workingmen's Association — the First International—and of the heroes of the Paris Commune.

The road to the victory of the proletarian revolution was indicated by the theory of scientific socialism. Marx, Engels and Lenin, leaders of the world proletariat, made a profound analysis of the laws of social development, brought to light the acute contradictions of capitalism and proved the inevitability of its demise as a result of socialist revolution. They showed that under the leadership of the revolutionary party and in close alliance with the non-proletarian working masses, the working class is called upon by history to overthrow capitalism and establish socialism.

The Bolshevik Party, a proletarian party of a new type, emerged and grew stronger in the course of the class struggle, on the firm foundation of Marxism-Leninism. It was the first to effect the fusion of scientific socialism and the mass working-class movement, and was thoroughly primed to lead the proletariat to the seizure of power. It absorbed all the honest, intelligent, courageous and selfless — all that had been accumulated by generations of revolutionaries — and creatively analyzed the experience of the revolutionary struggle of the working people. The Bolshevik Party gave the proletariat of Russia a scientific program for the democratic and socialist revolution, organized it politically and rallied it to a struggle against the autocracy and the capitalist system. Its policy conformed to the basic interests of the working class and all other working people and was therefore supported by the majority of the population.

The Party which headed history's greatest revolution was led

by the brilliant thinker and unbending revolutionary, Vladimir Lenin. The ideological leader and organizer of the revolution, he devoted his entire life to the revolutionary struggle of the working class. In the new conditions of the imperialist epoch, he creatively carried forward Marxism, raising it to a new, higher stage. His theory of the socialist revolution was one of the greatest contributions to scientific communism. It equipped the Party and the working class ideologically for the struggle against bourgeois rule, for political power. Drawing upon the teaching of Marx and Engels, Lenin produced solutions to the key theoretical and practical problems related to the building of socialism and communism. His ideas are an inspiration for the new generations of fighters for social reconstruction. Leninism is the eternal source of revolutionary thought and revolutionary action. The name of Lenin has become the symbol of the new world.

A splendid feature of the Leninist Party is its ability to unite, temper and educate fearless revolutionaries. The outstanding organizers of the Revolution trained by the Party, its leaders and theoreticians, propagandists and captains of economic and cultural development have contributed greatly to the building of socialism.

Though proletarian in content, the October Revolution was, at the same time, a profoundly popular revolution. Its popular nature had its most essential expression in the alliance of the working class and the peasants, in the joint struggle and fraternal cooperation of the working people of all the nations of Russia against the oppressors. Relying on the worker-peasant alliance, the Bolshevik Party was able to unite and direct the various revolutionary torrents—the socialist movement of the working class for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the revolutionary struggle of the peasants against the landowners, the national-liberation movement for the equality of peoples and the nationwide movement for peace and an end to the devastating imperialist war—towards a single goal. Due to this, along with accomplishing the basic socialist tasks, the October Revolution provided a radical solution to pressing tasks of democratic development, thereby demonstrating not only the possibility but also the need for uniting the socialist movement of the working class with the broad democratic movement of the people, for linking the struggle for socialism with the struggle for democracy.

The socialist revolution is not a conspiracy, not a coup at the top accomplished by a group of "active revolutionaries", but a movement and struggle of millions headed by the working class and led by a Marxist-Leninist party. In 1917 the Party of Lenin set a great example of historical initiative and of a correct assessment of the correlation of class forces and the peculiarities of the movement. At the different stages of the revolution the Party applied

flexible and diverse tactics, utilizing peaceful and non-peaceful, as well as legal and illegal means and forms of struggle, and demonstrating its ability to combine and alternate these means and forms. This is one of the fundamental aspects of the strategy and tactics of Leninism that distinguishes it from both social-democratic reformism and petty-bourgeois adventurism.

The profoundly revolutionary and democratic substance of the new socialist state was strikingly revealed in the very first decrees and actions of the Soviet power.

*The Great October Socialist Revolution overthrew the system of exploitation and oppression.* The proletariat fought for emancipation from wage slavery, and became the master of factories and mills. The toiling peasantry suffered from land hunger, and Soviet power abolished the big landed estates, turning the land over to the peasants. It nationalized large-scale industry, the land, the railways and the banks, and instituted a monopoly of foreign trade. For the first time in history all natural wealth and the principal means of production became the property of the people. Public ownership of the means of production, which became the economic foundation of socialism, was established in the key branches of the economy. The oppressed nationalities inhabiting tsarist Russia suffered from lack of political rights, and Soviet power proclaimed the equality of nations and their right to self-determination. The division into social estates and estate privileges were abolished, and the humiliating laws that denied women equality were abrogated.

*The Great October Socialist Revolution wrested our country from the abyss of the devastating imperialist war.* The people passionately desired peace and the Decree on Peace became the first Soviet decree. The country was saved from national catastrophe to which it was doomed by the ruling classes, and the peoples of Russia were delivered from the threat of enslavement by foreign capital.

*The Great October Socialist Revolution shook the capitalist world to its foundations.* The world split into two systems—the socialist and the capitalist. The Soviet state employed new principles in relations between nations and countries. Economic, social and political emancipation of the masses became the prime aim of the workers' and peasants' power born of the Revolution. Therein lies the profound significance of the revolutionary humanism of the October Revolution. Mankind acquired a reliable bulwark in its struggle against predatory wars, for peace and security, for social progress.

The historic significance of the October Revolution derives from the fact that it indicated the road to revolutionary changes and produced the forms and methods of effecting it. These forms and methods have acquired an international character. The experience of

the October Revolution is an inexhaustible treasure-store of the theory and practice of revolutionary struggle, a model of scientific strategy and tactics.

2. *The working people of the Soviet Republic had to cope with complicated and difficult tasks to defend the gains of the Revolution and to utilize the dictatorship of the proletariat for securing complete victory over the exploiting classes and carrying out socialist transformations.*

Soviet power triumphed in the centre and throughout the country. The working people of Russia and the rest of the world saw that Soviet power expressed the basic interests of the masses. The far-going revolutionary changes aroused the people's revolutionary energy. Lenin wrote: "Our cause is ensured by the fact that the masses themselves have undertaken to build a new, socialist Russia" *(Complete Works,* Russ. ed., vol. 37, p. 77). The socialist republic concentrated all its forces on peaceful construction.

However, the creative plans of the Soviet Republic were interrupted by the class enemy, who sought to destroy the young Soviet state. The armed struggle against the Soviet Republic was organized by international imperialism. The imperialists of Germany, Britain, France, the United States, Japan and other countries joined in the effort of strangling the revolution in our country. The imperialist intervention and the offensive mounted by the Whiteguard hordes merged with counter-revolutionary revolts and conspiracies of Socialist-Revolutionaries, Mensheviks and remnants of the bourgeois parties. The deposed exploiting classes and international imperialism savagely fought against the new social system. They inflicted incalculable hardship and suffering on the people. But their attacks were repulsed and the cause of the Revolution triumphed.

Attacked by the counter-revolution, the working people resolutely rose to defend the revolutionary gains. The Workers' and Peasants' Red Army — the army of the Revolution, the army of the working people — was born in battle against interventionists and Whiteguards, in the flames of the Civil War. The Party drew up a plan for the country's defense, for the organization of our armed forces. "The Army," said the Eighth Party Congress in a resolution on military matters, "must be trained, armed and organized in accordance with the last word in military science" *(The CPSU in Resolutions,* Russ. ed., Part 1, p. 435). The Council of Workers' and Peasants' Defense with Lenin at its head was formed to mobilize the country's forces against the enemy. In defending their socialist country the people displayed mass heroism and produced from their midst outstanding military leaders and legendary heroes.

The working people of all the nations and nationalities of our country fought selflessly for Soviet power, for freedom and a com-

munist future. The alliance between the workers and peasants, between all the peoples liberated by the Revolution, became stronger than ever during the Civil War. The victory proved the viability and solidarity of Soviet power.

In their grim fight against the armed forces of imperialism and the Whiteguards, the Soviet workers and peasants had the fraternal support of the world proletariat, of working people throughout the world. Hands Off Russia committees appeared in many countries. The mass movement in support of the young Soviet Republic Bulgarians, Czechs, Slovaks, Germans, Finns, Chinese, Koreans, etc. hampered the actions of international capitalism. During the Civil War the Red Army counted in its ranks Hungarians, Poles, Serbs, The internationalist solidarity of the working people stood the test of history in the flames of the socialist revolution.

The experience of the early years of Soviet power provides ample proof that the deposed exploiting classes stop at nothing in attempting to regain lost positions. The victorious people must always be prepared to fight for the gains of the revolution and suppress the resistance of exploiters. Being a response to violence by exploiters, revolutionary violence against them is the sacred right of people fighting for social emancipation.

The defeat of the united forces of world imperialism and the complete rout of the internal counter-revolution was of tremendous significance not only for the destiny of our country but also for the liberation struggle of the working people of other countries. The Soviet land — the hope and mainstay of the working people of the whole world — had stood its ground and emerged victorious. Socialism won the first decisive battle against the forces of the capitalist world. "We," Lenin said with legitimate pride, "held out against all of them."

3. *After the foreign interventionists were driven out and the Civil War ended, it became possible for the Party and the people to concentrate on the main task of the Revolution, that of building socialism.*

The imperialists failed to destroy the Soviet republic by armed force, but ruined our country to such an extent that, to use Lenin's words, they "half-achieved their aim." We had had to begin peaceful construction with an extremely low potential: our total industrial output was 14.3 per cent and steel output less than 5 per cent of prewar. Farm output had shrunk almost by half. All this created tremendous difficulties in the transition to socialist construction.

The historic service of the Communist Party headed by Lenin was that it gave the Soviet people a scientific plan for the building of socialism which took into account the economic and social conditions in the country. Lenin's ideas envisaged the country's

industrialization, socialist collectivization of agriculture and the accomplishment of a cultural revolution. These ideas conformed with the basic interests of the masses, who strove to put an end to the general dislocation, to economic backwardness, poverty and ignorance.

Under Lenin's direct leadership the Party drew up and, at its 10th Congress, adopted the New Economic Policy, an important and necessary stage on the road to socialism. The purpose of the New Economic Policy was to rehabilitate the economy, build the foundations of socialist economy, develop large-scale industry, establish economic bonds between town and country, strengthen the alliance of the working class and the peasants, push out and abolish the capitalist element, and attain socialism. The means to this end were utmost promotion of cooperatives, broad expansion of trade and application of material incentives and cost accounting. In order to rehabilitate the economy, provisions were made for attracting private capital while the commanding heights remained in the hands of the proletarian state.

The basic principles that underlay the New Economic Policy are of international value and are used in building socialism in other countries.

The line of building socialism was upheld and implemented by the Party and the working class in a fierce class struggle against the remnants of the deposed exploiting classes, capitalist elements in town and country, and "Left" and Right opportunists, who attempted to divert us from the Leninist path.

Of great importance was the ideological and political defeat of Trotskyism, which bred non-confidence in the working class of the USSR, maintaining that socialism could not be built in our country until the proletarian revolution triumphed in the West. The Trotskyites sought to rob our Party and people of their faith that socialism could be successfully built in the USSR and denied its importance to the world revolutionary movement. Under cover of "Left" ultra-revolutionary verbiage they tried to impose the adventurist policy of artificially "pushing" the revolution in other countries, which would have doomed the building of socialism in our country. They insisted on undemocratic, para-military methods of leadership, repugned the Leninist principle of democratic centralism, called for "freedom" of factional activity in the Party, and thus slipped to anti-Sovietism.

Also, the Party had had to fight against the Right opportunists, who represented the ideology of the exploiting, kulak strata in the countryside and opposed high rates of industrialization, collectivization of agriculture and abolition of the kulaks as a class.

Sweeping out the petty-bourgeois adventurism of the Trotskyites and the surrenderism of the Right opportunists, our Party

led the Soviet people firmly and confidently along the road charted by Lenin.

*Socialist industrialization was the key task in the building of socialism.* Acting on Lenin's postulate that it was possible to build socialism in our country, the 14th Party Congress set "the course on industrializing the country and stepping up output of means of production. . . ." (*CPSU in Resolutions*, Russ. ed., Part II, p. 197). Socialist industrialization proceeded despite the capitalist encirclement and the constant threat of attack by the aggressive forces of imperialism. This determined the extremely rapid pace of reconstruction and the great strain on energy and resources. In the USSR industrialization was achieved without outside help, by means of internal resources and rigid economy.

Fulfilment of Lenin's Goelro Plan (State Plan for the Electrification of Russia) and of the first five-year economic development plans secured rapid economic growth. The Soviet Union became a mighty industrial power. Entirely new industries, such as the automobile, aircraft, tractor, some branches of the chemical and many other industries, were built. By 1940 total industrial output increased 7.7-fold and production of means of production 13-fold as compared with 1913. Output of consumer goods also grew considerably.

Fulfilment of the First Five-Year Plan at a time when the capitalist world was in the throes of a devastating economic crisis, demonstrated strikingly the superiority of the socialist over the capitalist system of economy and greatly boosted the Soviet Union's international prestige.

Industrialization provided the material basis for strengthening our country's economic independence, for the technical reconstruction of all branches of the economy and for reorganizing agriculture along socialist lines. It had tremendous socio-political impact, consolidating public ownership in the key branch of the economy, ousting urban capitalist elements, promoting the socialist mode of industrial production, growth of the working class, furthering its leading role in society, and increasing the Soviet Union's economic and defense potential. In many respects, the socialist industry built by the people predetermined victory in the Great Patriotic War.

*The reorganization of agriculture along socialist lines was the most complicated and difficult task after seizure of power by the working class.* It was necessary to overcome the age-old habits of the petty proprietor, to change his psychology, to convince the peasant of the advantages of the new life. The 15th Party Congress set the political course on a gradual conversion of scattered peasant farming to large-scale socialist production.

Lenin's cooperative plan served as the basis for implementing

this key revolutionary task. It took the Party years of painstaking organizational and educational work to carry out this epoch-making task. As a result of collectivization, small-scale commodity production gave way to socialist production; agriculture, which was formerly the most backward sphere of the economy, was put on a socialist footing. Millions of small individual producers formed collective farms and embarked on the socialist road. In the course of collectivization there emerged an effective form of joint farming, the agricultural cooperative, which made it possible to combine the public interest with that of the individual peasant; Leftist attempts to introduce egalitarian principles of distribution were cut short, so were violations of the principle of voluntary entry into cooperatives. The collective farms came into being in face of fierce resistance by kulak elements. The resistance of the exploiting element in the countryside was crushed by the working class and the poor peasants in close alliance with the middle peasants. Complete nation-wide collectivization abolished the last and most numerous exploiting class.

An important role was played in the socialist reconstruction of agriculture by the establishment of state farms and machine-and-tractor stations, which were large state-owned enterprises.

Socialist ownership became the basis of the economic relations in the countryside. All social causes breeding exploitation of man by man were rooted out. Collectivization consolidated the gains of the October Revolution, placed the countryside on the new, socialist road, strengthened the alliance of the working class and the peasants and became one of the cardinal factors that contributed to the victory over the Nazi invaders.

The 17th Party Congress pointed out that the foundations of socialist economy had been built in our country during the First Five-Year Plan period.

Soviet experience of industrialization and collectivization has stood the test of time brilliantly and is being creatively utilized by many socialist countries in keeping with their specific features and conditions.

*A cultural revolution was needed for the successful building of socialism.* The Party was guided by Lenin's counsel that socialist culture can be built up by mastering and critically analyzing the cultural heritage of the past, all the values of world culture, by resolutely overcoming the reactionary ideology of the exploiting classes and the survivals and prejudices of the past, by cultivating the ideas of scientific communism among the people.

A cultural revolution is a long and intricate process. Despite the cultural backwardness and an acute shortage of resources and skilled personnel, the state set out to create a new system of public education which wiped out illiteracy, effected a rapid

advance of science and culture and ensured the upbringing of the rising generation in the spirit of socialism. The finest members of the old intelligentsia went into the service of the people; there emerged a new workers' and peasants' intelligentsia devoted to socialism.

A socialist, genuinely people's culture took shape in the course of the cultural revolution. The greatest achievement of this revolution was the moulding of the socialist consciousness of millions of working people.

*The Leninist program for the solution of the nationalities question was implemented in the course of socialist construction, forging the socialist fraternity of the peoples of our country.* While surmounting the economic and cultural backwardness and the remnants of the former national strife, the Party and the government patiently and consistently built up all-round cooperation among the peoples, who in December 1922 voluntarily formed the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The founding of the USSR, an act legislatively recorded in the Soviet Constitution of 1924, was an event of tremendous historic importance.

The October Revolution and the building of socialism awakened and roused to independent activity formerly backward peoples, some of which were thus saved from physical extinction. During the building of socialism they acquired their own statehood, put an end to economic and cultural backwardness and gradually adopted the highest socialist forms of economy and culture. This achievement was all the more remarkable in view of the fact that nations which prior to the Revolution had been at the feudal or even patriarchal-communal stage, by-passed capitalism in their progress towards socialism. All the peoples of the Soviet Union recognize that the Russian working class and the Russian people as a whole played a big role in implementing the Leninist nationalities policy.

Socialism affords the peoples of the USSR genuine political, economic and cultural equality. The nations which were at a lower level of economic development were rendered tremendous economic assistance, with huge sums of money being invested to accelerate the development of their industry, farming and culture. The reunification of the Ukrainian, Byelorussian and Moldavian peoples, the restoration of Soviet power in the Baltic republics and their accession to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics were important milestones in the solution of the nationalities problem.

By concerted effort the free and equal peoples of the Soviet republics—the Russian Federation, the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Lithuania, Moldavia, Latvia, Kirghizia, Tajikistan, Armenia, Turkmenia and Estonia—all the nations and nationalities of the Union of Soviet Socialist Repub-

lics have built socialism, emerging on the road of prosperity and achieving colossal progress in economic and cultural development.

*The state of the dictatorship of the proletariat was the principal instrument for the building of socialism in the USSR.* The supreme principle underlying the dictatorship of the proletariat is the alliance of the working class and the peasants, with the working class playing the leading role. The Soviet state was the mighty force which organized the constructive labor of millions of people, building a new economy and culture and ensuring a steady improvement of the standard of living.

The mass heroism of the working people during the period of economic rehabilitation and the early five-year plans has inscribed an unforgettable chapter into the history of our society. Soviet people did not stint their strength, consciously accepted hardships and set examples of courage and self-sacrifice in surmounting economic backwardness and turning the country into a great socialist power. The building of Magnitogorsk, the Kuzbas mining complex, the Turkestan-Siberia Railway, the Dnieper Hydropower Station, Komsomolsk-on-Amur and many other industrial projects, as well as the socialist emulation and shock work movements, were models of the new, socialist attitude to labor.

Thanks to the revolutionary changes and the labor and political enthusiasm of the people, the Soviet Union was the first country in the world to build a socialist society. The triumph of socialism was legislatively recorded in the Constitution of the USSR adopted in December 1936 by the Extraordinary 8th Congress of Soviets. The Constitution formalized the socialized principles of the social and state system in the USSR and the broad social freedoms and rights of citizens; it instituted a system of direct, equal and universal suffrage by secret ballot for elections to organs of power and enlarged the representation quota of all the Union and autonomous republics, autonomous regions and national areas in the supreme organ of power. The political superstructure was brought into line with the socialist economic basis.

The Soviet Union developed in a tense international atmosphere, constantly menaced by imperialist invasion. This threat became particularly great when Nazism, an outrageous terroristic and chauvinistic dictatorship of the most reactionary and aggressive forces of imperialism, seized power in Germany. Fascism entrenched itself and rearmed Germany with the help of the U.S. and British monopolies, which regarded it as the assault force of anti-communism.

The Communist Party and the Soviet government saw the danger implicit in the policy of the fascist states, keeping the situation under close observation and taking steps to strengthen the country's defense capacity. The Party took important measures to

reorganize industry and transport in view of the growing military threat. The defense industry built in the pre-war years provided the Armed Forces with modern military equipment.

The Soviet government made energetic efforts to create a system of collective security in Europe in order to avert war. These efforts came up against the resistance of Western politicians, the "Munich-men," who sought to channel Nazi aggression against the USSR and enter into an alliance with Hitler. In this difficult situation the Soviet Union signed a non-aggression treaty with Germany and thereby upset the calculations of the imperialists and won time for strengthening the country's defenses. But it proved impossible to avert war in those conditions. With the connivance of the ruling circles in the West, Nazi Germany started the Second World War. After seizing many European states, it invaded the USSR.

4. *The war forced on the Soviet Union by German nazism on June 22, 1941 was the biggest armed collision between socialism and the assault forces of imperialism. It became the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet people for the freedom and independence of their socialist country, for socialism.*

German imperialism set out to destroy the world's first socialist state, annihilate millions of people and enslave the peoples of the Soviet Union and many other countries.

The Great Patriotic War was the most devastating and brutal war ever experienced by our country. A particularly grim ordeal fell to our lot at the beginning of the war. The huge army of Nazis and their satellites, mobilized beforehand and bedrugged by the venom of chauvinism and racism, drove deep into our country. The enemy reached the Caucasian foothills, broke through to the Volga, laid siege to Leningrad and threatened Moscow. The Soviet Union was in mortal danger.

The Nazis made the most of their temporary advantages: militarization of the economy and life in Germany; long preparation for a war of conquest and experience gained in military operations in the West; and the superior armaments and numerical strength of their troops, which had been concentrated beforehand in the border zones. They controlled the economic and military resources of almost all Western Europe, where they had seized colossal supplies of military equipment, metal, strategic raw materials and metallurgical and munitions plants. The Soviet Union had had to engage in single combat with this gigantic military machine.

Miscalculations in estimating the time of the Nazi attack and the resultant deficiencies in preparing to repel the first assault also had their effect. Besides, Soviet troops lacked the experience of modern warfare in large-scale operations. However, even the initial period of the war showed that the Nazi military gamble was doomed. The German defeat at the approaches to Moscow marked

the turning of the tide. Hitler's *Blitzkrieg* plan was frustrated and the myth of nazi "invincibility" collapsed.

The whole Soviet people rose to defend their Motherland. The country became a vast military camp, fired by the sole desire of smashing the enemy, driving him out of the country and destroying Nazism. The slogan, "everything for the front, everything for victory," advanced by the Communist Party became an immutable rule governing the life of the Soviet people. The Party worked energetically to defeat the enemy and coordinate the people's efforts at the front and behind the firing line. The State Defense Committee with J. V. Stalin as its chairman was set up. In the republics, territories and regions the Party, local government, trade union and Komsomol organizations worked tirelessly to mobilize the country's strength and resources.

Led by the Communist Party, our heroic people surmounted the difficulties of the early period of the war and in 1942-43 turned the tables on the enemy. The milestones along the road to the Soviet victory over Nazi Germany were: victory in the gigantic battle of Stalingrad; rout of the Nazis near Kursk and devastating Nazi defeats in other battles. The last of the Nazi invaders were driven out of the Soviet Union in 1944, and the Soviet offensives in the final year of the war played the decisive role in delivering the peoples of Austria, Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Norway, Poland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia from Nazi occupation and in winning the final victory over the fascist coalition.

The Soviet people successfully defended their socialist country and the gains of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Fascism was crushed and the war was brought to an end on territory where it had originated.

The defeated Nazi armies surrendered unconditionally; militarist Japan was defeated too. The Soviet Union gave the revolutionary forces in China and Korea military and political assistance. The principal war criminals were tried and given the punishment they deserved. World civilization was thus saved from the Nazi plague.

Victory over the Nazi invader was won through the joint efforts of many peoples. A mighty anti-Nazi coalition took shape in the course of the war. The armies of the Western Allies dealt powerful blows at the enemy. The allied troops of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia fought courageously. However, the Soviet people and their heroic army, on whom fell the main burden of the war, played the decisive role in the victory over Hitler Germany.

The war cost the Soviet people huge losses in life and property. More than 20 million Soviet people were killed on the battlefield, buried alive beneath the ruins of towns and villages, executed by the Nazi thugs or done to death in the Nazi concentration camps. It would be difficult to find a family which had not lost one or

more of its members. The grief caused by these war losses is measureless.

The material loss sustained in the war was colossal. The Nazis reduced to ashes more than 70,000 of our towns and villages. The country lost nearly 30 per cent of its national wealth. The mass barbarity and outrages committed by the Nazi invaders have no precedent in history.

In this gigantic military collision with imperialism and its most monstrous creation—Nazism, the social and political system of socialism emerged victorious. The Soviet Union drew its strength from its socialist economy, the socio-political and ideological unity of its people, the Soviet patriotism and friendship of its nations, the unity of the people around the Communist Party, and the unexampled heroism and courage of Soviet troops. This was a victory of socialist ideology over the man-hating ideology of imperialism and Nazism.

In this war the victor was the Soviet people. As one man it rose to defend its country, displaying unparalleled, truly mass heroism. The feats of the valiant defenders of Moscow, the country's capital, of the heroes of Brest, Sevastopol, Leningrad, Stalingrad, Odessa, Kiev and other cities will always be an example of selfless valor and courage. The eternal flame of glory over the grave of the Unknown Soldier near the Kremlin wall burns as a symbol of the Motherland's great grief, as a symbol of her undying love for, and gratitude to, her sons and daughters who fell in battle.

In this war the victor was the Soviet Armed Forces. Created to defend the gains of the October Revolution, they have honorably held aloft their battle standards throughout the history of the Soviet state. Their feats in the Great Patriotic War will never be forgotten. The great victory over Nazism was the result, also, of the superiority of Soviet military science and warcraft.

Behind enemy's lines, too, the people fought the Nazi invader. Together with the Soviet Armed Forces the partisans dealt the enemy crushing blows. People's avengers and underground Party and Komsomol organizations operated in many parts of the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Moldavia, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia and in Smolensk, Bryansk, Pskov, Novgorod, Orel, Leningrad, Kalinin, Moscow and other regions.

The victory in the war was also the victory of the people working in factory, mill and farm. Workers, collective farmers and intellectuals labored with dedication under the most difficult conditions. Women and teenagers took the place of their fathers, husbands and brothers who had joined the army. The Party implemented measures, unprecedented in scale and scope, to switch the economy to a wartime footing and reorganize all work to meet wartime requirements. More than 1,360 large factories were

evacuated to eastern regions and quickly placed in operation. The eastern industrial base bore the main burden of providing our army with armaments and other supplies. During the war Soviet industry produced almost twice as much military equipment as the entire industry of Nazi Germany.

United by a single will, a single urge, the workers, peasants and the intelligentsia, men and women, Communists and Komsomol members, reared by the Party and Soviet power, proved able to accomplish a feat that has no equal in history.

Throughout the stern years of the war the people fought under the leadership of the Communist Party. It organized and ideologically inspired the Soviet people for the struggle against the enemy. The finest sons of the Communist Party were in the forefront of the armed struggle against Nazism. The Party reared and advanced a galaxy of brilliant commanders. Huge organizational, Party and political work was conducted in the army by political workers, among them prominent Party and government functionaries. By the end of the war there were more than 3,000,000 Communist Party members at the front lines. The influx of fighting men into the Party reached its peak in the most trying months, in 1941 and 1942. Ours was a truly embattled Party.

The Soviet Union's victory in the Great Patriotic War was of epoch-making significance. Conditions conducive to the development and triumph of socialist revolution emerged in European and Asian countries, favoring the emergence of the world socialist system. The national-liberation struggle gained momentum. The international forces of socialism and democracy grew stronger; those of imperialism and reaction grew weaker.

The Soviet Union's Great Patriotic War most convincingly demonstrated that there is no power on earth capable of crushing socialism and bringing to their knees a people dedicated to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, loyal to the socialist Motherland, and united around the Leninist Party. These results are stern warning to the imperialist aggressors, and a harsh and unforgettable lesson of history.

5. *Having won a historic victory over their mortal enemy, the Soviet people resumed work on their plans of peaceful construction.*

The Party and the Government took vigorous steps quickly to rebuild the war-ruined towns and areas. Liberation of occupied areas was immediately followed by economic rehabilitation. There is nothing in history to match the scale of these simultaneous offensives, military and economic. Stalingrad, Kiev, Minsk, Kharkov, Smolensk, Novgorod, Pskov, Vitebsk, Voronezh, Sevastopol and many other towns and villages were rebuilt from ashes and rubble. New plants and factories were erected. The Soviet peasantry revived the collective and state farms plundered by the Nazis. The

Socialist Motherland was rapidly gaining in strength. Key enterprises, moved deep into the hinterland at the outbreak of war, were the starting point for economic upbuilding in a number of areas. The prewar industrial level had, in the main, been regained by 1948.

Despite its war losses, Soviet industry developed at a high and steady rate. From 1940 to 1960, the output of key industrial items increased as follows: steel, from 18.3 to 65 million tons; oil, from 31.1 to 148 million tons; gas, from 3,400 million to 47,000 million cubic metres; electric power, from 48,300 million to 292,000 million kwh. The structure of production changed significantly with accelerated development in such leading industries as power, engineering, chemicals, ferrous and non-ferrous metals, building materials, and such new industries as electronics, radio electronics, and nuclear power; complex mechanization and automation of production was being carried out. Technical progress was the basis for a steady rise in labor productivity. The output of foodstuffs, fabrics, footwear and consumer durables increased considerably. The quality of industrial goods was improving.

The position was much more complex in agriculture, which had suffered very heavily in the war. The collective farm peasantry and state-farm workers showed a high sense of duty and worked selflessly to rehabilitate the war-ruined farms in a short space of time. By 1950, gross agricultural output was back at the prewar level. However, in the next few years a slowdown in the development of this key branch of the economy caused definite difficulties in the supply of food and of raw materials. This was to some extent due to the limited possibilities in the early postwar period for financing and providing material and technical supplies to agriculture. The reserves latent in the socialist mode of production were also insufficiently used to develop the collective and state farms. The September (1953) Plenary Meeting of the Party's Central Committee took steps to increase material and technical assistance to the farms and give them and their members greater material incentives. Cultivation of virgin and fallow lands was an additional factor in increasing grain output.

The growth of material production made possible a number of measures to raise living standards. The wages of industrial and office workers were raised, old-age and disability pensions increased considerably, the working week reduced without any cut in wages, and large-scale housing construction started throughout the country. Fresh successes were scored in science, technology and cultural development. In scale and level of public education, the Soviet Union held a leading place among the world's nations.

Postwar conditions confronted the Communist Party with complex and momentous tasks. Practical developments confirmed the

correctness of the Party's political course, demonstrated its ability to give theoretical generalization to the experience of the masses, formulate correct political slogans, and disclose and rectify errors. In promoting the continued development of socialist democracy, the 20th Party Congress resolutely condemned the Stalin personality cult, expressed in the glorification of the role of one man—which is alien to the spirit of Marxism-Leninism—departures from the Leninist principle of collective leadership, and unwarranted repression and other violations of socialist legality that did harm to our society. These distortions, for all their gravity, did not alter the nature of socialist society, nor did they shake the foundations of socialism. The Party and the people had abiding faith in communism, and worked with enthusiasm to bring the Leninist ideals to reality, overcoming difficulties, temporary setbacks and mistakes.

The Party carried out measures to eliminate the effects of the personality cult in every sphere of Party, state and ideological work, and to assure observance of the Leninist rules and principles of Party life. The powers of the Union Republics, Territories and Regions on economic and cultural matters, and the rights of industry managers were extended. All of this heightened social, political and cultural activity and made for more efficient operation of every element of the Party, government and economic appartus. The Soviet social and political system was further consolidated and developed, the social, political and ideological unity of workers, peasants and intelligentsia was further strengthened, and the friendship of the Soviet peoples became firmer and they rallied closer around the Leninist Party.

6· *The principal result of the Soviet people's revolutionary and transforming activity under the leadership of the Communist Party is full and final victory for socialism.*

The formation of the world socialist system, and the growth of the Soviet Union's economic and defense might, changed the world balance of strength in favor of socialism, assured its final triumph and fully guaranteed the USSR against the restoration of capitalism.

Our country has traversed a meaningful path of struggle and victory. Pioneering is always hard; it calls for unceasing search, the solution of highly complex problems, and the overcoming of many contradictions and obstacles. These five decades have shown the vast complexity of reconstructing society along socialist lines. "This is a new endeavor," Lenin stressed, "there has been nothing like it in history, you cannot read about it in books" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 35, p. 265). For the first time in history, social change was carried out according to a scientifically grounded program of revolutionary action. It demanded of the Party political maturity,

efficient organization, perseverance, consistent implementation, the policy of socialist construction, a bold, creative approach in tackling complex theoretical and practical problems, and repeated verification of methods, ways and means of building the new society.

Our Party tackled the tasks of socialist construction undaunted by the novelty and size of the problems, the difficulties and unexplored paths, or temporary failures and retreats. For socialist revolution is a constructive social effort undertaken by millions and unequalled in scope and depth. The Party has always drawn strength from its strong and extensive ties wih the people, its loyalty to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, its constant creative development of revolutionary theory and critical verification of results.

A wealth of experience in building the new society has been accumulated over the decades. Lenin said: "When a country takes the path of great transformations, it is to the credit of that country and the party of its triumphant working class that they take a direct practical approach to tasks which earlier presented themselves as abstract, theoretical. This experience will not be forgotten. Whatever happens, however hard the trials of the Russian revolution and of the international socialist revolution, this experience cannot be cancelled out. It has gone down in history as a gain of socialism, and it will serve the future international revolution in building its socialist edifice" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 36, p. 383).

The historic significance of the victory of socialism in the USSR lies in the fact that the experience of our Party and people has provided broad and irrefutable confirmation of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine on the building of the new society. Soviet society has demonstrated in practice that application of scientific Marxism-Leninism fully accords with the vital interests of the workers and peasants and all working people, that comprehensive social progress is possible only through the socialist development of society, that only socialism assures the people social and national liberation, genuine democracy, enduring peace and freedom. Socialism has replaced exploitation and oppression by friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance between toiling classes and between nations; anarchy by planned development of the economy and every sphere of social life; political disfranchisement of the laboring majority by genuine popular rule. Socialism has radically changed the very purpose of social production and has given working people confidence in the future. The Soviet citizen does not face the fear of unemployment or poverty. Under socialism, the prosperity of the individual is tied in with social progress and prosperity of society as a whole. Socialist ownership opens up an era of free labor to give the working man a better life. The eman-

cipation of labor is the basic condition for real freedom of the individual. Socialism has placed all material and cultural achievements at the service of the worker.

The historic significance of the victory of socialism in the USSR lies in the fact, also, that the Soviet peoples have in practice shown the world how to resolve the cardinal contradictions of our age. The vast experience accumulated over the years in building socialism and applying, on a nation-wide scale, the principles and rules of the socialist way of life, is creatively employed by other nations.

The historic significance of the building of socialism in the USSR lies also in the fact that our experience has refuted the exploiters' contention that the working class, and the working people generally, are incapable of maintaining power for any appreciable period or of building a new society. For a long time, the Soviet people were virtually alone in confrontation with world imperialism and bore the brunt of the struggle against the combined forces of international reaction. The choice was: restrict living standards so as to build up by dint of heroic effort and in a short time, a powerful economy and defense capability, or be crushed by the combined forces of reaction.

To withstand the onslaught of imperialism, build the new society and safeguard the gains of socialism, the revolutionary people became revolutionary warriors, political fighters, and selfless workers. They won through in an unprecedentedly hard struggle and created a powerful economic, military, political and spiritual potential—a reliable bulwark of socialism throughout the world.

All Soviet generations contributed to socialist construction their labor, their courage, their thought. And never will mankind forget the momentous deeds of those who pioneered the building of socialism.

## II. THE BUILDING OF COMMUNISM—CONTINUATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE GREAT CAUSE OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

*7. The victory of socialism created the economic, social, political and spiritual conditions for transition to the construction of communist society.*

The growth of socialism into communist society is a law-governed process. Such socialist gains as public ownership, a strong and planned economy, the development of social relations, freedom from exploitation, the duty of everyone to work and the provision of jobs for all, socialist democracy, the social, political and ideological unity of society, and the achievements of science

and culture constitute a firm foundation for building communism. However, communism does not originate spontaneously; it is the result of conscious effort by the entire people, of a ceaseless search for correct solutions to the problems posed by life. Communism can be built only by the creative effort of the working people, led by the Marxist-Leninist Party.

Marxism-Leninism teaches us that the transition from socialism to communism requires the building of the necessary material and technical basis, considerably higher labor productivity, an abundance of material and cultural values, obliteration of essential distinctions between town and country, between manual and mental labor, and the affirmation of a scientific world outlook and communist ethics. Only then will it be possible to apply the fundamental principle of communism: "From each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs."

The new Program adopted by the 22nd CPSU Congress maps out the main directions of communist construction in the USSR: creation of the material and technical basis of communism, formation of communist social relations, and education of the new man. The decisions of the 23rd Congress and of the October (1964) and subsequent Central Committee Plenary meetings further substantiated and concretized these tasks in adaptation to the present conditions of Soviet society's development and available material, manpower, financial and other resources, and the international situation.

Attainment of our goals in communist construction implies:

—close cohesion of the entire Soviet people around the CPSU under the banner of Leninism, selfless labor on the part of the working class, the collective farm peasantry and the intelligentsia, and powerful development of the emulation movement on every sector of economic and cultural endeavor;

—acceleration of scientific and technical progress and greater effectiveness of social production, steady industrial growth and stable development rates in agriculture, and a continued rise, on that basis, of the people's material and cultural standards;

—full use of the advantages and potentialities of socialism in production and transport, construction, agriculture and the service industries, industrialization and broader automation of every branch of the economy;

—better application of the democratic principles of socialism, development of the working people's initiative, improvement of discipline and organization, greater responsibility to the people of executive bodies and officials, strict observance of socialist law;

—more emphasis on the socialist code of conduct and a communist attitude to one's work and to social property, education in the spirit of Soviet patriotism, proletarian internationalism and

friendship of nations; further development of science, culture and education;

—all-round strengthening of the country's defense capability, maintaining the people and the army in constant readiness to ward off possible aggression by the reactionary forces of imperialism.

The building of communism is based on science. The more complex economic structure, the scientific and technological revolution, the perfection of social relations and the rise of cultural standards, all tend to complicate and diversify the work of administration. This creates a greater demand for trained, highly competent cadres dedicated to the Party and the people, and improvement of the training and proper use of cadres is therefore an important task of the Party and the State.

Realization of the advantages of socialism, as a social system, depends on the extent of their scientific understanding and proper practical application by society. All-round perfection of centralized planning and development of democratic principles in management, bringing the masses to share in the work of government, improvement of the accounting and control system, elaboration and universal application of scientific work organization, use of modern scientific and technical devices—such are the principal means developing the system of management.

The Communist Party and the Soviet Government attach great importance to the scientific direction of economic and social processes. The measures for perfecting leadership in the economic, socio-political and cultural fields drawn up by the November (1964), March and September (1965) Central Committee Plenary Meetings and approved by the 23rd Party Congress signify a new stage in the development of Soviet society in its advance to communism.

Communism can be built only on the basis of the achievements of socialism, through the further development and perfection of its economy, social structure, political organization and spiritual life.

## Development of Socialist Production and Rising Prosperity Standards

8. *The principal economic task of Soviet society is to lay the material and technical basis of communism through development of science and technology, mechanization and automation, and a steady heightening of productivity.*

Socialist production has reached a level enabling us to build the material and technical basis of communism.

A high and stable rate of economic development is one of the decisive achievements and advantages of socialism. From 1929 to

1966, Soviet industrial production grew at an average annual rate of 11.1 per cent, compared with 4 per cent in the United States, and 2.5 per cent in Britain and France. This high growth rate has enabled the country to build up a powerful industrial structure. Industrial output increased 66-fold between 1933 and 1966; 538-fold in engineering and metal-working; 294-fold in chemicals; 22.5-fold in steel; 267-fold in electric power; 45-fold in cement; 16.2-fold in light industry; 12.8-fold in food, and 23.1-fold in all types of freight carriage.

Though the Soviet Union had to spend about 20 years fighting back aggression and rebuilding the economy, it has developed advanced engineering, power, iron and steel, fuel, chemical and electroncs industries. This year steel output will top 100 million tons. Soviet industry is capable of handling the most complex production and technical problems, and of assuring a high growth rate throughout the economy.

Industrial progress is the prerequisite for raising technological standards and production on the collective and state farms. At the close of 1966, the farms had 1,660,000 tractors and 531,000 grain harvesters. Last year, power capacity in agriculture was ten times the pre-revolutionary figure, and today nearly all state and collective farms have electric power and are using more and more power in technological processes.

However, violation of the economic laws of socialist production and of the material incentive principle, coupled with an inadequate tie-up of public and individual interests and a subjectivist approach to farm management, have had an adverse effect on the development of agriculture. The Party has taken vigorous measures to eliminate the mistakes and shortcomings in agricultural management. The March (1965) Central Committee Plenary Meeting formulated integrated economic and political measures to boost collective and state farm production. This policy, proper use of scientific and technological achievements, skilled personnel and a combination of economic and moral incentives, produce the necessary conditions for boosting agriculture, increasing crop yields and output of animal products. The 1966 grain crop of 171.2 million tons was 80 per cent above the 1940 figure; meat output, 10.8 million tons, was 130 per cent, and butter, 1.2 million tons, 210 per cent above 1940.

Fulfilment of the current Five-Year Plan (1966-70) will go a long way towards building the material and technical basis of communism and strengthening the country's economic and defense potential. Continued expansion of the socialist economy will be carried out through priority development of progressive and key industries, of the use of new techniques and scientific work organization to raise productivity, more efficient use of plant and investments,

higher quality standards and stringent economy. Farm output will increase substantially through more intensive mechanization, wider use of chemicals and more land reclamation.

Developing on the basis of modern science and technology, the Soviet economy is assuming a more balanced and harmonious structure. While maintaining higher growth rates in heavy industry, the Party aims at rapid expansion in industries catering to the material and cultural requirements of the people. These industries are undergoing technical reconstruction and their raw material and power supply is being enlarged. A major feature of the current structural changes in the economy is the trend towards more even growth rates in producer and consumer goods.

The Soviet Union has achieved uninterrupted, crisis-free economic growth, a high rate of scientific and technical development, full employment and rising living standards. Balanced economic development makes for efficient nation-wide direction of economic activity, optimal proportions, rational distribution of productive forces, and reduction of material, manpower and financial expenditure. Socialist planning, which extends to every branch of social production, goes hand in hand with factory-level operational independence and relies on the creative initiative of the working people. The theory and practice of Soviet economic planning is a major contribution to the historical experience of the peoples and to the building of communism.

Consistent implementation of the new planning and incentives system is of great importance in carrying out the socialist economy's development plans. The new system reflects the changed operational conditions, the increased scale of modern socialist production, its qualitative structural changes, and the requirements of the scientific and technological revolution. The economic reform, socialist in essence and powered by the need to bring socialist economic relations into line with the development level and character of its productive forces, signifies a new approach to economic management. Its aim and substance is to increase the role of economic methods of management, perfect centralized planning, give enterprises a wider margin of initiative and independence, and improve and maximize profitability operation. Successful implementation of the reform depends largely on correctly combining centralized management with economic initiative at enterprise level, moral and material incentives, able utilization, on a socialist basis, of the commodity-money mechanism and related economic categories, such as profit, price and credit, which in socialist conditions acquire a new social content, and on the level of organizational, ideological and educational work among the masses.

In the new conditions, the interests of society, the collective and the individual worker are more closely inter-related, and there is

a stronger incentive to make the fullest use of production resources and improve quality. The economic reform stimulates the creative activity of the people, gives them a bigger part in management and facilitates continued economic growth generally.

9. *Higher socialist production has created a firm basis for raising the Soviet people's living and cultural standards.*

In 1966, real earnings of workers in industry and construction were 6.6-fold, and real earnings of peasants 8.5-fold, the 1913 figure.

The contributing factors in rising living standards are first, higher wages and salaries, earnings, in cash and kind, of collective farmers, reduction of retail prices and reduction and abolition of taxes; second, greater social expenditure to meet the requirements, free of charge or at nominal charge, of the population in education, medical care, social security and recreation.

The main source of income at present is payment for work. Average money wages of industrial and office workers increased by more than 50 per cent in 1950-66. The last few years have seen a marked rise in earnings of workers in the lower wage brackets. Earnings of collective farmers have gone up, and they are now assured a guaranteed regular income. The Soviet people eat better, dress better and have better and more diversified cultural amenities.

In socialist society, with its principle of "from each according to his abilities, to each according to his work," labor is the only source and measure of well-being, the underlying criterion of social standing. Under socialism, there still remain social and economic distinctions between different kinds of work. Consequently, material remuneration is determined by the quality and quantity of a person's work, by his contribution to society. Egalitarianism would undermine material incentives and discourage professional and cultural improvement.

The socialist system of society offers moral and material incentives to increase one's skill and knowledge and attain higher productivity. The urge to contribute more to the common weal finds striking expression in the mass socialist emulation and communist work movements, involving tens of millions of workers, farmers and intellectuals.

More state funds are appropriated every year for social insurance and pensions; 34 million persons receive old-age and disability pensions; sick benefits and family grants are being increased, and considerable amounts are being invested in curative and recreation facilities. A uniform pension system has been introduced for collective farmers.

In Soviet society, education is state-financed. A considerable section of higher-school and technical-school students receive state

scholarships, and working students are allowed additional paid holidays.

State funds are also widely used for family assistance and the maintenance of child-care institutions. More than 8 million children attend nursery schools. Large amounts go into grants to large families and unmarried mothers, maternity and post-maternity benefits.

The entire population enjoys free medical care. There are 578,000 physicians of all specialities, more than 20 times the number before the revolution. There is an extensive network of hospitals, out-patient departments, medical centres, sanatoria and rest homes. A considerable portion of the population receive free or cut-price accommodation at nursing homes and holiday camps.

Meeting the housing needs of the population is one of our most important problems. The Communist Party and the Soviet Government are taking energetic measures to solve it, and the USSR holds a leading place in scope and rate of housing construction. Some 11 million Soviet people move into new flats every year. Over the past 10 years, nearly half of the population moved into new flats or improved their housing conditions.

The working week has been reduced without cutting, in fact increasing, wages. In the main, industrial workers have a 41-hour week, which is 18 hours less than in 1913. The transition to a five-day week with two holidays is to be completed, in the main, by the 50th anniversary of the Revolution.

There will be a further improvement of living standards in the current five-year plan period, resulting from economic growth and higher productivity. Wages of industrial workers, engineers, technicians and office workers will be further increased, along with the earnings of collective farmers. The cultural and general services are being improved, and steps are being taken to improve trade and public catering.

Each contributes to the development and prosperity of society, and society shows solicitude for each of its members—that is a characteristic feature of the Soviet way of life. The new country-wide socialist emulation movement to mark the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution is an expression of the high political consciousness, enthusiasm and initiative of the people.

## The Social Structure of Soviet Society and the Development of Socialist Democracy

10. *Soviet society consists of friendly classes and groups of working people, and is characterized by a community of economic, social, political and ideological interests, and the common desire of the people to build communism.*

The *working class* is the leading creative force of the new society. The half-century that our state has been in existence has confirmed one of the most important tenets of Marxism-Leninism about the historic mission of the working class. The working class played the leading role in overthrowing the exploiting system and in establishing a new socio-economic formation. Its goal is to do away with class distinctions and build a classless, communist society. Being the bearer of socialist patriotism it is, at the same time, free of national egoism and champions the solidarity of the working people of all countries.

Industrial development is attended by a growth in the number of workers, who now account for more than a half of all the working people in our country. Radical changes are taking place in the proficiency of Soviet workers, in their technical and cultural level and in the content and nature of their labor. Today about 50 per cent of the workers have either a secondary or eight-year school education. All this has made for higher labor productivity and extensive public activity by Soviet workers, has broadened their cultural requirements and made possible the mass rationalization and innovation movement in production. The labor of a worker who operates modern machines and controls complex production processes is becoming more like that of an engineer or a technician.

Being connected with industry, which is one of the material mainstays of socialist society, the working class, as the most advanced and organized social force, plays the leading role also during communist construction.

Socialism has fundamentally changed the position of the *peasantry*. The peasantry, a true ally of the working class, have become an active force in building communist society. With the establishment of big socialist state and collective farms and the mechanization of agricultural production, farm work has been brought substantially closer to industrial labor. The general education and the cultural and technical level of agricultural workers is steadily rising. The basic distinctions between town and country are gradually being obliterated. The appearance of the village is changing. Soviet peasants are using more and more modern machines. They are raising the productivity of labor and are improving their living conditions and raising their cultural level.

In the period of communist construction, the Soviet *intelligentsia* plays an increasingly bigger role in all spheres of social activity. Its interests are inseparable from those of the workers and peasants. The number of intellectuals, especially in the technological field, is rapidly growing as a result of the swift advance of production, science and technology. In 1913 Russia's economy employed about 200,000 specialists with a high or secondary specialized education; in 1966 their number totalled about 13,000,000. Socialism gives

intellectuals broad possibilities for working creatively. Communist construction gives them wider scope for applying their knowledge and skill to the designing of new machines, the management of production, the education and upbringing of young builders of communist society, and to the promotion of culture, science, literature and art.

Social distinctions are gradually being obliterated as a result of the powerful upsurge of the productive forces, the development of socialist social relations, and the rising living and cultural standards. Communist construction raises the cooperation of the classes and social groups of our society to a new level. Working shoulder to shoulder they create the material basis of communism, improve social relations and consolidate the moral, political and ideological unity of the people.

11. *Relations of equality, friendship and cooperation between nations and nationalities have been established in Soviet society, and firm foundations have been laid for drawing them closer together and promoting their prosperity.*

Fully corresponding to the interests of each individual nation and to the interests of the community of the Soviet nations as a whole, these relations are a powerful accelerator of social progress.

The productive forces, modern industry and socialist agriculture of all the Union republics are making swift progress; the working class, collective farmers and intelligentsia are growing numerically. Economic cooperation between the Soviet nations is growing in scale and becoming more diversified; each of them is making an increasing contribution to building communism. The economy of the USSR is a single integrated complex and the objective basis for the further drawing together of nations. The Soviet peoples feel the benefits of the increasing exchange of their material and spiritual values, which has become vital for them.

Internationalist traits are developing rapidly among the socialist nations on the basis of the community of economic and social interests; Soviet traditions of the builders of communism are becoming firmly established. Community of aims, and Marxist-Leninist ideology, allegiance to the communist cause, profound internationalism and Soviet patriotism, respect for national dignity, friendship and fraternity—such are the characteristic features of the working people of the single and, at the same time, multinational socialist society. The CPSU is consistently working to overcome the survivals of national narrow-mindedness, parochialism, nationalism and chauvinism.

All Soviet peoples have their own culture that is national in form and socialist in content. More than 40 nationalities evolved a written language only after the October Revolution. Socialism has created conditions for the burgeoning and mutual enrichment

of national cultures. While preserving and enriching their best national features and traditions and surmounting obsolescent forms, each national culture draws on the cultural achievements of other nations. The Russian language has become a medium of exchange of scientific knowledge and cultural values between nations. The advancement of national cultures and languages gives each nation every possibility to use and absorb the cultural wealth of all Soviet peoples.

The Soviet experience is proving to the world the viability of the Leninist nationalities policy. By solving the national question, our country has incontrovertibly proved that the active and independent making of history is not a monopoly of "chosen" nations, that it is within reach of all peoples. The multi-national Soviet socialist state demonstrates in practice the triumph of proletarian internationalism.

12. *Socialist statehood and democracy are raised to a higher level in the period of communist construction.*

The role of the socialist state, particularly in economic and organizational activity and cultural and educational development, is steadily enchanced in the process of communist construction. This is achieved by drawing wide sections of the people into the administration of public affairs. The power of the people in our country is exercised above all through the Soviets, the representative bodies of the people combining the features of government and mass organizations. The strength of the Soviet socialist state derives from its broad social base. With the victory of socialism the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat becomes a political organization of the whole people under the leadership of the working class.

The state of the whole people is a new stage in the development of socialist statehood into public communist self-government. It continues the cause of the dictatorship of the proletariat—the building of communism—and together with other socialist states wages a class struggle against imperialism in the international arena. The road to public self-government lies through the further development of the socialist state and socialist democracy. This finds concrete expression in the increasing role played by the Soviets of Working People's Deputies, in the enlistment of more people into their work on a voluntary basis, in giving workers' collectives and mass organizations a bigger say in production matters as well as in social affairs and cultural life.

With the development of Soviet society, the trade unions play an increasing role as schools of administration, economic management and communism. The trade unions unite more than 80 million industrial, office and other workers. They are a reliable support of the Party and a great organizing force in promoting the country's

productive forces, raising the productivity of labor and accelerating scientific and technological progress. Soviet trade unions actively participate in economic planning and management, in promoting socialist emulation and stimulating technical innovation and conscious labor discipline. They have the right to initiate bills; they administer state social insurance and, jointly with government agencies, control the measure of labor and consumption and see to it that labor legislation is observed. They help to improve working and living conditions and organize holiday facilities for the people. The trade unions administer a ramified system of cultural and educational establishments and promote physcial culture, sports and tourism. The further consolidation of the trade unions and enhancement of their role in the life of Soviet society is essential for communist construction.

The Lenin Young Communist League which has a membership of over 20 million young men and women, is an active assistant and the reserve of the Party and organizer of the Soviet youth. The Komsomol, the glorious Soviet youth, have demonstrated selfless devotion to the Party's cause at all stages of socialist construction. The Komsomol helps the Party to educate the younger generation in a spirit of loyalty to the ideas of communism. The Komsomol, the Soviet youth are following the road charted by their fathers, are continuing the traditions of the October Revolution.

Cooperative, cultural, technical, scientific, sports, defense and other mass organizations which play an important part in public life, are being extensively developed.

As distinct from bourgeois democracy, under which social rights and freedoms are purely formal for considerable sections of the population, socialist democracy, which arose on the basis of publc ownership, guarantees the people social and political rights and freedom of the individual and opens before them broad possibilities for participating in the administration of state, economic and public affairs. In the Soviets and at Party, trade union and general meetings, through the public control bodies and through the press, radio and television the working people advance suggestions on different aspects of public life, discuss bills, criticize shortcomings and errors, combat laxity and violations of law.

Inalienable social and political rights imply strict observance by all members of society of their duties: to safeguard and increase public property, work conscientiously, maintain law and order and defend the socialist Motherland. Socialist democracy is incompatible with an individualistic attitude and anarchistic disregard for civic duty, with any actions detrimental to the public interest.

The promotion of socialist democracy makes it possible to ac-

celerate economic and social development, to more rapidly and effectively tackle the problems of communist construction.

13. *The Communist Party is the leading and guiding force of Soviet society.*

In all its activity the Party is guided by the great teaching of Marxism-Leninsm. Relying on revolutionary theory and cognition of the objective laws of social development, the Communist Party shapes and implements its policy in the economic, social and cultural spheres. Organic unity between science and politics is a cardinal principle of Party leadership.

The great Lenin taught us that there can be no revolutionary movement without revolutionary theory. The Party and Lenin elaborated such fundamental problems of Marxist theory as the ways of accomplishing the proletarian revolution and waging a liberation struggle, the peaceful and non-peaceful path of revolution, the alliance of the working class and the peasantry in the revolutionary struggle, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the guiding role of the Party in revolution and in socialist construction, the possibility of building socialism at first in one country, the ways of building up the socialist economy and drawing the peasantry and the intelligentsia into socialist construction, the solution of the national question, the content and methods of carrying out the cultural revolution, and so on.

By creatively developing and enriching Marxism-Leninism, the Party shows the way to the Soviet people in the fight for communism. By revealing the laws governing the development of socialism into communism, the Party showed the paramount importance of creating the material and technical basis of communism, elaborated the scientific principles of economic organization and management, theoretically substantiated the development of the socialist state into communist self-government, and charted the ways to raising socialist social relations to a higher level and fostering communist consciousness among the members of socialist society; it is playing an important part in tackling the urgent problems of contemporary world development, of the world Communist and working-class movement.

The science of building socialist society, now embodied in Soviet reality, is an outstanding contribution to the treasure-store of Marxism-Leninism. The three Party Programs, each corresponding to the most important historical stages in the development of socialism, are a concentrated expression of the Party's revolutionary thought and revolutionary practice.

While itself possessing a wealth of theory and unparalleled experience in applying it in revolutionary struggle and in building a new society, our Party highly appreciates the achievements of Marxist-Leninist thought in other countries. It takes them into

account and uses them in its theoretical and practical work, in the struggle for socialism and communism.

The CPSU is a living political organism whose development is inseparably linked with the building of the new society. Democratic centralism in an indispensable condition of its activity as a political organism. In the 50 years of Soviet power the Party has become a tremendous force uniting in its ranks more than 12,800,-000 Communists, the foremost representatives of the working class and all working people. Concern for the purity of its ranks and that each Communist be worthy of and justify the high calling of member of the CPSU is a law of life of the Party, of all its bodies. The working class occupies and will continue to occupy the leading place in the Party. The Communist Party is flesh of the flesh of the working class, of the people who work and create, and it constantly feels their unanimous support. The Party prizes the trust of the people and it has no interests other than those of the people.

The Party preserves the continuity of the general line. It has upheld it in uncompromising struggle against Trotskyism, petty-bourgeois adventurism, the Right opportunists, national deviationists and other anti-Leninist trends and groups.

The CPSU has accumulated a wealth of experience in guiding communist construction and the domestic and foreign policy of the country. Exercising its leadership through a system of government and mass organizations, the Party unites and directs their efforts towards one common goal by organizational, ideological and educational methods. The Party promotes the initiative of local government and economic bodies, ensuring their maximum efficiency.

The Party makes high demands of the Communists, expects them to broaden their knowledge of theory and politics, educates them in a spirit of irreconciliability towards inertness and supports everything that is new and progressive. It gives every encouragement to business-like and principled criticism and self-criticism aimed at improving the work of Party, government and non-government organizations.

As socialism develops the greater becomes the role of the Party. This is conditioned by the bigger and more complex problems that arise in the remaking of society, by the increased creative activity of the masses and the expansion of socialist democracy.

The October 1964 and subsequent plenary meetings of the Central Committee, and the 23rd Party Congress outlined measures aimed at accomplishing the urgent tasks of economic, political and cultural development. Translating these decisions into reality is the sum and substance of the present activity of the CPSU and the whole Soviet people.

## The Spiritual Culture of Socialism and the Communist Education of the People

14. *In Soviet society spiritual culture serves the interests of the people and communist construction.*

Before the Revolution the number of pupils in general education schools of all types totalled 9,656,000; in 1966, the figure was 48,170,000; in tsarist Russia there were 127,000 students at the institutions of higher learning; in 1966 the student body in the Soviet Union totalled 4,123,000. In 1966, there were 124,000 public libraries in the country, or almost 9 times as many as before the Revolution. Such mass media as the press, radio, the cinema and television, which have placed cultural values within reach of the people, and are an active factor of communist education, have been extensively developed.

The finest achievements of Soviet culture have become part and parcel of the life of our people. They have enriched the treasure-house of progressive world culture, have won world fame. Socialist culture rejects all forms of reactionary ideology that spiritually enslaves and disarms the individual. Soviet culture holds aloft the banner of revolutionary humanism.

The 20th century is the century of a great scientific and technological revolution. Science is rapidly becoming a direct productive force. But only a socialist society opens up possibilities for extensive and planned development of scientific research, for using scientific achievements in the interests of the working man and for finding solutions to the social problems arising from the scientific and technological revolution. Marx's prediction has come true that socialism as a working society will treat scientifically the process of its progressive and ever-increasing reproduction.

From the first years of Soviet power science became the concern of the state, of the Party and the people. Even in the most difficult periods of the country the Soviet Government did not stint means to organize an extensive network of research institutes, to develop the basic and applied trends in science and to establish an experimental base for scientific research and for training personnel. Over 700,000 scientific workers, or a quarter of the world's total, are employed at scientific institutions, higher educational establishments and other organizations in the Soviet Union. A country-wide system for coordinating and directing science has been created, in which the leading role is played by the USSR Academy of Sciences and the Academies of Sciences of the Union Republics.

Soviet people are legitimately proud that the world's first socialist state has produced outstanding scientists who have made an

immense contribution to scientific and technological progress and who are the pride of Soviet and world science.

Soviet science has helped to introduce new technological processes into production, create huge atomic and power engineering industries, develop enormous mineral resources and evolve new, excellent varieties of crops and breeds of animals. It has achieved signal successes in mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, medicine, geology and other spheres of knowledge. Soviet scientific achievement is epitomized in the study and conquest of outer space. Our country pioneered outer space exploration, it was the first to launch an artificial earth satellite and the first to send a man into outer space. This is the result of the dedicated labor and talent of Soviet scientists, engineers, technicians and workers, of the courage and intrepidity of our glorious cosmonauts.

The social sciences are developing on the methological basis of Marxism-Leninism. If they are to make progress it is essential that they be linked with practice, with the vital tasks of communist construction, that they cultivate the creative, revolutionary-critical spirit of Marxism-Leninism. Guided by the Leninist principle of partisanship, the social sciences are acquiring increasing importance in the communist education of the people, in the struggle against bourgeois ideology and opportunist views of all kinds.

Soviet scientists are working on the main promising theoretical trends and sciences, on increasing the practical effectiveness of research. The Party is doing everything to have the results of scientific investigation implemented in production as speedily as possible. The further improvement of the organization of science and its planning, the promotion and encouragement of talented young scientists, creative research and scientific discussions are essential prerequisites for accelerating the development of science.

Socialism has opened broad vistas to literature and art. Socialist realism has taken shape in the arts during the years of Soviet power. Its distinguishing features are that it is deeply rooted in the people and embodies communist ideals, that it is imbued with revolutionary humanism and the spirit of civic duty, that it portrays reality, that it is irreconcilable to bourgeois ideology and morality. Ideological integrity, an irreconcilable attitude to all that hinders progress, a spirit of innovation are characteristic of our art. Soviet art reflects the historical road traversed by the Soviet people, their heroism and achievements in building communist society. A new type of artist has emerged who sees it as his civic duty to take part in the building of the new world.

Mass amateur art has become an organic part of cultural life. Millions of people are cultivating their talent and aesthetic tastes in amateur art societies. Amateur art is a wonderful means for

bringing cultural values within the reach of the masses and for stimulating the harmonious development of the individual.

The Party will continue to do everything necessary to further the all-round spiritual progress of Soviet society.

15. *Educating the working people in a spirit of lofty communist consciousness is an important condition for the transition to communism.*

Economic and political transformations made for profound changes in social consciousness; the ideological unity of Soviet society took firmer root. Marxist-Leninist ideology became a powerful motive force of social development, an important factor in rallying the Soviet people, and a source of their socio-political and labor activity. A new generation grew up, educated in a spirit of selfless devotion to communist ideals, convinced of the justice of our great cause. The new Soviet man was moulded, the fighter, revolutionary and conscious worker.

All this creates favorable conditions for accomplishing the new and more complex tasks of communist education, of moulding the individual to harmoniously combine ideological steadfastness, discipline, diligence, spiritual wealth, moral purity and physical perfection.

This is a long and complex process which depends on the material and cultural conditions of life, and on the depth and scope of ideological and political work. The socialist ideology has as its purpose to give a scientific, realistic idea of the tasks to be tackled and of the ways of achieving communism, to show the continuity in the development of Soviet society, the connection between lofty ideals and the interests of the individual, the solution of practical workaday tasks and the overcoming of difficulties, to establish unity between word and deed, thought and action.

Ideological work is at present proceeding in a situation of heightened socio-political and labor activity by the Soviet people, in a situation of a tense class struggle on the international arena. Its main tasks have been defined in the decisions of the 23rd Party Congress and the Party Program. They are, above all, to develop a high level of political consciousness and a communist attitude to work and to public property, to educate the working people and the rising generation in a spirit of Soviet patriotism, proletarian internationalism, an irreconcilable attitude to bourgeois ideology and readiness to defend the gains of socialism.

The Party attaches primary importance to the Marxist-Leninist education of Communists, leading cadres in particular, to improving ideological and educational work among the population. It is working tirelessly to improve the system of Party education, and also such mass media of ideological, political and ethical education as the press, television, radio and the cinema. The Party re-

gards quicker and timely information, closer ties between propaganda and life, and the deepening of its theoretical content as a most important means of making ideological work more effective.

In its ideological work the Party proceeds from the Leninist precept that communist education is impossible without conscious labor and social activity. Hence its policy of drawing the working people into discussing and tackling the practical problems of social life.

Scientific and technological progress, the economic reform, the expansion of socialist democracy—all this makes great demands on the nature and content of human activity in every sphere of social life, requires a high level of political consciousness, organization and responsibility. The training of skilled specialists must go hand in hand with the moulding of lofty ideals, communist ethics and respect for the rules of the socialist way of life. Discipline and self-discipline, a thrifty attitude to public property, principled behavior, respect for others, a sense of personal dignity and civic duty, and an irreconcilable attitude to all manifestations of anti-social behavior—such are the inalienable features of communist morality. Persuasion, example and strictness are essential in bringing up the rising generation. The collective, an important link in the economic, social and cultural life of socialist society, plays a very big role in shaping the ideological and ethical qualities of the Soviet man.

The ideological struggle in the world arena is growing increasingly sharper. The greater the successes scored by socialism, the deeper the contradictions of world capitalism, the more refined become the methods used by the imperialists in their struggle against communism. Bourgeois propaganda is trying to obscure the principal social antagonisms and evils of the modern capitalist world, to dull the political awareness and paralyze the will of the working people in the fight for socialism. Imperialist ideology is trying to inject the idea of individualism into the minds of the masses, to distract them from politics and the solution of fundamental social problems. It is pinning its hopes on a revival of the prejudices and survivals of the past. It is the task of communist education to combat the influence of alien morals and traditions, to overcome the negative features in the thinking and behavious of men.

There can be no question of neutrality in the struggle against the bourgeois ideology, against anti-communism. It is a class struggle, a struggle for man, for the triumph of freedom and the progress of mankind.

*Our aim is communism. The Party links the solution of the immediate practical tasks with the attainment of the long-term target —the building of communism.*

The glorious road of struggle for communism, which unites the past, the present and the future into one, runs from the October days of 1917 through the grim years of war, and the years of creative endeavor. The new generation of builders of communism cherish the revolutionary traditions and are doing everything to realize the great ideals of Marxism-Leninism.

The building of communism is a complex process. Embracing the sphere of material production, social relations and social consciousness, it involves such tasks as to overcome difficulties and resolve contradictions, subjugate nature, find effective solutions for the problems that arise, and fight against imperialism. But a great goal inspires the people to accomplish great things. Communism is created by the dedicated day-to-day labor of the workers in plants and factories, the peasants on collective- and state-farm fields, by the creative efforts of the intelligentsia.

The transition from socialism to communism is a natural historical process. As socialist society develops and becomes stronger, it grows into communist society. Our progress is progress towards communism. Any attempts artificially to slow down or skip the necessary stages in this advance inevitably clash with the law-governed process of social development. As we build factories and plants, consolidate collective and state farms, improve social relations and multiply our spiritual wealth we create a highly organized society of conscious and free working men and women devoted to the ideals of communism. Communism is the material embodiment of humanism. "Everything for the sake of man, everything for the benefit of man," is a principle written into the Party Progrem.

The Soviet Union has all that is needed to build communism: highly-trained personnel, a powerful industry and a devoted agriculture, modern science and technology, a progressive social system, vast natural resources. The Soviet people are directing all their energy, their creative endeavor to accomplishing the great tasks of communist construction, and they will accomplish them under the leadership of the Party.

## III. THE GREAT OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION AND THE WORLD REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS

The October Revolution marked the beginning of the revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism throughout the world. During the past 50 years the world revolutionary process has been developing dynamically, bringing in more and more countries and peoples. This development has been going on in struggle with imperialism, which tenaciously resists the forces of re-

volution and mounts counter-offensives wherever it can. At the same time the world revolutionary movement encounters internal difficulties due to its rapid growth and the heteorogeneity of the social forces participating in the anti-imperialist struggle. However, the main trend of mankind's historical progress, determined by the October Revolution, has asserted itself firmly: its main content, direction and features are now determined by the world socialist system, by the anti-imperialist forces striving for the socialist reorganization of society.

16. *The experience of the 50 post-Revolution years has borne out the conclusion of revolutionary theory that capitalism is doomed.*

Imperialism has strikingly revealed the anti-popular character and intrinsic evils of the modern capitalist system. It brought on two world wars, which took a toll of 60 million lives, and now it threatens to unleash a third world war that would involve the use of missiles and nuclear weapons. Local wars and punitive expeditions against the national liberation movement (witness the U.S. imperialist aggression in Vietnam, the Israeli invasion of Arab countries), militarization of the economy, inroads on democracy and an effort to establish terroristic fascist regimes (the most recent example being the reactionary coup in Greece) are the more obvious manifestations of the reactionary nature of imperialism.

The conclusion of Marxist Leninist theory that capitalist relations have become an obstacle preventing the productive forces from developing in the interests of the people, of the working man, has been fully confirmed. This is demonstrated by the devastating economic crisis of 1929-33, the stagnation of production in subsequent years, the cyclic crises that hit a number of countries after the Second World War, the general instability of the capitalist economy, the fact that industry is constantly working below capacity, and the growing economic insecurity of the working people. The imperialist policy of plunder, of colonialism and neocolonialism, is directly responsible for the economic and technological backwardness of dozens of Asian, African and Latin American countries.

The positions of imperialism in world economy and politics have been considerably undermined. Imperialism uses every opportunity to prolong its existence. Modern capitalism is, first and foremost, state-monopoly capitalism, which adapts itself to the struggle between the two world systems. In view of the modern level of the productive forces, the specific features of the worldwide class struggle, the successes of the socialist countries and the intensification of class battles within the capitalist world, the imperialists maneuver in an effort to curb phenomena that are particularly destructive and socially dangerous to them, such as anarchy of production, economic crises and mass unemployment.

They widely resort to government regulation of the economy, introduce new and more disguised, but essentially no less ruthless, methods of exploitation, and step up social demagogy.

However, no innovations can change the exploiting character of capitalism, no maneuvers can cure it of its basic evils nor remove its unsolvable contradictions. The scientific and technological revolution, increasing state-monopoly regulation and a certain growth of production due to it inevitably lead to greater socialization of production in the imperialist countries, to sharper class contradictions, and to substantial changes in the alignment of the social and political forces. This creates objective conditions for the further growth of anti-imperialist forces, which must effect the revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism under the leadership of the working class.

17. *The revolutionary renovation of the world, begun by the October Revolution and embodied in the triumph of socialism in the USSR, has been continued by the victories of socialist revolutions in other countries. The emergence of the world socialist system was the most important historic event after the October Revolution.*

A number of countries embarked on the socialist road immediately after the Second World War and in later years, confirming the Marxist-Leninist theory about the inevitable triumph of the new social system. Socialism in those countries is being built in more favorable conditions, for they were able from the first to rely on the socialist community, on the Soviet Union for support.

True to its internationalist duty, the homeland of the October Revolution rendered, and continues to render, extensive support to fraternal socialist countries. The Communist and Workers' parties can draw upon the rich experience of building socialism in the USSR. In turn, the progress made by a whole group of countries along the road blazed by the October Revolution helps the Soviet Union build communism.

The example of many peoples shows that there are a number of general laws governing the transition from capitalism to socialism which first became manifest in the course of the socialist transformation of the USSR. The fact that every nation adds many new features to the forms and methods of this transition has also been confirmed. The experience gained by the socialist countries has provided a fuller and more specific understanding of both the general laws and the diverse forms and methods of building socialism.

Within a short period most of the socialist countries having a low economic level became highly-developed states with a high standard of living and rapidly developing science and culture. The socialist countries are ahead of the capitalist countries in econo-

mic growth rates. In 1966 their industrial product was ten times that of the same territory in 1937, while in the capitalist world industrial output rose only 3.6-fold in the same period.

Progress in the socialist economy, thanks above all to profound changes brought by the scientific and technological revolution, presupposes increasingly effective economic management, scientific planning and cost accounting, and greater moral and material incentives for the working people to develop production. The economic reforms now under way in many socialist countries are aimed at making social production more effective, at utilizing the reserves of the socialist economy and creating conditions for socialism to score further gains in the economic competition with capitalism.

As a result of the effort of the working people led by Marxist-Leninist parties, the foundations of socialism have been built in most of the countries that have taken the socialist road, and a society of working classes has been formed in which the whole people are becoming more and more united socially, politically and ideologically. The fruitful extension of socialist democracy and the enlistment of the masses in active participation in political life and in the solution of all social problems make for the consolidation of the new system and help it to utilize all its potentialities.

18. *The victories and achievements of socialism are inseparable from the formation and development of new, socialist international relations based on the principles of equality and national sovereignty, all-round mutually beneficial cooperation and fraternal reciprocal assistance of the socialist countries.*

The growing harmony between the countries that have embarked on the socialist road, the close bonds linking them together in the socialist community meet the fundamental interests of the peoples. They are based on the fact that they have a socio-economic and political system of the same type, a single Marxist-Leninist ideology, and common tasks in the struggle against imperialism, for peace, democracy and socialism. The idea of proletarian internationalism, which has always been the leading principle of the Communist movement, has found a new vivid embodiment in the economic, political and defense cooperation of sovereign socialist countries led by the working class and its Marxist-Leninist parties.

The formation of international relations of a new type is a complex and many-sided process involving the overcoming of the grim heritage left by the age-long rule of the exploiting classes—national aloofness, strife and mistrust. The distinctions in economic and social development, class structure, historical and cultural traditions inherited from the past give rise to objective difficulties in

the fulfilment of such urgent tasks as the establishment of comprehensive cooperation and the organization of a system of socialist international division of labor.

All these gigantic tasks have to be carried out by the Communist parties for the first time. And while the formation of socialist international relations is still in progress it would be hard to overestimate the importance of what has been achieved in the 20 years of the world socialist system's existence. A solid foundation has been laid for the community of socialist countries, various forms have been created for their economic, political and military cooperation (the Council for Mutual Economic Aid, the Warsaw Treaty Organization, bilateral treaties, and so on), and considerable experience has been accumulated in joint action by socialist nations in the world arena.

Loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism is an earnest of the successful development of the world socialist community and the growth of its influence on world developments. At the same time, any deviation from Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism is fraught with dire consequences to the cause of socialism and the genuine national interests of the peoples. The situation in China testifies to this.

In the first years following the triumph of the revolution, which dealt a heavy blow at imperialism, the Chinese people made important progress in the social reorganization of their country and in developing its economy and culture. This progress was largely due to the comprehensive political, economic, military and cultural cooperation of the Chinese People's Republic with the socialist community, with the Soviet Union.

At the end of the fifties the CPC leadership adopted a new line in foreign and domestic policy, which was a deviation from Marxism-Leninism and flagrantly contradicted the principles of proletarian internationalism and the basic laws of building a socialist society. The Mao Tse-tung group took up a policy which combined petty-bourgeois adventurism with great-power chauvinism disguised by "Left" phraseology; it openly set out to undermine the unity of the socialist commonwealth and to split the world Communist movement.

The adventurist line of the Mao Tse-tung group seriously weakened the positions of the Communist Party and the Chinese working class and turned loose petty-bourgeois and anarchist elements. It seriously threatens the socialist achievements of China.

The Soviet people have always considered the great Chinese people a friend and ally in the struggle for the revolutionary transformation of society. Renunciation of the present ruinous policy by the CPC, and the strengthening of relations between the People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union and other socialist

countries would promote the interests of world socialism and, primarily, those of China herself.

True to Lenin's behests, the CPSU consistently upholds the standards and principles of relations between socialist countries worked out collectively and opposes all violations of these principles. Greater political and economic cooperation and closer unity of the socialist countries clear the road for new successes, ensure the growing might of the world socialist system and the enhancement of its influence on social development.

Being in the forefront of the struggle against imperialism, for peace and social progress, the socialist community makes a decisive contribution to the development of the revolutionay process.

19. *The Great October Socialist Revolution dealt a crushing blow at the whole system of imperialist colonial rule, and gave a powerful stimulus to the national liberation movement.*

With the victory of the October Revolution there came the crisis of the colonial system of imperialism. The Soviet Republic, which brought about an alliance of the socialist revolution and the national liberation movement, became a model for and a reliable bulwark of the liberation struggle.

Throughout its history, in keeping with Lenin's behests, the Soviet Union has consistently conducted a policy of giving every assistance to the national liberation forces against imperialism, for freedom and social progress.

After the Second Warld War, at a time when imperialism as a whole had grown weaker, the world socialist system had come into being and there was a powerful upswing of the working-class and democratic movement, the capitalist system of colonial oppression collapsed under the impact of anti-imperialist national liberation revolutions. More than 70 independent national states were formed in what had been colonial territory.

The imperialists seek to keep their former colonies in economic and social dependence, to fetter their social and cultural progress. However, the peoples refuse to remain objects of imperialist exploitation. They strive to promote and consolidate their independence, look for a road of economic and social development that would enable them to solve the complicated problems facing them in the shortest possible time. They have before them a reality showing how the non-Russian peoples of the border regions of Russia, once oppressed by tsarism, eliminated their economic and cultural backwardness in a short period and achieved remarkable successes in all fields of social life with the support of the victorious Russian proletariat. They can also see this from the example of the Mongolian People's Republic, which is successfully building socialism.

The revolutionary-democratic forces of some newly-free coun-

tries have embarked their countries on a non-capitalist course and are now taking far-reaching steps to that effect. The revolutionary-democratic parties are expanding their ties with the international working-class and Communist movement, and are evincing greater interest in the ideology of scientific socialism. Unity of the national-democratic and other progressive forces in the effort for social reform is a highly important condition for these countries to develop successfully and overcome the serious difficulties facing them at home and abroad.

In many young national states, the polarization between the social forces fighting for progressive social development and the reactionary circles entering into collusion with the imperialists is becoming more pronounced. Imperialism, primarily US. imperialism, has been and continues to be the main enemy of the national liberation movement. With the support of internal reaction, it organizes conspiracies and coups, foments strife between nations, fosters reactionary nationalism and provokes territorial disputes between newly-free states.

The world socialist system actively supports the courageous struggle of the peoples of the former colonial and semi-colonial world against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism. It renders them political and economic assistance and, if necessary, helps to strengthen their armed forces and their defenses. The alliance of the forces of socialism and the national liberation movement is an important prerequisite of the success of the struggle against imperialism for freedom, national independence and social progress.

20. *The revolutionary transformation of the world initiated by the October Revolution has created new conditions for the struggle of the international working class for its immediate and ultimate aims. The organization and the international bonds of its various contingents have strengthened. The triumph of the October Revolution has made the working class the central factor of the present epoch.*

The consolidation of the forces of socialism increasingly influences the correlation of class forces in the capitalist world. Objective material conditions for the socialist revolution have developed within bourgeois society. Subjective conditions for a revolutionary transition to socialism are also taking shape under the impact of mounting class contradictions. The refined tactics and forced concessions of the bourgeoisie could not stop the process of the masses becoming revolutionized.

The October Revolution opened up greater possibilities for the masses in the capitalist countries to acquire socialist class consciousness. They see the advantages of socialism in its actual achievements. The fact that the position of the working man has

radically changed under socialism has given the proletariat new stimuli in its struggle. The working people in the West have won their most important gains under the direct impact of the October Revolution and the socialist countries' successes in building socialism and communism. These successes and the example set by the socialist countries are a powerful factor intensifying the class struggle, which is taking an increasing variety of forms.

Under state-monopoly capitalism, with the proletariat directly confronted in the economic sphere not only by individual employers and their associations but also by the bourgeois state, the economic struggle of the working people objectively assumes a political character. The working class advances direct political demands with growing insistence, and fights against monopoly rule and the aggressive and reactionary policies of imperialist governments, for democracy and social progress.

The role of the working class in the economic and political life of the capitalist countries has increased substantially in 50 years. The progressive trade unions that have appeared and grown strong in the capitalist countries are now playing an important role in the working-class struggle against the offensive of the capitalist monopolies, for the economic, social and political rights of the working people. The international unity of the trade unions against imperialism, for peace and social progress is becoming more solid.

The working class of the capitalist countries is stepping up militant action against the domination of the monopolies and the governments they control. And if thus far is has not succeeded in realizing its socialist ideals, this is largely due to the split in its ranks. Today more favorable conditions are shaping for overcoming this split. The successes of socialism have convincingly demonstrated that the ultimate goals of the working class can be achieved only through a radical reorganization of society. At the same time history has proved the futility of the reformist way. In no country have Social Democratic governments done anything to shake the foundations of capitalist rule. Workers supporting the Social Democrats and the Catholic parties and trade unions are becoming more and more aware of the necessity to approach social problems from class positions and to cooperate with Communists in solving these problems.

The changes in the balance of class forces in various countries and on a world scale that have occurred in the fifty years since the October Revolution have broadened the possibilities of effecting the transition from capitalism to socialism, of accomplishing the socialist revolution.

At a time when the united anti-monopoly front is consolidating and expanding, and when the working class and its allies are gaining in political weight in society, they can make wider use of the

democratic rights and institutions they have won to combat monopoly rule. Democratic reforms expressing the interests of the working class and the non-proletarian sections of the working people and effected under the pressure of the masses result in the consolidation of the positions of the progressive forces, and expand the bridgehead for launching a decisive offensive against capitalist positions. The movement to win greater rights for the people in the bourgeois countries is an important aspect of the class battle and a component of the struggle for socialism.

An important Marxist-Leninist thesis worked out by the 20th-23rd congresses of the CPSU and the 1957 and 1960 Warsaw meetings is that it is possible to apply peaceful and non-peaceful forms of struggle in effecting the transition to socialism, depending on the specific relation of class forces in the country concerned, on the organization and political maturity of the working class, on the prestige and ability of its vanguard, on the degree of resistance offered by the ruling classes, and on the world situation.

In our time the working class of any country can rely in its revolutionary struggle on the support of the victorious contingents of the working-class movement—the working people of the socialist countries. It can draw upon the experience of the socialist countries and, primarily, of the country of the October Revolution, whose enormous achievements help the working people and their revolutionary vanguard. This is an expression of the organic bonds linking the struggle of the proletariat in the capitalist countries with the gains of the October Revolution and the achievements of the world socialist system.

21. *The triumph of the socialist revolution in Russia marked the rise of the contemporary international Communist movement, which is developing under the banner of the ideas of the October Revolution.*

The October Revolution has shown the world proletariat how much it needs a party of a new type, a party of revolutionary action, armed with Marxist-Leninist theory, a party standing at the head of the masses.

The Communist International, organized on Lenin's initiative, played a great role in founding and strengthening the Communist parties. It was their revolutionary headquarters, a school of Marxism-Leninism, a centre for the creative development of Marxism-Leninism in the new conditions, a school spreading Communist ideas among the masses, a school of internationalism. The Communist International played an important role in training many outstanding leaders and militant cadres of the Communist movement.

In these past 50 years the Communist movement has developed into an enormous force. It has become a world movement in the

true sense of the word. There are Communist parties in virtually all countries where there is a working class.

Communists are the most consistent exponents of the interests of all the exploited and oppressed, and selflessly champion the vital interests of the peoples. This is why the vanguard of the international working class is now extending its influence to ever broader sections of the working people, and is one of the most important factors for altering the balance of world forces in favor of peace, democracy, national independence and socialism.

The experience of the past 50 years has demonstrated that the strength of the Communist movement rests on its loyalty to Marxism-Leninism. There can be no Communist movement outside scientific communism. By elaborating its strategy and tactics, the Communist vanguard of the working class of the socialist countries, the capitalist countries and the newly-free states carries forward and enriches the heritage of the October Revolution. The general line formulated in the Declaration and Statement of the 1957 and 1960 Moscow meetings is a result of joint creative work by Marxist-Leninists.

The most urgent task of the international Communist movement is to ensure its unity on Marxist-Leninist principles. At the present stage, this unity is being achieved through joint action in solving common tasks, by holding bilateral and multilateral meetings between parties, comradely exchanges of views, and mutual study of experience. The Conference of European Communist and Workers' parties at Karlovy Vary, devoted to problems of European peace and security, was an important contribution to world Communist unity. International conferences of Communist and Workers' parties are a tested form of collectively discussing major problems and working out a common program of action.

Particularly important today is a correct combination of the national and international tasks of the great army of Communists. There can be no question of meeting one's international obligations without striving to solve national problems, to promote the vital interests of the working people of one's country. At the same time national tasks cannot be fulfilled without active participation by each contingent of the Communist movement in the solution of common problems. Loyalty to proletarian internationalism is one of the most important lessons to be drawn from the 50-year long experience of the Communist movement since the October Revolution.

The international unity of Communists has been going from strength to strength in the struggle against imperialism, against every kind of opportunism or sectarianism and against bourgeois nationalism. The CPSU has always fought, and will continue to fight, against Right and "Left" deviations, whose danger to the

cause of the revolution is attested by the entire history of the Communist movement. Experience shows that deviations from the Marxist-Leninist line become particularly dangerous when coupled with manifestations of nationalism, great-power chauvinism and hegemonism.

The CPSU strives steadfastly to contribute to the unity of the international Communist movement on Marxist-Leninist principles. The unity of Communists and the international solidarity of the working class and other working people of the world with the country of the October Revolution have been an important factor in the historic victories achieved by the Soviet peoples in battle and in labor.

Our Party and all Soviet people express their deep gratitude to the working people of all countries and to their Communist vanguards for their fraternal international solidarity and for the support they have been rendering to the first country of victorious socialism.

22. *The October Revolution led to radical changes in international relations, caused a deep crisis in imperialist foreign policy and proclaimed the principles of peace and international security, equality, friendship and cooperation between peoples. The struggle between socialism and imperialism has become the pivot of world politics.*

The very emergence of the Soviet state limited the imperialists' freedom of maneuvers in the world arena. In all its doings today the bourgeoisie has to reckon with the Soviet Union. Not a single important international question can be settled without the participation of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries. Further successes of the world socialist revolution will create more and more favorable conditions for asserting the principles of national sovereignty, the right of nations to self-determination and the equality of all countries, both big and small.

Since the October Revolution, the working class and other working people have exerted increasing influence on the solution of fundamental foreign political problems.

There has been a radical change in the role played by the former colonial and dependent countries in international relations. In our days progressive national states actively contribute by their independent foreign policy to peace and to a democratic solution of key international problems.

The militant alliance of the socialist countries and other anti-imperialist forces is a most important factor in international politics. Imperialism no longer dominates the world arena. The peoples today are strong enough to prevent a new world war by taking vigorous, coordinated action.

However, threat of wars of conquest will persist as long as im-

perialism exists. This is evident from the U.S. war of aggression in Vietnam, from Israel's aggression, engineered by imperialism, against the freedom-loving Arab peoples, from the unceasing provocations against Cuba. To curb international reaction and prevent it from dragging mankind into the abyss of a new world war, all the peace-loving forces and peoples must display constant vigilance and mobilize in order to be ready to repel imperialist aggression.

Consistently upholding peace and international security, the Soviet state has maintained, and will maintain, its defense potential at the highest lebel. Our Armed Forces possess every type of modern arms, including missiles and nuclear weapons. Defense spending is considerable but Soviet people realize its necessity. The socialist revolution, Marx and Lenin said, must be able to defend itself, and must counter the aggressiveness of the class enemy with invincible military force. The strength of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries is a real counterweight to the imperialist forces of aggression and a highly important factor in the struggle to avert a new world war and preserve the peace. One of the principal conclusions to be drawn from the experience of the past five decades is that building up the defense potential should be treated as a prime task.

The foreign policy of the socialist countries plays a key role in the struggle for peace, against imperialist aggression. It is aimed at uniting all anti-imperialist, peace-loving forces against the forces of reaction and war. Promotion of the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems is an integral part of this policy. It is designed to prevent the imperialists from unleashing a new world war, to prevent international provocations and the export of counter-revolution. Its purpose is to create favorable conditions for the peoples to exercise their sacred right of choosing their own road of development and to develop mutually advantageous economic, scientific and technological cooperation and cultural exchange between all countries.

While condemning predatory imperialist wars, Marxist-Leninists regard as just and support wars in defense of the peoples' gains against imperialist aggression, for national liberation, and wars fought by the revolutionary classes to foil attempts by the reactionary forces to maintain or re-establish their rule by force of arms. The Soviet people resolutely support the Vietnamese people in their heroic fight against the criminal aggression of U.S. imperialism. They firmly believe that the just cause of the Vietnamese people will triumph. The Soviet people fully support the just struggle of the Arab peoples against the Israeli aggression and against Israel's imperialist patrons.

Fulfilling Lenin's behests, the Soviet people and their Commu-

nist Party during the past 50 years have consistently pursued a policy of proletarian internationalism, in line with the principle of indivisibility of the international and national tasks of the country where socalism has triumphed.

The great aim of the Soviet people, the building of communism, is also their chief international cause. Their heroic effort has transformed their country into an impregnable stronghold of socialism which is exerting growing influence on world affairs. The establishment of a new social system, and the steady growth of its economic and defense potential are decisive factors in further altering the balance of world forces to the detriment of imperialism and reaction. They improve the material, political and ideological prerequisites of the victory of the socialist revolution on a world scale.

The principal aim of Soviet foreign policy is to ensure favorable conditions for building communism. The Communist Party and the Soviet government are doing all that is necessary to strengthen the unity and cohesion of the socialist countries, to support the struggle of the peoples for national and social emancipation, to develop cooperation with new independent states, to consistently implement the principles of the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems, and to deliver mankind from the threat of a world thermonuclear war. These aims fully accord with the interests of all revolutionary and democratic forces and all peoples.

The aim of the international policy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is to strengthen the links and fraternal cooperation with the Communist and Workers' parties of all countries, to consolidate the world Communist movement. Throughout their history, in face of difficulties, our Party and our people have rendered the most extensive assistance to those who fought for freedom and national independence, for the revolution. The international working class knows that every considerable revolutionary action has been supported by the CPSU and the whole Soviet people. The CPSU, the Party of Lenin, considers support for international revolutionary forces to be an integral part of its activity.

*Holding aloft the torch of socialism lit by the Great October Socialist Revolution, the Soviet people and their Leninist Party have opened a new epoch in world history. Socialism, which in the 19th century turned from a dream into a science, has become the sociopolitical practice of millions of working people in the 20th century, with the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution.*

*We are advancing along the right road to our goal, that of building communism, the conditions for which were created by the developments of Soviet society over 50 years.*

*We are armed with an advanced scientific theory, Marxism-*

*Leninism, and we draw on the rich experience of revolutionary struggle and socialist construction.*

*United in a single international force, we are marching together with the international working class, with the fraternal socialist countries, with the forces of the national liberation movement, in the struggle against imperialism, for peace, democracy and socialism, national independence, and the security and freedom of peoples.*

*The forces of communism are immense, and it has the truth of life on its side. Only communism can solve the fundamental problems of social development, deliver mankind from oppression and exploitation, from hunger and poverty, from militarism and war, and establish on our planet democracy, peace and friendship between peoples, a life in keeping with the dignity of man.*

*The ideas of the October Revolution, the ideas of communism, are the leading ideas of our time, the great creative force of modern history.*

*The years ahead will bring new victories to the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin, to the cause of communism.*

# ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

**June 15.** The Political Bureau of the CC, CP of Finland, met in Helsinki to discuss the situation in the Middle East.

**June 16-18.** The 3rd Plenum of the CC, Party of the People's Vanguard of Costa Rica, discussed the international situation and passed relevant resolutions.

The meeting branded the imperialists as instigators of the aggression in the Middle East, and identified itself with the national liberation movement of the Arab peoples. It expressed its approval of the Soviet stand aimed at settling the Middle East crisis.

The resolutions of the meeting stress the vast assistance which the Soviet Union and other socialist countries extend to heroic Vietnam.

The meeting emphatically condemned the disruptive activities of the Mao Tse-tung group, which play into the hands of the imperialist aggressors and greatly injure the interests of the Vietnamese people.

**June 19.** A delegation of Italian Communists active in the sphere of agriculture arrived in Moscow at the invitation of the CC, CPSU. The delegation was led by Arturo Colombi, member of the ICP Leadership.

At Sheremetyevo airport the Italian guests were welcomed by F. Kulakov, Secretary of the CC, CPSU, and other key functionaries of the CC, CPSU.

**June 19-22.** The Mexican Communist Party held its 15th Congress.

Congress discussed the situation in the country and formulated the immediate tasks of the Party.

Congress declared for world Communist unity and for a meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties of the world.

It addressed an appeal to the working people of Mexico.

Congress adopted a statement in support of the heroic fight of the people of Vietnam.

On behalf of Mexican Communists Congress expressed good wishes to the Soviet people on the occasion of the coming 50th anniversary of the October Revolution.

Congress elected the leading bodies of the Party.

**June 20-21.** The CC, CPSU, meeting in plenary session, discussed and unanimously adopted a decision on the Soviet policy in connection with the Israeli aggression in the Middle East. It also discussed

and approved the Theses of the CC, CPSU on the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution.

**June 21.** The CC, CP of Germany held its 10th Plenum.

The meeting declared against the emergency laws in the FRG and for peace and European security. It condemned the Israeli aggression against the Arab peoples, and the support given to Israel by the U.S. and West German imperialists. It denounced the escalation of the war and the American imperialists' increasing crimes against the people of Vietnam.

The Central Committee assured the democratic forces of Greece of its complete solidarity with their struggle against the monarcho-fascist military dictatorship.

It resolved to draft a new Program of the Party.

**June 23.** The CC of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party met in plenary session to discuss foreign policy problems and the tasks arising from the current economic reform.

**June 24.** A delegation of the CC, Polish United Workers' Party, led by Zenon Kliszko, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC of the Party, arrived in Moscow on its way to Poland from a visit to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

During its stay in Moscow the delegation met with L. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC, CPSU, for an exchange of views on matters interesting the two parties.

The conversation proceeded in an atmosphere of fraternal friendship and complete mutual understanding.

**June 24-25.** The CC, CP of Belgium, heard and discussed a report by Ernest Burnelle, Chairman of the Party, on organizational matters and a report by Jean Terf, member of the Political Bureau, on Middle East problems.

The meeting resolved to convene the 18th National Congress of the Party in December 1967.

The Central Committee called on all Belgian Communists to fittingly celebrate the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution.

**June 26-27.** A plenary meeting of the CC, Rumanian Communist Party, discussed and approved directives for the five-year plan (1971-75) and determined the main lines of economic development between 1976 and 1980. It also concerned itself with certain economic measures.

**June 26-30.** At the invitation of the Cuban government, A. Kosygin stayed in Cuba on his way from New York, where he had attended the extraordinary session of the UN General Assembly.

A. Kosygin, member of the Political Bureau, CC, CPSU, Chairman

of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, and Fidel Castro, First Secretary of the CC,CP of Cuba, Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Cuba, had conversations which proceeded in a friendly, comradely atmosphere and during which they exchanged views on issues of mutual interest with complete frankness.

**June 28-July 3.** The CC of the Korean Party of Labor discussed at its plenary meeting measures for the further execution of the decisions adopted by the Party Conference. The meeting was addressed by Kim Il Sung, General Secretary of the Central Committee.

**June 29.** L. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC, CPSU, had an interview with Y. Tsendenbal, First Secretary of the CC, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Mongolian People's Republic, who stopped in Moscow on his way to Mongolia. The interview, which proceeded in a friendly and cordial atmosphere, concerned matters of mutual interest.

**June 29-30.** The CC of the French Communist Party, meeting in plenary session, discussed and approved a report on the international situation and the peace movement presented by Raymond Guyot, member of the Political Bureau, and a report on Party finances by Georges Gosnat, member of the CC. In conclusion the meeting heard remarks by Waldeck Rochet, General Secretary of the Party, on the issue of unity and on the relations between the Communist Party and the Federation of the Democratic and Socialist Left.

**July 1-3.** The 7th Plenum of the CC, League of Communists of Yugoslavia, discussed the international situation, problems of the development and reorganization of the League, a draft decision of the veterans of the national liberation war, the Executive Committee report on the work done since the 5th Plenum, and other items.

The meeting adopted decisions on pressing international issues and on alterations in the forms and methods of organizing the League. It decided to convene the 9th Congress of the League late in 1968. It also adopted a decision on the problems of the veterans of the national liberation war.

The meeting approved the Executive Committee Report.

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*Included in this Issue*

**BUDAPEST MEETING OF PARTIES AND GOVERNMENTS OF SOCIALIST COUNTRIES**

**STATEMENT OF MEETING OF LATIN AMERICAN COMMUNIST PARTIES**

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*contents*


**BUDAPEST MEETING OF THE FRATERNAL PARTIES AND GOVERNMENTS OF SOCIALIST COUNTRIES. COMMUNIQUE** 5

**SPEECH BY L. BREZHNEV** 7

**STATEMENT ON THE SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST**
Zoltan Komocsin 18

**STATEMENT**
Political Bureau of the CC, Syrian CP 21

**DECISIONS**
CC, CP of Israel 23

**STATEMENT**
Fifth Meeting of the Communist Parties of Mexico, Central America and Panama 27

**REPORT TO THE SEVENTH NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE CP OF ARGENTINA**
Victorio Codovilla 30

**REPORT**
Franz Muhri, Chairman of the CPA 44

**POLITICAL STATEMENT**
Executive Committee, CP of Spain 50

**STATEMENT ON QUESTIONS OF IDEOLOGY AND CULTURE**
Executive Committee, CP of Great Britain 57

**STATEMENT**
CC, CP of Japan 67

**DECISION OF THE PORTUGUESE CP** 70



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# BUDAPEST MEETING* OF THE FRATERNAL PARTIES AND GOVERNMENTS OF SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

## COMMUNIQUE

A conference of leaders of the Communist and Workers' parties and the heads of government of socialist countries was held in Budapest on July 11 and 12. It was attended by Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary, Central Committee, Bulgarian Communist Party, Chairman, Council of Ministers, People's Republic of Bulgaria; Zhivko Zhivkov, member, Political Bureau of the CC, Bulgarian Communist Party, First Deputy Chairman, Council of Ministers, People's Republic of Bulgaria; Janos Kadar, First Secretary, Central Committee, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party; Jeno Fock, member, Political Bureau of the CC, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Chairman, Council of Ministers, Hungarian People's Republic; Arpad Pullai, secretary of the CC, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party; Walter Ulbricht, First Secretary, Central Committee, Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Chairman, State Council, German Democratic Republic; Willi Stoph, member, Political Bureau of the CC, Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Chairman, Council of Ministers, German Democratic Republic; Wladyslaw Gomulka, First Secretary, Central Committee, Polish United Workers' Party; Josef Cyrankiewicz, member, Political Bureau of the CC, Polish United Workers' Party, Chairman, Council of Ministers, Polish People's Republic; Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary, Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union; Alexei Kosygin, member, Political Bureau of the Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Chairman, Council of Ministers of the USSR; Boris Ponomaryov, secretary of the CC, Communist Party of the Soviet Union; Antonin Novotny, First Secretary, Central Committee, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, President, Czechoslovak Socialist Republic; Jozef Lenart, member, Presidium of the CC, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Chairman of the Government, Czechoslovak Socialist Republic; Josip Broz Tito, Chairman, League of Communists of Yugoslavia, President, Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia; Vladimir, Popovic, member, Presidium of the Central Committee, League of Communists of Yugoslavia, General Secretary to the President of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia; Kiro

*Pravda, July 13, 1967.

Gligorov, member of the CC, League of Communists of Yugoslavia, Vice-Chairman, Federal Executive Council, Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

The Conference was held in accordance with the agreement reached at the Moscow meeting of leaders of the Communist and Workers' parties and the heads of government of the above countries on June 9, 1967, regarding the maintenance of constant contact on questions pertaining to the situation in the Middle East created by the Israeli aggression against the Arab countries.

The participants in the Conference exchanged views on the latest developments in the Middle East. They stated that Israel's continuing occupation of the territory seized by it as a result of aggression means flouting the fundamental principles of the UN Charter and international law, and encroaches on the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Arab states. The policy of conquest of the Israeli rulers, who are backed by the imperialist forces of aggression, primarily the USA, is a challenge to the peace forces throughout the world.

The Conference reaffirmed that the fraternal parties and socialist countries represented at the Conference resolutely support, and will continue to support, the friendly Arab states in their just struggle to eliminate the effects of the Israeli aggression, and first of all to bring about the immediate withdrawal of Israeli troops from the Arab territories seized by them. It declared for even fuller use of appropriate means meeting the interests of the struggle against aggression, for the restoration of peace in the Middle East.

The participants in the Conference exchanged information on the political support extended by their respective countries to the friendly Arab states; on economic assistance, including measures to promote the development of industry and agriculture in the United Arab Republic and other Arab countries affected by the imperialist aggression; on measures to strengthen the defenses of these countries, and on measures for long-term economic cooperation with the Arab states. They unanimously expressed their firm intention to continue their concerted effort toward achieving these objectives.

The Conference proceeded in a comradely atmosphere, in a spirit of complete unity.

The participants agreed to continue maintaining constant contact among themselves on questions relating to the situation in the Middle East.

# SPEECH* BY L. BREZHNEV

Dear comrades,

Allow me to greet you on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Government of the USSR and to convey to you heartfelt congratulations upon your graduation from the military academies. Broad prospects of inspired service in defending the achievements of the Great October Socialist Revolution, in defending our country, are opening up for each of you.

Allow me also to greet our comrades-in-arms from fraternal countries, to congratulate them from the bottom of my heart upon their graduation from our military academies and to wish them fruitful work in raising the efficiency of the armed forces of their countries and in promoting the militant cooperation of the socialist countries.

This year's graduation of the military academies is worthy of special note. It takes place in the 50th year since the October Revolution. Our whole country, all Soviet people, and millions of our friends and comrade-in-arms throughout the world are preparing to mark this great anniversary in a fitting manner.

The Soviet people have every reason to be proud of the progress they have made in five decades of Soviet history under the guidance of the Communist Party founded by V. Lenin.

The family of socialist states marks the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution together with us. The world socialist system is a triumph of the cause of the October Revolution.

The world system of colonialism has been destroyed. The peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America have begun to play an appreciable role in international politics.

The world Communist movement, born of the October Revolution, has become a tremendous political force.

The Soviet Union built socialism in conditions of capitalist encirclement, of fierce struggle against our enemy—imperialism—a continuous struggle that took various forms, in conditions of war and peace. It is well known that during almost half of the 50 years that have passed since October 1917 the Soviet people were engaged either in fighting numerous enemies, or in healing the severe wounds inflicted by wars. In trying to turn back the clock of history, to rob the Soviet people of the fruits of the October Revolution, the imperialists have in these past years taken away the lives of millions of Soviet people and colossal material values.

*Pravda, July 6, 1967. The speech was delivered at a reception for graduates of military academies in Moscow on July 5.

To defend the Soviet state and the socialist society built by them, our people set up a powerful army, an army of a new type. When the enemy sent his hordes against the young country of socialism, workers and peasants wearing the Red Army uniform fought with unexampled bravery and upheld the achievements of the October Revolution. We shall always be deeply thankful to all the heroes of the revolution, all selfless defenders of socialism.

A trying period of our history was the war against Hitlerism. But fascism as well, that shock force of imperialism, suffered a crushing defeat. In that great battle our armed forces covered themselves with undying glory.

The history of the new society initiated by the October Revolution shows beyond question that whoever dared to encroach on socialism was defeated. And there can be no other fate in store for those who try again to encroach on the gains of socialism.

Today all the services of our glorious armed forces have ample quantities of the kind of weapons — you know those weapons, comrades — that enable us reliably to safeguard the borders and state interests of the Soviet Union and to provide the Soviet people with the opportunity of accomplishing in a calm atmosphere the great task of building communism in the Soviet Union.

This, naturally, is known to our imperialist opponents and they are forced to take into account the invincible strength of our country.

We are celebrating your graduation, comrades, in an international situation which reminds all of us of the need to be on guard and not to slacken our vigilance.

The international situation and the foreign policy of the Soviet Union were examined and defined by the 23rd Congress of the CPSU. Last December the Central Committee held a plenary meeting devoted to international problems. In June 1967, the Central Committee discussed the Soviet Union's policy in connection with the Israeli aggression in the Middle East.

Our foreign policy has fully met the test of time. It is in accord with the interests of the Soviet people, the peoples of the socialist countries and the peoples fighting for their national independence. It meets the interests of world peace.

Imperialism is being sapped from all sides due to the successful building of a new society by the peoples of the socialist countries, to the growing scope of the international working-class movement and the national-liberation struggle of the peoples, and to the advance of the peoples that have freed themselves from colonial oppression along the road of national rebirth and social progress.

Imperialism, however, refuses to leave the historical scene of its own free will. It attempts to deal blows at individual contingents of world socialism and the national-liberation struggle. This was

shown, in particular, by the events in the Middle East where the Israeli rulers, who are in the service of the Western imperialists and are egged on by them, attacked one of the big contingents of the national-liberation movement—the United Arab Republic, Syria and other Arab countries.

The Middle East is one of the major areas of the national-liberation movement. Progressive Arab states — the UAR, Syria and Algeria — have chosen the non-capitalist road of development. In their foreign policy, progressive Arab countries pursued an anti-imperialist course.

International imperialism, above all American and British imperialism, refuses to reconcile itself to all this. For many decades the imperialists regarded that area as their own domain, and were accustomed to shape as they pleased the destinies of the peoples living there.

The interests of the oil monopolies, which make huge profits in the Middle East and are the main suppliers of crude oil and fuel to the NATO countries, are also of considerable importance for the imperialists. The Middle East holds 60 per cent of the world's oil resources. The Arab countries account for some 50 per cent of the world's oil trade. Almost one million tons of oil a day were supplied by the area to Western Europe.

The American monopolies make over $1,200 million a year on Arab oil and the British monopolies, $600 million. The investments of the American monopolies there are repaid in approximately 18 months as compared with 10 years in the United States itself.

As for the prime cause of Israel's anti-Arab aggression, it lay in the desire of the American and British imperialists to strike at the national-liberation movement in the Middle East, to stop the peoples' advance along the road of social progress at all costs, to force countries that have won freedom and independence at so high a price back into colonial bondage, and to rob them of their wealth. Imperialist propaganda efforts to pass off this aggression as merely a result of Israeli-Arab national discord are aimed at concealing the true causes of the aggression, at camouflaging the class meaning of those events. The Middle East crisis is a confrontation between the forces of imperialism, on the one hand, and the forces of national independence, democracy and social progress, on the other.

The Soviet Union sees its task in foiling imperialist designs on the Middle East and in helping the Arab states to uphold their freedom and independence. We have long-standing relations of sincere amity and cooperation with many Arab countries, as well as with other countries that have thrown off colonial tyranny and are following the road of progress.

In the very first days of the Israeli aggression the USSR, acting in close unity with other socialist states and in constant contact

with the Arab countries, took vigorous measures to stay the hand of the aggressor, to protect the lawful interests of the Arab peoples, to stop the armed conflict, and to prevent it from increasing to proportions imperilling all of mankind.

As we now look back we can confidently say that in the crucial days of the Middle East crisis we did what was right.

Now that hostilities have ceased, it is necessary first of all, that the aggressor withdraw his troops from all the territories he has overrun. An aggressor must never be permitted to benefit from his treacherous attack, nor must aggression ever go unpunished.

The Middle East situation remains tense and everything must be done to prevent the flames of war from flaring up again. The Israeli government relying on the backing of its patrons—the USA, Britain and West Germany—is brazenly challenging the peace-loving states. The behavior of Israel's overweening rulers on occupied Arab territory deserves the most emphatetic condemnation.

The aggressors conduct themselves there like brigands. In committing atrocities against the Arab civilian population, they apparently seek to imitate the crimes of the Hitlerite invaders.

At this new, political stage of the struggle to end the aggression and to eliminate its consequences, we give every support to the Arab peoples. As you know, the emergency session of UN General Assembly, called on Soviet initiative, was addressed by A. Kosygin, head of the Soviet Government, the heads of government of several other socialist countries present at the Assembly, and the representatives of many other states of the world, all of whom condemned the Israeli aggression and demanded the immediate withdrawal of the aggressor's troops behind the armistice line. The aggressive role of Israel and those behind its back was conclusively demonstrated and exposed at the session.

We would like to emphasize once again that the aggressor must get out of alien territory and compensate the peoples of the UAR, Jordan and Syria for the damage done to them. It is only fair that this should be done. The Soviet people and fair-minded men and women of the world over demand that it be done.

The Soviet Union firmly and resolutely supports the Arab states in their struggle for freedom and terriorital integrity and gives them every possible help. The other day, as you know, N. Podgorny, President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, paid friendly state visits to Cairo, Damascus and Baghdad. We attach great importance to these visits and to the frank and friendly exchange of opinions that took place with President Nasser, President Atasi and President Aref, and with other Arab leaders.

The exchange of opinions will, no doubt, promote our relations and the coordination of joint actions in the political struggle in

defense of the rights and interests of the UAR, Syria and other Arab countries.

When they started the conflict in the Middle East, the imperialists aimed their main blow at the countries which have taken the non-capitalist road of development. They strove, first of all, to overthrow progressive regimes. But they failed.

From this rostrum we would like to tell our Arab friends that the Soviet people know very well that the Arabs are going through a time of stress. But then, in a liberation struggle there occur temporary failures along with victories, as the history of any nation shows. These failures cannot break a nation which has firmly embarked on the road of freedom and independence — they only strengthen its determination to fight.

The events in the Middle East have shown once again how treacherous imperialism is and how important it is to defend the gains achieved in the course of the national-liberation struggle. The cause of national and social emancipation is a just cause, and for its sake it is necessary to strengthen in every way the newly-free states, their defenses and their unity; always to be ready to counteract the aggressive intrigues of imperialism.

It is our firm conviction that the just cause of the Arab peoples, who have risen to fight for national independence and social progress, will triumph. We are confident that the revoltuionary forces of the Arab world will draw proper conclusions from the events which have taken place. In the struggle against aggression the Arab peoples are strengthening their unity.

At present the imperialists are operating their propaganda machine at full capacity pouring out falsehood and calumny in an attempt to weaken and isolate the Arab countries, to embroil them among themselves and to split the Arab countries, on the one hand, and the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, on the other. The imperialists are most particularly anxious to undermine the friendship of the Arab peoples and our Soviet country.

Our Arab friends see the meaning of this venomous propaganda. They realize that in the present situation it is particularly important to strengthen the united front of the Arab peoples and the peoples of the socialist countries.

In their talks with Soviet representatives, Nasser, Atasi, Zuayyin, Boumedienne, Araf and other leaders of friendly Arab countries emphasize that the peoples of their countries are aware of the support the Soviet state has been rendering to them and that the Arabs will firmly safeguard their friendship with the Soviet Union against all encroachments.

Friendship and alliance with the progressive forces of the national-liberation movement is an unshakeable principle of the

Soviet foreign policy determined by Lenin. We shall adhere to it consistently and firmly.

Comrades, you know that at the time of the Middle East crisis, at its very height, the first secretaries of the central committees of brother parties and the heads of government of European socialist countries met in Moscow. The fraternal countries which signed a joint Statement on the events in the Middle East came out in a united front and demonstrated their will and readiness to act jointly at a time of stress, working side by side for common aims and ideals.

The Moscow Statement of the socialist countries played a big role in ending the war in the Middle East. That action gave immense moral and political support to our Arab friends and had a sobering effect on the aggressor and his patrons.

The unity of socialist countries, life shows, is a great force. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union will always work unremittingly to further this unity.

The June meeting of the CC CPSU, having discussed the recent events in the Middle East, emphasized the need to continue the struggle against the bellicose forces of imperialism and their policy of interference in the domestic affairs of other countries.

In following its policy of peaceful coexistence, the Soviet Union is not going to indulge aggressors. The imperialists should learn it well that Lenin's statement about just and unjust wars is as valid as ever and that the Soviet Union will resolutely oppose every intrigue of the warmongers and support the peoples fighting for their freedom and national independence.

In present-day conditions American imperialism is the shock force in the struggle against socialism and the national-liberation movement. For several years already, the aggressive circles of the United States have been waging a predatory war in Vietnam. Today, however, the aggressor is not nearer but even further from the aim he set himself at the beginning of his criminal venture. The policy of aggression and brigandage in our time will bring success to nobody. Times have changed. And no matter how much the American armed forces expand the scale of their aggression, how many troops they send to Vietnam and how many thousands of millions of dollars they spend on that dirty affair, the result will be the same. The USA will have to admit the hopelessness of its venture in Vietnam and get out. It can never break the will of the heroic people of Vietnam who are fighting for their freedom, for the independence and honor of their country.

The expansion of military operations by the American imperialists, their intensification of the bombing of DRV territory, including Hanoi and Haiphong, have completely exposed the falsity of alle-

gations by the U.S. rulers to the effect that they favor a "settlement" of the Vietnam conflict.

The war in Vietnam and Israel's recent treacherous attack on the Arab states have exposed imperialism more forcefully than ever in the eyes of millions of people in Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America. The hatred of peoples for the imperialist plunderers is growing. The appearance of new hotbeds of war makes us look more closely at those regions where there are potential sources of war. I mean Europe in the first place.

The recent Karlovy Vary conference of European Communist and Workers' parties unanimously adopted a wide program for activity aimed at establishing a system of collective security in Europe. If this important task is to be accomplished, all states must recognize reality as it has taken form in Europe in the post-war period. I mean first of all the present borders between European countries, the existence of two German states.

The safeguarding of collective security in Europe is persistently opposed by the West German militarists and revanchists, on whom international imperialism places its main stake in this region. The aggressive nature of the policy of the West German rulers strikingly manifested itself again at the height of the Middle East crisis.

The FRG has made a substantial "contribution" to the preparation of Israel for military ventures, and during the conflict in the Middle East it actually sided with the Israeli militarists. The aggression in the Middle East has all the sympathy of the militarist rulers of West Germany, who covet foreign territory and still cannot bring themselves to give up their dream of swallowing the German Democratic Republic, the state of the German working people.

The wild dreams of the Bonn revanchists will never come true. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries that are parties to the Warsaw Treaty have stated more than once that they will stand up for the fraternal German Democratic Republic. We shall continue to support it in every way and defend it against all imperialist encroachments. We shall defend it firmly and resolutely, using all our power if necessary.

The formation in Europe of this socialist German state is one of the most important results of the Second World War, an important victory of the progressive forces over Hitler fascism. Millions of Soviet people, and of anti-fascists in other countries of Europe gave their lives for that victory. We cannot allow any going back on what has been won by the struggle of our people, the struggle of all forces of progress and socialism in Europe, nor shall we allow it.

A new source of danger to peace and democracy has appeared

as a result of the military fascist coup in Greece. The Greek people's rights and freedoms have been harshly suppressed in the interests of the aggressive NATO bloc, in the interests of the chief enemy of European security, U.S. imperialism, which finds it advantageous to poison the international climate on our continent.

The reign of reaction in Greece endangers the independence of the peoples of Cyprus as well. The peoples of Europe and all forces of peace and progress must therefore practise the utmost vigilance.

The USSR will steadfastly continue its effort against the aggressive forces of imperialism, for more durable world peace and an international détente. Whoever is prepared to take the same road can count on our understanding and support.

Our foreign policy guarantees the steady consolidation of the international positions of the Soviet Union, the growth of our prestige, and increasing sympathy and support on the part of the working people the world over. Our task is to abide by this line of principle which wholly accords with the Soviet people's interests, serves to increase the might and unity of the world socialist system and promote the world revolutionary movement as a whole.

Comrades, for half a century now the Soviet Union has been firmly guarding world peace. The Communist Party and the Soviet people will never depart from the Leninist policy of peace and friendship among nations. At the same time we know very well and must fully take into account the fact that because of the arrogance and treachery of imperialist reaction we must pay still greater heed to strengthening and improving the armed forces and must never relax our vigilance.

Thanks to important achievements in Soviet economy, science and technology, the armed forces of the USSR command the most up-to-date and formidable weapons. The personnel of the Army and Navy has mastered all the latest methods of warfare. The cadres of the armed forces, from private to marshal, have fully earned the high opinion our Party, government and people have of them.

This is no reason for complacency, however. In military matters, more than in any other field, one must not mark time. The technical equipment of the Army and Navy must always be on a par with the latest achievements of scientific and technological thought.

I must tell you, comrades, that the Political Bureau of the CC, CPSU, the Soviet government and whoever else is directly concerned with defense matters do their utmost to increase the defense capacity of the Army and Navy, improve military equipment and the combat training of servicement. The country's defense is a primary concern with us.

The Soviet armed forces as a whole, and their every formation and every unit should always be in a state of preparedness making it absolutely impossible for an aggressor to take us unawares. Being military men, you realize that the preparedness of the troops is a focus, so to speak, of the tremendous efforts and material expenditures the people puts into equipping the army, of the political consciousness, combat training and discipline of all the servicemen, of the skill of the command personnel in leading troops, and many other elements. In the long run, it is the greatest achievement of the combat skill of the troops in times of peace and the key to victory in war.

As far as the Soviet armed forces are concerned, we have all that it takes to achieve a high degree of reliable combat preparedness. The further raising of the standard of preparedness of the Army and Navy will largely depend on the activity of the military cadres, on their skills, will-power, energy and preseverance.

Our Party, government and people are certain that the Soviet armed forces can carry out the tasks assigned to them and that their personnel, armaments and equipment are in constant preparedness.

We and our close friends had an opportunity to see that with our own eyes when, last October, members of the Political Bureau and secretaries of the CC, CPSU and our guests—the first secretaries of the Party central committees, the chairmen of the councils of ministers, and the defense ministers of the Warsaw Treaty countries—spent several days acquainting ourselves in detail with the military equipment of the Soviet Army and saw it in operation. We were all deeply satisfied with the results of the inspection and with the standards of the military equipment of the Soviet armed forces.

During a recent trip to the Order of Red Banner Northern Fleet, Comrade Kosygin and I saw some of the latest naval ships and items of rocketry. The condition of the arms, the preparedness of the fleet and the training of the personnel made a good impression on us. These are a result of great effort by the entire personnel, by the leaders, political workers, and engineers, by the Party and Komsomol organizations. We met many men and officers, had talks with them and saw them, so to say, in action. They are wonderful people, highly educated specialists, men on whom our country can rely completely.

Comrades, today, when collective types of arms play a decisive role in the art of war and when success in using them depends on the skilful and coordinated operations of many people, a high degree of organization, constant preparedness, and faultless execution of orders by everyone are of exceptional importance. Even

occasional carelessness and breaches of discipline on the part of servicemen can have grave consequences. This is why we need unfailing attention to improving the performance of commanders, political departments and headquarters, a most exacting attitude to all categories of leading and political cadres, good management and precision.

All this, needless to say, should be combined with sustained education of the personnel, which should be the concern not only of leaders, political bodies, Party and Komsomol organizations, but also of every officer, irrespective of the post he holds.

Our Party proceeds from Lenin's thesis that however amply an army is supplied with materiel, people who have fully mastered the use of military equipment remain the main and decisive force in a war. This is especially important in this age of missile-nuclear weapons, when the outcome of a war will be decided by people who have mastered the use of weapons and military equipment, who have been steeled morally and physically and are fully devoted to their country, Party and the people.

The radical changes which in recent years have taken place in the military equipment of the services, in the nature and the methods of conducting combat operations, have immeasurably raised the demands placed on the moral and political training of the personnel. The Party's political work with servicemen, and their ideological training have always been a powerful weapon of our armed forces. The strength of this weapon has been tested in battle. It holds our enemies in awe, now as in the past.

There probably is no other place where the opportunities of organizing the Party's political work are as favorable as in the Army and Navy. It is there that well-trained Communists from among commanders, engineers and technicians who have passed through a school of Party education and militant training are concentrated and that the Party's political apparatus constitutes a harmonious system. There one has every opportunity of getting to know people properly and of exercising day-to-day political influence on every serviceman.

The task is to make good use of these opportunities, to conduct Party political work day after day and purposefully, encompassing all categories of servicemen.

The Soviet armed forces are a cherished creation of the people. They are always surrounded with the people's care and attention. The Soviet people send to the armed forces the flower of their youth, and the Party sends its finest cadres. It is necessary to go on strengthening the close bonds linking our working class, collective-farm peasants and intellectuals with our armed forces. It is also necessary steadily to improve defense work among the population, strengthen the system of civil defense and spread military knowledge, espe-

cially among the youth. Using the heroic record of our armed forces, it is necessary to impress it on the minds of our youth that they must be prepared in an emergency to join the colors and fully accomplish their duty to the country.

Comrades, last June the CC CPSU approved the Theses on the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. They sum up the results of half a century of struggle by the Soviet people and generalize the vast experience of our Party in guiding the building of the world's first socialist society.

The Soviet people greet this anniversary with further efforts in building communist society. Soviet servicemen will undoubtedly mark the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution by new successes in combat and political training, in strengthening military discipline and organization, and in stepping up the vigilance and preparedness of the armed forces.

I would like once more to heartily congratulate the graduates of military academies on completing their higher studies, as well as to congratulate the professors and instructors on the good results of their noble work, and to wish you all, dear comrades, great success in the honorable work ahead.

The Central Committee of the CPSU and the Soviet government are confident that the graduates of military academies will honorably bear the lofty name of Soviet officer as they serve the armed forces.

Long live the heroic armed forces of the Soviet Union!

Long live our Soviet country, the homeland of the Great October Revolution!

Glory to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which inspires and organizes us for all our victories!

# PROMOTE THE SOLIDARITY AND UNITY OF ALL PROGRESSIVE FORCES

## STATEMENT* ON THE SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST BY ZOLTAN KOMOCSIN

In examining the problems of that area, account must be taken, now as in the future, of the fact that since World War II the colonial system has disintegrated and that Britain and other imperialist powers of Europe have lost a large proportion of their colonies in various parts of the globe, including the Middle East. The Arab countries have won independence. But the imperialists refuse to reconcile themselves in this situation. It is primarily the United States and Britain that are striving to recapture their former positions and regain their one-time economic, political and military supremacy, specifically in the Middle East. Other imperialist powers want the same. The oil resources of the Middle East hold an important place in imperialist plans because the capitalist world gets one-third of its oil from the Arab countries.

Israel has been assigned a big role in the attempts to carry out these neo-colonialist designs. The ruling class and the government of Israel serve imperialist interests and objectives. Their role is to hamper the development of the Arab countries in keeping with these interests and objectives. The policy of Israel is a permanent source of conflict in the Middle East. Israel is intent on diverting the Arab peoples from the struggle they are waging against the imperialists to consolidate the national independence and sovereignty they have won.

The most progressive social systems established in the Middle East are those of the United Arab Republic and Syria. These two countries have carried out important socio-economic reforms and are steadily following an anti-imperialist foreign policy. It is no accident that their policy is resented by the imperialists. Everyone will recall Syria's recent dispute with the Western monopolies over oil. That dispute may be said to have formed the immediate background of the latest conflict. While the conflict was being hatched the Israeli government openly threatened Syria, saying that it wanted to overthrow the Syrian regime.

In reply to the Israeli threat, the UAR and other Arab countries

*Abridged from **Nepszabadsag**, June 15, 1967. Zoltan Komocsin is a member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

identified themselves with Syria. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries, for their part, expressed their solidarity with Syria, the UAR and the Arab people. The aim of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries was to avert a clash and prevent an armed conflict.

It is common knowledge that that objective was not achieved. The responsibility for this falls on Israel and the imperialists behind it, first of all the United States and Britain. Abetted by these two powers, the Israeli government decided to launch an armed attack on the Arab countries.

In keeping with the interests of the Arab peoples the Soviet Union demanded a cease-fire order. The Soviet delegate stressed there and then that he regarded the cease-fire as only a first step and insisted on emphatic condemnation of the Israeli aggression and on the withdrawal of the Israeli troops to their initial positions. The object of the campaign for a cease-fire in that situation was to prevent further devastation and stave off a bigger war. Once again the imperialists, particularly the American and British imperialists, exposed themselves in the eyes of the peoples as bitter enemies of independence and freedom.

We identify ourselves with the struggle of the Arab peoples, for we have a common enemy and are carrying on a common fight. We are advancing together with them because we are convinced that the struggle of these peoples for complete national independence and sovereignty, for the prosperity of the countries that have become independent, for further social progress also contribute to our socialist development. We therefore help the struggle of the Arab peoples by every means at our command—material, political, diplomatic and military. We are convinced that the truth in this struggle is on the side of the Arab peoples.

There are those who do not approach the complicated problems of the Middle East from positions of principle. They do not realize that the point at issue is by no means religion or race but one's attitude to imperialist schemes.

We are against the Israeli aggression and against the ruling class and the government of Israel because they serve U.S. and British imperialist interests. It is precisely for these reasons and for no other that we are against them.

Now as in the past, we reject anti-Semitism on principle. We have always taken a stand against this harmful ideological and political phenomenon, which is unacceptable to us and poisons the atmosphere, and we will continue to do so.

Of course, the other preconceived attitude is just as unacceptable to us. One must not approach the issue of the Middle East from a pro-Semitic standpoint, either.

It is only a class basis that we can see clearly in the situation

and so shape our policy correctly. We think this is the right approach to the problem, and there should be no room for vacillation on this point: on such issues as this, one must take an explicit, unqualified and consistent stand.

The statement signed in Moscow by leaders of the Communist and Workers' parties and the heads of government of European socialist countries is a guide to us.

The statement said that its authors are at one in estimating the situation in the Middle East and its international impact and in assessing their tasks. They unanimously re-emphasized the important thing, confirming this with their signatures, namely, that an act of aggression has been committed and that Israel is the aggressor. They condemned this aggressor and stigmatized the imperialist powers behind his back, first of all the United States. They stress again that they fully identify themselves with the just fight of the Arab peoples and will, in accordance with their possibilities, do everything to express their solidarity by deeds as well.

A statement made earlier by the Hungarian government fully accorded with this Moscow declaration. The time came when our government severed its diplomatic relations with the aggressor, Israel.

The immediate task facing the Arab nations, the socialist countries and the progressive forces of the world is to seek the enforcement, maintenance and consolidation of the cease-fire. But this is only a first step. Closely linked with it is a second step. We must insist on the Israeli troops pulling back to the initial positions and on their restoring the Arab territories seized by them to the lawful owners, the Arabs. We must seek rejection of the predatory claims made every now again by the Israeli government. We cannot allow Arab territories to be annexed and the legitimate interests of the Arabs infringed as a result of military aggression.

It is imperative to establish legality and peace in the Middle East.

We would thus give the Arabs the best help in attaining their goals. We are certain that the aspirations of the working people of Israel accord with these aspirations of ours. We are certain that peace can be provided to the peoples of the Middle East only if the objectives set by us are reached and if the effects of the aggression are removed.

The important thing now is to maintain and promote the solidarity and unity of the Arab peoples and the Soviet Union, the socialist countries and other progressive forces. We are convinced that this joint struggle of ours is a contribution to the worldwide fight which the finest people of the globe are waging for freedom and democracy, for national independence and sovereignty, for peace and socialism.

# STATEMENT* BY THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE CC, SYRIAN CP

As a result of the barbarous aggression committed by Israel against the UAR, Syria and Jordan, a portion of Arab territory finds itself in the hands of the invaders, and the situation in the Middle East and the rest of the world has sharply deteriorated.

In this period of stress for the Arab nation, the progressive forces of the world have been rendering great support to our people. The Soviet Union is in the van of these forces. Being the closest and most loyal friend of the Arabs, it exerted tremendous efforts for an end to the aggression. When the aggression was launched the Soviet Union did all in its power to stop it. It took the initiative of convening in Moscow a conference of the leaders of the Communist and Workers' parties and the heads of government of socialist countries, which adopted a statement demanding the immediate discontinuance of the aggression in the Middle East and the restoration to the Arabs of the areas taken away from them. There were also other steps taken in defense of the Arab countries.

It is not mere chance, therefore, that the imperialists are trying to deal their main blow at Soviet-Arab friendship, tested in action and consolidated in the course of grim trials.

The official propaganda conducted by Peking against the Soviet Union in this situation, which is so hazardous for peace, helped rabid imperialists headed by the United States to carry out their nefarious designs.

Friendship and close unity with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries is the most powerful weapon of the Arab people against the reactionary forces and imperialist conspiracies. It is in the best interest of the Arabs to maintain and further this friendship. It alone will help them eliminate the effects of the Israeli aggression and overcome their present difficulties.

The Middle East today is an arena where two opposed political forces are locked in bitter conflict. On one side are the forces of imperialism and reaction, trying to put down the national-liberation movement and to halt progress in the Arab countries, and on the other, the progressive forces striving to bring about the complete national emancipation of every people, reliably consolidate their freedom and independence and do away with their age-long backwardness.

The Arab peoples must strengthen the bonds of friendship with

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*Abridged from **Al Nida**, June 28, 1967.

the forces of progress foremost among which is the Soviet Union. They must seek complete unity of the progressive forces in each country and throughout the Arab world. This is the sacred duty of every Arab who wants to follow the road of freedom and progress.

# DECISIONS* OF THE CC, CP OF ISRAEL

(16th PLENARY SESSION)
**June 22, 1967**

## THE STRUGGLE AGAINST AGGRESSION AND FOR PEACE

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel holds that the war which was started by the Eshkol-Dayan-Begin government on June 5, 1967, has caused the most serious harm to the national interests of the State of Israel and its international position. The war has not strengthened the security of Israel but has shaken it even more: it has not brought Israeli-Arab peace nearer but has put it off still further.

The war which was started by the Eshkol-Dayan-Begin government is an aggressive war, which was planned beforehand, together with the governments of the USA and Britain and with the support of the West German government.

The war has brought death, destruction and ruin.

The principal aim of the war was to bring about the fall of the anti-imperialist regimes in Egypt and Syria, to sever the connections of the Arab countries with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, and to protect the concessions of the foreign oil monopolies and the strategic bases of the Western colonial powers in our region.

The Central Committee warns: The security and future of the State of Israel demand an end to the aggression and to the plots with the American oil and armament magnates, whose hands are stained with the blood of the peoples of Vietnam and other countries.

The Communist Party of Israel has repeatedly warned the leaders of the Arab national movement that the declarations against the right of existence of Israel and the acts of terror on Israeli territory only serve the imperialists and Israeli militarists as a pretext to execute their aggressive plans against the anti-imperialist Arab countries, and cause harm to the anti-imperialist struggle and the struggle for the legal rights of the Palestinian Arab people.

The struggle of our Communist Party has been and continues to be directed against the policy of the rulers of Israel, which is an adventurous anti-national policy in the service of imperialism, endangers peace in our region and the whole world, and is apt to lead the State of Israel to a catastrophe. A positive plan for the

*Abridged.

solution of the Palestinian problem, acknowledging the legal rights of the two peoples of Palestine, promulgated by the Arab national movement, would strike at the root of imperialist plots and would assist in the isolation of the militarist ruling circles of Israel.

The Communist Party of Israel is fighting for liquidating the aggression and for the retreat of the Israeli Army to the armistice lines. Liquidation of the aggression is the necessary precondition for the creation of the possibility for the attainment of permanent peace.

The new bitter experience has shown again that the Israeli-Arab conflict can only be solved by peaceful means and agreement on the basis of recognition of the rights of all peoples concerned.

The disentanglement of the State of Israel from dependence on the imperialist powers and the recognition by the State of Israel of the national rights of the Palestinian Arab people, and first of all the rights of the refugees, is the road to Israeli-Arab peace, and to the Arab countries' recognition of Israel and her national rights, including freedom of sea passage.

The Central Committee declares that all proposals for peace negotiations by the rulers of Israel under the conditions of continued Israeli occupation of Egyptian, Syrian and Jordanian territories are empty, demagogic proposals. These proposals, including the proposal for autonomy or the establishment of a Palestinian protectorate in the occupied territories, are not directed towards a peaceful solution but to the continuation of occupation.

The Central Committee condemns the acts of oppression, serious infringement of the rights of the civilian Arab population, the expulsion of tens of thousands of people from their homes, the cold-blooded destruction of towns and villages, the acts of pillage and looting of the property of civilians in the occupied territories. These are in fact crimes of war which should be condemned and fought against for the sake of saving Israel, for the sake of the future of Israeli-Arab relations.

The Central Committee calls upon all people of conscience in Israel to protest against these cruel acts perpetrated in the occupied territories, damaging the soul of our youth and poisoning Israeli society with racialist microbes.

The Central Committee points out with concern that the aggressive war and the widening of the coalition government to include RAFI (Ben-Gurion's party) and GAHAL (Herut-Liberal bloc) brought in their wake the trampling underfoot of democratic rights, terror against those in places of work that are opposed to war, a wave of discriminatory arrests of Communists and other fighters for peace, and an intensification of the oppression of the Arab population in Israel.

The Central Committee warns against the danger of a military dictatorship in Israel. Only a united and militant struggle of all democratic forces can prevent the victory of fascism in Israel.

The Central Committee points out with concern the worsening of the economic condition following the war.

The Central Committee points out with concern the difficult conditions, in particular of the Arab workers and peasants who were detached from the source of their living and face a regime of military and police oppression in the Arab districts.

The Central Committee calls for a united struggle of the Jewish and Arab workers in defense of their interests, against oppression and national discrimination, for equal national rights.

The Central Committee expresses its regret over the severance of diplomatic relations with Israel by the socialist countries—USSR, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Poland, Hungary, Yugoslavia, and also by democratic Guinea. All the responsibility for this severance of Israel's relations with the socialist world falls on the Eshkol-Dayan-Begin government which launched an aggressive war.

The Soviet Union was and remains a faithful friend of the people of Israel and of all peoples. The severance of relations is not directed against the State of Israel, but against the policy of the government of Israel, which sacrifices the real national interests of Israel at the shrine of the interests of the Anglo-American oil companies in our region.

The Soviet Union did everything in order to prevent war in the Middle East. Now the Soviet Union acts with all its might to liquidate the results of aggression and to safeguard peace and security in the region.

The experience of the period between the first and the second world wars proves that every capitulation to aggression, every appeasement of the aggressor, will only increase his appetite, spread the flames of war and increase the danger of world war. The American imperialists who, with the help of their local agents, kindled the flames of war in Vietnam and the Middle East, are pushing towards a third world war. The cause of peace and people's independence, the cause of preventing a third world war, demands the liquidation of imperialist aggression everywhere.

The people of Israel are interested in peace in our region and in the world. The people of Israel are deeply interested in friendly relations with the USSR and all socialist and peace-loving countries.

The Central Committee warns against the danger to Israel emanating from the irresponsible national policy of its rulers, and for the withdrawal of the Israeli army to the armistice lines, for an end to the policy of force which relies on the imperialist powers for support.

## STOP THE ARRESTS AND THE POLICE TERROR, RELEASE THE POLITICAL PRISONERS

The Central Committee protests strongly against the arrest of persons opposed to the war, against the arrest of leaders and members of the Communist Party of Israel and others.

Immediately after the opening of the war, many administrative arrests were made. Some of the arrested were released after 14 days. The arrest of others was prolonged and more were arrested. Other Arab citizens, who are known to be against the war, were arrested too.

The government introduced new regulations against the freedom of movement of Arab citizens, and even trespassed on the freedom of movement of Communist members of the Knesset. The imprisoned are not given the right to contact their relatives and even their lawyers are denied the right to see them. In some places, like Taibeh and Kufr-Yassif, police terror reigned.

In Tel Aviv and other Jewish towns, the police searched the homes of comrades of our Party, the home of a presidium member of the Israel-Soviet Friendship Movement, the homes of trade union activists, in order to terrorize and to instigate hatred amongst the population.

The Central Committee points with satisfaction to the courageous stand of the members of the Party, of the members of the Young Communist League and of many sympathizers, Jews and Arabs, shown in these days of trial. No terror and threats whatsoever, no arrests and cruelties are able, or ever will be able, to hinder Communists from defending peace or fighting against aggression, from defending the national interests of Israel or fighting against imperialist intrigues and the anti-national policy of the government.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel demands the immediate release of all political prisoners, an end to the acts of terror and provocation, and respect for the democratic freedoms and rights of the citizens.

The Central Committee calls on all democratic forces in Israel to raise their voice in protest against the infringement of the democratic freedoms and rights of the citizens and to demand the release of all political prisoners.

The Communist Party of Israel calls on democratic and peace-loving public opinion in the world to organize solidarity actions for the release of political prisoners and to demand a stop to the police terror in Israel.

# STATEMENT BY THE FIFTH MEETING OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES OF MEXICO, CENTRAL AMERICA AND PANAMA

1. Continuing the tradition of holding meetings to exchange experience gained in struggle, the Communist parties of Mexico, Central America and Panama held their fifth meeting in an atmosphere of growing unity and brotherhood.

2. The speeches of delegates from the parties attending the meeting showed that in all these countries the working class and the people as a whole are stepping up their fight against imperialism and home reaction, for a higher standard of living, for democracy. As this fight goes on our parties are showing themselves more and more to be the principal revolutionary force mobilizing the working people and large segments of the population.

3. The exchange of experience showed that in accordance with the conditions prevailing in our countries and with the strategic and tactical concepts developed by the parties concerned, the working-class movement is making progress, using the most diverse forms of struggle, from peaceful ones to armed struggle.

4. Analysis of the general course of international development shows that the world socialist system, the revolutionary movement of the working class in the capitalist countries and the anti-imperialist movement are on the rise and are, moreover, improving their positions. The imperialists' provocations and policy of intervention aimed at changing the present balance of forces and at stopping the upsurge of the world revolutionary movement have fallen flat. There can be no doubt, however, that the danger of a third world war has increased. The U.S. imperialists are creating new hotbeds of war in various parts of the world through their policy of interference in the affairs of other countries. The Arab-Israeli conflict is the latest hotbed of this kind. But in view of the war menace there is a growing world movement for peace, extending to the American people. Against this background, the socialist community headed by the Soviet Union is seen by all mankind as the bulwark of all the peoples fighting for their independence and for world peace.

5. The division of the world Communist movement is the main factor encouraging the imperialists to be more aggressive in Vietnam and elsewhere. Our parties consider that in these circumstances a world meeting of Communist and Workers' parties to promote unity and intensify the struggle against imperialism on a world scale would play a most positive role. Regarding this point it is noted that as far as the convening of an international meeting of

the parties is concerned the Guatemalan Party of Labor still withholds its opinion because that is a question to be decided by the Central Committee of the Party at one of its coming plenary meetings.

6. As for the problems that have arisen in the Communist movement of Latin America, our parties believe that proper efforts should be made to strengthen the militant unity of all parties and the alliance with the Cuban revolution. In this sense, there is confirmation of the conclusions of previous meetings, calling for maintenance of the unity of each party and for resistance to factional activity, and acknowledging the right of each party to work out its own policy line according to the actual conditions in its country. Having examined the issue of solidarity in view of the conference to be held in Havana, this meeting recommends to each party to do all it can, in keeping with its own policy line, to extend moral and material support to and show solidarity with all the peoples fighting against imperialism, for their independence and sovereignty.

7. In the face of new threats of invasion and aggression against Cuba, the Communist parties of Mexico, Central America and Panama call on the parties and peoples to redouble their vigilance and their solidarity with the Cuban revolution. The parties reaffirm their resolute support of the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people for independence, against the U.S. aggression, and express their support of the four points advanced by the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the five points advanced by the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. At the same time they urge more active solidarity with the people of Vietnam, insisting on the unconditional and definitive discontinuance of the bombing of North Vietnam and on the withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Vietnam as prerequisites for peace in that country.

8. In view of the Middle East crisis, which threatens to become a hotbed of world war, the meeting resolved to identify itself with the struggle of the Arab peoples against colonial and imperialist rule. It condemns the policy of the United States and Britain, which have turned Israel—against the will of the progressive forces of the Israeli people—into a bridgehead endangering the independence and sovereignty of those Arab peoples that are aspiring to an independent and democratic life. Both old and new colonialism must be torn up by the roots in the Middle East in the interest of world peace and in the national interests of the Arab peoples and the Israeli people themselves.

9. The meeting calls on the peoples of Mexico, Central America and Panama to conduct an active campaign of solidarity with the Guatemalan people, who are fighting against the dictatorship of an army serving the U.S. imperialists. It is the imperialists that openly direct the struggle against the revolutionary forces led by the Gua-

temalan Party of Labor and against the insurgent armed forces. The meeting urges resolute exposure of and counteraction to the campaign of reactionary terror being waged against the people of Guatemala.

10. The meeting points out once again the need to intensify the campaign for the release of political prisoners and imprisoned trade unionists in Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama, Venezuela, Colombia, Peru, Paraguay, Bolivia and Haiti, and to continue the fight to end encroachments on human rights in these countries. The meeting has resolved, in particular, to demand the release of Ramon Danzos Palomino, the Mexican peasant leader, member of the Presidium of the CC, Communist Party of Mexico, who was recently kidnapped by the Mexican authorities and is in danger of losing his life. A struggle will also be carried on to end repressions against the labor movement in all our countries and to secure the return of political exiles to their countries, on the understanding that their lives and their freedom will be guaranteed.

11.The meeting calls on all the democratic and revolutionary forces of these countries to fight with the utmost determination against the growing military and police penetration of American imperialism, which is taking place through the Central America Defense Council (CONDECA) and the Council for Security Matters, two bodies set up to put down the struggle of our peoples for progress and prosperity, flouting the national sovereignty of our countries.

12. Having examined the actual results of the fulfilment of plans for the economic integration of Central America, the meeting came to the conclusion that, as our parties had predicted, integration has in fact helped the North American monopolies to establish even more rigid control over the Central American economy in furthering their interests, and has made it easier for a handful of home capitalists in the service of these monopolies to grow richer still.

13. The Communist parties of Mexico, Central America and Panama express their admiration and respect for the people of the Soviet Union and its glorious Communist Party on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the Great October Revolution. This event marked the beginning of a new era for mankind, the era of freedom and social justice for all peoples, for all men and women irrespective of racial origin.

*Mexican Communist Party*
*Guatemalan Party of Labor*
*Commnist Party of El Salvador*
*Communist Party of Honduras*
*Socialist Party of Nicaragua*
*Party of the People's Vanguard of Costa Rica*
*People's Party of Panama*

*May 1967*

# REPORT* TO THE SEVENTH NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE CP OF ARGENTINA

VICTORIO CODOVILLA
CHAIRMAN OF THE CPA

**April 14-16, 1967**

Nine months have passed since the military junta carried out its coup, removed President Illia and put General Ongania in power.

The coup was carefully prepared well in advance by the reactianary military and clerical camarilla connected with the interests of imperialist, primarily American, monopolies, the landed oligarchy, and big intermediate capital.

The conspirators used certain trade union leaders and politicians, posed as friends of the people and declared in messianic tones—as reactionaries and fascists do everywhere—that they were going to "save the republic and embark definitively on a course of greatness" and that their aim was to "transform the nation and modernize the country."

That is why the conspirators originally succeeded to some extent in achieving their goal, that is, in misleading an important cross-section of the working class and the people as to the reactionary and pro-fascist nature of the coup and in winning their support.

Our Party was the only one to set about combating that delusion, deliberately maintained as a means of paralyzing mass action against the conspirators. On June 29, 1966, it issued a statement revealing the fascist-corporative, military and clerical character of the new regime.

Our Party was the only one to call on the workers and peasants, on all patriots and anti-imperialists, to resist the new dictatorial power so as to prevent its consolidation, to fight in common for bread and jobs, in defense of social and cultural gains and democratic liberties, for a broad democratic coalition government comprising representatives of all the progressive forces of the nation, including Peronists and Communists.

It was a great merit of our Party that it made a decisive contribution to the movement for unity of action of the working class and the people from top to bottom,as was shown subsequently by increasingly vigorous action. Developments have fully confirmed the class character of the new government, which our Party pointed

*Abridged.

out in its June 29 statement.

Ever since 1930 our country has been shaken by periodical coups and counter-coups virtually organized—even though they were carried out under different ideological and political slogans—by social strata interested in maintaining the backward socio-economic structure of the country and its dependence on imperialism, first of all U.S. imperialism.

A genuinely democratic regime can therefore be established only by fighting to turn this structure from a backward into a progressive one, which can be brought about solely through abolishing the latifundium and its semi-feudal survivals, and by ending foreign monopoly domination in the principal spheres of the national economy—a domination which enables the monopolies to determine the home and foreign policy of our country. This is the fundamental task facing our working class and our people today.

By the time the coup was carried out objective conditions had matured in the country for effecting deep-going change in the socio-economic structure and the political superstructure in the interest of the democratic, agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution. At the same time subjective conditions were maturing that would make it possible to effect these changes. The working class and the people as a whole were stepping up their struggle, and the unity of action of the working class and other democratic elements calling for radical changes in the political, economic, social and cultural life of the nation was growing.

That was the main reason why the conspirators had, as they themselves admitted, to hasten the coup in an effort to break off this process and save the interests of the foreign, above all the American, monopolies, the big intermediate capitalists and the landed oligarchy.

There is sufficient evidence now for everyone to see what the promised "new community order" stands for. It is not a question of a simple dictatorial government, one of those that abolished this or that freedom. It is a question of a new type of government based on a fascist-corporative state sweeping away all working-class, popular and democratic freedoms and gains scored through many years of struggle.

The facts that have become known indicate that various forces inside the government are already in conflict. These forces represent different interests and they rallied together to overthrow the Illia government.

This struggle will intensify as the economic and political crisis in the country goes deeper.

As for the meaning of the changes carried out in the political sector of the government, they are not designed to rectify its corporative orientation of a fascist type but are an attempt through

the so-called "dialogue" to divert the working class and public opinion from democratic objectives and prevent the steadily mounting resistance to the dictatorship from developing into an organized movement.

That is why, at a time when the government is stepping up its repressive measures against the working class and the popular forces fighting for their socio-economic demands and for national freedom and independence, its spokesmen persistently appeal to the opposition to take part in the "dialogue," hoping to win their support for the reactionary and pro-fascist policies of the regime.

Were the successes of the government in establishing a fascist-corporative state accidental? By no means.

Had the General Confederation of Labor exposed the fascist nature of the new government to the people from the first instead of representing the government to the working class and the people as "revolutionary," had it called on the people to unite in order to prevent the consolidation of the new regime, as our Party did, and organized this struggle under its own leadership and the leadership of the working class, its activity would have been in line with the democratic sentiments of all the democratic political organizations of the country, the dictatorial government would have been unable to consolidate, and it would have become possible to deal with the situation by democratic and progressive methods.

That was not done, however. Now what was not done yesterday can and should be done today by uniting all the democratic and progressive forces of the country in a single front without any restrictions whatever, in order to resist the reactionary measures of the dictatorship and to fight for a government based on a broad democratic and popular coalition.

This is yet another fundamental task facing our Party at the moment, and it must be carried out with the utmost courage and determination.

The conspirators, taking advantage of the growing economic crisis and of the people's desire for deep-going changes in the socio-economic structure and political superstructure of the country, made a good deal of fuss about their intention "to refashion outdated structures." But truth will out, and everyone soon saw that changes—reactionary ones—were taking place in only the political superstructure and were intended to adapt it still more to the defense of the interests of the latifundists, capitalists and foreign monopolies, or, in other words, to preserve and bolster the outmoded socio-economic structure of our country.

Indeed, the "remedy" the dictatorship is suggesting for the increasing economic and financial troubles of the nation is to resort to foreign loans and "free interprise"—a method already used by previous pro-imperialist and oligarchic governments.

An analysis of the measures Krieger Vasena is carrying out shows that they meet the interests of only a handful of big landowners, capitalists and profiteers, but above all of the American monopolies.

In fact, these measures are aimed at increasing agricultural production by developing industry, and at increasing exports at the expense of home consumption, that is, of the people's diet. They will entail mass unemployment and lower wages.

To implement their anti-national and anti-popular policies, the present rulers are trying to overcome the natural resistance of public opinion, not only through repressive measures, but by means of a lying campaign which is expected to show that government-owned companies are on the whole ineffective, that they produce a deficit, and that "étatism" (nationalization) is the main cause of the deterioration of the financial and economic position of the country.

Under the pretext of "modernizing the industries," "cutting production costs" and preserving "competitive companies," the regime reduces import tariffs and encourages the penetration of foreign monopoly capital, both direct and indirect, through membership in mixed companies. To reduce tariffs and facilitate imports means enabling foreign monopolies and their partners to ruin national industry and to speed the process of absorption of a substantial proportion of 100,000 small and medium national companies, since the reduction of tariffs will not affect the major imperialist companies and their partners. On the other hand, there is no doubt that lower tariffs and the free turnover of goods between Latin American countries, as planned within the so-called Latin American Common Market, will be detrimental to the less developed countries, for these measures are directed toward increasing export of the products of the more developed companies of certain Latin American countries, and these companies are generally in the hands of imperialist, primarily American, monopolies or mixed companies.

That is why the United States, which first opposed the idea of a Latin American common market, now declares enthusiastically for it.

Thus it is plain that the present government's policy of "free enterprise" will handicap the independent development of national industry, lead to the ruin of a considerable part of it and increase the dependence of the Argentine economy on imperialism. And this means that that policy is not only anti-popular but anti-national too, as our Party has already stated.

The Minister for the Economy, setting forth the drastic measures of the government, said he was stating "the rules of the speediest possible transition." So he was, meaning the transition to the impoverishment and re-colonization of the country.

Indeed, that transition consists in a sharp reduction of the stan-

dard of living of the workers, peasants, office employees, specialists, intellectuals, small and medium traders and industrialists while the big landowners, big capitalists and foreign monopolies will continue to make fabulous profits. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank invariably recommend this "remedy" to our country and other Latin American countries as a condition for granting them credits for so-called economic development.

Besides, the government, which applies the ideas of IMF and World Bank experts, concerned with the interests of the monopolies, primarily the American monopolies, and not of the nation, believes that inflation is caused by the unprofitability of government companies and by "excessive" demands for wage increases.

Speaking of wages, it must be noted that they have always lagged behind the steadily mounting cost of living and so cannot possibly be a cause of inflation.

Indeed, real wages and salaries have been continuously declining in spite of the increases won in recent years. In 1964 real wages dropped 8.6 per cent against 1963, and in 1965 9.8 per cent against the previous year. This trend became more marked in 1966 and 1967.

As for the unemployed, the government offers them a future that is more than grim.

Indeed, the military fascist dictatorship is carrying out a series of measures tending to increase unemployment. It is doing so to suit the employers, who want to use the unemployed as blacklegs and to disrupt the trade union movement.

In line with its reactionary and conservative orientation in the political, economic, social and cultural fields, the Ongania government is following, as could have been expected, a policy of subservience to the aggressive and neo-colonialist foreign policy of the United States.

It is now more necessary than ever before to bring it home to those Argentine patriots and democrats who still do not understand it that subordination of the Argentine foreign policy to the aggressive world policies of U.S. imperialism will in the end involve our country in military ventures, not only on this continent—against the heroic Cuban people or the people of some other country rising to fight for its freedom and national independence—but in such remote countries as Vietnam.

The fact that the coup was accomplished without evident recourse to violence created among the masses the illusion that the new government was progressive. In these circumstances our Party could not, and did not, lead the working-class vanguard to fruitless sacrifice, to a struggle by itself, without support and understanding on the part of the masses. Such a struggle, moreover, would have involved the risk of the deluded masses taking a stand against the correct position of our Party.

The result was that in spite of the difficulties our Party had to surmount owing to the complete abolition of democratic liberties by the new government, it did not lose contact with the masses, but, on the contrary, established even closer links with them as it explained the nature of the coup, for the facts daily proved its position correct.

The working class has learned much from the struggle it has been waging since the coup.

The most important lesson is that when the working class proceeds as a unit it becomes a decisive social factor, not only in the movement for immediate socio-economic demands, but in the general struggle for democracy, national independence and peace.

Another lesson is that the campaign for higher pay and other immediate demands is inseparable from the general struggle for a democratic system, as is evident from the trend to link the campaign for economic demands with the campaign for political demands, a trend that has developed in the working-class movement of late. Reality is convincing the workers and other working people that they can score some socio-economic gains and win some democratic freedoms through struggle but that a dictatorship brought into being by a coup, such as the dictatorship now in power in our country, can nullify these gains and freedoms unless the working class forms a single bloc against the conspirators. The working class must therefore enter into an alliance with other democratic and progressive forces, above all with the peasants, and carry on a joint fight for a really democratic and popular government.

In step with the growth of the political consciousness and militancy of the working class, the peasants are intensifying their struggle for stability on the land and for a far-reaching agrarian reform.

Every section of the working people is dissatisfied with the policies of the government.

All this goes to show that for all the coups and counter-coups, for all the anti-popular and anti-national, reactionary steps of the government, the swing to the left is inevitable, as our Party has indicated. This trend is gaining in strength and depth, and it is becoming feasible to transform it into a broad national united front movement of all democratic and patriotic forces in order to fight for progressive changes, for a genuinely democratic and popular government.

The growth of the political consciousness and militancy of the working people has its effect on the political parties, as could have been foreseen. Step by step all parties—Popular Radicals, Peronists, Christian Democrats, Argentine and Democratic Socialists, Progressive Democrats, and even National Democrats—have resumed their activity, largely under pressure from the rank and file, and

some of them, such as the Radical Civic Union of the People, openly challenge the decree dissolving the parties.

The youth organizations of all political parties have become particularly active.

As a result, contacts have been established between the political parties, including ours, to coordinate joint action so as to stop reaction and find a democratic and progressive alternative to the dictatorial regime.

The consistently democratic attitude and unitary policy of our Party have undoubtedly influenced, and continue to influence, the process of differentiation between the Right and Left wings of the various political parties, among the Catholics and in the armed forces.

The leftward trend of Peronism, which remains an important mass movement of the country, is becoming more pronounced. It is fortunate that the links between Left Peronists and Communists, in both the lower and the upper echelons, are becoming stronger in the course of the struggle against the dictatorship and its policy of unemployment, poverty and hunger, for a democratic and progressive way out.

Inside the Church, the antagonisms between reactionaries and progressives are becoming deeper.

This is a welcome development, for our Party has long been committed to the policy of proffering its hand to the Catholics.

The process of differentiation is going on in the armed forces as well, even though it does not take open forms.

What is the conclusion to be drawn from the analysis of the forces at work—the reactionary forces, which are in power although they represent an infinitesimal minority, and the democratic and progressive forces, which represent the overwhelming majority of the population?

The conclusion to be drawn is that if the democratic and progressive forces stop operating separately and instead coordinate their actions within a united front against the dictatorship, they can overthrow the present regime and open a new stage in the life of the nation.

Hence we must immediately specify our positions if we want to spare our country tragic days.

As far as our Party is concerned, we repeat that we are making, and will continue to make, all necessary efforts and sacrifices to bring about the broadest unity of action of Argentine democrats and patriots.

The foregoing suggests that the policy of our Party aimed at forming a broad anti-imperialist and democratic front can be made a reality.

Anti-communism has always been used as a means of blackmail-

ing anti-imperialists and democrats to block their unity of action with the Communists and to prevent the latter from making a decisive contribution to the establishment of a united front and assuring the victory of the democratic and patriotic forces through their correct policy and tactics using their organizational and creative capacity.

Deep-going changes aimed at transforming the present backward economic structure into a progressive one cannot be effected without the Communists, let alone against them.

The time has come for everyone to realize that we must look for what unites us and reject what keeps us apart, that our country cannot be developed on a new basis by one party or one social group, and that unity of action must not be temporary nor aimed at accomplishing a definite task but must be a long-term factor, since what is needed is not to replace one government by another but to bring about—by peaceful or non-peaceful means, depending on the resistance of the reactionary forces to the combined forces of the people—the formation of a government that will carry out fundamental changes in the economic, political, social and cultural life of the nation.

It is necessary to convince present or potential allies that unity of action within a common front does not imply that all parties or social forces will lose their identity and have to discard their program, political conceptions and ideologies.

As regards our Party, it now needs, more than ever before, unity of action within a democratic and patriotic front fighting to end the military fascist government and to form a provisional government based on a broad anti-imperialist and democratic coalition, one that will convene a constituent assembly on the principle of proportional representation to determine the political, economic and social system of the country in final form.

Today national and international problems intertwine so closely, being part of a single process, that the former cannot be properly analyzed without taking the latter into account.

Consequently, it is particularly necessary to carefully explain to the working class and the people, to the democratic parties and segments of the nation, that the struggle for freedom and national independence is a component of the general struggle of the backward colonial and dependent peoples for freedom and national independence, against neo-colonialism, for democracy, social and economic progress, and peace.

This is all the more indispensable because the cardinal problem of today, that of war and peace, while being solved in favor of the forces championing peace, has not yet been solved because the forces of war are daily becoming more aggressive.

In fact, the aggressive, barbarous methods which the invader

troops of the United States use against the people of North and South Vietnam, and the escalation of the U.S. aggression are vivid indications of a criminal policy that may lead to a nuclear war and drag the whole of mankind into it.

What is going on in Southeast Asia should serve as a warning to Latin America, where the Americans have demonstrated their brutality by murdering people in Santo Domingo, which they did in order to prevent the people of the Dominican Republic from winning freedom and national independence.

The people of Vietnam, who are carrying on a gallant fight of world significance, enjoy the solidarity of the world, in particular the solidarity of the socialist countries and, above all, the mighty Soviet Union.

All this assistance could no doubt have been more effective and could have forced the American aggressors to relinquish their predatory hold of the Vietnamese people and so contributed in substantial measure to an international détente had not Mao Tse-tung and his nationalist group sabotaged the united front of effective solidarity with Vietnam, thus doing a great service to the U.S. imperialists that is no less effective for being cloaked in ultra-revolutionary verbiage.

In our country we can contribute to the success of the noble cause of democracy and peace by striving with still greater determination for the unity of action of democrats and patriots with a view to thwarting the plans of the reactionary and pro-fascist forces controlling the present government, which tails behind the warmongering policy of the U.S. imperialists. We can fight for an independent and peace-loving foreign policy, expand the peace movement, strengthen and promote the movement of solidarity with the courageous people of Vietnam and with socialist Cuba, assist the movement for the self-determination of nations, etc.

The situation prompts us to strive with still greater energy for a united front against U.S. imperialism, not only on a national but on a continental plane.

The imperialists and their allies in every country are uniting on a continental scale to carry out their sinister plans against the sovereignty of the Latin American countries and their peoples.

It is perfectly natural, therefore, that the Latin American peoples, for their part, are organizing their solidarity and mutual support on a continental scale, within the Latin American Solidarity Organization, and are strengthening the bonds of friendship with the fraternal peoples of Asia and Africa.

Solidarity among the Latin American countries today is more necessary than ever because the U.S. imperialists and their agents in every country are stepping up their fight against the movement for national and social emancipation.

It is well known that the revolutionary movement developing in various Latin American countries uses different forms of struggle according to the actual historical conditions, the degree of socio-economic and political development and the degree of the organization, militancy and political consciousness of the working class and the people of the countries concerned.

The new stage in the development of the democratic and anti-imperialist movements of the continent calls, more than ever, for stronger bonds of solidarity and mutual assistance, and above all for closer solidarity with the heroic Cuban revolution, which is under a constant threat of U.S. imperialist intervention.

The effort to promote solidarity and mutual assistance against the common enemy will be all the more effective if the Communist and Workers' parties of the continent adhere in their relations to the principles established by the world Communist meeting in1960 and by the Conference of the Communist and Workers' parties of Latin America held in Havana late in 1964.

In view of the need to further continental solidarity, we Communists and other Argentine democrats and patriots must strive to prevent U.S. imperialist interference aimed at crushing the Bolivian people, who have risen against the predatory policy of the USA, and must make the reactionary Ongania government stop supplying arms to the butchers of the Bolivian people, to those who plan to drown in blood the people's fight for bread and jobs, for freedom and national independence.

There can be no question that the tremendous achievements of the socialist community and the world Communist and working-class movement, the broad anti-monopoly and democratic movements, the peace movements and the national liberation movements of the peoples oppressed by imperialism would have been even greater had the leadership of the Communist Party of China followed the Marxist-Leninist line laid down by its Eighth Congress, instead of the nationalist, jingoist, great-power line advanced by Mao Tse-tung which has resulted in isolation from the socialist countries and, more recently, to acts of aggression against the glorious Soviet Union.

These achievements would have been far more considerable had not the group led by Mao Tse-tung paralyzed action by the Chinese people in the interest of international solidarity, primarily with the people of Vietnam, on the pretext of the so-called "proletarian cultural revolution."

Everyone sees that as the Mao group carries out its so-called "proletarian cultural revolution" the American imperialists are becoming more aggressive and brazen, climbing higher and higher up the steps of their criminal policy of escalation against the people of Vietnam.

The Chinese leaders, who are anxious to appear more revolutionary than anyone else, have involved, or are trying to involve, some Communist parties in criminal ventures by advocating immediate insurrection, even in the absence of a revolutionary situation enabling the people to begin an armed fight against the forces of reaction. Repudiating the teachings of Lenin, who said that one must not tamper with insurrection, must not begin it unless the situation is favorable, they virtually alleged that in the struggle against imperialism and war, for democracy, peace and socialism — objectives envisaged by all Marxist-Leninist parties — there was no need to take into account distinctions in economic, political and social conditions, and hence no need to use different forms of revolutionary struggle.

In pursuing their adventurist policy, the Chinese leaders tried to influence the world Communist and working-class movement by means of their dogmatic and nationalist, great-power ideas. Having failed in this, they began to encourage or form factional groups inside the various Communist parties, and even tried to found parallel "parties" into which they introduced all kinds of renegades, adventurers and Trotskyists, whom they wanted, and still want, to pass off as a vanguard force of the Communist movement.

The logical evolution of the adventurist and disruptive policy of Mao and his group has resulted in their final rupture with Marxism-Leninism, since from sectarians and dogmatists they have become a hostile, anti-Soviet and anti-Leninist force. This is borne out by the facts—one has only to think of the reason why the Chinese leaders launched the "cultural revolution." This "revolution" consists in assailing the leading role of the working class, in minimizing the orientating, organizing and guiding role of the Communist Party, and in establishing a personal dictatorship of Mao based on armed force and the "Red Guards."

Our Party, which has been carefully following the evolution of the Chinese leaders and condenms the deviations of Mao and his group, cannot but express its indignation and voice its emphatic protest against these provocations. It confirms its support of the correct policy of the CPSU and its Marxist-Leninist leadership.

To contribute to greater cohesion of the world Communist and working-class movement and to establish without qualification that the "revolutionary" policy of Mao-Tse-tung and his group—which, I repeat, is a policy of nationalism and great-power chauvinism—is incompatible with the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, we say once again that we think the conditions are ripe for an international meeting and the adoption by it of decisions showing the working class and the peoples of all countries who stands where at present and so helping to expose the intrigues and calumnies of bourgeois governments and press.

On the other hand, we are certain that an international meeting would have great repercussions in the world Communist and working-class movement because the documents it adopted would reflect the tremendous changes that have occurred in the international situation and would lay down, on the basis of the 1957 and 1960 documents, a political and tactical line corresponding to the present stage. Besides, it would be a stmulus for real Chinese Communists and the heroic working class and people of China to fight to free themselves—despite the difficult conditions in which they have to operate—from the present dominant group which oppresses them, and thus to save the great socialist achievements of the People's Republic of China and rejoin the great world family of Communists.

This view is undoubtedly shared by every member and every leader of our Party, who have been educated in the spirit of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, of love of the Soviet Union and the CPSU.

We are holding this National Conference of our Party in the jubilee year of the great, glorious Russian revolution. Fifty years have passed since the workers, peasants and other working people of the immense tsarist empire, led by the Communist Party—a party founded, steeled and guided by Lenin—took power and opened a new era in man's history, the era of the downfall of capitalism and the rise and consolidation of socialism and communism.

The ideas of the October Revolution contributed in decisive measure to the peoples who suffered from imperialist plunder and capitalist exploitation taking the road of progress. The Soviet Union, which has become a mighty socialist power, is celebrating its fiftieth anniversary while carrying out the titanic task of building communism. Its jubilee is therefore a full confirmation and complete triumph of the great ideas that inspired the fearless revolutionaries in October 1917—the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, which today guide the activity of proletarian revolutionaries in every part of the world.

Such is the historic significance of the great Russian revolution of 1917.

That is why the Argentine Communists, like the Communists of other parts of the world, are preparing, together with the fraternal Soviet people and other peoples of the world, to commemorate that event, a turning point in the history of mankind.

Permit me to deal with a highly topical issue, that of the role of the working class and its vanguard, the Marxist-Leninist party. This role is questioned by certain would-be Marxist theoreticians and certain so-called "progressive" elements.

Some of the so-called "progressives" in the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois camp allege that Marxist-Leninist political parties are out of place because they are directed, according to these people,

against "class alliance" and therefore hamper the development of the national economy. Even when engaged in politics, often of an adventurist nature, these people affirm that they are against politics. They insist that the trade union movement be depoliticized, that it renounce the principles of class struggle and form one "community" with the employers and the state to defend "common" interests. Although they assume various guises, they are virtually advocating the economic and social policies of the dictatorship.

Communists are resolute advocates of the proletariat taking part in united fronts with other social and political organizations. The broader these fronts, the better. Furthermore, Communists take the initiative of forming such fronts, as everyone knows. We maintain, however, that the trade union movement and the political parties, while fighting for common programmatic demands, must abide by their independent position. In any case, Communists will never recant their ideology nor give up the political and organizational independence of their Party.

On the other hand, the camp of the "knights of ultra-revolutionary phrasemongering" advance the idea that the proletariat does not need a Marxist-Leninist political party in order to play the leading role in the anti-imperialist agrarian and democratic revolution aimed at achieving socialism. They contend that if this principle were adopted revolutionaries who refused to join a common front with Communists would remain outside the Party. These people propose to replace the working-class party by a socially heterogeneous movement comprising, in addition to revolutionary Marxist-Leninists, various renegades expelled from the Party and the most outspoken adventurers.

Besides, on the plea that urban workers are becoming bourgeois, these "revolutionaries" claim that the important thing is not work among the working class to win its support for the revolution and have it play a leading role, but work among the peasants and students, to whom they assign the leading role in the movement for national and social emancipation.

There is no need to stress that the peasants constitute one of the motive forces of the democratic, agrarian, and anti-imperialist revolution and that work among them should be aimed at winning them over as allies of the proletariat. Nor is there any doubt that the students have, as in our country, won an honorable position in the joint struggle they have been carrying on together with the workers for common demands, and in the common fight for the national and social emancipation of our people.

But the "revolutionaries" I am speaking about have no intention of stressing the importance of these facts in the interest of this general struggle. They flatly reject the Leninist concept of a worker-peasant alliance led by the proletariat, and of its vanguard, the

Communist party, in the struggle for the democratic, agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution, with socialism as the goal.

This "theory," which is made out to be original, was spread in Latin America as early as the twenties and thirties by Haya de la Torre, an agent of U.S. imperialism. It has been refuted by the Marxist-Leninist parties of all Latin American countries.

Thus we already have some experience. Now as in the past, anyone who tries to minimize or deny the leading role of the proletariat and its vanguard, the Communist party, is bringing grist to the mill of the enemies of the working class, the people and the nation, whatever the arguments used.

# REPORT* BY FRANZ MUHRI CHAIRMAN OF THE CPA

The policy of the APP (Austrian People's Party) government in the new inner political situation is characterized primarily by two circumstances: first, the fact that the association of industrialists, the economic union of the APP and the owners of apartment houses determine the policy of the government. Backed by the absolute majority in parliament, the government prepared an early redistribution of the national income in favor of the employers. The opponents of the nationalized sector, those who want the nationalized enterprises closed think their time has come. The foreign oil companies hope they can now extend their positions in Austria. The government and the big capitalists are trying to put all the effects of the slackening of economic growth on the shoulders of the working people. While political, economic and neutrality policy considerations alike speak against tying Austria to the EEC, the government, in particular Vice-Chancellor Bock, persists in its effort to do just that. This seems to be due in decisive measure to such considerations of power politics as the bid for stronger support from foreign capital.

Another important feature of the government policy is the undermining of democracy. Under the catchword "Against the parties running it," the APP and the Austrian Freedom Party decided on a reform of broadcasting that produced anything but the promised democratization. The office of chief of radio information is an out and out reactionary fetched from West Germany.

One year of APP rule has shown that on March 6, 1966, Austrian democracy was defeated and that the APP government and policy are not an alternative to the barren and undemocratic system of the grand coalition.

The undivided rule of the APP was born of a political crisis, the crisis of the coalition system. Despite its feverish activity, the APP government has solved none of the fundamental problems, for it pursues a class policy in the interests of big capital, and this class policy leads to the aggravation of economic and political contradictions and to new political crises.

But the trend toward greater conservatism is not limited to the APP nor to the policy of the government. The new leadership of the Socialist Party of Austria (SPA), headed by Kreisky, has given

*Abridged from **Volkstimme,** June 11, 1967. The report was delivered to the Conference of the Communist Party of Austria on June 10.

in to the political pressure of the APP and swung to the right in its turn. The SPA leadership responded to the call of the APP and dissociated itself from the Communists whenever an opportunity offered. It even entered into anti-Communist competition with the APP. It suppresses the left-minded elements in the party. The discussion about a new political orientation and the need to return to a principled socialist policy—a discussion begun after the elections to the National Council—has stopped.

This growing conservatism of the SPA has resulted in abandoning the struggle for democratic structural reforms and in renouncing a democratic alternative to APP policy.

The Austrian working class is still strong enough to win its demands when the policy of social partnership does not prevent it from deploying its forces. But the SPA deputies do not even make full use of the opportunities for parliamentary struggle.

We stated at the 19th Party Congress that capitalism is still susceptible to crisis but that the working class has new opportunities of effectively countering crisis trends under capitalism. We think the following steps to be particularly urgent:

1. Measures to overcome structural drawbacks of the Austrian economy. It is a question not only of the quantity, but primarily of the quality of investment. This calls for judicious stimulation of the growth of those branches that have matured for growth and have adequate prospects, such as the chemical, engineering, steel and electrical industries. It also requires easier terms for those investments—as in the field of control and research equipment—that have a particularly strong effect on the growth of production and productivity. This selective encouragement of investment can be effective only if based on a long-term economic plan aimed at eliminating branch, territorial and structural shortcomings in foreign trade.

2. A long-term economic plan must be matched by a long-term public investment program going, both in breadth and depth, well beyond the ten-year investment program (1954-63). The task is both to improve the infrastructure and to offer new stimuli for the slackening growth of the economy. It is necessary closely to link with these public investments appropriate facilities for investments in individual nationalized or private enterprises, such as will help to improve the industrial structure. Additional funds could be made available by an investment bank which must be set up and whose activity should be aimed, not at achieving short-term profitability, but at promoting the long-range growth of production and productivity.

3. To intensify scientific and technological research and development and to remedy the crisis in education are decisive not only for economic growth but for making our economy competitive and

assuring the future of the country. Austria spends a meagre 0.33 per cent of its gross national product on research, whereas other industrial countries comparable to it spend three to six times as much, to say nothing of the Soviet Union and the United States. Only by greatly expanding research and the educational system can we end a lag that is beginning to tell, and stop the present outflow of scientists and technologists and the resulting decline of our cultural and economic life.

4. The fact that the drop in economic activity has already spread to consumer goods production stresses the need for an active policy on wages and in the social sphere, and the necessity for measures against the rising cost of living. We condemn all stagnation in wage policy also for the political reason that we must maintain a high level of economic activity.

5. If we want a high level of economic activity and full employment we must have extensive foreign trade relations, renounce all unilateral association with any economic bloc, and foster economic relations with all countries on the principles of complete independence, equailty and mutual benefit. The alternative for Austria is not at all to be "neutral if poor," as Chancellor Klaus put it in *Spiegel*. Austria is in a position, like Switzerland, to be a modern wealthy state while fully maintaining its neutrality and independence. We must therefore flatly reject the idea of unilaterally tying Austria to the EEC, last but not least because this tie would inevitably be accompanied by a curtailment of our sovereignty and by an increased influx of foreign capital, particularly from West Germany. Yet complete freedom of action and the prevention of foreign control over the Austrian economy are the chief prerequisites of an independent national policy to maintain a high level of economic activity and a condition for adhering to a structural policy.

By suggesting that one can automatically expect every kind of benefit from the EEC, certain quarters are deliberately misleading public opinion.

Austria must put its economy in order by its own effort.

Solution of the more important economic problems according to a democratic plan meeting the national interests of the country is most closely bound up with the effort to maintain the nationalized sector. The APP government is steadily following the policy of restricting this sector. One wonders what SPA spokesmen in the trade unions, observation councils and on the boards of nationalized corporations have to say to that. The observation council of the trade unions includes at least five production advisers and leading trade unionists from the SPA. The latest congress of the Association of Austrian Trade Unions declared for the nationalized sector in no uncertain terms. What are the SPA representatives in the leadership of the nationalized industries doing to put forward an

alternative to the plans of the government? As a matter of fact, the SPA leadership at the moment has no concept regarding the preservation of the nationalized enterprises, where control and co-management by the workers—at the enterprise level and higher up—must be exercised first and foremost.

The evolution of the Catholic Church—the social encyclicals of John XXIII and Paul VI, the results of the Ecumenical Council and, above all, the dialogue going on between Christianity and Marxism—are also very important for establishing working-class unity of action and for rallying the democratic and patriotic forces in the APP and the Catholic camp. These positive changes in the Catholic Church are in sharp contrast with the growing conservatism of the APP and the official policy. The conservative elements in the APP are clearly unhappy about these new developments. But the latter cannot be stopped because they are objective processes. Their roots lie, as we stated at our 19th Congress, "in the scientific and technological revolution, the growing strength of socialism, the achievements of the national liberation movement, and the realization of the disastrous consequences of atomic war."

Anti-communism is directed against working-class unity of action, against the rallying of the democratic forces. It is not only a weapon against Communists. It is first of all a means of exerting political pressure on the left-wing forces in the SPA and on the democratic forces in the APP and the Catholic camp. In Greece Socialists, Communists, democrats and members of the bourgeoisie have been put in jail and are fighting in common for freedom and democracy. In Austria, however, the SPA leadership bans all joint actions for freedom in Greece. In reality this ban is directed against action in general. The reactionary nature of anti-communism is also evident from the fact that it is the political and ideological basis of a military coup in Greece and the barbarous war of annihilation in Vietnam.

The chief argument of the anti-Communist leaders of the SPA is the contention that Communists advocate dictatorship and violence. Yet our Party has opted for the peaceful road to socialism, which, needless to say, cannot be a road without struggle, for the capitalist class will never give up its privileges of its own free will. At the 19th Congress we stressed that with due regard to the conditions prevailing in our country the Communist Party considers it necessary to effect the transition to socialism on a multi-party basis and that socialism will add to the democratic freedoms already gained new ones that are possible only as a result of the removal of big capital, as a result of the revolutionary transformation of society.

Our fight for socialism is designed to extend democracy and give the working man greater freedoms. The Austrian Communists de-

monstrated their democratic world outlook in the struggle against fascism, when our country was passing through particularly difficult times. Today too, our Party is in the front line of the struggle to defend and preserve democracy and peace. To those Socialists who regard anti-communism as a tactical necessity, a means of achieving better results at the next elections, we suggest recalling the fact that Franz Jonas, a Socialist, was elected President of Austria with the help of Communist votes. Had not the Communists backed Jonas, victory would have gone to Gorbach. What is the Socialists' idea of the next presidential elections?

The rightist, anti-Communist orientation of the new SPA leadership is certainly no guarantee of success in the 1970 elections. This is also obvious from events in other European countries. The facts show that in the anti-Communist race the SPA will end by losing whenever it tries to pass the APP on the right.

The French and Finnish Socialists have long since abandoned their anti-communism, and both parties recently won new votes and seats. By the same token, the rightist orientation of the Wilson government in Britain resulted in the Labor Party losing over 500 seats to the Conservative Party during the recent municipal elections.

Besides, it is fair to ask: how will the SPA which before the elections tries to win votes in the bourgeois camp by means of an anti-Communist rightist orientation be able to put a socialist alternative into practice after the elections? Such a policy amounts to constant adaptation to capitalist terms. The anti-Communist rightist orientation of the new SPA leadership tends to discredit socialism and is leading to the renunciation of socialism.

Despite the SPA leadership's increased dissociation from the Communists and despite its attempts to put up a new wall between Socialists and Communists, the proposition advanced at the 19th Congress—to the effect that we see our chief political task in achieving mutual understanding with the Socialist comrades—retains its validity. The Austrian Communists have no aims apart from the interests of the Austrian working class. Democracy cannot be defended or extended without the Socialists, without the democratic forces in the APP and the Catholic camp. But it is just as impossible to achieve these objectives without the ideas and concepts of the Communists, let alone against them. In any case, there can be no democratic and socialist perspective in Austria on the basis of a barren, callous, rigid anti-Communist concept.

It is exactly two years since the 19th Congress of our Party was held. Its decisions are still being discussed, and this is much better than it would be if no one had been talking about them. The experience of the past two years has fully borne out the validity of these decisions. The vast majority of our membership recognizes

the orientation of the 19th Congress to be correct even though the tendency toward a biased interpretation of the Congress decisions persists. We must, in connection with the current policies and tasks of the Party and with the specific experience of our struggle, convince the whole Party more deeply than ever of the correctness of the orientation adopted by the 19th Congress, overcome accidental distrust and help fully to establish in the Party an atmosphere of open comradely and creative discussion of every problem in a spirit of tolerance.

Our Party is a large and living body of militant people passing through a difficult period of reconstruction. Let us march together along the road charted by the 19th Congress. Let us step up the effort to establish and promote the political and ideological unity of the Party in line with the orientation of the 19th Congress if we want fully to cope with our task as the Austrian vanguard of democracy, peace and socialism.

# POLITICAL STATEMENT* BY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, CP OF SPAIN

These past months have been months of great tension. The ultras were still noisily celebrating the outcome of the referendum when workers and students, backed by large sections of the nation, launched mass actions greater in scale and militancy than had ever been seen under the Franco regime. The events in Madrid on January 27, in Asturias on February 1, in Barcelona on February 17, and the nationwide strike of students were the highlights of these actions, which at some moments drew 400,000 workers and students.

The Franco regime, far from clearing the horizon through its "Operation Referendum," is up against an even more critical political and economic situation.

In the streets and at various public meetings, the most diverse segments of Spanish society say no to the dictatorship and demand freedom. This is undeniable rejection of the results of the December 14 farce.

The international position of the regime shows no improvement. The dirty water of the referendum was not the best for washing off the stigma of fascism that still makes negotiations with the Common Market difficult. The obstacles to normal relations with the socialist countries persist. Owing to its regime, Spain remains the "poor relative" in the international community.

## Ultras and "Evolutionists"

The contradictions between the ruling groups have increased since the referendum. Even in the government there are increasingly sharp clashes between the ultras (Alonso Vega, Solis and Faga, with Franco at their head), on the one hand, and the partisans of an "evolutionary" policy, of a certain loosening, who regard the present fascist structure as harmful, on the other. Their differences find vivid expression in the press.

Measures of a fascist nature follow one another: virtual repeal of the press law through the reform of the criminal code; the decision to refer to military courts cases of participation in the movement of workers and students; persecution of the Workers' Committees and their leaders, of students, professors and intellectuals; the confiscation and suspension of newspapers; mounting pressure

*Mundo Obrero, April 1967.

on foreign press representatives; amendments restricting the draft law on freedom of conscience; and to top it all, there are the drafts of a new electoral law and a law on the Movement.* The latter draft has given rise to heated argument because it is intended to maintain the political monopoly of the General Secretariat of the Falange while virtually denying every opportunity to other groups still moving in the orbit of the regime.

The new onset of the ultras is no longer directed against the labor and democratic opposition alone but affects the "evolutionists" as well. The regime is beginning to devour itself.

At bottom, the reason for the ultras' attempt to fall back on a tough policy is that their positions have been shaken so badly that another retreat could result in their being forced out altogether.

On the one hand, the labor and democratic movement has already achieved such a degree of unity, organization and militancy that the ultras are finding it more and more difficult to stay in power. On the other hand, the hegemony of the ultra team in the ruling set-up no longer meets the interests of the big bourgeoisie to the full and is losing support among the middle bourgeoisie.

At a time when Spain is apparently heading for an economic crisis—in a capitalist Europe in which the signs of a recession are multiplying—and when the miscarriage of the regime's economic policy is evident, the continuation of the dictatorship, the nefarious policies and repressive measures of the ultras will undoubtedly lead to an aggravation of political and social tensions. The immediate task is to foil the attempt at returning to fascist forms of repression and at the same time demand an amnesty for all political prisoners and exiles. To remove the ultras and the Movement bureaucrats from key government posts is a national necessity today. Most sections of society would welcome this.

Workers, students and intellectuals show the way — strikes, collective protests, meetings, street demonstartions and collective documents are the best reply to rabid fascists. Recent weeks have been eventful in this sense. The firmness and calm displayed by the foremost participants in the labor and popular movement, the prompt and vigorous reply to each repressive measure, and the participation in the protest movement of men and women belonging to every segment of society and every trend suggest that the ultras have been unable to attain their aim—intimidation—and that the situation is favorable for pushing back the ultras and for promoting the democratic movement.

Resistance to repressions becomes stronger when closely linked with economic, social, cultural and political demands. There will be

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*The fascist Spanish Falange.—**Ed.**

no setback if each segment of the population bears this in mind and acts accordingly. To this end it is advisable to strengthen and extend the unity of the mass movement while respecting their democratic and autonomous development.

The mass movement will never return to the catacombs.

The new working-class movement must not cede any of the legal positions it has won. Firm resistance, accompanied by counter-attacks at various levels and posing the real and urgent problems of the working people should be the answer to the bosses of the vertical unions who are trying to oust the genuine representatives of the workers from these positions. It is these bosses from the "command" that must vacate the posts to which they were never elected.

The fight for trade union freedom, against the attempts of Solis and his men to draft a law maintaining the monopoly rights of the vertical union bosses, provides a broad basis for agreement and opens the prospect of bringing the mass of the working people into the movement. The working people are already tackling the decisive problem of forming new trade unions of their own. By pushing on along these lines we will defeat the vertical union bosses and arrive through union meetings and congresses at creating a great trade union federation—a unitary, independent and democratic class federation.

## Resist Layoffs, Uphold the Working People's Demands

The working class, which had to pay the bill of the stabilization plan and the imbalances caused by neo-autarchic and inflationist growth, is now threatened with the effects of the current recession and the economic crisis the latter heralds. Layoffs are beginning, and unless they are vigorously resisted they will assume dangerous proportions. Overtime is being abolished and workers' incomes are dwindling. There are more and more signs of crisis. The industrialists of Biscaya want the working day reduced by half for six months. Some employers have sent their workers on the annual holiday earlier than usual. In Asturias pits are closing and the miners are fired. "Concerted action" is beginning to tell on steel workers and miners. The government has ordered the enterprises to reject every demand of the working people.

At a time when the high cost of living has considerably reduced real wages, which were inadequate as it was, the workers are denied what they most legitimately demand—a minimum wage of 250 pesetas a day and a sliding wage scale. The employers' offensive is complemented by repressions by the government and the vertical union bosses against prominent labor leaders. This offensive is aimed at making it impossible for the workers to defend themselves,

and so compelling them to swallow the effects of the crisis and the regime's harmful policy.

But the working people's reply is far more resolute than on previous occasions. Strikes, demonstrations and other forms of protest have mobilized hundreds of thousands of workers for simultaneous action. Such struggles as that of the workers discharged from the Laminacion de Bandas en Frio plants in Echevarri or that of the eleven miners who shut themselves up in the depths of the Llamas pit shook the whole country.

Proletarian solidarity is resurging with tremendous force. In some cases action ended in important partial gains.

## New Level of the Labor Movement

The struggles today are characterized by organization and unity. They show that the working people are able to provide themselves with effective leadership. The Workers' Committees, combining underground activity with utilization of the opportunities afforded by the elective posts in the vertical unions, have set up a complex system of highly efficient organizations.

The facts give the lie to the smear misrepresenting the new working-class movement, whose activity it viciously describes as "collusion" or "conspiracy." How can anyone speak of "conspiracy" when it is a question of struggles carried on in broad daylight and mobilizing the masses in various cities, struggles that have assumed national dimensions?

The new working-class movement and its leaders have no intention of withdrawing underground or into secrecy. They are convinced that by acting openly they are exercising a right, even though the Establishment refuses to recognize it. Theirs is a noble and lofty cause. Far from injuring the country, this cause serves it.

We Communists are not, nor do we claim to be, the only ones who are active within the labor and democratic movement. Also active in it are numerous Catholics and people of socialist and syndicalist leanings, as well as others who have not yet opted for any party or political trend but are aware of their rights and ready to wrest them.

In noting the vast participation of Catholics in the labor and democratic movement, which brings them reprimands and sanctions from the integralist Church leadership trying to continue taking advantage of the people's religious sentiments for their own reactionary political purposes, we reaffirm our desire for an end to the sectarianism and dogmatism of the past, on the basis of respect for one another's convictions. The growing cooperation of Communists and Catholics, who courageously protest against the present state of affairs and strive to change it, is a most encouraging aspect of

the situation. We declare most emphatically that we want to march with the Catholics (and other forces) against the dictatorship, toward political and social democracy, toward socialism.

## Alliance of the Forces of Labor and Culture

A characteristic of the present situation is the numerous links that are naturally becoming established between the various movements and tend to develop into a single front of action.

The Spanish countryside is the scene of struggles involving both the rural proletariat and the peasants. These struggles have met with sympathy and solidarity among the mass of the population. Peasants in some areas already resort to strikes and demonstrations after the example of the working class. But these early struggles, while important, reflect to more than a tiny part of the peasants' enormous discontent. Besides, account must be taken, in the case of agricultural workers, of the grave problem of seasonal unemployment.

All this shows that solution of the problems of the countryside must be regarded as an urgent national task. We need a deep-going agrarian reform on the principle "the land for those who till it," a reform socially eleminating the non-productive and parasitic class of big landowners and making it possible to effect the technological and economic changes agriculture needs. If faced with the mass action extending to the countryside, the regime would be virtually powerless.

The students' campaign for their rights, for a university reform and for democracy is gaining in scale and strength. To all intents and purposes, there already exists a democratic student union in different phases of organization.

Today the Spanish university is, despite its class character, a stronghold of democratic national consciousness and a bulwark of progress due to the action of students and part of the academic staff. There are fundamental points of agreement between the struggle of the university and the new labor movement.

Spanish intellectuals, for their part, have shown great civic courage by supporting the workers' action. The free professions, too, take actions of vast importance, including actions by doctors, lawyers and teachers, and the democratic organization of technologists.

The Workers' Committees, the peasant opposition, the democratic student union, the various associations of intellectuals and professional people, the youth and women's movements, and progressive Catholic groups are all establishing links among themselves that are informal at times but effective nevertheless. We are advancing to more and more conscious and explicit coordina-

tion. A broad alliance of the forces of labor and culture is in the making.

Without trying to anticipate the forms that it may eventually take, we note that this alliance, led by the working class, already is a real and growing force opposing the fascist political order. These links and this extensive coordination in the course of the most diverse partial actions are bringing near the prospect of a great civic demonstration against the dictatorship, of what we call a national strike.

In the future, the alliance of the forces of labor and culture will become the foundation of Spanish democracy.

## The Option

In view of the present dilemma—reactionary fascist dictatorship or democracy — the ultras' offensive is confronting the "evolutionists" with an option: remaining powerless and ridiculed hostages of the ultra group who must share with it the responsibility for isolating and discrediting Spain internationally, or fighting against this group undeterred by the possibility of their attitude coinciding with that of the opposition. The facts indicate that under the present regime there is no third, liberal way. Freedom is indivisible in the face of the ultras: either there will be freedom for all, or everyone will remain at the mercy of the ultras, to be treated as the ultras please.

The Communist Party considers that all opposition forces and all "evolutionists" should promptly meet at the conference table to discuss ways and means of solving the political problem of Spain without recourse to violence and civil war.

The fundamental thing today is to introduce democratic freedoms for all Spaniards. We Communists are willing to cooperate, even without participating in it, with a transitional government that would implement, loyally and without reservations, the program set out in the recent document signed by 565 intellectuals of the most diverse ideological trends. The program provides for the following:

—releasing all prisoners and reinstating them—as well as all victims of repressions — at their work places or educational establishments;
—higher wages and salaries, and a sliding wage scale;
—freedom of trade unions, and the right to strike;
—freedom of assembly and speech;
—political freedoms;
—an amnesty for political prisoners and exiles.

Another outstanding issue is the travesty of elections which

the government is preparing with a view to introducing so-called family representation in the Cortes. We call on all opposition forces, on all who are against the policy of the ultras, to reach agreement and to act by abstaining from the vote. It is urgent that an end at all costs be put to the sad picture presented by Spain under Franco, Alonso Vega, Solis and Fraga.

We, for our part, will continue to appeal to the workers, peasants, students and intellectuals—to the whole people—to combat the present situation with increasing energy, to come out into the streets and demonstrate their resolve to end the dictatorship.

*April 1967.*

# QUESTIONS OF IDEOLOGY AND CULTURE

## STATEMENT* FROM THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

In no earlier phase in man's history has the world presented such striking contrasts as it does today. Science, technology, man's capacity to control nature leap ahead at breakneck speed, yet the greater part of mankind still lives in poverty and hunger. The same science can immeasurably improve man's conditions of life or be used for destruction. The epoch we live in is one of revolutionary change, of transition from one social system to another, from capitalism to socialism. To speed and to lead that change, and so to help open out a new era in man's history, is the role of Communist Parties throughout the world.

We live in a world of struggle. The great social transformation, now on the order of the day, is neither an easy nor a spontaneous process. Men of monopoly and Empire do not lightly surrender. And the struggles—economic, political, social—are reflected in the realm of ideology. Ideas of war, of race, of self-enrichment, of despair and self-destruction, do battle, consciously and unconsciously, in the service of the old, dying system of capitalism.

For many people all seems confused, uncertain; established beliefs fade, established outlooks are questioned. In the turmoil of contrast and change they can see no future, no purpose or direction. In this situation it is natural that many are now turning to Marxism precisely because it points the way forward to a socialist and communist society; because it shows how the vast potentiality of science can be put to the service of man, how culture can be freed from the degrading commercialism of capitalist society, and because Marxism can give men a sense of confidence in their own capacity to change the world.

Among those turning to Marxism in interest and hope are many who raise questions about the attitude of the Communist Party, concerned as it is, with bringing about the socialist transformation of society, to issues of great importance for humanity—questions of science, culture, religion, democracy. It is good and welcome that they do so. For Marxism too must itself continuously face up to the new problems of the mid-twentieth century, must continuously develop, shed dogmatism, overcome deficiencies, listen to critics and clarify its attitudes.

*Marxism Today, May 1967.

We regard the clarification of our attitudes to such questions of ideology and culture as of first importance at this critical moment in world history. But we cannot here attempt to define the attitude of Communists to all the issues raised by these questions. Rather we wish to state our approach to the nature of the work of scientists, artists and others today and under socialism and to indicate, as clearly as possible, the grounds for joint discussion and action in the achievement of socialism. We believe that these issues are of interest, not only to scientists and artists themselves, but to wide sections of the people, including industrial workers, who are deeply interested in and closely affected by developments in the sciences and the arts.

## Science

Marxist philosophy is based on the study of reality through the use of scientific method, by which theories are tested in practice. Just as the laws of nature are derived from scientific study and practice, so Marxism attempts to penetrate the nature of social evolution and establish its laws by use of scientific method. Marxism, therefore, bases itself on science and cannot be separated from science. It points to the need for the spread of scientific education on a wide scale so that all may have the means of understanding natural and social phenomena.

The 20th century is a period of extremely rapid scientific advance. Scientists are investigating ever more thoroughly the complexities of nature and, for the first time, discovering the nature of life itself. Vast sources of power are opening up, space is subject to human exploration, while new particles of matter are being discovered.

Communists welcome this advance. We see the task of the scientist as that of exploring nature, society, man, of enriching man's knowledge of every aspect of the universe, and of taking part in the application of this knowledge for the benefit of man.

Under capitalism, the development of science and technology is restricted and distorted. This is inevitable when much of it is influenced, or even controlled, by monopoly and other big private profit interests, and when half this country's research and development spending is for military purposes involving one in four scientists and technologists.

Universities, Technical Colleges and Research Institutes are not accorded the resources they need for the development of effective research, while the vital importance of science itself, of scientific organization and planning, are insufficiently recognized. In addition to this, immense social problems have arisen as a result of the

productive potentialities of the new automation and computer techniques. These problems cannot be solved by capitalism, but only in a socialist system.

Science must serve the people, and the battle for this end begins *now*, under capitalism. Socialist society will, we consider, provide the conditions for the massive development of scientific enquiry.

The extent of resources to be made available for science must be determined by the community as a whole through its democratic institutions. Careful planning of the use of these resources is, of course, essential—priorities must be determined in the light of social needs as well as the state of science itself. In deciding these priorities scientists can make their special contribution through scientific organizations, universities and research institutes as well as government bodies, so influencing the direction of scientific investment and advance. Although at particular times special attention will have to be paid to particular fields, all scientific research should be encouraged, including pure research carried through without concern for its immediate practical application.

The Communist Party, therefore, welcomes the most critical, enquiring and searching spirit among scientists, whose function, we recognize, is to explore all aspects of phenomena and to avoid going into enquiry with a fixed notion of the result. The development of science requires the free confrontation of different scientific theories, and, where necessary, prolonged debate. We recognize, first, that only experiment and testing in practice can decide which of any two or more theories is valid, and, secondly, that theories and hypotheses that provide an adequate explanation of phenomena at one date will most probably be modified later and sometimes even be replaced by new and more complete theories.

We recognize that when attempts have been made in a dogmatic way to limit the scope of scientific investigation, to determine as foregone conclusions theories that could not be established as a result of research, debate and experiment, as in the case of Lysenko, the result has been extremely harmful for science, for scientists and for Marxism itself. The Communist Party, therefore, does not and will not attempt to "lay down a line" on science, to forecast the results of scientific research, or decide questions still under investigation. It considers that this is the field of scientists themselves and encourages the confrontation of conflicting approaches as an integral part of science. Above all, we will encourage the study of nature and of society in all its complexity and contradictions. For the more freely men explore nature the more effectively can they control it in the interests of man; the more they understand society the more they will fight to develop and change it.

## Art

A fundamental aim of the Communist Party is to bring into being a society where art and culture flourish and where all may participate in artistic activity. We recognize the debasement and perversion of art and culture today resulting from commercialism. Yet under even capitalism art is far from subdued, and creative artists in every field resist its encroachments and degradation. The struggle goes on in art as in politics.

Communists will fight against all restrictions of art imposed under capitalism, seek to defend its free development and extend its availability.

We do not think that, under socialism, painting, sculpture, literature, music must comply with a single standard, congenial to all, or immediately comprehensible without effort and study, but that society, through education and the facilities it provides, must make both the enjoyment and the practice of one or other field of artistic activity easily available to all sections of the people. By this means a free choice can be made as to which branch or branches of culture may be enjoyed and practised.

Marxist historians and critics have made a considerable contribution to the study of the history of culture—its relations to society, to the struggle of classes—and to understanding how it arose and the role it has played. Marxism can assist the analysis and disclose the relations between works of art and social and political conditions which gave rise to them. We recognize, however, that much difficult but exciting work lies ahead for those who are making a Marxist approach to the problem of artistic values, and we welcome the most extensive discussion in this field.

Communists know that art exercises a deep influence on people's thoughts and attitudes and lives, and that art can move people to progressive or reactionary ends. We welcome artists in every field who lend their talents in their own particular way to the struggle for peace, freedom and socialism.

But the Communist Party, during the fight for and under socialism, does not see its task as being to direct what should be written, painted or composed—either in terms of subject or of style; it does not see its role as laying down laws governing literary and artistic creation. We reject the concept that art, literature or culture should reflect only one (official) school or style. On the contrary, we look on innovation in art as part of its very heart and nature. Not every innovation will lead to positive results, but without it culture will be stifled and stultified. We think it probable that art under communism will change its nature more than we can today foresee.

The history of culture shows that many of its greatest innovators and protagonists have drawn deep inspiration from the people and their struggles, from the progressive classes and forces of their day. At certain periods, cultural work has played directly a part of great importance in progressive political struggles; today, for instance, the novel, drama, poetry, music, song can give a powerful stimulus to the struggle for an end to United States aggression in Vietnam, against racialism, for peace and socialism.

But at the same time the direct political struggle, past and present, is not, in any sense, the only subject of art. We recognize that artists convey their views of reality, their dreams and passions, in a multitude of ways.

We welcome, therefore, the widest variety of artistic approaches, subjects and styles, and encourage our members freely to express their views. We welcome creative workers who, in their work, or as part of it, speak clearly on the urgent issues of the day, and help to win people for the struggle for peace and socialism. But this does not mean, in any sense, that *all* artistic work can or should, play a direct political role.

Above all we know that creative workers who are committed to the struggle for peace, socialism and communism will in one way or another, express these ideals in their work. While creative workers must have the conditions freely to develop their work, as well as opportunities and means of publication and exhibition, we see our task as being to win their political conviction, to inspire them with opposition to capitalism and confidence in socialism, and so to practical activity in the different facets of the struggle. There can be no doubt that progressive artistic activity, expressing confidence in man and his future, can be a great force in developing a socialist consciousness; but this can only be achieved to the fullest possible extent if artistic creation is carried out in conditions of freedom.

## Religion

The Communist Party welcomes the discussion taking place in many religious groupings around the great social, political and moral issues of our time, the turn of many people of different religions towards progressive causes and struggles, the efforts of many churches to come to terms with the discoveries of science and modern technique.

We welcome especially the developing dialogue between Christianity and Marxism, the genuine attempts being made on both sides to get rid of false conceptions of each other, the begin-

nings of personal contact and friendship, the shedding of older sectarian approaches, the frank discussion of our fundamental differences as well as all points of contact and co-operation.

One of the conditions for fruitful dialogue is complete sincerity with each other, a recognition of our differences of approach and philosophy as well as our points of agreement and cooperation.

We do not seek for a moment to disguise that as Marxists our philosophy is based on science and that we do not believe in the supernatural or in personal gods. We do not conceal our criticism, which is shared by many religious people, of the reactionary role so often played by religious establishments and institutions, nor the fact that religion has at times been used to secure obedience and acceptance of unjust and evil rule. But we do not make the mistake of reducing religion to this aspect of its existence. We know equally that religious faith has also inspired men and women to courageous action and sacrifice for progressive causes.

We recognize that there can be much common ground in our faith in the future of man, in our joint concern for moral values, and in the striving for a world where men can live as brothers and human individuality be expressed; we recognize also that there are many urgent issues for common effort: the preservation of peace, opposition to racialism, the fight against all forms of discrimination, servitude, indignity. Examination of this common ground as well as the means of joint action would be fruitful for both sides.

Communists have confidence in the future of mankind; in man's ability through struggle and effort to transform society, increasingly to gain control of nature and so to open up new vistas for humanity. We hold that human nature is not fixed; that men and women in the course of ending class exploitation, injustice, war, in the course of changing society, will change their own nature and fit themselves for the future society in which human personality can develop to the full. The history of man will be a continuous, never-ending exploration of nature and man.

Such is the Marxist perspective; in the meantime it is evident that there is a great need as well as a firm basis for common contact and work between Marxists, atheists, agnostics, and those who hold a religious faith.

To facilitate this we wish to make it clear that the Communist Party will fight now under capitalism, and work in the future under socialism, for complete freedom of religious worship, for the right of all faiths to worship in their own churches with their own sacred books and for making available the resources necessary for ritual articles. We consider that both under capitalism

and socialism, religious and non-religious views should freely contend. Finally we wish to make it clear that the Communist Party welcomes people of any religious faith including those who are ministers, not only working side by side with Marxists in common causes, but as members of the Communist Party, provided they accept the political program of our party. We have never made, nor will we, acceptance of religious beliefs a bar to membership of our party.

## Democracy

The Communist Party is sometimes asked, what is its attitude to the transition to socialism? How do we envisage the change from capitalist democracy to socialist democracy?

With the publication in 1951 of our program, *The British Road to Socialism*, we have shown how, in our opinion, this transformation may be brought about.

The aim of the Communist Party in the first place is to win socialism, when political and economic power pass out of the hands of the capitalist class into the hands of the working class. We hold that this involves a revolutionary change — a socialist revolution. Revolutionary change does not necessarily involve violence and bloodshed—it can take different forms; essentially, revolutionary change involves a fundamental change in political power. Any attempt by reactionaries to use force or illegal means to resist or obstruct the socialist legislation of the elected government of the people will have to be firmly rejected. To secure and defend the revolution, the rule of the working people is essential. Given the unity of the working class, as well as leadership and clarity of purpose, the people can be strong enough to hold their gains. We believe that the possibility now exists of achieving socialism through our traditional democratic institutions including Parliament by struggle but without armed conflict and civil war. It is this perspective which is held out in our program and which forms the basis of our policy.

Monopoly capitalism is at present vigorously attacking all the achievements of democracy. It is our aim to defend these achievements and to develop them to the maximum extent. The freedom of the trade unions, freedom of the press, of meeting, the freedoms embodied in our democratic institutions, the jury system, local government, parliament, were won in the struggle of the working class and its allies in the past. Their defense and extension is an essential aspect of the advance to socialism, as is the ending of all forms of racial discrimination, and the recognition of national rights for Scotland and Wales.

The more effectively these freedoms are now defended and extended, the more easily will the transition to socialism be brought about.

Communists see socialist democracy as both a continuation and a qualitative extension of all that is best in democracy under capitalism. What has been won must be kept, but the essential limitations of capitalist democracy—ownership by a small minority of capitalists of the key sources of wealth, their domination of the machinery of state, and of the institutions of education, culture, the press and opinion formation—must be ended, and in different forms pass into the hands of the majority.

In *The British Road to Socialism* we make clear that we do not envisage the advance to socialism as the work of a single party, but as the work of a broad front in which the Communist Party, the socialists of the Labor Party and Labor movement, industrial and professional workers and intellectuals, participate together in common struggle inside and outside Parliament.

We stand for a plurality of parties, including those that do not accept, or oppose, the advance to socialism. Naturally all parties will be expected to obey the laws of the land passed by the democratically elected socialist majority.

Socialist ideas and socialist leaders will be strengthened by the daily contest of ideas and attitudes that this will necessitate. We stand for taking away from such parties the special class privileges, based on the ownership of private property, that they enjoy today. But we aim to defeat parties defending specific class privileges by the strength of socialist ideas, the success of a socialist economy, culture and administration, and by the mass struggle of the people led by the working class. Only if such parties themselves undertake violent or illegal activity will they invoke against themselves measures of law. But such is not our aim.

## Humanism

We, who are Marxists, claim to be the most consistent humanists of our time. One cannot be a genuine humanist in words alone.

We stand for a classless, communist society, where all men and women, freed from the divisions of class, from national and racial hostilities, can develop to the full their human potentialities. But to reach such a society men and women must struggle now against war, against colonialism, against the exploitation of man by man, against the dehumanization that capitalism inevitably involves both for the majority of ruled and the minority of rulers.

Modern technique is beyond individual control; it cannot be

fitted into the framework of capitalist firms or even national frontiers. Science and technique, the results of long-term collective activity, require a new social organization for their full potential development. Such technique can remove from mankind the sordid cares of hunger, disease, monotonous repetitious labor, drudgery in all its forms, and take away the fears of insecurity. The achievement of socialism and still more, communism, will speed the day when science and technique can so develop that the age-old division of mental and manual labor will be brought to an end.

In such a society the individual can really blossom, develop to the full his "slumbering powers." In such a society, man can begin to live a fully human existence, bringing to an end his alienation from the products of his activity and so from society, and entering into a direct relation with his fellow men.

For Communists the aim and purpose of all our action and struggle is not only a world where exploitation and oppression are ended, where the full resources of science and technique are released and put in the service of man, where the fear of war is ended, but a society—a communist Britain and a communist world—where the individual can freely develop his many-sided talents.

## The Communist Party

It is for this end that Communists all over the world have lived, fought, sacrificed, and sometimes died. Whether man today is on the threshold of a new society, or whether mankind fails even to survive to reach this society, depends to no small extent on what we do today. Never has any generation held to this extent posterity in its hands!

For technique can be used for destruction as well as for construction; if the bombs begin to fall, the survivors, if any, might regret their survival.

Millions, as we know, can starve in a world of surpluses, redundancy can reduce families to fear and misery when the machines are brought to a halt. In this world of contradictions many seek a road, a direction, a purpose, "a strategy for struggle." Without it, some will accept the system; others, bewildered, come to despair and passivity.

Marxism does not replace the labor of scientists nor the creation of artists, yet it gives them an approach to an understanding of the world in all its complexity, and indicates how they can help so to change it that their inventions and creations are turned to the joy and welfare of man.

The weakness of the great working-class movement of this

country, with all its strength and traditions of organization and struggle, has been above all a lack of theory and perspective. This is what reformism's boasts of pragmatism mean. For the adaptation to circumstances, rejection of theory, means acceptance of the capitalist outlook and of capitalist society.

We welcome all those who have come in one way or another to appreciate the importance of Marxist approaches in different fields of research. We hope to work closely in discussion and co-operation with them. But we feel that a consistent, logical application of Marxism to the world today, above all to problems of changing it, of ending imperialism, capitalism, and building socialism and communism demands Marxist political organization—the Communist Party.

We appeal, therefore, to all to deeply consider this question and to join our ranks. As Marx wrote the point is not just to interpret the world, but to change it. If there is to *be* a world to be *interpreted* it will have to be *changed.*

# STATEMENT* BY THE CC, CP OF JAPAN

The further escalation of the war of aggression in Vietnam, military provocations along the armistice line in Korea, and the aggression and intervention against the Arab countries for which the reactionaries of Israel were used as a tool all show more clearly than ever the aggressive nature of U.S. imperialism as the leader of world reaction.

As a result of the American invasion of the demilitarized zone south of the 17th parallel on May 18, the escalation of the U.S. imperialists' war of aggression in Vietnam entered a new, grave phase.

The combat operations which the American troops are carrying out methodically, in line with the tactics of mass murder, scorched earth and destruction, are a match in brutality for the operations conducted in the past by Hitler.

But the heroic people of Vietnam, who are supported by the anti-imperialist and democratic forces of the world, deliver telling blows to the U.S. aggressor.

The American imperialists, who find themselves in an impasse, rejected the reasonable and just proposal of the DRV government to make talks possible by stopping the bombings of DRV territory and all other hostilities against the DRV. To avoid defeat and to find a way out of the impasse, they made a reckless move by escalating their aggression, above all through an invasion of the demilitarized zone south of the 17th parallel. All this showed up the "pacification proposals," particularly the proposals for the "mutual withdrawal of troops" and "mutual reduction of hostilities," with which the American imperialists juggle, as sheer demagogy. At the same time it indicates that the American imperialists have violated the 1954 Geneva agreements even more flagrantly by greatly extending their aggression—attacking the DRV with ground troops, blockading the port of Haiphong, taking the offensive in the Mekong delta, and so on.

Combined with the extension of U.S. military bases and the building up of the U.S. force in Thailand, increased interference in the affairs of Laos and Cambodia, and military provocations along the armistice line in Korea, all this is bound to lead to an intensification of the U.S. imperialist policy of defeating the

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*Abridged from **Akahata,** in which it appeared on June 10, 1967, under the heading "Condemn the Invasion of the Demilitarized Zone As a New Step by U.S. Imperialism Toward Extending the Aggression in Vietnam, and Intensify the Movement in Support of the Vietnamese People."

peoples one by one and to aggravate the war danger in Asia. The American imperialists' actions constitute a still more brazen provocation against the people of Vietnam and a still more open provocation against the socialist camp, the anti-imperialist and democratic forces of the world, and all the peoples fighting for national liberation and for peace.

The Fourth Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Japan fully supports the statement made by the DRV government on May 21 and the statement of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam (NLFSV) dated May 22, emphatically condemns the U.S. imperialists' effort considerably to extend the aggression, and protests against them. We again express our support of the position of the DRV set out in four points, and the five-point statement of the NLFSV providing a basis for a fair settlement of the Vietnam question. We again insist that the U.S. imperialists should immediately stop their war of aggression in Vietnam, discontinue the bombings and all other military operations against the DRV, pull all U.S. troops and the troops of countries depending on the United States out of South Vietnam, recognize the NLFSV, fully respect the national rights of the Vietnamese people specified by the 1954 Geneva agreements, and enable the Vietnamese people to decide the Vietnam question as they see fit.

The Plenary Meeting also stresses the following:

At a time when the U.S. imperialists, escalating their aggression in Vietnam, are taking advantage of the present state of disunity in the socialist camp and in the World Communist and democratic movements, which has become more marked since last year, the task of stepping up international unity of action and strengthening the international united front against the U.S. imperialist aggression in Vietnam, for assistance to the Vietnamese people, is becoming more and more pressing and urgent for the democratic forces of the world. To intensify united international action and strengthen the united international front in support of the Vietnamese people, who are waging a heroic fight against U.S. imperialism, the common enemy of the peoples of the world, in the most difficult sector of the struggle, is a noble task facing the Marxist-Leninist parties of the world.

The world Communist movement has very important tasks to fulfil. The Marxist-Leninist parties of the world must lead the movement of the peoples of their countries against the aggression in Vietnam. They must also carry out effective joint actions against the U.S. imperialist aggression in Vietnam, counteract all the various opportunist and disruptive ideas and moves hampering the establishment of a united anti-imperialist world front and

calling into question the need for its establishment, and firmly resist U.S. imperialism all along the line. Only by fulfilling these tasks is it possible really to meet the hopes of the people of Vietnam, who are fighting with heroism unexampled in the world Communist movement.

The Communist Party and the democratic forces of Japan have a particularly important role to play in the international fight against the U.S. imperialists in Vietnam, for it is the American imperialists and the Japanese monopoly capitalists and the Sato government, who are a dependent ally of the United States, that Japan has been turned into a major complex base in Asia for aggression against Vietnam.

The Liberal Democratic Party government of Sato, which openly declares that under the Japanese-American "security treaty" Japan cannot be neutral toward the war in Vietnam, is helping the American imperialist aggression in Vietnam more and more actively.

Furthermore, under the third five-year plan for building up the armed forces, the Sato government is pressing forward the revival and strengthening of militarism to increase the "forces of self-defense," to arm them with nuclear weapons and send them abroad.

The facts show that the American military bases in Japan, and the contribution of the Sato government and Japanese monopoly capital to the U.S. war of aggression in Vietnam are highly important to the American imperialists. Consequently, the struggle of the democratic forces of Japan, which is a major base of the aggression going on in Vietnam directly hits the American imperialists and helps the people of Vietnam.

The Japanese people's stubborn fight against the aggression in Vietnam in view of the U.S. imperialist escalation of the war in that country has lately entered a stage of upswing.

The Fourth Plenary Meeting of the CC, CPJ calls on all Party members and all the democratic forces of Japan to take resolute action against the U.S. imperialists' intrigues aimed at extending the aggression in Vietnam, and to give the Vietnamese people the fullest support, till they achieve complete victory.

# DECISION OF THE PORTUGUESE CP

The 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution will be celebrated on November 7, 1967. Fifty years ago the Russian proletariat, led by the Bolshevik Party headed by Lenin, took power into its own hands and established the world's first socialist state, a state of workers and peasants—the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics—which ended the exploitation of man by man and national oppression throughout the vast territory of Russia.

The October Revolution marked a sharp turn in human history and ushered in the era of the downfall of capitalism and of the triumph of socialism and communism on a world scale.

The October Revolution paved the way for the historical achievements of the Soviet people in the economy, in culture, science and technology, for a higher standard of living for the working people and initiated the democratic organization of society. The Soviet Union's victory over the Hitlerite aggressors gave a new and exceptionally powerful stimulus to the world revolutionary process. Under the impact of the October Revolution, the experience of the Bolshevik Party and these historic achievements, working-class parties of a new type came into being and gained strength all over the world. The labor movement in the capitalist countries made rapid progress. Other socialist revolutions triumphed in Europe, Asia and America. The national liberation movement is in a position to grow, to become stronger and smash the colonial system of imperialism for good. The ideas of Marxism-Leninism, of socialism, are winning the minds of the whole of progressive mankind.

The struggle of the Portuguese working class, and the formation and development of its vanguard, the Portuguese Communist Party, are inseparable from the ideals and victories of the October Revolution, the achievements and experience of the people and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The Communists and working people of Portugal have always followed with keen interest the Soviet people's progress in the building of socialism and in laying the foundations of communism, seeing this progress as encouragement and help, as a radiant prospect in the grim struggle they have been waging under the fascist dictatorship of Salazar.

Together with the people and the Communists of the Soviet

Union, with the working people and the Communists of the world, the Portuguese Communist Party is celebrating the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution with joy and pride.

In view of the fascist reign of terror and the strict illegality in which our Party is compelled to fight, functions dedicated to this holiday will necessarily have to be modest. With due regard to these limitations, the Central Committee resolves:

1. To bring out a special issue of *Avante*, the central organ of the Party, devoted to the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution.

2. To publish in the journal *Militante* a series of articles about the anniversary.

3. To call the attention of all the other Party newspapers and periodicals (professional papers and so on) to the need to give particular attention to the successes and victories of the Soviet Union.

4. Radio "Free Portugal" will broadcast special programs about the October Revolution.

5. All Party organizations should hold meetings devoted to the anniversary.

6. To call on all the working people of Portugal to mark the 50th anniversary in various ways and to send messages of greetings to the Soviet people.

In all this political work concerned with the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution, it is necessary to emphasize first of all the following points:

—the experience of the October Revolution in winning power by the proletariat;

—the Soviet people's economic, social, cultural and political achievements;

—the international significance of the October Revolution and the building of socialism and communism in the Soviet Union;

—the victory of the socialist revolution in other countries and the significance of the world socialist system;

—the Soviet Union as the main bulwark of the socialist community, the working people oppressed by capital, the peoples still suffering from national and colonial oppression, and the peace forces;

—the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, leader of the working class and the Soviet people; its role in the world Communist and labor movement;

—the impact of the October Revolution on the struggle of the working class and the progressive forces of Portugal;

—the fraternal sentiments of the progressive men and women of Portugal for the Soviet Union, and friendship and cooperation

between the Portuguese Communist Party and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union;

—the triumph of Marxist-Leninist ideas.

The Portuguese Communists, in commemorating this historic event, carry high the banner of the ideas of the October Revolution and Marxism-Leninsm.

But we can best mark the anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, which triumphed thanks to the militancy and heroism of the Russian proletariat led by Lenin's Party, by fighting with still greater devotion, passion and firmness, looking confidently forward to an October revolution of our own.

*Central Committee, Communist Party of Portugal*

*May, 1967.*

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## contents

**STATEMENT BY LUIGI LONGO**
General Secretary Italian CP 5

**RESOLUTION**
French CP 11

**STATEMENT**
CP of Israel 15

**WHITHER THE MIDDLE EAST**
R. Palme Dutt 18

**STATEMENT**
People's Party of Iran (Tudeh) 25

**STATEMENT**
Political Commission
CP of Chile 27

**JOINT STATEMENT**
Brazil and Argentina 27

**SPEECH**
Janos Kadar 31

**CPUSA URGES EARY WORLD PARTIES PARLEY** 37

**NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE PARAGUAYAN CP** 38

**UNITY IS THE SOURCE OF OUR STRENGTH**
**Pravda** Editorial 41

**50TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE GREAT OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION**
Korean Party of Labor 46

**ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES** 47

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# STATEMENT*

## OF LUIGI LONGO, GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY, AT A MEETING OF THE CC AND CCC IN JULY 1967

Activities aimed at securing a peaceful settlement of the conflicts in the Middle East have been and remain the cornerstone of our position. Proceeding from the recognition of the right of the State of Israel to existence and the recognition of the legitimate rights of the Arab peoples, we condemn the war started by Israel and resolutely criticize the political course of the Tel-Aviv leaders. Nothing can justify the unleashing of this war.

If the Israeli government had complaints and denunciations to make, there is a legal establishment which it could have addressed: the United Nations Organization. Having resorted to the force of arms, to a preventive attack and war, it automatically become the guilty party. The chief problem immediately resulting from the aggression was the problem of halting it. Therefore, when a ceasefire was demanded, we found this to be a just demand and supported it. It became necessary to take the initiative to stop the the invasion. Today Israel has big military trumps with the help of which it intends to blackmail the Arab countries, justify its annexationist aims and keep the Arab countries under a constant threat to prevent them from eliminating the consequences of the aggression and reorganizing their national life. Obviously, in these conditions Israel will strive to exploit to the full its military success without giving the Arabs a moment's respite. Israel's aggressive actions should be condemned, on the political and diplomatic plane, by actions of states friendly to the Arab states, by the pressure of democratic public opinion.

We must fight for the attainment of these principal objectives: (1) liberation of occupied territories; (2) refusal to encourage any aggression; (3) solution of still outstanding problems, in the first place the problem of the refugees. These problems are not easy to solve. There exist contradictions between different imperialist countries. An independent stand has been taken only by France. Other countries have also dissociated themselves from the United States, as the results of the voting in the UN show. In effect, Italy, along with Iceland, was the only UN member which sided with the United States in all General Assembly votes.

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*Abridged from **L'Unita**, July 13, 1967.

On the other hand, many countries joined the Soviet Union and the socialist states in condemning and exposing at the General Assembly the aggression against the Arab countries. The Israeli aggression has dealt a serious blow at the Arab liberation movement and created a grave danger. But there is the reverse side of the medal. The defeat has put into motion a positive process of unification of the Arab movement and anti-imperialist actions in the third world.

In any case, it will not be easy for the Arab movement to overcome the state of weakness in which it has found itself. It is the duty of the states friendly to the Arab countries, the duty of every movement of public solidarity with the national-liberation movement to prevent the isolation of the Arab movement, to frustrate Israel's expansionist and annexationist plans.

To this end it is necessary to launch extensive and varied actions, to help a reappraisal of the real situation and intentions even among those who succumbed to the wave of anti-Arab propaganda and who are beginning to have doubts regarding the role of Israel and U.S. imperialism in all these events.

In appraising the events in the Near East we should stress the importance and significance of the popular demonstrations which compelled Nasser to withdraw his decision to resign. These demonstrations testified to the depth and magnitude of the national-liberation movement among the Arab peoples. Far from resulting in the break-up of the movement, the military defeat has given a powerful stimulus to closing the ranks. Taking into consideration all possible consequences of the military defeat for the alignment of the political and social forces in the various Arab states, I think it can be definitely said that the result has not been one expected by the aggressor and hoped for by some people, namely, the break-up of the Arab movement, the fall of the anti-imperialist governments of Egypt and Syria and the resurgence, on capitulationist positions, of the reactionary forces. This means also that the resistance and struggle of the Arab peoples continue, although in more difficult conditions also because the victory-dizzy Israel intends not only to annex the occupied territories but to proceed to the end in its expansionist policy, the policy of economic, political and military domination in the entire Middle East.

Much has been and is being said about the role the Soviet Union has been playing in all the events in the Middle East. I must note, nevertheless, that one cannot limit one self to the events of recent months, however indicative they may be, for a precise definition of all aspects of the Soviet Union's peace policy, also in connection with the Israeli aggression. The first absolutely clear element is the fact that the Soviet Union has never fanned the smouldering fire in the Middle East. On the contrary, it has consistently,

energetically and persistently worked for peace. Consequently, the assertions heard over the recent weeks, also from Social-Democratic leaders, that the Soviet Union favored the opening in the Middle East of a kind of "second front" (after Vietnam) are entirely false.

This is a lie for at least two reasons: first, as is recognized on an ever broader scale, and as the Israeli Prime Minister admitted a few days ago, it was Israel that launched hostilities on the morning of June 5; second, Soviet foreign policy is based on the affirmation the world over of a policy of peaceful coexistence, a policy recognizing and respecting the right of all peoples to freedom and national independence. Thus, Soviet policy is aimed at settling the existing conflicts and above all the Vietnam conflict by peaceful means, for the Soviet Union, aware of its responsibility, realizes, as Comrade Kosygin declared at the U.N. Generaly Assembly, that "the continuation of the war in Vietnam aggravates the danger of the military conflict expanding beyond that region and is fraught with the grave danger of this conflict developing into a large-scale military clash of powers."

Consequently, the Soviet Union lays emphasis on peaceful settlement of existing conflicts, not on the creation of new ones. This is the main point of principle which we must be fully aware of at all times in order to counter U.S. interventionist policy manifesting itself today in many regions of the world with a vigorous intensification of struggle. There are sufficient testimonies and documents bearing out the correctness of our affirmation.

It is perfectly obvious that it is imperialism and not the Soviet Union that is responsible for the tension in the Middle East. In addition, it is well known that the Soviet Union has always favoured peaceful settlement of the conflicts in the Middle East, a settlement which would at once respect the right of Israel to existence and the legitimate rights of the Arab peoples. "Every people has the right to set up its own independent national state," Comrade Kosygin declared in the United Nations. "This is one of the fundamental principles of the Soviet Union's policy.

"We proceeded precisely from this when we determined our attitude towards Israel as a state by voting in 1947 for the U.N. resolution to establish on the territory of the former British colony Palestine of two independent states—Jewish and Arab." Also, following this the Soviet Union established diplomatic relations with the new State of Israel.

It is not my intention to review the entire Middle-Eastern policies of the postwar period. But I want at least to remind you what was the decisive element in 1957, soon after the aggression of Great Britain, France and Israel against Egypt. The Soviet Union contributed then decisively to nipping the aggression in the bud.

In face of the obvious intention of Israel and the United States

to impose by force the hegemony which they had failed to establish by other means in the Middle East, it was the Soviet Union's duty of solidarity to help the Arab peoples ensure their own defense, all the more so since it was clear that Israel and the imperialists were not sitting back but were preparing the aggression both militarily and politically, as the facts clearly testify today.

The Soviet Union and other socialist countries did help the Arab peoples organize their defense by supplying them large amounts of modern arms. When military defeat began to loom large, the Soviet Union acted in defense of the Arab peoples. It took the initiative to force a ceasefire and thus prevent an extension of the Israeli invasion. Then it severed diplomatic relations with Israel. In addition, the Soviet Union launched extensive activities in the UNO and among world public opinion and undertook demarches before a number of governments to make Israel withdraw troops behind its frontiers and to expose its annexationist and expansionist aims. I do not think there are grounds to criticize in any way the main lines of the policy which the Soviet Union and the socialist countries pursued in this instance.

The Soviet Union invariably informed Nasser and the Arab countries directly concerned about all its steps in the UNO, and acted with their full agreement. Consequently, the Soviet Union's actions in this case were absolutely clear and straightforward. In its policy the Soviet Union invariably guided itself by the interests and needs of the Arab peoples who were attacked and suffered military defeat in the first hours of the aggression. To appraise correctly the various stages of the Soviet Union's actions, one must keep this important factor in mind. No doubt, the Israeli aggression caused great damage to the Arab peoples. And once again the socialist states headed by the Soviet Union pledged to render maximum diplomatic, military and economic assistance to the Arab countries to eliminate the grave consequences of the surprise aggression. But we should not forget what this assistance costs the Soviet Union and the socialist countries.

As before, these countries bear the brunt of international solidarity. This is a point to ponder for those who hasten to criticize the Soviet Union and the socialist countries. Everything can be achieved given maximum unity of the progressive and socalist forces. It seems to me, judgments are often passed on complicated and difficult events and moments appraised with too much lightness and superficiality. This is by no means the best way of forming one's own opinion of them and helping public opinion to understand them.

I believe that in such cases it would be more rational and useful to proceed, pending more ample information and analyses, from

a favorable attitude and not from an inimical and mistrustful preconception.

I think that for the fifty years of its existence and revolutionary activity the Soviet Union deserves at least trust, not mistrust. I consider that when complicated and involved situations arise, one should regard the Soviet Union's position with trust, for it is a socialist state possessing great weight and rich historical experience, and because in the many years of its existence the Soviet Union has proved its ability and striving constantly to uphold the cause of the working people, the cause of peace and socialism, and that in any case, especially when serious international matters are in question, the Soviet Union possesses more ample elements of information and analysis than we can have to take our bearings and pass our judgment with confidence.

Whenever tension and difficulties arise in the struggle against imperialism one can hear—also in our own ranks—words of doubt and criticism with regard to the policy of peaceful coexistence which the Soviet Union has pursued with exceptional persistence in the past 12-13 years and which is supported by the international Communist and working-class movement. In the first place, it will be recalled that the policy of peaceful coexistence is an important ideological and political gain of the working-class and democratic movement which has never impeded but, on the contrary, has been promoting the advance of the national-liberation movement and generally facilitating the successes of the struggle of the broad masses for peace and socialism.

In confirmation of this, it suffices to recall that precisely the past 12-13 years have witnessed major successes in the struggle for national liberation, from the birth of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam to the victory of the Cuban revolution, the victorious war for the national liberation of Algeria, the emergence in Asia and Africa of more than thirty independent states, the respect for the independence of Cuba imposed upon the United States, thwarting the designs of West German imperialism and revanchism to thrust back the borders of socialist countries, the development of profound progressive social transformations in the direction of socialism as is happening in a number of Arab and African countries.

The attitude of China has generated weaknesses and divisions both among the socialist forces, the progressive forces of the world, and among the population of countries that have recently freed themselves from colonial oppression. The United States is taking advantage of this situation to employ its traditional means of struggle—military bases, corruption, coups.

We must not forget that the policy of peaceful coexistence is a struggle and a gain, a long, complicated and many-sided process.

We must continue this struggle, waging it in close conjunction with the struggle for national liberation in various parts of the world, putting the accent on the main front—the struggle against the aggressive policies of U.S. imperialism.

We are advocating peaceful coexistence because we are fighting for peace. This struggle is the political aspect of our struggle against the concrete policy of war pursued by imperialism. This struggle cannot and must not lead to tolerance, to passivity in face of the attempts of thc imperialist groups to realize their intentions. On the contrary!

It should serve as the basis not only for exposing these attempts but for rebuffing, on the same battlefield, the imperialist and reactionary provocations and acts of aggression.

# RESOLUTION* OF THE CC FCP

World peace is endangered by the aggressive intrigues of the U.S. imperialists.

They are multiplying their maneuvers, conspiracies and acts of aggression under their "global strategy," in an effort to stop or hamper the advance of the anti-imperialist forces and regain their lost positions. Behind each hotbed of conflict or war we see the American imperialists, acting directly or indirectly. They are responsible for the war in Vietnam and the threat of its extending to the rest of Southwest Asia, for provocations against Cuba, the coups in the Congo, Ghana and the Dominican Republic, threats against the Korean People's Democratic Republic, the role played by the CIA in the Greek coup, the revanchist activity of West Germany, and lastly, the recent events in the Middle East, which the imperialists represent as a justification of preventive war and the policy of fait accompli.

This situation calls for redoubled effort to bring the forces of aggression to reason.

The primary cause of the Mideast crisis is that the imperialists, first of all the U.S. imperialists, want to resume full control of the oil deposits and the oil industry, block the democratic movement in the Arab countries that have chosen the non-capitalist road, and secure a decisive strategic position.

The present reactionary leaders of Israel, who for nineteen years have refused to execute UN decisions and have planned to provoke a "head-on collision" with the Syrian democratic government, have become an instrument of the imperialist policy of aggression to the detriment of the real interests of their people. They made careful preparations for the aggressive blitzkrieg they launched on June 5. They did not stop their invasion of Syria until 48 hours after the UN Security Council had passed its decision. They continue to occupy Egyptian, Syrian and Jordanian territory, which they are trying to annex.

Nevertheless, the peoples' resistance, the firm stand of the Soviet Union, and the decisions adopted by the socialist countries of Europe in Moscow on June 10 prevented the aggressor from overthrowing the progressive regimes in Syria and the UAR.

Imperialist propaganda has never desisted from fomenting and fanning discord between Israel and the Arab countries. It has sought to dissemble the aggressive character of the Israeli government's

*Abridged from **L'Humanité**, July 1, 1967.

policies and to misrepresent the liberation movement of the Arab peoples.

The Central Committee approves the activity of the Political Bureau throughout the past period.

The Communists, loyal to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, are firmly opposed to all racialist and xenophobic trends.

The French Communist Party declares for a lasting peace in the Middle East, without humiliation and territorial aggrandizement, a peace based on the national rights of the Arab peoples, in particular on those of the Arab people of Palestine, and on the right of the Israeli people and state to existence. The FCP declares for the withdrawal of the Israeli troops from the territory they occupy and for relief to the war victims, the people of Palestine, who are suffering from the hardships of exodus and hunger.

A positive fact from this point of view is that the French government regards the Mideast conflicts and the U.S. intervention in Vietnam as interconnected developments, condemns the opening of hostilities by Israel, and has taken a stand against the fait accompli.

France can and should contribute to a fair settlement of the Middle East conflict through overall negotiations making it possible to settle all problems, specifically the status of the Palestine Arabs, shipping in the Gulf of Aqaba, and the relations between Israel and its neighbors.

The U.S. imperialists' war against the people of Vietnam is continuing, taking sharper forms. The American aggressors are stepping up their bombings of Hanoi and the DRV as a whole, and are making ready to escalate the war one step further.

The peoples of the world admire the heroic resistance of the Vietnamese people, which is supported by effective political and material aid from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and by the active solidarity of the peace forces of the world.

More than ever before, there is a need for the unity of all anti-imperialist and peace-loving forces and for resolute action by them on a national and international scale to isolate U.S. imperialism and force it into stopping its aggression in Vietnam so as to stave off the growing threat to the world peace.

This action must be extended to bring about unconditional and immediate discontinuance of the bombings and other military operations against the DRV, recognition of the National Liberation Front as the only genuine spokesman of the people of South Vietnam, a decision to pull out the U.S. troops, recognition of the fundamental rights of the Vietnamese people, and respect for the principles of the Geneva agreements.

The Karlovy Vary conference of the Communist and Workers'

parties of socialist and capitalist countries of Europe (April 24 through 26, 1967) stressed the increasing importance of the fight against the imperialist forces in Europe.

The danger in Europe comes essentially from the collusion between the U.S. and the West German imperialist forces of aggression and revenge which claim to speak for the whole of Germany.

France could play an important part in organizing European security. The way to settling the German problem lies through the recognition of existing frontiers, including those between the GDR and Poland, a ban on all West German access, direct or indirect, to nuclear weapons, gradual reduction of the armed forces of both German states, the abolition of military bases on foreign soil, the establishment of non-nuclear zones in Europe, new relations between France and the GDR, and recognition of the latter.

The Central Committee approves the activity of its delegation to Karlovy Vary and the decisions of the conference.

It renews its proposal for a conference of all European countries to discuss problems of European security so as to turn Europe into a peace continent.

The year 1969 when the Atlantic Treaty is due to expire is drawing near. We propose annulling the Atlantic and the Warsaw treaties at one and the same time . A system of European collective security would bring general and controlled disarmament nearer.

The de Gaulle strike force is swallowing important resources of the nation without safeguarding national independence. It makes for the proliferation of atomic weapons and for the arms race. It whets the nuclear appetite of the West German militarists.

France should resume its place at the Geneva disarmament conference, sign the agreements prohibiting nuclear tests, the use of outer space for military purposes and the proliferation of atomic arms.

The fight for peace requires great efforts on the part of the Communists in every sphere—ideological, political and organizational.

In contrast to imperialist propaganda, which spends colossal funds to mislead people and keep up the confusion over the issue of war and peace, we must continue to denounce every move running counter to the interests and the independence of the peoples and to international security.

The FCP adheres to a position in line with national interests. It is aware of its responsibility to its own people and to all other peoples.

It identifies itself with all the working people of the world. It supports the democratic and peace-loving forces of every country. It supports the national liberation movement and is determined to strengthen its bonds of friendship and solidarity with the latter. It champions peace through international agreement and cooperation.

Current events show that the peaceful coexistence of countries with different socio-political systems is an international struggle against sustained imperialist interference in the affairs of other countries, in support of the national and democratic movement.

The balance of world forces is, and will remain, favorable to the anti-imperialist and peace-loving forces given vigilance and firm resistance to imperialist schemes endangering world peace.

To this end it is important to popularize the Leninist conception of imperialism, reveal the present role of U.S. imperialism, and show the decisive importance of the role of the Soviet Union in maintaining peace and supporting the people fighting against imperialism, the importance of the socialist community, the international working class and the national liberation movement.

The present leaders of the Communist Party of China, who oppose joint action by all socialist countries and slander the Soviet Union and the other Communist and Workers' parties loyal to the 1960 joint Statement, are doing serious harm to the unity of the forces which can bring about the triumph of the vital interests of mankind, and are furthering imperialist designs endangering the freedom of all peoples and their very lives. In a more general way, their leftist and adventurist watchwords and phrasemongering greatly injure the cause of peace.

To ensure the unity and cohesion of the world Communist movement, the CC FCP declares for setting out immediately to prepare for a new world meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties.

The Central Committee recommends the leading Party bodies at all levels and all Party cells to proceed to a profound study of the deliberations of the 18th Congress regarding the international situation and the struggle for peace.

Communists should work to swell the ranks and promote the action of the peace movement so as to ensure that the efforts of our people to safeguard world peace merge into a single vast stream.

The political situation and the developments in the Middle East show the need for prompt explanatory work in the enterprises, neighborhoods and rural communities.

In this great struggle we must win numerous new members of the FCP and increase the number of Party cells.

In view of the aggravation of the war danger the Central Committee of the French Communist Party calls on all popular forces to maintain vigilant and active unity for peace. This is the greatest imperative today.

*Central Committee,*
*French Communist Party*

*Arcueil, June 29-30, 1967*

# WITHDRAWAL FROM THE CONQUERED TERRITORIES WILL PREVENT DANGERS AND CREATE CHANCES FOR PEACE

## STATEMENT OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ISRAEL

At its season on July 26, 1967 the Political Bureau discussed the situation following the special session of the U.N. General Assembly, which dealt with the war in the Middle East.

In spite of the shouts of victory of the official circles in Israel, the General Assembly of UNO has proved that—

The war which was started by the Eshkol-Dayan-Begin government on 5th of June has brought *serious damage upon Israel,* has increased the hostility in the Arab countries towards Israel, has weakened her position in our region, has gravely harmed the chances of an Israeli-Arab peace, and has made all questions under dispute even more involved;

The war has gravely *damaged the international standing of Israel,* has isolated her from the socialist countries and most of mankind, and has rendered her extremely dependent on the rulers of the United States;

*All states* represented at UNO have in one way or another *expressed their opposition to any territorial annexations.* The decision against the annexation of the Old City of Jerusalem by Israel was carried unanimously by 99 votes without any opposition;

All socialist countries without exception and nearly all countries independent of the United States and Britain voted for the unconditional withdrawal of the Israel Army to the former armistice lines;

The principal proposal demanding the unconditional withdrawal to the armistice lines was supported by the majority of the UNO members, and the fact that this proposal did not receive the two-thirds majority required by the NATO rules was due solely to the pressure and threats by the American imperialists against countries dependent on them either economically or militarily;

The General Assembly unanimously expressed the desire to give help to the refugees, the victims of the war, and demanded from Israel to render possible their return to their previous homes.

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*Information Bulletin of the CP of Israel, July 26, 1967.

*Hence, a factual and objective analysis of the results of the General Assembly session shows that there is no place for the shouts of victory of the official circles in Israel.*

The question remains what will be the position after the session of the General Assembly, how long will the shedding of blood continue, and how many victims must still fall until it will be proved that the Israeli-Arab conflict cannot be solved by war and pressure, that all conquests and territorial annexations are only temporary, and that in our time aggression does not pay, for, as in 1956 so in 1967, the Israeli Army will have to return to the armistice lines? The policy of dealing from positions of strength, which tries to dictate "conditions of peace" through war and military occupation, is not only not realistic in the situation of the Middle East and the international situation but first of all endangers the people and state of Israel. As long as the occupied territories in Egypt, Syria and Jordan are not returned fighting may flare up at any moment and a war may result of an extent that may endanger the future of the State of Israel.

The Political Bureau warns of the adventurous demands for further aggression towards additional conquests, beyond the Suez Canal and in other regions, for the purpose of achieving the principal war aim which has not yet been attained, namely, the overthrow of the present regimes in Egypt and Syria.

The Communist Party of Israel demands, for the sake of the security of Israel, future Israeli-Arab relations and for the sake of peace in our region and the world, that—

*The Israeli Army must return to the armistice lines.* Any retardation of the withdrawal brings not security but new dangers. The security of Israel cannot be built on a covenant with the American, British and West German imperialists who are interested in the overthrow of the anti-imperialist regimes in Egypt and Syria but only on friendship and agreement with the Arab peoples among whom we live.

*The national interests of Israel demand an end to the anti-Soviet propaganda by the ruling circles of Israel.* The Soviet Union follows a principled Leninist foreign policy for the defense of peace and support for the independence of all peoples. The Prime Minister of the Soviet Union, A. Kosygin, declared from the rostrum of the special session of the UNO Assembly that the Soviet Union has supported and continues to support the irrevocable right of Israel as an independent state. The Soviet Union is opposed to the policy of aggression of the Israeli rulers which is contrary to the national interests of the people of Israel and serves foreign interests.

The war has not brought any benefit to the people of Israel, but only blood, tears and serious dangers for the future.

The war has made the economic situation of Israel still more difficult. Although part of the workers are still mobilized in the army, the number of unemployed has now reached a record and exceeds one hundred thousand.

The war has led to a restriction directed against Communists and other opponents of the war, and danger of a military dictatorship.

The Communist Party of Israel calls upon the workers, all citizens with national responsibility, everybody far-sighted enough to oppose the dangerous adventures of the government, and on all peace-loving and democratic forces—to unite in the demand for—

—*the withdrawal of the Israeli Army* to the armistice lines as a necessary precondition for the prevention of the danger of a new flaring-up of hostilities and the opening-up of a path to a peaceful agreement;

—an Israeli-Arab agreement which will ensure the existence of the State and legitimate national rights of the people of Israel and the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian Arab people, and foremost the right of the Arab refugees to choose between return to their homeland and payment of compensation; *a change in the official policy* of Israel, the replacement of the policy of service to the imperialist powers against the Arab peoples and the Soviet Union by a policy of independence of imperialism, a common struggle with the Arab peoples against the common imperialist enemy and friendship with the Soviet Union and the other socialist and peace-loving countries;

—*defense of democratic rights* and the abolition of the policy of discrimination and national suppression of the Arab population of Israel;

—*for work for all unemployed* in town and country, Jews and Arabs, and for the defense of workers' rights and wages.

# WHITHER THE MIDDLE EAST?

The problems of the two-and-a-half millions of Israel can only be justly approached and solved within the context of the major issue of the region, the anti-imperialist liberation struggle of the over a hundred million Arabs. The more the labor and progressive movement in Britain or America becomes divided into battling sections on the issue of Israel versus the Arabs as the supposed central issue of the Middle East, the more the imperialists can sit back and laugh at the success of their strategy of fomenting discord to paralyze the democratic forces and conceal the real challenge which requires the unity of all anti-imperialists.

With the present increasing recognition on all sides, including by official spokesmen, that it is necessary to take a wider and more balanced view of all the issues and their historical development in order to endeavor to reach a durable peaceful settlement, the proposition is often presented that it is necessary to review the whole half-century of development since the Balfour Declaration of 1917, which proclaimed the aim of establishing a "National Home" for the Jews in Palestine, in order to judge what went wrong and what needs to be done. Once again this shows the characteristic confinement of the problem to the issue of Israeli-Arab relations. So far from being the starting point of the problems of the Middle East, the Balfour Declaration was only an incident in the already long continuing century-old imperialist penetration of the Middle East.

All this British expansion into the Middle East, which underlay the drive to the first world war, took place before there was any question of Balfour Declarations, British Government relations with Zionism, or the bleeding of the governmental heart for the wrongs of the Jews.

Another illusion frequently repeated in present discussion is that the Jewish occupation of Palestine inaugurated by the Balfour Declaration was the necessary and just answer to the horror of Hitler's extermination of six million Jews in the concentration camps and gas chambers.

No. The Balfour Declaration was not an expression of compassion for the sufferings of Jewish people from the soft-hearted statesmen who were sending millions to die in the mud and blood of the Somme and Paschendaele. It was not an answer to fascism, which had not yet been invented. The Balfour Declaration was entirely a

*Abridged from **Labour Monthly**, July 1967.

product of the imperialist first world war, and represented a bargain between the leaders of British imperialism and the influential backers of political Zionism, itself a new phenomenon of the imperialist era. The distinctive character of political Zionism, in contrast to the old religious utopian Zionism, was that it sought agreement with a ruling government of an empire as the indispensable means for fulfilling its aim of establishing a Jewish state on a given territory. But all these attempts prior to 1914 came to nothing.

It was the first imperialist world war which gave Zionism the opportunity to pass from ineffective aspiration to practical politics. The central theme of the conflict of British and German imperialism for the re-division of the world was the conflict for the domination of the Middle East as the key strategic area for world domination and the richest area for the new exploitation of the resources of oil. The Zionist leadership on their side had representatives both in the British camp and in the German camp; but the British camp proved the winner. So the first stage of the establishment of the "Jewish National Home" in Palestine, with the buying up of land by the official Jewish Agency or Land Fund from rich Arab landowners, with the consequent eviction of the Arab peasantry, began under the protection of British bayonets.

The old international socialist movement of the days of the Second International in general rejected political Zionism as a reactionary trend. While socialism seeks to unite all sections of the working class, irrespective of nation, race or creed, Zionism seeks to unite Jewish workers and Jewish capitalists in a common organization for a common aim, whose fulfilment has been inevitably linked with imperialist colonialism in practice. Socialism teaches that the answer to anti-Semitism lies, not in the segregation of the Jews and removal of as many as possible of them from every country where they have been established, but in the advance of the common progressive democratic fight of all the democratic, working class and socialist forces within every country, with the Jewish militants playing their full part in the common fight.

Half a century of history has now shown the outcome of these two paths. The path of Zionism has indeed led to the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine, with the sanction and recognition of the United Nations, in accordance with the right of self-determination of the two million Jews settled there, irrespective of the previous record or injustices involved in their settlement. But the circumstances of the establishment of the Zionist Jewish state in Palestine have involved the displacement of the majority of the former Arab inhabitants, who became refugees, already prior to the latest war and creation of new refugees, over a million of them, living unhappily on the borders of their former homes, like a twentieth-century *diaspora*. At the moment it would appear that

most of them have now been overrun by the advance of the Israeli armies, in so far as they have not fled again, since 500,000 were in West Jordan and 250,000 in the Gaza Strip. These circumstances of the fulfilment of the Zionist dream at the expense of the original Arab inhabitants of Palestine have led to the deep hostility of all the Arab states and peoples, who see Israel as a foreign invasion and occupation of Palestine. No well-wisher of the common people of Israel can consider such a situation, with such a government and policy, to be one of stability.

At the same time the record of these years has shown the justice of the alternative path. Against the scourge of anti-Semitism, brought to extreme heights of horror by dying Western imperialism, the victories which have been won by the peoples have been repeatedly won by the vanguard role of the democratic anti-fascist, working class and socialist forces. The pogroms of Tsarism were continued in the areas held by the White Guard generals (backed by Churchill and the West) during the wars of intervention, and were only brought to an end by the final victory of the Bolshevik revolution. The Soviet Union was the first state to make anti-semitism a penal offense. The Mosleyite gangs' attempt to dominate the streets of London with their anti-semitic outrages and to terrorize the East End, with the protection of the police, was defeated by the London workers at Cable Street under the leadership of the Communist Party and the *Daily Worker*, at the same time as the Labor Party chiefs were urging the workers to stay at home and leave the streets free for fascism. In the war against Nazism the Soviet Union played a key role in saving millions of Jewish lives by giving priority to the evacuation of Jewish citizens from the regions approached by the invading Nazi armies; and the Soviet armies bore the heaviest brunt in destroying Nazism in unity with the allied armies and the resistance movements of occupied Europe. From this victory of the peoples over fascism has flowed the advance of socialism and national liberation over the world during the past two decades.

It. is in this world context of the advance of socialism and national liberation that the central issue of the Middle East in the modern era needs to be seen—the advance of the Arab revolution. When the Israel state was established in 1948, following the United Nations resolution of 1947, all the Arab countries were under reactionary monarchical rulers dominated by Western imperialism or under direct colonial rule. But during these two decades since 1948 a transformation has taken place in the Arab world. In country after country the reactionary pro-imperialist rulers or colonialists have been thrown out, and new republican anti-imperialist regimes established with extending work of reconstruction at the expense of the stranglehold of the imperialist

monopolies, and for social advance. Egypt led the way with the revolution of 1952, expelling King Farouk, ending British military occupation, first from Egypt and then from the Canal Zone, nationalized the Suez Canal, faced successfully the armed assault of Britain, France and Israel, with Soviet help built the Aswan Dam, and since 1961 has swept forward with the extending social measures, land reform, nationalization of the banks and all large enterprises, and official recognition of the guiding program of "scientific socialism". In 1958 the Iraq revolution ended the reign of the British puppet monarch and the notorious British agent Nuri, and brought the imperialist Baghdad Pact down in ruins. In 1962 Algeria won independence after seven years of bitter war. In 1965 Syria formed a progressive popular front government, including communist participation.

Against this advance of the Arab revolution the Western imperialists have continuously used every method and every weapon in their armory, including intrigue and corruption, backing of reactionary feudal forces, organization of military pacts under their control, and direct wars and military interventions. The use of the Zionist rulers of Israel as a weapon against the Arabs has been only one element in this general Western imperialist counter-revolutionary offensive. The refusal of Egypt to join the Baghdad Pact was the starting point of the chain of events which culminated in the Anglo-French-Israeli Suez war of aggression in 1956. In 1958 came the American and British military intervention in Lebanon and Jordan. During recent years Britain has sought to build an "Islamic Pact" drawing in the more reactionary monarchical regimes against the progressive Arab states. The formation of the left-wing government, with communist participation, in Syria made Syria the central target for the imperialist counter-offensive. On April 7 Israel conducted a military raid on Syria as a "reprisal" for border incidents, destroying six planes. By the beginning of May the preparations for the armed assault and overthrow of the Syrian Government were in hand. "Ten days ago the Israeli Chief of Staff remarked that he might attack Damascus and topple the Syrian Government" (*Sunday Times*, May 21, 1967). This was the starting point of the chain of events which led to Nasser's defensive measures on May 17 to request the withdrawal of the UN force so as to be able to stand by Syria if attacked, and which culminated in the war. The mystification for press and propaganda treatment in the West was to treat May 17 as the starting point, to treat the issue as an Arab threat to Israel, and to conceal the role of imperialism. In fact the imperialist counter-offensive which has found expression in the war in the Middle East needs to be seen in its wider international context of the current general imperialist counter-offensive, as demonstrated in

Ghana and other African countries, in Indonesia and most recently in the military reign of terror in Greece.

But, the problem is very reasonably raised, granted the truth of the reactionary and interventionist role of Western imperialism in the Middle East, and the repeated role of Israel as the accomplice of Western imperialism, how can there be peace in the Middle East, and what else can Israel do but fight back, when the Arab Governments publicity proclaim their aim to be the "destruction of Israel"? Since the Arab aim is declared to be to "annihilate" the two and a half millions of Israel, or "drive them into the sea" — and this is how the Arab aim is described on every side in the Western press and on the platforms and in parliament so as to whip up an atmosphere of emotional hysteria against the Arab liberation movement — is not Israel justified in using every means or source of support, and every active measure, including, if necessary, a preventive war, to defeat the threat of such a fate, and ought not every civilized person to support Israel against such a threat? It is worth examining this question, because it is clear that this type of slogan is pure jam for imperialism.

For this purpose, in order to assess the evidence more precisely, the first question to ask is: which Arab government, and when, has used this type of slogan, and with what meaning? Here the answer becomes interesting. For the most bloodthirsty-sounding slogans come from precisely the most reactionary Arab rulers whom Western imperialism most favors and courts. Thus King Feisal of Saudi Arabia was feasted in London at the beginning of May just before the confiict. He was accorded an interview on the BBC and was asked: "What is your policy in relation to Israel." He replied, with his characteristic slow cruel smile of a ruler of a regime still reeking of slavery and terror: in three words only: "Extermination of Israel". Did the British Government or official circles express horror? On the contrary. He was invited to Buckingham Palace to meet the Queen, and he was offered £134 million worth of arms to add to the £107 million arms supplied last year. This did not prevent Harold Wilson sounding his most solemn sobbing notes a few days later to express his deep concern for Israel. Truly imperialism knows how to wear two faces or to back two opposing horses simultaneously. The reactionary rulers favor such slogans to hide the unpopular character of their regime.

But let us turn to the most responsible spokesmen of the Arab liberation movement, such as President Nasser, for a clearer definition of policy rather than catchwords. According to the Cairo correspondent of the *Sunday Times* of June 4 of this year "a Western diplomat" put this question to Nasser: "When he speaks of destroying Israel, does he mean this literally?" since "the general impression in the West is that, given the chance, he would mas-

sacre every single Israeli". The report continues: "According to the diplomat, Nasser was surprised at this. By "destroy Israel," he said, he meant destroy her as a Western-subsidized anti-Arab base in the Middle East." And he went on to describe his "vision of the ultimate settlement", in which the refugees would be restored as required by the United Nations, "Jews would still be the majority in this new Jewish-Arab State" in Palestine, but it would be a Middle Eastern State not tied to Western imperialism. It is obvious that this conception. however unacceptable to the Zionist doctrine of a theocratic Jewish state, has little in common with the blood-thirsty pictures presented in Western propaganda. Yet Nasser is denounced in Western propaganda from Eden to the present day as the ogre, while King Feisal of Saudi Arabia is presented as the "moderate" more acceptable to the West. Indeed in many important statements the responsible leaders of the Arab states, the Cairo Declaration of Egypt, Syria and Arabia in 1956, the Bandung resolution on Palestine agreed by the Governments of all the Arab states, all have made clear the desire for a settlement on the basis of the United Nations decisions. These would still probably be the best basis for attempting to reach a settlement.

The immediate outlook is not promising. The Israel Government has boasted that they have now conquered territories four times the area of Israel, and have given indications that they aim to hold on to a considerable portion of their conquests and to defy the United Nations. The Arabs will certainly not regard the Pearl Harbor blow which struck down their forces without a declaration of war as the end of the conflict. There is no prospect of peace this way. Nor will there be so long as imperialism has its finger in the Middle East.

The indispensable step towards peace in the Middle East is the removal of all imperialist interventions and penetration and military forces, so that its people can be free to live in peace. The people of Israel have their right to live in peace but not to conduct aggression and conquest and expansion at the expense of their neighbors. They have their right to existence as a state, both their legal right through the decision of the United Nations, and their right on the principle of self-determinaton. But the legal right on the basis of the United Nations decisions carries with it the obligation to help to fulfil the parallel United Nations decisions, for the restoration of the refugees, and for the existence of the Arab state of Palestine. The right of self-determination carries also the right of self-determination of the Arabs of Palestine. The future of Israel depends on the victory of the progressive forces in Israel who are fighting to end the alignment of Israel as an instrument and armed outpost of Western imperialism against the Arab liberation movement. Thest progressive forces are voiced by

the Israeli Communists, whose deputies, Vilner and Toubi, spoke out in the midst of the present crisis in the Israeli parliament, and whose organization already represents in life that Jewish-Arab unity and fraternity which is the symbol for the future. Whatever the present difficulties and dangers, whatever struggles ahead, the future of the Middle East lies, not with imperialism, but with national liberation, with the Arab liberation movement; and the future which corresponds to the true interests of the people of Israel lies in peace and harmony with the advance of that liberation.

# THE CC OF THE PEOPLE'S PARTY OF IRAN (TUDEH) ON THE MIDDLE EAST CRISIS*

The crisis which erupted in the Middle East and led to Israeli aggression against the United Arab Republic, the Syrian Republic and the Kingdom of Jordan, to the loss of many lives and great destruction suffered by the fraternal Arab peoples, was the result of provocations which had been for a long time engineered in that region by the imperialists, especially those of the United States, Britain and West Germany. They strove, and strive now, above all to overthrow the anti-imperialist governments in the UAR and Syria with the help of Israeli Zionist reactionaries to make possible a ruthless and unimpeded plunder of the vast oil sources of the Middle East and establish their tyranny in that region of the world.

Despite the military victory of the Israeli army, it should be said that the imperialists and the Israeli Zionist reactionaries have failed to achieve their aim, that the UAR and Syria stand firmly on their anti-imperialist positions.

Both during the crisis in the Middle East and the Israeli aggression and after ceasefire the socialist countries and in the first place the Soviet Union have invariably acted as consistent friends and supporters of the Arab peoples and staunch champions of the cause of universal peace and peace in the Middle East.

We regard this friendly stand of the socialist countries as meriting support and approval. The socialist and Arab states' proposals in the UNO aimed at settling the crisis in the Middle East, are correct and just.

We are convinced that the Jewish working people have the right to have in their motherland—Israel—an independent and free government of their choice. But the Zionist regime in Israel, which is a satellite of imperialism, has no right to make territorial claims on Jordan, Syria and the UAR and act as imperialism's policeman against the progressive Arab forces in the Middle East.

The Iranian people demand that the government of the country, instead of its present dual policy and unfriendly attitude towards the UAR and personally Gamal Abdel Nasser, adopt a principled policy of defense of the legitimate rights of the Arab peoples, denunciation of the Israeli reactionaries' aggression, exposure of imperialist provocations and consolidation of peace in that region.

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*Mardom, June 1967.

We consider that it is a tradition of our country invariably to rebuff the encroachments of imperialism and the Israeli Zionists. As far as our Party is concerned, it firmly adheres to this stand and calls upon the Iranian people to fight in defense of the legitimate rights of the Arab peoples, against the imperialist and Zionist aggressors.

# STATEMENT*

## OF THE POLITICAL COMMISSION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHILE CONCERNING THE EVENTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

The outbreak of hostilities in the Middle East is a crime for which the U.S. government is responsible.

U.S. imperialism, which is carrying on a brutal aggression against the valiant people of Vietnam, is creating a new seedbed of war, trying to suppress the national-liberation struggle of the peoples of that region and pushing mankind toward a third world conflagration.

The roots of the Middle Eastern conflict lie predominantly in the interests of oil monopolies and the intentions of the imperialists to establish control over vital communications in keeping with their military strategy and their aggressive policy.

By obeying U.S. policy in that region, the present-day rulers of Israel jeopardize the interests of their own people.

The road of war runs counter to the interests of both the Arab peoples and the people of Israel. Only the restoration of peace and direct talks to settle the disputed issues can guarantee respect for the legitimate national rights of either side.

The Communist Party of Chile openly denounces the aggressive policy of the United States and its interference in Middle Eastern affairs. It resolutely supports the struggle of the Arab peoples for their liberation and at the same time declares its unqualified support of the legitimate right of the State of Israel to existence and categorically condemns manifestations of chauvinism by either side.

The national interests of the Chilean people and all peoples of the world demand that the government of Chile condemn the bellicose actions of imperialism and actively contribute towards the discontinuation of hostilities and the restoration of peace.

*El Siglo, June 6, 1967.

# JOINT STATEMENT*

## BY THE COMMUNIST PARTIES OF BRAZIL AND ARGENTINA

In mid-July 1967 the central committees of the Communist parties of Brazil and Argentina held a meeting which proceeded in an atmosphere of warm comradeship.

### I

In view of the increasingly aggressive policy of imperialism, especially of U.S. imperialism, against the peoples fighting for freedom and national independence, the two parties are fully agreed that the fundamental problem for the democrats and patriots of Brazil and Argentina, as well as of the other Latin American countries, is to coordinate and intensify the fight against that neo-colonialist policy.

The chief object of U.S. imperialism on our continent is to attack revolutionary Cuba—a purpose for which it is using mainly the reactionary government of Venezuela—and to try in this way to prevent the Cuban people from continuing its successful building of a new, socialist life, and deliver a telling blow to the national liberation movement. The two parties declare, therefore, that one of their principal tasks is to defend the heroic Cuban revolution and to be on the alert against an eventual attack on it.

As the reactionaries in power are stepping up persecution in various Latin American countries, above all in Bolivia, Paraguay, Venezuela, Peru, Guatemala, Panama, Haiti, Brazil, and Argentina, the two parties commit themselves to show greater solidarity for the victims of reaction so as to contribute to the release of all political prisoners, all fighters for the freedom and independence of their peoples.

### II

In exchanging views the two delegations agreed that it is imperative to coordinate and further action in solidarity with the diverse democratic and anti-imperialist struggles going on in all Latin American countries. The Latin American Solidarity Organization could play an important part in this respect.

Increasingly close unity of the Communist and Workers' parties

*Abridged.

of Latin America is a prerequisite of making this solidarity as effective as possible. The two parties therefore commit themselves to still greater effort to promote the unity of the Communist and working-class movement in Latin America on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and in accordance with the resolution of the Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties of Latin America held in Havana at the end of 1964.* The resolution said that the unity of the world Communist movement "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 . . . 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."

## III

As regards the international situation, the two delegations commit themselves to foster and strengthen the peace movement and to promote active moral and material solidarity with the heroes of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam fighting against the criminal U.S. aggression, for their right to self-determination. They also undertake to step up the world-wide campaign for an immediate end to the criminal U.S. bombings and for the withdrawal of the occupation forces in order to assure the freedom and independence of Vietnam.

Furthermore, the two parties consider it necessary to promote solidarity with the Arab peoples, victims of the cowardly aggression of the U.S. and British imperialists and their Zionist agents, and to support the struggle to recover the territory overrun by Israeli troops and safeguard their economic and political independence.

The two parties fully support the activity of the Soviet delegation and the delegations of other socialist countries in the UN in defense of the attacked Arab peoples, regarding that activity as another indication of their consistent policy of peace and support for the national liberation movements.

## IV

The two parties stress the world significance of celebrating the 50th anniversary of the heroic and glorious October Revolution, which marked the beginning of a new era in the lives of the peoples, the era of socialism and communism. The October Revolution gave a decisive stimulus to the national and social liberation movements

*See **Information Bulletin**, No. 3, 1965.

of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples oppressed by imperialism. Thanks to the October Revolution we are living in the period of the weakening and disintegration of the world capitalist system in its imperialist phase and of the strengthening and steady development of the socialist world community.

At the same time the two parties condemn those who try to minimize, in one form or another, this historic role of the October Revolution. In particular, they condemn the Mao Tse-tung camarilla for its policy of division and great-power chauvinism. They identify themselves with the heroic Chinese Communists who are striving to embark their Party on the Marxist-Leninist course.

The two parties will do their utmost to contribute to the cohesion of the world Communist and working-class movement on the undying principles of Marxism-Leninism.

With this aim in view, they declare once again that they think the conditions to be ripe for a new international conference of Communist and Workers' parties.

## V

Lastly, the meeting noted with satisfaction that despite the difficult conditions of illegality in which they have to operate, the Communist parties of both Brazil and Argentina are making appreciable progress in their struggle for the more pressing socio-political demands of the working class and the peoples of their respective countries. By strengthening and extending their links with the working people and the democratic forces in general, the two parties are paving the way for a broad democratic and patriotic front against the reactionary governments of their respective countries which represent the interests of the landed oligarchy, big intermediary capitalists and foreign, mostly American, monopolies, with a view to forming a genuinely democratic government that would provide bread, land, well-paid jobs, social progress, national independence, and peace.

# SPEECH* BY JANOS KADAR

## (EXTRACTS)

In estimating international trends we should remember that there are different powerful forces at work in world politics. There are at least three important forces of this kind in evidence today.

The *first* force, which plays a decisive role in world development, is the world socialist system, the socialist revolution, and the world Communist movement.

The *second* force, to which a special approach is needed in its present state because it has its peculiarities, is the group of forces of the so-called "third world", which likewise plays, in its own way, a decisive role in the evolution of international life.

The *third* factor, which commands a certain strength and plays a definite role, is imperialism.

The international forces of socialism, of the world socialist system and of communism are waging a consistent fight for social progress in general and for the spread of socialist ideas in particular, and fully support the peoples seeking national independence. They advocate respect for international law, oppose aggression and world war, and champion a lasting peace.

In the "third world," the aspirations of different countries, different peoples and different continents are different, of course. But they have a common and fundamental characteristic in that they are striving to abolish the colonial system and neo-colonialism, achieve independent and sovereign nationhood, and bring about social progress in the countries concerned. The forces of socialism and the "third world" are at one in recognizing the basic fact that they have a common enemy, imperialism, and that they must fight this enemy in complete unity.

Imperialism, which is trying hard to prevent the peoples that once suffered from colonial oppression from winning national independence, is also intent on checking the development of the world socialist system and on preventing more peoples and countries from choosing socialism. The imperialists would be only too happy to rob the socialist countries of their achievements, their independence, sovereignty and freedom if only they could.

The third large group of forces—imperialism—taking into account the power of the world socialist system, evidently wants to avoid

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*Abridged from **Nepszabadsag,** July 2, 1967. The speech was delivered to the Seventh Congress of the Hungarian Communist Youth League.

a direct conflict between the principal forces because it does not consider the situation favorable for unleashing a world war. On the other hand, in view of the fact that the socialist system and the "third world" do not want war, imperialism deliberately and methodically engineers provocations and attacks, and tries to stem social progress or restore the colonial system by striking at this or that country. The events in the Dominican Republic were a case in point. What was emerging was no more than mildly progressive bourgeois trends—a far cry from our Communist world outlook—but even so the U.S. imperialists found it necessary to intervene by sending their marines to that country, raising a hue and cry, as usual, against the "Communist danger." Similar actions were carried out in Ghana, and more recently in Greece, where coups took place.

It is part of the overall strategy and tactics of imperialism that it gives material support and military aid to any reactionary force, and organizes coups and other actions of the same kind, to the extent that they are in line with its nature and outlook.

Once capitalist propaganda gave out that Moscow and Communist hatched conspiracies under cover of might, by the cloak-and-dagger method. But look at imperialism and capitalism today. Power in Greece was in the hands of the bourgeoisie, and NATO exerted decisive influence on the country, but there were certain democratic institutions, a general election was to be held before long and one could look forward to a bourgeois swing to the left. And while this prospect was nowhere near communism or proletarian dictatorship, it terrified the Greek bourgeoisie, the reactionaries and the NATO bosses, so much so that they found it necessary to stage a military coup, announce a state of emergency and establish a regime of brutal terror.

Spokesman of the West occasionally protest that the West has no desire to continue the Vietnam war and would like to end it somehow or other. The facts have already given them the lie. We can rest assured that the American aggressor will not retreat until the combined forces of the Vietnamese people and progressive mankind make him. Our international duty is to bring the end of the war in Vietnam nearer by doing all we can. The United States must stop its bomb attacks and other acts of aggression against the DRV and withdraw its forces from Vietnam as the Vietnamese comrades demand. This is the way to peace in Vietnam, and we are certain it will come. We realize this and contribute our share to this struggle of truly world significance.

It is not long since a war broke out in the Middle East.

Our Party and our government took a definite stand on the Israeli aggression, both at home and at international forums, in Moscow and the UN. Our position is clear and is supported by

public opinion in our country. We are against the Israeli aggression and side with the Arab countries that have been attacked. We insist that the effects of the aggression must be removed and the aggressor must not be allowed to benefit in any way from his war crimes. The cardinal issue is that the Israeli troops, which have invaded and overrun foreign territory, must be pulled back to the positions they held before their June 5 attack, that is, behind the armistice line. Only when they have done so can there be a question of a fair and normal settlement of the problems really existing in the area.

We favor national freedom for every people as a matter of principle, and recognize that every nation has a right to found its own state. In accordance with this principle we established and maintained in the past diplomatic relations with the State of Israel —brought into being in the manner everyone knows of—and recognized its existence despite the fact that Israel is a regular imperialist, capitalist state in which there are class contradictions, a bourgeoisie controlling the means of production, workers and peasants who are exploited by the bourgeoisie, and a capitalist government which makes common cause with the main forces of imperialism and backs imperialist plans.

In connection with this problem we must also bear in mind that people scattered all over the world and regarding themselves as Jews consider Israel the homeland of the Jewish people.

We well remember the barbarities committed by Hitler fascism, which upheld medieval ideas, exercised racial discrimination and wiped out a vast number of people of Jewish origin. Our point of view on this matter as Communists has never been vague or open to question. We have invariably rejected all racial theories and we fought with might and main, during World War II as well, against racial discrimination, the persecution of Jews, and the barbarity that was Hitler fascism. We fought and fight, always and everywhere, against racial discrimination and violence, against discrimination with regard to the American Negroes or any other people. This is one aspect of the matter.

Another aspect is that in recent decades numerous Jews have emigrated to Israel from various countries of the world, including Hungary, and become Israeli citizens. Kinship and sentiments arising from it may dim one's view. We can understand it if an individual's political stand is affected by his having a brother or some other relative living in a country which has committed aggression. But it is essential that people should stick to principle in foreign policy matters too.

Had we taken a stand against principle, serious difficulties could have cropped up. A relatively large number of Hungarian citizens have children, brothers, sisters or other relatives in the United

States or West Germany. Where would we be if in pursuing our policy we had not consistently condemned the imperialist policies of the American rulers and their aggression in Vietnam merely because several tens of thousands of Hungarian citizens have relatives in the United States? Where would we be if we had not firmly opposed the revival of fascism and militarism in West Germany and the revanchist policy dominating that state merely because certain Hungarian citizens have relatives living there?

And where would we be if we had not condemned without qualification Israel's unlawful military action as imperialist aggression just because the fathers, children, brothers or sisters of several thousand Hungarian citizens live in Israel?

We think the American people can look forward to a bright future provided the United States stops the Vietnam war and all aggression. The people of West Germany will be all right provided revanchism and aggressive militarism are jettisoned there and ways are found of achieving fraternal unity with the German people living in the GDR, of establishing peace and friendship with the other peoples of Europe. As for Israel, its working people will be all right provided they oppose the imperialist aggression of their government and find ways of establishing friendship and coexistence with the Arab peoples living there. It follows that we are against imperialist policies and not against the Jewish people or the State of Israel.

We are for the truth, for those who have the truth on their side, and that means the Arab peoples. We identify ourselves with them and fully support their struggle because we want the effects of the aggression to be eliminated.

We Communists never organize any coups, never start any wars and never engage in warmongering. Our world outlook prompts us to wage our struggles in a different way. Organizing coups and starting local wars are typical of the world outlook of the imperialists, of their desire for power, of their concepts. In the not so distant past they were successful in that sort of thing on several occasions. But we Communists wish to warn them against false conclusions, against imagining that things will go on like that till the end of time. They will not because the peoples of the socialist system and the "third world," all progressive men and women, will fight in such a way as to call a halt to that policy.

History is following a different path. Fifty years ago a great world power, Russia, threw off the chains of tsarism and imperialism. Since then socialism has become a world system and today there are socialist countries on three continents. Besides the socialist countries there are countries among which we must class, last but not least, Algeria, Egypt and Syria and which are following the path of social progress and socialism according to their own

idea of it. It was no accident that the imperialist aggression hit the UAR and Syria, nor was this reason the least in importance.

Historical experience shows that a socialist country will never again become a capitalist country and that the imperialists cannot restore the colonial system. We consider that the victory of our world outlook, and the world-wide victory of the socialist system, does not require war. The socialist social system will defeat capitalism in all countries anyway—as a result of the struggle of social forces and in accordance with the objective laws of social development.

The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the foreign policy of the Hungarian People's Republic serve the unity and cohesion of the socialist countries and the "third world". We are for the unity and cohesion of the socialist countries.

Today we witness elements of national aloofness in some socialist countries. An extreme example of this is, as we see it, the nationalist, great-power stance and policy of the Peking leaders. As far as relations between socialist countries are concerned, we are against national narrow-mindedness and aloofness, for proletarian internationalism and the fraternal unity and cooperation of all socialist countries.

We recognize proletarian internationalism and adhere to it in the world Communist movement, in dealing with the problems that arise in it. This is why we are in favor of conferences and consultations, of bringing the forces of communism together, of uniting them against the common enemy, imperialism. This matter is under debate now. There are those who say that the "big" should not suppress the "small," and that the "small" should not exert pressure on the "big." We are of the opinion that inside the socialist world no one threatens the sovereignty of the socialist countries, their national independence, their peaceful construction, their efforts to build a socialist or communist society as speedily and as completely as possible. The threat comes only from the imperialist aggressor, and he is the one we must fight against.

The relations between socialist countries today are not flawless and complete unity is lacking in the world Communist movement. But we are Communists and can face up to even this kind of situation. Our duty under the circumstances is to work for closer unity of the forces striving to unite against imperialism.

We attended the Karlovy Vary Conference which brought together representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties of Europe to discuss the issue of war and security—the most burning issue confronting the peoples of Europe. Such conferences have not for a long time produced decisions impairing the autonomy of any party or the sovereignty of any socialist country, nor can they produce any. We should consolidate our forces in the way we did

it at Karlovy Vary, where we spoke of common problems and tasks without exorcising any one of those who stayed away. Indeed, we called on all to join in the struggle. The Conference statement contains nothing that any Communist party could take exception to.

The same is true of the Moscow meeting. We felt that we must take a stand on the Israeli aggression. Those who were willing signed the statement and those who did not agree to this or that point withheld their signature. It is necessary for the world to know the position of the Communists.

This is the way that we think should be followed. We are in favor of big and broad conferences. We should hold regional or bigger conferences and try to keep to the principle that meetings and consultations are for those who want them.

# CP, USA URGES EARLY WORLD PARTIES' PARLEY*

Fascism came to power not only as a consequence of the most reactionary, chauvinistic and militarist elements of the monopolists gaining command of the ruling class; it came about also as a consequence of the failure of the working class, in the first place, and the popular democratic forces in each country and on a world scale, to realize the unity of progressive forces—with working class unity as its center—in good time, to arrest the drive of the monopolists and take the initiative themselves for people's salvation and national honor.

"This lesson of our modern history cries out its warning so urgently today. With the energy of the desperate and the failing, U.S. imperialists are threatening humanity by continuing their military escalation and genocidal slaughter of the innocent in Vietnam and Southeast Asia.

"U.S. imperialism, in an unprecedented way, endangers the aspirations of all peoples to secure progressive futures for themselves in peace and freedom. Therefore, the ending of the worldwide aggression and intervention by U.S. imperialism, is the first responsibility of the working class of our country. It is also the central cause of the working class and all forces of peace, progress and national freedom the world over.

"Solidarity of the Marxist movement on a world scale, is itself a great force for helping safeguarding humanity from a nuclear holocaust and for bringing about an end to the genocidal war the U.S. government wages against the Vietnamese people.

Furthermore, international unity facilitates the revolutionary initiative of the working class and its allies in each country and promotes the strengthening of a winning opposition to the Washington war hawks and their stooges.

"For these considerations, especially, we express our willingness to participate in, and our appeal for, the early convocation of a world conference of representatives of Marxist-Leninist parties to discuss and exchange views on the vital questions of our time."

*From **The Worker,** July 16, 1967.

# NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE PARAGUAYAN CP

## COMMUNIQUE*

The Conference delegates gave a standing ovation to the message of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and to the speeches of representatives of the fraternal Communist parties of Uruguay, Argentina and Chile, who took part in all Conference deliberations and contributed their valuable experience in party work among the masses.

In accordance with the agenda, the National Conference unanimously approved:

1. The National Committee report on the international situation, the national political situation and the Manifesto of the Paraguayan people.

2. The report on the situation in the Party comprising:

(a) information on the hostile activity of the agents provocateurs Oscar Creydt and Arturo Lopez;

(b) the principles of reorganizing the Party;

(c) conclusions regarding the situation in the Party and the tasks of the Party until the Third Congress.

On the strength of the information presented, Conference unanimously approved the expulsion of the agents provocateurs Oscar Creydt, Arturo Lopez and Raul Ramirez from the Party.

3. The national liberation program and the Party Rules that will be in force until the Third Congress.

4. The proposal for convening the Third Congress of the Paraguayan Communist Party.

Conference unanimously elected the new Central Committee of the Party, which will hold its mandate until the Third Congress and most of whose members are active among the masses in the capital and the countryside.

Conference approved special resolutions calling for the organization of active solidarity of the Paraguayan people with the courageous national liberation war of the people of Vietnam and for active defense of the Cuban revolution against the new plans of aggression of U.S. imperialism and its OAS puppets.

Conference paid homage to the memory of the heroes from the Communist Party and other political parties who gave their lives

*Abridged.

fighting for freedom, national independence, and agrarian reform, peace and socialism. With great enthusiasm it approved the resolution urging intensification of the struggle for the release of Antonio Maidana, Julio Rojas, Alfredo Alcorta and all the other patriots who are maltreated in the prisons of the tyrannical regime of Stroessner, that flunkey of the U.S. monopolies and the big landowners and profiteers.

As the masses take joint action for their economic and political demands the popular revolutionary movement must build up its strength, organize national liberation committees or juntas throughout the country, consolidate the organizations of workers, peasants, students and other segments of the people, organize and steadily promote the guerrilla movement, and systematically pave the way for a popular armed rising to destroy the anti-national military regime and set up a provisional democratization government. This government will establish a system of complete freedom, hold really free elections to a sovereign National Constituent Assembly, plan and bring about an increase in production and meet the more pressing needs of the masses. It will clear the ground for radical, agrarian and anti-imperialist reforms, which the nation urgently needs to free itself from ruinous U.S. domination, abolish the latifundia and return to the road of independent economic development.

Conference approved the Party's active support of the principles and the general line of the world Communist movement collectively adopted in 1957 and 1960. It declared for closer unity and cohesion in the movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, for a new conference of Communist and Workers' parties, and the formation of a united world front against imperialism, particularly for unity of action to defeat the U.S. imperialist aggressors in Vietnam.

Conference was characterized above all by solid unity of principle on all the fundamental ideological and political issues, by a healthy desire to reveal the mistakes and weaknesses of the Party, a lively and frank discussion of their causes, past and present, and of steps to deal with the lag in the revolutionary work of the Party among the masses, which still falls far below the development of the spontaneous movement.

Conference discussed such matters as the deplorable consequences for the Party and the people's revolutionary movement of the fact that the Party leadership for a long time operated abroad, thousands of kilometers from the country; the causes and effects of the personality cult in our Party; the social composition of the Party and its leading bodies; the development of a revolutionary party of the working class by consistently following its policy line, its national liberation program and the Leninist principles and

standards of Party life laid down in the Rules; specific manifestations of liberalism, opportunism and sectarianism in daily practice; concrete infringements of the principle of collective leadership and work, inconsistency in the everyday application of this principle, and other problems of no lesser importance.

The Conference delegates — workers, peasants, and guerrilla leaders — who took the floor spoke of the vast experience of Party organizations in work among the masses, of achievements in the use of every form of struggle — peaceful and armed, legal and illegal — and of the high morale of the masses, who are searching for a way to the revolution. Conference compared the program and the policy line of the Party with the experience of the masses. This strengthened the conviction that the Paraguayan Communists' program and policy reflect the vital requirements and innermost aspirations of the people.

The evolution of the political situation at home is bound to lead to a deeper revolutionary crisis than ever before. Reorganizing and consistently reinforcing the Communist Party, steadily pursuing its policy line, and forming a fighting front of all revolutionary, democratic and patriotic forces are pressing demands put by reality to the Paraguayan Marxist-Leninists, who must lead the democratic national liberation revolution onwards.

*Central Committee, Paraguayan Communist Party*

*April 15, 1967*

# UNITY IS THE SOURCE OF OUR STRENGTH*

The present-day world is the scene of confrontation of two political lines: the line of peace and freedom of the peoples represented by socialism, and the line of war and enslavement pursued by imperialism. The chieftains of imperialism refuse to reconcile themselves to the fact that the correlation of world forces is favorable for the socialist community, for the working-class and national-liberation movement. The imperialist world headed by the U.S. finance oligarchy still hopes to reverse the trend of history initiated by the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Aware of the superiority of the forces of socialism and the national-liberation movement over the old world, the imperialist strategists do not dare to launch a frontal attack against the whole socialist community and are seeking, instead, to attain their reactionary ends by sallies on separate sectors of the world-wide front of struggle. The war in Vietnam, the aggression of the Israeli hireling of world imperialism against the Arab states, the incessant rude interference in the internal affairs of other peoples not excluding armed brigandage reveal the vile nature of the imperialist sharks intent on remaining in the world arena at any cost.

As before, the criminal policy of the imperialists is spearheaded against the socialist community, the main force of world progress. Prominent among the many forms and methods of this struggle is the effort to undermine the unity of the socialist countries and the world Communist movement. The notorious line of "building bridges" proclaimed by Washington is a vivid manifestation of this insidious policy.

Striving to weaken the positions of the socialist community, the enemies of communism stake on nationalism as an instrument for sowing discord among the socialist countries. Particularly active where manifestations of nationalism are in evidence, they stint no means to whip up nationalist sentiments in order to disunite the socialist countries, to injure the socialist cause.

The political fuss kicked up by international reaction around the splitting line of the Mao Tse-tung group shows what far-reaching hopes our enemies pin to nationalism and great-power chauvinism. It will be no exaggeration to say that the U.S. aggressive circles would not have ventured upon such a cynical escalation of the war in Vietnam had it not been for the policy of the Mao Tse-tung group which plays into imperialism's hands, rendering it real assistance.

*Pravda editorial, July 23, 1967.

The international situation makes it imperative for Marxist-Leninists to ensure still greater unity of the revolutionary ranks and above all of the socialist community.

History has placed on the socialist states and their ruling Communist parties special responsibility for the destinies of the world and socialism. The socialist community is the shield which reliably protects the freedom and independence of the peoples and bars the way to imperialist gambles. Utmost consolidation of the strength and unity of the socialist system is a prime internationalist duty of Communists. Marxist-Leninists are loyal to this duty.

The cooperation of the socialist states takes concrete organizational forms whose effectiveness has been borne out by life. Uppermost among these are the Warsaw Treaty organization and the Council for Mutual Economic Aid. By setting up these international organizations the socialist countries sealed their relations of alliance and assumed definite obligations with the aim of upholding their common interests in the international arena and pooling efforts for rapid economic development and consolidation of their defense potential.

In the present international situation the existence and activity of these organizations is of tremendous importance not only to their members but to a much greater number of countries. This is particularly true of the Warsaw Treaty organization, whose establishment reflected the profound concern of the socialist countries for maintaining peace in Europe and repelling imperialist aggressive intrigues. The situation in Europe has always greatly affected world developments. Europe has more than once been the seedbed of war conflagrations which singed the entire planet. And if today the imperialists do not dare take far-reaching aggressive steps in Europe, this is chiefly due to the restraining influence of the Warsaw Treaty organization.

The peoples of the Warsaw Treaty countries are calmly and confidently building socialism. They know that the military might of this organization, the collective actions of all its members securely protect their freedom and independence. Mutual confidence and friendship are a great asset of the peoples of the socialist camp, a reliable guarantee of their hard-won gains.

The socialist countries have declared on many occasions that if NATO, this instrument of imperialist aggression, became inoperative, so would the Warsaw Treaty, for the chief source of threat to European security would disappear. But as long as the Atlantic bloc exists, directly threatening the peace of the peoples, the socialist countries see it as their internationalist duty to perfect their defenses, to strengthen in every way the unity and build up the might of the Warsaw Treaty organization.

Not only the peoples of the socialist countries but all the anti-

imperialist forces of the world are vitally interested in the consolidation of the collective defense potential of the socialist countries; they hail every step in this direction.

The fraternal socialist countries regard their participation in the Warsaw Treaty, not as formal membership, but as effective constructive cooperation in the military and political fields.

In the years of its existence the Warsaw Treaty has made a weighty contribution to the struggle of the peoples for peace and security. It is common knowledge what an important role was played in preventing the establishment of a NATO multilateral or Atlantic nuclear force by the relevant settlement statement of the Warsaw Treaty states in January 1965. World-wide response was also evoked by the Declaration on Strengthening Peace and Security in Europe adopted by the Committee at its Bucharest meeting last summer. Firmly upholding the interests of peace and socialism in Europe, the signatories to the Treaty have worked out demands of principle to the FRG rulers, the chief source of war threat in Europe. The essence of these demands is that the West-German rulers "should proceed from the fact of existence of two German states, abandon their intention to recarve the European frontiers and their claims to the exclusive right to represent the whole of Germany, give up their attempts to bring pressure to bear on states ready to recognize the German Democratic Republic, renounce the criminal Munich dictate, and acknowledge that it has been null and void from the very beginning". The Soviet Union, being as it is a member of the Warsaw Treaty, views its attitude towards the FRG through the prism of these propositions.

The consistent policy of the fraternal socialist countries has frustrated all attempts of West Germany to sow discord among them and isolate the German Democratic Republic whose socialist system is the principal target of West German imperialism.

Striving to prevent the nuclear armament of the FRG, the socialist countries are working jointly for an international treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries regard the conclusion of such a treaty as a top-priority task.

The unity of action of the socialist countries based on the principles of proletarian internationalism strengthens our alliance and constantly enhances the international influence of the socialist community. The strength of socialist internationalism lies in the fact that it stems from the vital interests of the working people and rests on the solid foundation of genuine equality and independence of all socialist countries, all Communist parties.

The principle of sovereignty, independence and equality of the socialist states and fraternal parties have long since ceased being subjects for discussion; they have taken firm root in the practice of world socialism. Loyal to the behests of the great Lenin, the

Communist and Workers' parties are purposefully and consistently elaborating such forms and methods of cooperation which make it possible to do away with the last vestiges of distrust and suspicion, the survivals of the capitalist past. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, acting in keeping with the Leninist line reaffirmed by its 23rd Congress, is persistently working to strengthen the unity of the socialist world system and the world Communist movement. All who genuinely want to accelerate the victorious advance of the socialist countries along the road of all-round progress, secure sovereignty and independence and strong universal peace, will always have in the Party of Lenin a loyal friend and comrade-in-arms.

At a time when the imperialist forces are trying to capitalize on the disagreements in the socialist camp resulting from the subversive divisive actions of the Mao Tse-tung group, the Communists of all countries are happy to witness the growing striving of the fraternal parties to strengthen the unity of our movement. Impelled by a sense of internationalist responsibility, Marxist-Leninists are cementing their ranks.

A milestone on this road was the Karlovy Vary conference of European Communists—the first of its kind in history—at which a major step was made towards stronger European and hence universal peace. The successful work of the conference also contributed substantially to the rallying of the entire Communist movement.

Acting concertedly in the international arena, the socialist countries achieve signal successes in upholding world peace and rebuffing imperialist aggression. This was confirmed once again by developments during the acute Middle Eastern crisis, when the Soviet Union and other European socialist states acted jointly and rendered effective assistance to the Arab peoples. Gathering in Moscow and later on in Budapest during the Middle Eastern crisis representatives of the socialist countries authoritatively stated their common attitude which was a stern warning to Israel and the imperialist forces behind it. The socialist countries were at one in determining the causes of the crisis and pinpointing the aggressor as well as in charting ways of eliminating the consequences of the Israeli aggression. This vivid demonstration of the unity of the socialist countries and their determination to strengthen friendship and cooperation with the developing Arab countries played an important role in halting the aggression and preserving the progressive regimes in the advanced Arab countries.

Bilateral and multilateral meetings of representatives of fraternal parties are assuming an ever bigger scale. The collective effort of the parties firmly adhering to the general line of the Communist movement is preparing the ground for a new international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties which will bring about

further consolidation of the Communists of the world on the Marxist-Leninist platform.

Overcoming the frenzied resistance of imperialist reaction and successfully coping with internal difficulties, the socialist community, the Communist movement, are rallying their ranks, regarding this as a central task. Progressives the world over hail this salutary process as indispensable for stronger peace and the security of all peoples.

# DECISION*

## OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE KOREAN PARTY OF LABOR ON THE 50th ANNIVERSARY OF THE GREAT OCTOBER REVOLUTION

On November 7, 1917 the working class of Russia led by Lenin and the Bolshevik Party was the first in the world to break the chains of capitalism and establish a socialist state of workers and peasants.

The October Socialist Revolution ushered in a new era, the era of liberation of mankind, the era of world revolution and the transition from capitalism to socialism.

All Party members and working people of the Korean People's Democratic Republic will mark the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution on a grand scale. For this, a "Month of Celebration of the 50th Anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution" will be held. Various festivities and events will be arranged to strengthen the relations of traditional friendship between the peoples of Korea and the Soviet Union.

The Party members and all working people, rallying still closer behind the CC, KPL, should attain a new upswing in all branches of the national economy for the further consolidation of the Republic's economy and defense.

The "Month of Celebration," to be held from October 12 till November 9, will feature anniversary meetings, exhibitions, film festivals, lectures, cultural functions, meetings of friendship, and so on.

*Nodon Shinmun, July 12, 1967.

# ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

**Early July.** The CC, CP of Greece held its 11th plenary meeting. Apostolos Grozos, Chairman of the Central Committee, reported to it on behalf of the Political Bureau.*

**Early July.** Spokesmen of the CC, CP of Brazil conferred with a delegation of the Political Committee of the CC, CP of Chile, according to *El Siglo*.

The statement issued on behalf of the two parties resolutely supports the Soviet Union's sustained efforts for peace without annexations and expresses solidarity with the Arab peoples.

The two parties declare for world Communist unity and are opposed to all factionalism. They are in favor of a new world meeting of Communist and Workers' parties.

**July 4-10.** A delegation of the French CP led by Jeannette Thorez-Vermeersch, member of the Political Bureau, was on a stay in Czechoslovakia.

The delegations of the two parties exchanged views on the situation in the world Communist movement. They consider that today it is more necessary than ever for the brother parties to meet for a discussion of the international situation. The conditions are ripe for preparations to be made for an international meeting of the greatest possible number of brother parties.

**July 5 and 6.** L. Brezhnev conferred with the Antonin Novotny, resting in the Soviet Union.

A. Novotny and L. Brezhnev discussed ways of furthering and strengthening the fraternal relations and all-round cooperation between the CP of Czechoslovakia and the CPSU and between the two brother countries, and exchanged views on pressing international issues and problems of the world Communist movement.

**July 6 and 7.** The CC, SUPG, meeting in plenary session in Berlin, heard and unanimously approved a Political Bureau report by Friedrich Ebert, member of the PB, and Walter Ulbricht's report on the organization and activities of government bodies.

**July 10-12.** The CC, ICP in plenary session discussed the development and perspectives of the activity of the Party for peace and a new policy line for the country. The relevant report was presented

*Materials of the Plenary meeting will be published in the next issue of the Bulletin.

by Giorgio Napolitano, member of the Political Bureau and Secretariat of the ICP.

**July 13.** A delegation of the Iraqi CP led by Nazim Ali, secretary of the CC, visited Czechoslovakia at the invitation of the Communist Party.

**July 13.** David Henin, member of the PB and secretary of the CC, CP of Israel, conferred with Vladimir Koucky, secretary of the CC, CP of Czechoslovakia, in Prague.

**July 11.** M. Suslov, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the CC, CPSU, and a delegation of the Paraguayan CP led by Hugo Campos, member of the Political Committee of the CC, PCP, met at the CC, CPSU.

The spokesmen of the two parties declared for promoting the solidarity of all peace forces against imperialism, primarily U.S. imperialism. In this connection they emphatically condemned the disruptive activity being carried on in the world Communist movement by the Mao Tse-tung group, which has advanced a special foreign and home policy line deviating from Marxism-Leninism and grossly contradicting the principles of proletarian internationalism.

The two parties stressed their loyalty to the general line of the world Communist movement laid down in the Moscow Declaration and Statement, and declared in favor of launching preparations for and convening a new conference to consolidate the unity and cohesion of the Marxist-Leninist parties.

**July 15.** The CC, CP of Uruguay in plenary session discussed the situation at home and the tasks of the Party. The report was made by Alberto Suarez, Secretary of the Central Committee.

The meeting resolved to take various political and organizing measures to strengthen the Party, increase its membership, diversify its activities, making a special effort to collect 10m. pesos for the Party.

**Mid-July.** The CP of Japan recalled two of its representatives from Peking. They are Ichiro Sunama, alternate member of the Party Presidium, and Konno, the *Akahata* correspondent. According to a statement issued by the Party leadership, the measure was prompted by the Mao Tse-tung clique's arbitrary treatment of the two men which made it impossible for them to continue their work since "their physical security and their very lives were endangered."

**July 18-23.** A Bulgarian Party and government delegation led by Todor Zhivkov paid an official visit to Mongolia.

The communiqué on the visit said, in particular, that "the two parties are in favor of providing the necessary conditions for convening a new conference of the Communist and Workers' parties of the world at a suitable date to discuss urgent problems of the world Communist and working-class movement. Bilateral and multilateral meetings of fraternal parties are important and fully

accord with the common goals and tasks of the fight against imperialism and colonialism, for peace and international security for socialism and communism."

**July 18-21.** Vladimir Koucky, secretary of the CC, CP of Czechoslovakia, was on a stay in Rome, where he conferred with Luigi Longo and Gian Carlo Pajetta and Carlo Calluzzi, members of the ICP Leadership.

**July 21.** Béla Biszku, secretary of the CC, HSWP, received David Henin, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the CC, CP of Israel.

The CC, HSWP expressed its solidarity with the CP of Israel, which is carrying on its struggles in difficult conditions.

**July 24.** Vladimir Koucky, secretary of the CC, CP of Czechoslovakia, and Jesus Faria, General Secretary of the CP of Venezuela, had an interview during which they held a fruitful exchange of information interesting the two parties.

**July 24.** A delegation of the CC, CP of Denmark, led by Ib Norlund, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the CC, had a meeting with representatives of the CC, BCP on the latter's premises.

**July 24-26.** B. Ponomaryov, secretary of the CC, CPSU, was a guest of the CC, ICP in Rome, where he had talks with Luigi Longo, Gian Carlo Pajetta and Carlo Galluzzi, leaders of the ICP.

The talks proceeded in a cordial atmosphere and revealed mutual appreciation of the stands and activities of the two brother parties.

**July 26-29.** B. Ponomaryov, secretary of the CC, CPSU, was on a visit to Paris at the invitation of the CC, FCP. He had discussions with Waldeck Rochet, General Secretary of the FCP, Raymond Guyot and Roland Leroy, members of the PB, FCP, and Jean Kanapa, members of the CC, FCP.

**July 27.** During the first half of 1967 the PUWP admitted over 86,000 new members, according to *Trybuna Ludu*. As of June 30, the Party had 1,951,800 full or candidate members (exclusive of the Party organizations in the armed forces and in Polish missions abroad), of whom 40.1% were workers, 11.8% peasants and 42.6% professional or clerical workers. Women accounted for 19.5 per cent of the Party membership.

**July 28.** Todor Zhivkov and Luigi Longo conferred in Sofia. They discussed the international situation and problems of the world Communist and working-class movement.

**July 29.** A delegation of the CP of Denmark, led by Knud Jespersen, Chairman of the Party, paid a visit to Janos Kadar.

During the interview, which proceeded in a comradely atmosphere, the spokesmen of the two parties exchanged views on matters of mutual interest.

**August 1.** Todor Zhivkov and Waldeck Rochet discussed in an interview questions bearing on the relations between the two

parties, as well as various aspects of the international situation and the world Communist and working-class movement.

The two leaders emphatically condemned the Israeli aggression against the Arab countries, and stressed that withdrawal of the Israeli forces from the occupied territory was a necessary condition for a peaceful settlement of the problems of the area, with due regard to the legitimate national interests of all the countries concerned.

T. Zhivkov and W. Rochet underscored the decisive importance of the unity of action of the Communist and Workers' parties in rallying all democratic and progressive forces against imperialism. Infringements of this unity by the present CPC leadership and the latter's disruptive activity are weakening the anti-imperialist forces and helping international reaction.

The present international situation imperatively demands the convening of a new international conference, and preparations for it should be started now by taking concrete steps.

"The plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Syrian Communist Party warmly greets and expresses its heartfelt gratitude to the CC, CPSU and the Soviet government for the political, economic and military assistance rendered by the Soviet Union to the Arab countries, especially to the Syrian Arab Republic and the UAR, both during and after the Israeli aggression," said a message of greetings to the CPSU adopted recently by an enlarged plenary meeting of the CC, SCP.

The SCP assures its friends that it will go on working for closer friendship and cooperation with the Soviet people, for closer solidarity with the CPSU against imperialism and reaction, against the adherents of dogmatism led by the Mao Tse-tung clique, who are doing enormous harm to the unity of the proletarian forces and the solidarity of the peoples against imperialism.

**Late July.** The Board of the SUPG-West Berlin, meeting in plenary session, adopted a statement about the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution.

**August 1.** M. Suslov, member of the PB and secretary of the CC, CPSU, and B. Ponomaryov, secretary of the CC, CPSU, had a meeting at the CC, CPSU with M. Vilner, secretary of the PB, CC, CP of Israel, and T. Tubi, member of the PB and secretary of the CC.

The representatives of the two parties exchanged views on the situation in the Middle East, the international situation and problems of the Communist movement. They registered a complete coincidence of views on the questions under discussion.

M. Vilner and T. Tubi expressed their full support of the Leninist foreign policy of the CC, CPSU and the Soviet government and the consistent steps taken by them to promote peace and international security in the Middle East and defend the just cause of the Arab

peoples in the face of aggression. The participants in the interview considered that the prime and indispensable prerequisite of settling the Mideast conflict in the interests of all the peoples of the area is withdrawal of Israeli troops from the territory they have seized to the positions they held before June 5, 1967.

The CPSU spokesmen voiced full support for the internationalist policy of the CP of Israel, which consistently opposes the aggressive policy line of the Israeli rulers backed by the U.S. imperialists, and expresses the genuinely national interests of the people of its country. They condemned the repressive measures being taken by the Israeli rulers against the Communists opposing aggression.

The spokesmen of the two parties declared for closer solidarity of the anti-imperialist forces against the aggressive schemes of imperialism and in defense of the heroic people of Vietnam. They stressed their firm loyalty to the general line of the world Communist movement formulated by the 1957 and 1960 meetings in Moscow, and pointed to the need to prepare for and hold a new world conference.

**August 4.** A delegation of leading functionaries of the Sudanese Union, Republic of Mali, arrived in Moscow at the invitation of the CC, CPSU. During its stay in the Soviet Union it will acquaint itself with the life and progress of the Soviet people and the experience of CPSU organizations.

**Early August.** David Henin, member of the PB and secretary of the CC, CP of Israel, and David Burstein, member of the PB, CC, visited Bulgaria. They discussed with Ivan Prymov, secretary of the CC, BCP, problems of cooperation between the two parties, the international situation and problems of the world Communist movement.

In view of the situation created in the Middle East by the Israeli aggression against the Arab countries—an aggression encouraged and backed by the United States—it was pointed out that the CP of Israel, loyal to the Marxist-Leninist principles of internationalism, took a stand against the policy of the Israeli militarists.

**L'Humanité** reported that 37,000 Frenchmen joined the Communist Party during the first six months of 1967, or 4,000 more than throughout 1966. As many as 867 new local organizations were formed in the first half of 1967.

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INFORMATION

# bulletin

104(16)

*Included in this Issue*

**RESOLUTION OF THE CC COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREECE**

**RESOLUTIONS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA**

**STATEMENT BY THE IRAQI CP**

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*contents*


**RESOLUTION OF THE PLENARY MEETING OF THE CC CP OF GREECE** 5

**RESOLUTIONS OF THE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA** 11

**REPORT TO MEETING OF THE CC MONGOLIAN PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY PARTY**
Y. Tsedenbal **19**

**INTERVIEW WITH N. CHAOUI**
General Secretary Lebanese CP **26**

**FOR A DECISIVE VICTORY OVER THE FORCES OM IMPERIALISM, ZIONISM AND REACTION**
Statement by the CC of the Iraqi CP **30**

**COMMUNIQUE OF MEETING OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES OF COLOMBIA AND VENEZUELA** 34

**CONTRARY TO THE INTERESTS OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE**
Article by I. Alexandrov **38**

**50th ANNIVERSARY OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION**
Decision of Board of the SUPG—West Berlin **49**

**PARTY PERIODICALS** 51

**ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES** 55



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# RESOLUTION

## OF THE 11th PLENARY MEETING OF THE CC, COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREECE

1. The fascist military dictatorship, the product of the coup of April 21, is the dictatorship of the ultra-reactionary servile circles of the Greek plutocracy. It was established with the connivance and direct support of the more aggressive circles of U.S. imperialism and NATO. Behind it stand foreign monopolies, predominantly American ones.

The dictatorship is inimical to the entire nation, to its supreme interests, its honor and dignity. The democratic movement has been dealt a severe blow. The democratic gains of the Greek people, won at the cost of many years of hard struggle and sacrifice, have been abolished.

A new seat of tension and provocation has been created in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Balkans. New grave trials have fallen to the lot of the Greek people, and the prospect before them is one of grim struggle.

The dictatorship's internal-policy aims are to destroy the powerful democratic movement for the renovation of Greek society, settle the problems of the country in an anti-popular way, to depose the Cypriot government in a coup and hasten the settlement of the Cyprus problem in the interests of NATO, to turn the people of Greece into a defenseless object of ruthless exploitation by foreign and domestic monopolies. In the field of foreign policy, it intends to strengthen the position of the imperialists and NATO in Greece, to use the country as a base for imperialist gambles in the Balkans and the Middle East, to hit the liberation and democratic movements so that fascist regimes could be installed in other countries of Europe, and to stem the important movement for mutual understanding and cooperation of states and for the establishment of a European collective security system.

2. Although the governments that succeeded one another following the coup of July 1965 relied on the Right forces and reaction strengthened its positions in the army and in key government posts, they were unable to contain mass actions and break up the democratic movement. The people and the political forces continued to move towards democracy. The influence of the CPG and other Left forces was on the uprise. Serious openings towards democracy developed in the Center Union.

The anti-constitutional and anti-democratic policy and activities of the royal court, which is the pole of concentration of reaction, and of the Right forces before and after July 15, 1965, were paving the way for the establishment of military dictatorship.

Two trends were taking shape among the reactionaries: to achieve their ends either through an electoral coup or through an open military dictatorship.

The formation of the Kanellopoulos government was a victory for the trend to enter upon an anti-democratic road behind the smokescreen of parliamentarism, through rigged elections in conditions of violence.

But the more reactionary internal and external forces, the junta and the U.S. and NATO militarists would not be satisfied even with that solution, i.e., the holding of such elections by the Kanellopoulos government, for they saw that even if the elections yielded the expected results they would be unable to subdue the powerful democratic movement and free their hands for the realization of their anti-popular, anti-national plans.

Such were the causes that led to the coup and the establishment of the military-fascist dictatorship.

The recent aggravation of the international situation resulting from the global aggressiveness of U.S. imperialism, especially the preparation for aggression in the Middle and Near East, was an important factor that speeded the putschists' hand.

3. In a situation characterized by the active interference of the Americans in our internal affairs, the strong positions held by the military and the concentration of the Right forces in the ERE party and around the royal court, only unity of action and strong organization of the democratic forces could stop the process of fascization, foil the plans for the establishment of an open dictatorship and clear the way to democratic development.

Although the reactionaries managed to consolidate their positions in the recent period, their plans could have been foiled and the coup prevented if the democratic forces, in face of the direct threat of dictatorship, had fought in common, as the Left suggested.

The historic responsibility for the fact that democratic unity failed to materialize rests with the Center Union leadership.

The anti-unity stand of the Center Union leadership, its concessions to and compromises with the rightists, its anti-communism and fear of the popular movement, its refusal to purge reactionaries from the army, the security organs and the administrative apparatus, to repeal the emergency measures and clean the General Confederation of Labor and other trade union organizations of agents of the monopolies and stooges of the rightists hampered the movement towards democracy and made that movement extremely painful. Finally, the resignation of the Center Union gov-

ernment in July 1965, when the reactionaries had mounted an offensive, and its compromises with the rightists in 1966-67 weakened the unity of the democratic forces and objectively facilitated the reactionaries' plans.

4. Throughout these years of the fierce offensive of reaction and fascism the Communist Party and other Left forces were in the van of the struggle as consistent champions of democracy and the interests of the people.

In keeping with their policy of democratic cooperation, they fought in the front ranks together with other democrats and patriots for the freedoms and democratic rights of the Greek people.

The CPG and other Left forces pursued a correct policy of mobilizing the broadest possible democratic forces in a struggle for a democratic way out of the political crisis in Greece. They advocated support of the Center Union government in 1963 and backed its every positive step so that its promises could be carried out. The CPG and the EDA supported the Center Union government in August 1964 to ward off the direct threat of a fascist coup. Owing to the unitary policy of the CPG and the EDA the reactionaries found themselves in isolation, and there was increasing democratic unity of action among the lower- and middle-level activists, which helped intensify the resistance of the people to the reactionaries' plans.

In February 1966, when the menace of dictatorship assumed even more concrete forms, the EDA submitted to all political forces opposed to lawlessness a five-point program which could serve as a real basis for joint action and agreement to foil the conspirators' plans and ensure normal democratic development.

5. In the hard struggle for the solution of the problems facing the people and the country campaigning against the plans of the reactionaries and for a democratic way out of the political anomaly, the CPG and the EDA were not free from weaknesses, shortcomings and mistakes which could not but affect this struggle.

The CC and the Political Bureau did not make a proper analysis of some new factors, such as the growing interest in Greece the imperialists showed in their strategic plans, especially following the outbreak of the serious crisis in NATO, the ever greater dependence of the Greek army on the imperialists and NATO, and the increasing role of the military.

The CPG was correct in stating that a severe political crisis broke out in July 1965 and that the people were faced with a choice between fascism and democracy. But later on it failed to take stock of all data testifying to consolidation of the reactionaries' positions. It did not see clearly that the contradictions between the centrists and the rightists were growing in acuteness as a result of the popular resistance, that the reactionaries' attempts to base

their policy on a compromise of the centrists with the rightists were falling through, and that the more reactionary elements were increasingly urging an open fascist dictatorship.

Although the Party had repeatedly warned against the danger of a fascist putsch, in the recent period it underestimated this danger and tended to orient itself on resistance to an electoral coup. This is one more reason why the events of April 21 caught us somewhat unawares.

Along with weaknesses, shortcomings and mistakes of a rightist nature, in implementing its unitary tactics the Party sometimes displayed a rather narrow-minded approach to problems, which certainly affected the struggle for democratic unity.

The Party proved inadequately prepared ideologically, organizationally and technically to act properly in the new situation. This was chiefly due to the highly unsatisfactory implementation of the decisions adopted by the 8th Congress and other Party organs after the 6th Plenary Meeting. As a result, the functionaries were not properly trained in the ideological, political and organization respects for successful struggle in any contingency.

On the other hand, the illusions in our ranks that the situation would develop more or less normally further complicated the ideological, political and organizational preparation of the Party and the masses generally for combating the danger of dictatorship.

Another serious omission was that the Party did not pay attention to the Army and conducted no work in it.

The grave responsibility for all these omissions, shortcomings and mistakes in the work of the Party rests with the Political Bureau, the Secretariat and the entire Central Committee.

6. Although the junta came out on top and received every support from its foreign patrons, its power is insecure. The Greek people are definitively opposed to the dictatorship, loathed also by the country's political world and a large part of the army officers, who feel humiliated by the colonels, puppets of the foreigners.

The junta is opposed by world public opinion, especially in Europe, for whom the newly-installed dictatorship in Greece signifies that fascism is knocking at their door. A number of Western statesmen, even governments of NATO countries and some inter-governmental organizations have expressed their negative attitude toward the coup.

There are contradictions within the dictatorship itself, especially between the junta and the royal court and among the putschists themselves. The instability of the national economy and the grave difficulties suffered by it following the coup aggravate these contradictions and the dictators' instability.

Contradictions also exist between the imperialist forces which directly or indirectly support the present regime.

The dictators' attempt to camouflage the nature of the regime and assuage incensed world public opinion by promises of a new Constitution and a return to parliamentarism is a dangerous maneuver which must be exposed and resisted. The new constitution will in all probability be nothing more than the charter of the fascist dictatorship.

7. On the day of the coup the Communist Party urged the people to unite in the broadest possible national movement, the broadest possible front of all parties, organizations and leaders irrespective of their political positions, from Left to Right, which would act to overthrow the dictatorship and restore democratic order, to enable the people to solve the problems of the country without foreign interference. The Party has been working to build this front, to mobilize the people against the dictatorship.

The establishment of the Patriotic Front by some Left, Center and Right leaders is a positive development. The Communist Party considers that at a time of grave trials that fell to the lot of the Greek people and threaten the destiny of the country, supreme national interests demand that all democratic forces should leave aside their political differences and coordinate and unite their efforts on the basis of a common program of struggle which could envisage the following: *deposition of the dictatorship; restoration of constitutional and democratic freedoms; freedom of action for all parties and organizations; release of all detainees; general political amnesty; dissolution of the junta; free elections according to a simple proportionate system, to be conducted by a government of all parties.*

There exist, of course, other serious problems which concern the people and the democratic world, such as a revision of the constitution and the problem of the monarchy. The CPG considers, however, that the different attitudes of the parties toward these problems should not prevent coordinated and united action of all anti-dictatorship forces, on the basis of a common program for one immediate aim—sweeping away the dictatorship.

Action against the dictators should assume most diverse forms, from the distribution of leaflets and the issue of slogans to strikes, demonstrations and open nationwide struggle. The form of the latter will be determined in its process.

The greater the unity of action of the working class, the main force in the struggle against the dictatorship, the greater the strength of the Patriotic Front. Progressive organization against the dictatorship and the struggle of the working class can impart strength and magnitude to the entire anti-dictatorship movement and struggle. In the labor movement, the front can materialize in most varied forms, such as unitary committees in factories and offices, among ship crews, in any branch where the struggle for

immediate economic demands will be combined with the struggle against the dictatorship. Work in the trade unions, cooperatives, all organizations of the people is of the utmost importance.

The Communist Party thinks very highly of the assistance given to the anti-dictatorship struggle by world public opinion and the Greek emigrants. It believes, however, that the outcome of the struggle will be decided by the unity and actions of the people, by the efforts of all the anti-dictatorship forces in Greece herself.

8. The plenary meeting regards it as a top-priority task of the Party to ensure independent formation of Party branches on the principles of underground work, vigilance and strict decentralization. All Communists must unite in illegal Party organizations. An influx of new members, especially from among the youth, is of vital importance for the Party. The Party branches must exert every effort to set up an underground technical apparatus which should be strictly decentralized and discharge its specific functions.

Exceptional importance attaches to our work in the army, the security organs and the entire state apparatus. It is necessary to assign suitable forces to carry on this work, to conduct propaganda in the army with the help of all the means the Party possesses.

Special attention should be paid to the Party's work among emigrants, students and all Greeks residing abroad, as well as among seamen. It is necessary to improve our work among political emigrants and especially among young people, so as to ensure their stronger links with the movement in Greece and their greater contribution to the struggle of our people. Serious work should be conducted among the Party rank and file and functionaries to enhance vigilance and improve the security of the Party. These matters assume special urgency today.

In the difficult conditions of dictatorship the need is particularly great for the unity of the Party, for the cohesion of its members and activists on the basis of the Party's line and decisions.

The plenary meeting considers that along with reconstructing their organizations Communists should help reconstruct the organizations of the EDA and all popular organizations.

Aware of the existing difficulties, the 11th Plenary Meeting of the CC CPG calls upon all Communists, all activists, members and supporters of the Party to apply themselves with optimism to the hard struggle and, marching, as always, in the front ranks, to become ardent propagandists, tireless organizers and courageous fighters in the anti-dictatorship patriotic front against the monarcho-fascist tyranny and for the victory of democracy.

# RESOLUTIONS*

## OF CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA, July 8-11, 1967

### SOLIDARITY WITH THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDONESIA

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India expresses its warm solidarity with the members, cadres and leaders of the Communist Party of Indonesia, who are heroically resisting the unprecedented and brutal repression launched against the Party by the Right-wing government of that country, taking advantage of the tragic adventurist putsch of 30th September, 1965.

The Communist Party of Indonesia which celebrated the 47th anniversary of its foundation in May 1967 has been in the vanguard of the struggle for the independence of the country since 1926 and was in the forefront of the struggle against the Dutch and Anglo-American interventionists, who were seeking to subvert the independence of the country won by its people in August 1945.

In 1948, the Communist Party of Indonesia had to face a campaign of white terror launched against it by the reactionary pro-imperialist forces which murdered the foremost leaders of the Party like Comrades Sharifuddin and Musso and scores of leading cadres. The Party fought back this campaign with defensive military actions and in the course of the early years of the '50s reorganized its forces, learning from the bitter experience and the struggles.

In the early years of the '60s, the Communist Party of Indonesia had become one of the most powerful and influential working-class parties in South-East Asia with 3 million membership, leading the broad masses of the working people and patriotic forces and playing an important role in carrying forward to completion the national democratic revolution in the country.

That is exactly the reason why the tragic events of 30th September 1965 and their bloody aftermath in which the Indonesian reactionary forces launched a massive murderous attack on the Party and inflicted on it a heavy though temporary defeat, came as a shock to the working-class and Communist movement throughout the world.

Hundreds of thousands of the best sons of the Party have been annihilated, and an overwhelming majority of the Party leaders, members of the Politburo and members of the Central Committee

*New Age, July 16, 1967.

have been killed without even the farce of a judicial investigation or trial. The Communist Party of Indonesia has been declared illegal and the murderous campaign of extermination of the Communists continues to this day.

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India salutes the countless martyred leaders and cadres, who fell victim to the bloody repression and sends its warm greetings and expressions of fraternal solidarity to the heroic comrades of the Communist Party of Indonesia who are regrouping their forces under heavy odds and drawing the correct lessons out of the tragic setback as is seen from certain documents emanating from that Party.

The Central Executive Committee sharply condemns the reactionary government of Indonesia for the fascist-like repression it is carrying out against the Communists and the masses who support them. It warns the ruling circles of Indonesia that they will never be able to crush the Communist Party of Indonesia, which even now enjoys the support of large masses of peasants, workers and patriotic forces of the country. Their policy will only result in intensifying the political and economic crisis in the country and pave the way for further penetration of imperialist influence in the life of Indonesia, jeopardizing its independence.

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India demands the release of all Communists now in jail in Indonesia, a stop to the repressive actions and the legalization of the Communist Party of Indonesia.

The Central Executive Committee calls upon the state units and other committees of the Party to inform our Party members of the events in Indonesia, of the heroic fight our fraternal Party there is waging against repression and for the cause of the working class, for democracy and socialism in Indonesia, to send messages of fraternal solidarity to the same. They should send protest telegrams to the Indonesian government through their embassy in this country demanding an end to repression, the release of all Communists in jail and the legalization of the Indonesian Communist Party.

—Stop repression, release all Communists and democrats in jail, legalize the Communist Party of Indonesia!

—Victory to the struggle of the workers, peasants and patriotic forces of Indonesia for the completion of the democratic revolution and for socialism!

—Long live the Communist Party of Indonesia!

—Long live the unity of the world Communist movement!

## WEST ASIAN CRISIS*

It has now become self-evident that the treacherous Israeli blitz-

krieg launched on June 5 was only the climax of many years of military preparations by the Zionist rulers of Tel-Aviv in active collusion with the imperialist circles of USA, U.K. and West Germany. It is these Western powers which have been arming and equipping Israel over the years as their aggressive base in the heart of the Arab world and directed against the anti-imperialist, national-liberation movements of the Arab peoples.

Especially since the Suez Canal fiasco of 1956 suffered by the Anglo-French aggressors against Egypt, the imperialists have been nursing vindictive designs in which Israel's role as their obedient tool was the key factor. That is why the most modern types of fighter bomber aircraft, tanks and other military equipment and arms including napalm bombs had been supplied to the Israeli militarists, along with latest training techniques and trained and experienced personnel from several countries including West Germany.

The U.S. imperialists, despite their massive involvement and their military predicament in Vietnam, were becoming so increasingly desperate over the situation in West Asia that they could no longer wait to unleash the Israeli war machine. The reasons for this desperation lay in the historic and irresistible upsurge of the Arab revolutionary and democratic forces in recent years whose most striking manifestations were in the UAR and Syria.

President Nasser's revolutionary regime had not merely achieved the evacuation of British imperialism, the independence of Egypt and nationalization of the Suez Canal; it had also brought about a radical change in the Arab way of life, economic and social reforms of a basic character including far-reaching nationalization measures. Close bonds of fraternal friendship and cooperation were forged with the USSR and other socialist countries. UAR developed also friendship with India and stood as a loyal friend of our country.

In Syria too a radical and progressive government looking leftwards was in power and preparing the UAR's path to national regeneration and social reforms. The entire balance of forces in the Middle East was in danger of shifting against the imperialists and their local agents. That is why the Israeli blitzkrieg was unleashed on June 5.

The war aims of the aggressors were thus fourfold:

1. To halt and reverse the progressive, revolutionary, anti-imperialist march of the Arab peoples by inflicting crushing military defeats on the UAR and Syria, including capture of Damascus;

2. To discredit and bring about the downfall of President Nasser and the progressive regime in Syria;

3. To establish firm control of the Western monopolies over the

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*News Age, July 23, 1967.

oil resources of the region and secure a foothold in Suez;

4. To isolate the Arab countries from the Soviet Union, discredit the latter and weaken its fraternal ties with the Arab national movement and to create a pro-imperialist reactionary bloc in this region.

Such were the principal aims of the aggression. Another aim important in the eyes of the reactionary Eshkol-Dayan ruling clique at Tel-Aviv was territorial expansionism at the expense of UAR, Syria and Jordan, expulsion of the Arab population from the Western bank of the River Jordan and seizure of the entire holy city of Jerusalem.

Judged in the light of their own war aims, the imperialists have suffered an ignominious failure; they may have won a military victory on the battlefield, but politically and morally they stand defeated. This is the biggest reality emerging out of the conflict, clear for all to see with every passing day.

Instead of the anti-imperialist upsurge of the Arab peoples being halted or checked, there has been an unprecedented and historic manifestation of Arab national unity. The governments and peoples of Algeria, Jordan, Sudan, Kuwait, Yemen, Lebanon, Iraq, Lybia, Saudi Arabia, Tunisia and Morocco rallied unhesitatingly behind the UAR and Syria in the hour of crisis. The unity of the Arab world, instead of being weakened and split by the Israeli aggression, has been cemented as never before.

Instead of his downfall, President Nasser had to withdraw even his voluntary resignation as a result of the boundless love and confidence shown in the spontaneous demonstration of the millions of UAR citizens in the streets of Cairo and people in capitals of other Arab countries. They all demanded that President Nasser must continue as their leader, despite military reverses.

The progressive government of Syria and its capital Damascus, also stand unconquered.

Instead of being able to tighten their exploiting grip on Arab oil, the imperialists find themselves faced with a total boycott and cutting off of oil supplies by the Arab States, as a mark of their anti-imperialist indignation.

Instead of isolating the Soviet Union from her Arab friends, the naked Israeli aggression has demonstrated the fact that the Arab national movement has no other more reliable friend, ally and champion than the USSR. Striking evidence of Arab consciousness on this point in the midst of a world-wide reaction-inspired anti-Soviet slander campaign was the tumultuous mass welcome accorded to President Podgorny and Marshal Zakharov in Cairo immediately after the cease-fire.

If any country today stands discredited and isolated it is Israel whose satellite and expansionist character and barbarous methods

of warfare have earned it universal opprobrium. The attempt to brand President Nasser as the real aggressor and Israel as his victim has miserably failed.

The seriousness of the UAR's military reverses will not be minimized and President Nasser has himself noted the gravity. Judged by the available reports, it appears that complacency, inexperience, poor military intelligence, inadequate arms training despite the excellent equipment supplied earlier by the USSR and, above all, sabotage by high-ranking upper-class generals and officers who have always been hostile to Nasser's progressive and democratic economic and social reforms were responsible for the military setback. All these factors will no doubt be investigated and corrected by the UAR leadership.

Meanwhile, the CEC considers it essential to expose and refute the anti-Soviet propaganda launched alike by the imperialists, their reactionary supporters in various countries including India and not surprisingly the Chinese Government and Communist Party, with a view to slander the USSR and spread defeatist and hostile ideas among the Arabs about the Soviet role.

The CEC is firmly of the opinion that in the face of the initial blitzkrieg blow struck by Israel which virtually destroyed the UAR air force on the ground within the opening hours of the war, and the consequent defeat of the UAR land forces thus deprived of air cover, the Soviet Union took several steps to intervene in the situation. In this connection it will be noted that no Arab country proposed the Soviet Union's direct military involvement in the war.

The Soviet Union took the correct step in moving the Security Council for immediate cease-fire in the prevailing situation and this step was taken in full consultation with the UAR.

When the arrogant Israelis continued their attacks on the Syrian front in disregard of the cease-fire resolution, the Soviet Union took another important initiative in calling a conference of the Heads of Government and the Party leaders of the European socialist countries in Moscow on June 9. In pursuance of the decisions of this Conference the Soviet Union sent a note to Israel warning that should it continue the fighting sanctions would be applied. This note brought the aggressors to their senses and forced them to accept cease-fire.

World public opinion can never forget that it was Soviet intervention which saved Egypt in 1956 from the combined Anglo-French-Israeli attack. Today also, it is the Soviet Union which leads the fight in the UN to uphold the national independence and sovereign rights of the Arab people, to denounce Israel as the aggressor, and to insist on evacuation from occupied territory of the Israeli forces and their withdrawal to the 1949 armistice lines.

In the hour of military defeat which the imperialists sought to

exploit, the Soviet Union sent President Podgorny to Cairo and Premier Kosygin to the UN as an earnest of the unfailing Soviet support to the Arab cause. A high-powered Soviet military mission was also sent to the UAR and not a moment was lost in supplying Soviet weapons to more than replenish the armaments lost by the UAR during the conflict. It is the Soviet Union which has rushed its own naval vessels equipped with missiles to Alexandria and Port Said as a grim warning to the Israelis and their imperialist patrons to desist from any further aggressive actions.

The CEC notes with satisfaction that the Government of India played an honorable role in the West Asian crisis, refused to be pressurized by the imperialists and consistently upheld the cause of the Arabs, and opposed Israel aggression inside and outside the UN. The CEC records its appreciation of this stand of the Government of India which should be carried forward unswervingly. It will do much to restore India's rightful image in the eyes of the Afro-Asian-Latin American community of anti-colonialist and freedom-loving peoples.

During the West Asian crisis the Swatantra Party and Jana Sangh along with the monopoly press carried on a terrific campaign to defame the Arab people's struggle for their security and independence and undermine the UAR's friendship with our country. They pressurized the Indian government to give up India's support to the just Arab cause and virtually range our country on the side of the aggressor Israel.

It is regrettable that the leaders of the SSP and PSP joined with the pro-imperialists and reactionaries in building up the unholy pressure. They ignored that Israel has always maintained an attitude of unmitigated hostility towards India the latest barbaric manifestation of which was the cold-blooded slaughter of the Indian personnel of the UNEF. However, those who stand for non-alignment and anti-imperialism came together and thwarted the evil game.

In this connection the CEC considers it necessary to emphasize the fact that the defense of the security and independence of the UAR and other Arab countries is unquestionably in the national interest as well as security of India, too. If imperialists and their Israeli satellites are allowed to pass in West Asia, it is bound to lead to the revival of schemes like the military pacts of reactionary Muslim states and of the strengthening of the CENTO. These military pacts have always been directed against India and have been consistently opposed by the UAR and other progressive Arab states.

We have witnessed how aggression against the UAR and crisis in Suez affect not only our food supplies but the national economy as a whole. The UAR has always stood by India and its friendship towards us has heightened our country's prestige and strengthened our independence. At the time of Pakistani attack on India in 1965,

it was President Nasser who stood by India by foiling the attempt to form an Islamic bloc to rush to the assistance of Pakistan.

At the present moment the struggle must be carried forward and intensified for vacating the Israeli aggression from all occupied territories of the UAR, Syria and Jordan, and for ensuring that the Middle East and especially the Arab world cease to be a center of imperialist intrigues and war conspiracies.

The Central Executive Committee of the CPI calls upon all democratic and progressive forces in India, and especially upon the trade unions and mass organizations of students, youth, peasants and others to rally unitedly in a powerful mass campaign to defend the national independence and rights of the UAR and all Arab peoples and to denounce and defeat the imperialist exploiters and aggressors and their Israeli puppets.

## PREPARATIONS FOR PARTY CONGRESS

The National Council at its Calcutta session held in April 1967 decided to hold the next Party Congress in Bihar in the first week of February 1968. In order that the preparations for the Party Congress are done properly and things are not rushed at the last minute, it is necessary to take preliminary steps for the preparation of the documents to be placed before the Party Congress.

It has been the practice of the Party to discuss the documents of the national council which are to be placed before the Party congress, in party conferences at all levels. Because of this, most of the time at these conferences is taken up in discussing the national council documents and very little time is left for the reports of the respective state/district/taluk committees and to decide upon the political, economic and organizational problems.

Whatever necessity was there at that time for such a procedure now we are in a position to pursue a different one as laid down in the Party Constitution adopted by the last Party Congress. It lays down that the draft resolutions of the Congress must be released "at least two months before the Congress" and that "all units of the Party" will discuss and send their amendments "directly to the CEC to be sorted out and placed before the Party Congress." According to this, the draft resolution of the National Council need not necessarily be discussed in the lower Party Conferences, but it is sufficient if the Party committees discuss and send their amendments directly to the CEC.

In the light of this procedure, it is necessary that the Party Conference at lower levels discuss the documents placed by the respective Party Committees. The documents can be roughly the following:

1. Report on the political and mass activities of the Party since the last Party Congress in the respective state/district/taluk, etc.

2. Present political and economic situation and tasks on different fronts. Since the kisan and agricultural labor movements have been paid the least attention by the Party committees despite the fact that our Party Congress stressed its urgency, it is necessary that these movements receive attention at the Party conferences and organizational guarantees are forged for building these movements.

3. Party organizational situation and tasks.

The Central Executive Committee will meet to discuss the documents prepared by sub-committees in the last week of October 1967 in Delhi.

The national council will meet in the last week of November in Delhi for finalizing the following documents for the Party Congress:

a) Report on the political, mass and other activities of the Party since the 7th Party Congress.

b) Amendments to the Party Program.

c) Report on the Party organizational activities and amendments to the Party Constitution.

d) Problems and unity of the international Communist movement.

e) Resolution on current political situation and tasks (to be drafted by the national council meeting to be held in November and presented to the Party Congress).

With regard to the first four documents, the following subcommittees be appointed to prepare drafts for the national council:

1. Report on Activities since the 7th Party Congress.
2. Amendments to Party Program.
3. Amendments to Party Constitution.
4. Problems and Unity of the International Communist movement.

—Election of branch secretaries and their training to start immediately and to be finished by the end of September.

—Party Conferences below district level to be finished before the next national council meeting.

The taluk or block Party conferences in general can be conducted as general bodies in which all Party members participate. In taluks where there is large membership, conferences will be conducted as delegate sessions.

The state councils or state executives to decide about the basis of election of delegates to the district and state conferences and other matters concerned with the conferences in the state.

—The district and state conferences can be held after the national council meeting to be held in November next.

# Y. TSEDENBAL'S REPORT*

## TO THE PLENARY MEETING OF THE CC, MONGOLIAN PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY PARTY, IN JUNE 1967

The Political Bureau submits to you proposals on amending the Model Rules of Agricultural Cooperatives and establishing a Union of Agricultural Cooperatives of the Mongolian People's Republic.

As you know, the establishment of cooperatives in our country was completed in 1958. The switch-over of individual cattle-breeders to socialist cooperative farming signified the triumph of a single socialist system of the national economy, it signified the victory of socialist relations of production in the economy and ensured the predominance of socialist ownership of the means of production in all our society. The past seven years have seen rapid progress of our country and great changes in the development of cooperatives.

The basic production assets, incomes and output of agricultural cooperatives have been growing steadily. In the past seven years the cash incomes of the cooperatives have increased 3.6-fold. The economic successes have been accompanied by a steady rise of the material and cultural standards of the cooperative members. Between 1959 and 1966 their average earnings grew 4.2-fold, not counting the income from their personal holdings.

The progress made by the cooperatives and the important changes in their life necessitate amending the Model Rules of Agricultural Cooperatives which were adopted by the 2nd Congress of Agricultural Cooperatives at the end of 1959. On the other hand, the concrete tasks of development of our agriculture and ways of strengthening the cooperatives are defined in the Program adopted by the 15th Party Congress.

After the changes and amendments worked out by the drafting comission had been approved by the Political Bureau, the draft was put up for a nationwide discussion. The proposed amendments concern practically all aspects of the functioning of the cooperatives, as a result of which the Model Rules are considerably renovated and enlarged. During the discussion many useful proposals were made which helped improve the wording of certain clauses. Many proposals concern practical aspects of the work of cooperatives and should be taken into consideration by the heads of cooperatives as well as by Party, government and agricultural organs.

*Abridged from **Novosti Mongolii**.

The introductory part of the Rules defines the essence of the agricultural cooperatives and the character of relations of production in them. It is stressed there that the cooperatives are an integral part of the single socialist system of economy in our country.

The old Rules treated of the public property of the cooperatives in several chapters. The draft incorporates these questions in a special chapter, "The Common Property of the Agricultural Cooperatives," which points out in detail what makes up common property and provides for its division into basic and working assets, as is customary at state-owned socialist enterprises.

The questtion of the personal property of cooperative members is dealt with in the chapter devoted to the questions of membership and the rights and duties of cooperative farmers.

The Political Bureau considers that the number of individually-owned livestock should be retained at the level fixed in the existing Rules. During the discussion of the draft opinions were exchanged on the question of herds exceeding the established limit. Having studied the relevant proposals, the Political Bureau came to the conclusion that the new Rules should contain a provision to the effect that surplus livestock can be sold to the cooperative at a price fixed by the cooperative's council but not exceeding the state purchasing price, or sold to state purchasing agencies. In this matter the interests of society and the cooperative members converge. It is in the interests of both the state and the farmers that the country's livestock population grow and the farmers' personal auxiliary households provide an additional income without, however, interfering with their work in the cooperative. The proposed solution of the problem ensures a correct combination of the personal interests of the cooperative members and the interests of the cooperatives.

The new Rules deal comprehensively with the production, social and cultural aspects of the activities of the cooperatives, specifying such tasks as the most effective utilization of the land deeded to the cooperatives, improvement of farming practices and quality of output, intensified construction of production, cultural and service facilities, development of subsidiary branches, introduction and enforcement of cost accounting, and so on.

The draft lays down that the work team is the primary production unit and the chief form of organization of labor in livestock raising. It is responsible to the cooperative for the fulfilment of production assignments and for the upkeep of the livestock, implements and other property allotted to it.

Provisions are made for the establishment of production groups to carry out jobs beyond the capacity of individual teams.

The functions of the larger teams called brigades, the chief

form of management of the various branches of the cooperative's economy, are set out in greater detail than in the old Rules.

The obligatory minimum contribution to collective effort is determined in terms of calendar days and not work-day units, for the majority of the cooperatives have switched over from the work-day unit as the measure of labor and payment to direct calculation in terms of value.

The new Rules envisage forms of material and moral stimulation as well as disciplinary measures, and establish material responsibility of cooperative members and officials for damage done to the commonly-owned property.

The Political Bureau disagrees with those who would like fines to be established for negligent members of cooperatives. That could lead to abuse of power and infringement of farmers' rights.

A novel feature of great importance is that the draft contains measures to ensure labor protection. These measures will help improve farming practices and raise labor productivity.

The system of remuneration is further perfected. The cooperative members are paid in accordance with the amount and quality of their work, on the basis of the established performance standards and rates. The cooperative members are entitled to a guaranteed monthly payment of 70 to 80 per cent of the basic earnings envisaged in the production and financial plan, and bonuses for better performance, for the fulfilment and overfulfilment of plan assignments.

For the first time, pensions are established for cooperative members. The draft specifies the size of old-age pensions and pensions to be paid in case of disability or loss of breadwinner. The political importance of this measure, aimed at raising the well-being of cooperative members, is clear to all.

Considerable improvements are stipulated for the forms and methods of management, the aim being further to extend democracy in the cooperatives. As you know, the existing Rules lay down that the general membership meeting or the meeting of delegates is the supreme managerial organ of an agricultural cooperative. Experience has shown, however, that in the conditions of our country, with its vast territory and the predominance of pasture cattle-breeding, it is practically impossible to secure a quorum at a general membership meeting. From now on, the functions of supreme managerial organ will be performed by the cooperative council whose members will be elected by a show of hands at team meetings.

To extend inter-cooperative democracy, the new Rules provide for secret balloting in the election of the presidium of the council, the auditing commission, the chairmen of the cooperative and the

auditing commission, and for the recall of members of the council and other elected officers who fail to justify the confidence of the cooperative members.

The Political Bureau considers it necessary and timely to establish a Union of Agricultural Cooperatives which would coordinate the development of collective farming, deal with problems common to all cooperatives and provide organizational guidance to the cooperatives according to the principles of democratic centralism.

The new Model Rules raise questions of great political and importance pertaining to the further development of cooperative agriculture. The adption of these Rules will signify merely the beginning of the vast work that has to be done to make all cooperatives highly efficient enterprises.

It is necessary above all to improve in every way the guidance of the cooperatives by the state. As you know, in keeping with the decision of the 8th Plenary Meeting of the CC in 1965 every cooperative receives a fixed plan assignment for the output of marketable produce over the next five years. The establishment of sale assignments which do not vary for a number of years is highly instrumental in promoting local initiative and stimulating mobilization of internal resources to increase output.

Within the next few months the five-year development plans of the cooperatives should be examined and approved. In drawing up their plans the cooperatives should see to it that the leading branches of their economies receive utmost attention and specializaion of production is ensured.

Further improvements should be made in planning procedures. Specifically, the number of plan indicators handed down to the cooperatives should be considerably reduced.

The indicators should include growth of herd, the volume of output of animal and field husbandry products, including fodder, the amount of products to be sold to the state, the size of the remuneration fund, the limits of capital investments (with the sources of funds and the time limits for completion indicated), the profitability rate, and the volume of state deliveries of major farm machinery, building materials and some goods in short supply.

We must see to it that in working out their plans all cooperatives draw up balance sheets of labor, material and money expenditures.

It is necessary to elaborate and introduce a scientifically-substantiated system of criteria for judging the effectiveness of agricultural cooperatives' performance. This system should include, along with indicators pertaining to the fulfilment of state assignments for the production and sale of farm products, those showing the utilization of material, labor and financial resources, labor productivity on

the farm as a whole and in its branches, and the financial results of economic activity.

An efficient system of material and technical supply should also be created. The Political Bureau and the Council of Ministers consider it expedient to set up regional supply bases, to be run by the Ministry of Agriculture.

In connection with the establishment of the Central Board and regional councils of the Union of Agricultural Cooperatives changes should be made in the structure of agricultural management. Above all it is necessary clearly to define the functions of the Ministry of Agriculture:

—elaboration of cardinal problems of development of agriculture, animal husbandry in the first place;

—planning by branches;

—elaboration of scientific methods of management, farming and geographical location and specialization of agricultural production;

—introduction of achievements of science;

—mechanization and electrification of agriculture, state control over the exploitation of farm machinery;

—generalization and popularization of progressive experience;

—direct guidance of pedigree breeding and seed farming;

—management of the veterinary and agrochemical services, forestries and game preserves;

—organization of material and technical supply;

—management of the training and advanced training of agricultural specialists, organization of their technical and economic studies.

It should be stressed that success in the fulfilment of the tasks which the Party Program sets for the development of agriculture depends on the quality of guidance provided by the Party and the government.

We have to admit that this guidance is not free from serious shortcomings. Administration by decree has not been fully done away with. Some government and economic executives have not yet fully realized the tremendous importance of all-round development and consolidation of agricultural cooperatives. Our task is resolutely to overcome the existing shortcomings and change managerial practices in keeping with the new conditions, which demand that the Party and government organs adopt economic methods of management.

The regional Party committees and agricultural organs do not make a deep analysis of the economics of agricultural cooperatives and state farms. One of the reasons for this is the insufficient economic grounding of executives and Party functionaries.

This state of things cannot be tolerated any longer. This year the Central Committee made it obligatory for the heads of agri-

cultural enterprises, local Party and government officials and agricultural specialists to learn to draw up production and financial plans, statements of account and balance sheets of agricultural cooperatives, to analyze their economic activities, to deepen their knowledge of zoo- and agro-technics, to acquire a minimum of economic knowledge. This necessitates a unified system of technical and economic studies.

The Party and state bodies should concern themselves more directly with introducing cost accounting in all branches of the cooperative economy, ensuring the effectiveness of every branch and cutting production costs. They should study balance sheets, look into the organization of labor in the cooperatives and find and introduce more efficient forms and methods of organization of labor and management and of economic stimulation. This can be achieved, firstly, by better selection and distribution of cadres. Greater attention should be paid to the training and promotion of able organizers who are politically mature and possess deep knowledge of theory and rich practical experience, as well as to ensuring a correct combination of old and young cadres. We must constantly enhance the sense of responsibility of our cadres, judge them by their deeds, be more exacting towards them and help them in their work. Secondly, it is necessary to organize the economic training of Party cadres, specialists and economic executives at all levels and in all branches of the economy. This means launching courses which would provide a minimum of economic knowledge. In general, we should drastically improve the system of training and retraining in all branches of the economy and culture and in Party, government and public organizations.

It stands to reason that political training of cadres is a prime concern of Party organizations, which must pay special attention to raising the executives' ideological level and business competence. But it is still incorrectly believed that the Party organizations alone should concern themselves with enhancing the knowledge of our cadres. This should be the duty of all Party, government, economic, cultural and public organizations and their heads. Organization of systematic studies by cadres must become a primary function of our ministries and government departments.

Thirdly, it is necessary to organize large-scale dissemination of economic knowledge, to follow the example of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries by setting up economic-analysis councils and groups in the region, agricultural cooperatives, state farms and other economic organizations. The participation of scientific institutions in this work must be secured.

Special attention should be paid to improving the work of primary Party organizations. We now have Party committees or cells in all agricultural cooperatives. Party cells have been organized in one-

fourth of the livestock-breeding teams and Party groups in all others. It is an important task of the Party organizations to improve work with managerial personnel and specialists in the cooperatives so as to raise systematically their organizational and professional skills.

The regional Party committees should combat cadre fluctuation, seeing to it that chairmen of cooperatives, team leaders, Party secretaries and specialists do not change jobs too often.

Livestock breeding is the basic branch of our agriculture. Our task is to concern ourselves constantly with promoting the development of cooperatives, increasing the herd and raising livestock productivity. As you know, adverse weather and serious shortcomings in the work of Party and government bodies resulted in considerable losses in animal husbandry last year. We must ensure proper tending of this year's young, effective fattening of cattle in the summer and autumn, good organization of pairing and thorough preparation for the winter period, ruling out a repetition of mistakes and shortcomings of past years.

* * *

Along with mobilizing the efforts of our working people for the fulfilment of the Fourth Five-Year Plan, we must enhance vigilance towards the intrigues of international imperialism, which is seeking to stem historic development, suppress the national-liberation movement of the peoples, hamper the building of a new life by the peoples of the socialist countries, aggravate international tension and plunge mankind into a new world war, as is testified to by the continued criminal war of the U.S. imperialists in Vietnam, where they encounter the heroic resistance of the Vietnamese people.

The aggression against the UAR and other Arab countries undertaken by Israel's rulers is fresh proof of the imperialists' attempts to kindle the flames of war. Israeli aggression, which is obviously encouraged by certain imperialist circles, is a direct threat to world peace.

The Central Committee of our Party fully supports the June 9 statement of the Central Committees of the Communist and Workers' parties of European socialist countries in connection with the situation in the Middle East resulting from Israel's aggression against Arab countries. This exceptionally important document expresses again the sincere concern of the parties and governments of these socialist countries for universal peace and the security of the peoples, and their determination to render the Arab peoples the necessary assistance in their just struggle to uphold their freedom, independence and progressive gains and to restore peace and tranquility in the Middle East.

# INTERVIEW*

## WITH N. CHAOUI, GENERAL SECRETARY, LEBANESE COMMUNIST PARTY

I believe the Arab peoples now have a clear enough idea of the fundamental causes and far-reaching objectives of the imperialist war of aggression unleashed by Israel. The U.S. imperialists, like the other imperialist forces allied with them or backing them, have in recent years taken an increasingly aggressive and vicious stand against the liberation movement of the peoples. This became only too manifest in America's dirty war in Vietnam.

We know that the Arab liberation movement during the last decade has achieved victories and successes of historic significance in fighting against colonial rule, for political liberation, building the national emonomy, carrying out radical progressive, economic and social reforms, abolishing the foundations of colonial domination and plunder, resisting imperialist policies and plans, defending peace and upholding the right of the peoples to build a new life.

Therefore it has always been obvious to us progressive and patriotic-minded Arabs, especially during the aggression and after the cessation of hostilities, that the main cause and catalyst of the Israeli aggression was the American and British imperialists' boundless hatred for the national liberation movement of the Arab peoples, the imperialists' obstinate refusal to acknowledge the victories and achievements of the movement, and their desperate attempts to deliver a treacherous and telling blow to it. They thought they could in that way check the Arab peoples' political and economic emancipation and social progress, regain their one-time dominant positions and keep their last positions, the remnants of their influence and the opportunity to rob the Arabs of their riches, particularly oil.

No Arab patriot and no progressive Arab doubts that the American and British imperialists, by encouraging, supporting and patronizing the Israeli aggression, were out first of all to strike a devastating blow at the Arab countries that are seeking social progress, namely, at Israel's neighbors—the UAR and Syria—and at Algeria, in order to overthrow the progressive regimes in these countries. It is becoming perfectly clear that the imperialists and Zionists regard the destruction of progressive Arab regimes as a necessary condition for mounting a broad offensive against the independence, sovereignty and interests of the other Arab countries, including the Lebanon.

*Abridged from **Al Akhbar**, July 9, 1967.

Events during the Israeli imperialist aggression showed beyond question that the Arab peoples fighting against colonialism and imperialism, for freedom and progress, have many friends and strong and sincere allies. It is safe to say that hundreds of millions of people all over the world sided with the Arabs and that the friends of peace, freedom, progress and socialism supported the Arab's fight against aggression. It must be noted that dozens of countries condemned the aggression of Israel and its imperialist patrons and identified themselves with our peoples and countries, particularly with those that had become victims of the aggression. Also, I want to stress the resolute and energetic stance of the Soviet Union, which is marching in the van of the socialist states and other peace-loving countries. The Soviet Union backed the Arab countries and helped them. It condemned, exposed and warned the aggressors, and took resolute steps that forced the aggressors to cease fire. The Soviet Union, which has invariably supported the Arabs' liberation movement, their legitimate rights and their struggle against colonial rule, and has long since established relations of sincere friendship and cooperation with many Arab countries, called, immediately after the Israeli aggression, for effective measures to paralyze the aggressor and defend the vital interests and legitimate rights of the Arab peoples. The Soviet position may briefly be described as follows: the Soviet Union did everything that was necessary and possible before and during the aggression to help the Arabs fight against the aggression and repulse it. It brought its entire political weight and international prestige to bear in favor of Arab interests.

All indications are that Soviet-Arab friendship was the most powerful factor which prevented the imperialists and Zionists from achieving their ends, and that this friendship became stronger in the crucible of fighting and of joint struggle against the aggression. We hail the statements repeatedly made in the UN by leaders of the UAR, Syria, who stressed the tremendous effectiveness of the assistance which the Soviet Union has been rendering to the Arab countries, and who devoted special attention to the need to preserve and promote Arab-Soviet friendship, to defend it against the imperialists' feverish intrigues aimed at isolating and dissociating the Arabs from the Soviet Union, their truest friend, their most powerful ally and their mainstay in resisting and repulsing the aggression, doing away with its consequences, and advancing along the path of liberation and progress.

We trust that today all patriotic and progressive forces in the Lebanon and other Arab countries, and the millions of Arabs generally, are more aware than ever before of the vast importance of promoting the cooperation and solidarity of the Arab peoples with the socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union, of coordinating

their actions and measures in the common struggle to maintain the political, economic and social gains of the Arab peoples, to defend their interests and their legitimate rights.

In this connection every patriot and every progressive Arab is bound to condemn and reject most emphatically the truly disgusting efforts which the Mao Tse-tung clique and its myrmidons are making to misrepresent and slander the Soviet position towards the Arabs, to defame Arab-Soviet friendship and split the united front of the Arab peoples and the socialist countries. Needless to say the Mao clique is thereby doing a great service to the enemies of the Arabs—the imperialists and Zionists—and tremendous disservice to the vital interests of the Arab peoples.

We know full well that the greatest and most important task facing the Arabs today is to strive for the elimination of the effects of the aggression. This is why the issue of rallying the Arab peoples, of coordinating the positions and activities of the Arab countries, and of stimulating joint actions by them in defense of Arab interests and legitimate rights, in support of their fundamental common demand—that the invaders and aggressors should go back to where they have come from—is of exceptional importance today. And this is why one of the primary conditions for victory over the aggressors is the greatest vigilance toward every imperialist intrigue designed to loosen Arab unity. The first and basic lesson to be learned from the treacherous aggression, from its antecedents and its results, is that the unity of the progressive national forces, both throughout the Arab world and in each particular Arab country, is a solid basis required for victory in any big battle with the imperialists and Zionists waged by our peoples in defence of their native soil, their sovereignty, their progressive gains, legitimate interests and sacred rights.

I think recent events have imparted greater experience and maturity to the progressive national forces of the Arabs, both generally and particularly. The first task they are confronted with at present is, as I see it, concrete steps to promote their cohesion and cooperation in order to further their joint struggle, coordination of their activity to eliminate all that is accessory or secondary or transient, and the eschewing of rash and ill-advised estimations of what has taken place. We, for our part, believe that our sacred duty in the Lebanon is to continue the big job we have been doing for years with our brothers from the national progressive front in other countries within the framework of patriotic and progressive parties and organizations and at the level of individuals, a job which consists in reinforcing this front, extending its activity and helping it to attain its progressive national objectives in the political, economic and social spheres. The greatest contribution the progressive forces can make to the present battle against aggression is to work

for the unification of all patriotic forces in the Lebanon in a single broad front. Activity in this sense is the most effective weapon that will help the Lebanese people in conjunction with their Arab brothers to fulfil a common duty—remove the effects of the imperialist and Zionist aggression and ensure the Arab peoples advance along the road of freedom and progress.

# FOR A DECISIVE VICTORY OVER THE FORCES OF IMPERIALISM, ZIONISM AND REACTION

## STATEMENT* BY THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE IRAQI COMMUNIST PARTY

The treacherous Israeli aggression against the Arab countries was the culmination of a long series of imperialist plots, provocations and pressures against the Arab liberation movement and the liberated Arab states, especially Syria and the UAR. Since last year in particular, the imperialists, reactionaries and Israel have been stepping up their subversion against the free progressive regime in Syria in an evil attempt to liquidate it, encircle the United Arab Republic and deal a blow at all the Arab progressive and revolutionary forces. These feverish activities have been intensified since the national battle of Syria against the oil monopolies and the upsurge of the people's struggle in Iraq to curb the oil monopoly, and pave the way for regaining our wealth, an object of imperialist plunder.

Israel has always acted as a catspaw for the imperialist powers; it has always been an instrument of provocation, a base of conspiracy and aggression in their hands against the Arab peoples, an instrument against the Arab's liberation struggle and revolutionary gains. The Israeli aggression is an imperialist aggression in its origin, essence and aims. It is part of the imperialist aggression against the national-liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The Arab peoples and progressive Arab governments have realize the essence of the battle and directed the fire of the struggle against U.S. and British imperialism and against Israel at the same time. Never before has U.S. imperialism been condemned so strongly in the whole Arab world as it is today. The role of U.S. imperialism as the hangman of the peoples and an international gendarme who claims the right to encroach on the sovereignty of other countries and shamelessly to violate international law, has become evident to every politically conscious Arab. It has also become clear how harmful it is to entertain any illusions about this hangman thirsty for oil and blood.

While the United States, Britain and all the imperialist circles took the side of Israel and supported its criminal aggression, the

*Abridged.

Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist camp stood consistently on the side of our Arab peoples in these hours of trial.

In the struggle to eliminate the consequences of aggression, safeguard the Arab countries' independence, reorganize their forces and mobilize their energies and resources, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries will be the mainstay of the Arab peoples and their free governments. Arab patriots and progressives will not be misled by the propaganda of the imperialists, Arab reaction and Right-wing groups, who try to distort the attitude of the Soviet Union and blame it for the mistakes made by the Arab forces which did not follow a correct policy capable of preparing the Arab countries and mobilizing their forces to face such a battle.

As soon as the aggression had begun, our Party called on the people to do everything in their power to support Syria, Egypt and Jordan and to liquidate the imperialist interests in the country, in particular the Anglo-American interests in the oil companies, and advanced the slogan "Everything for the front." Our courageous people furnished proof of their patriotic and national consciousness, of awareness of their responsibility, and expressed their noble will in spite of the orders of their rulers. But the military regime in power did not mobilize the energies of the people and the Army, nor the country's resources for the battle.

If Iraq had had a democratic regime serving the people, it would have been able to play a vanguard role in the battle of the peoples of the Arab Orient against imperialism and Zionism and their accomplice, reaction.

In the present situation, the Arab peoples must wage a decisive revolutionary struggle against the oil companies and other imperialist interests, must strive to do away with the consequences of the Israeli aggression against Egypt, Syria and Jordan, and do all that is necessary to defeat any new aggression, stop Israel, a creation of imperialism, and the imperialist powers, and punish Israel severely.

The painful trial being experienced by the Arab peoples is a passing phenomenon. The struggle of the peoples is accompanied by difficulties, suffering and setbacks, but in the end they will win whatever the difficulties and sacrifices.

In this critical situation all the Arab progressive forces, particularly those in power, must draw proper lessons, must close the gaps and remove the weaknesses that were exploited by the forces of imperialism and Israel. Life has shown time and again how harmful it is to cherish any illusions about imperialism and reaction and how very necessary to oppose them resolutely and consistently. The forces of aggression and their accomplices took advantage of certain attitudes and policies which led to division among the progressive forces, especially anti-Communism and the restriction of democratic freedoms. The present ordeal should serve as a new stimulus for

rallying all the progressive and democratic forces of the Arab Orient, excluding the reactionary forces and regimes, and resisting them unfailingly as accomplices of imperialism and Israel.

Our people must strive for the establishment of a coalition government comprising all the national forces in order to cope with the tasks of national defence at this sharp turning point for the Arab nation and our people, and honorably to meet all the requirements of Iraq's participation in this battle.

A government really capable of tackling these tasks, and of enabling the nation to play its democratic role, should:

—arm the people immediately and form armed people's battalions;

—reinstate forthwith all the expelled and retired patriotic military men, so that they may participate in the battle and take serious steps to prepare the Army—from the point of view of armaments, organization and cadres—for successful participation in the liberation battle against imperialism and Israel;

—withdraw all troop units from Kurdistan and use them for national defense; set out at the same time to consolidate Arab-Kurdish combative brotherhood by satisfying the legitimate national rights of the Kurdish people, including the right to autonomy within the framework of the Iraqi Republic;

—restore the freedoms of the people and their progressive forces to guarantee the mobilization of the people's forces for the struggle;

—expropriate and nationalize the U.S. and British oil shares, and liquidate all other economic and cultural imperialist interests and supports in the country;

—put a decisive end to speculation with the people's means of subsistence, solve the crisis stemming from the high cost of living and the people's everyday problems, and prevent speculators and monopolists from exploiting the critical situation in their own selfish interests;

—strengthen the links of cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

Such should be a government really capable of rallying and mobilizing our people and country to resist the imperialists, and support the peoples of Syria, UAR and Jordan in the struggle, to eliminate the consequences of the treacherous aggression, and pursuing a consistent and free Arab policy, a policy against imperialism in all its forms. In present conditions, such a government should be a coalition of all the national forces opposed to imperialism, Zionism and reaction.

Our Iraqi Communist Party earnestly calls upon all the sound political forces in the country to cooperate and struggle jointly in this crucial moment, which demands that everyone should do his patriotic and national duty.

The swift victories of the aggressors will not last. The forces of imperialism, reaction and Israel are too weak to hold their ground against the Arab peoples, provided the peoples mobilize fully and provided all their progressive and revolutionary forces become united.

*June 10, 1967.*

# COMMUNIQUE*

## OF MEETING OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES OF COLOMBIA AND VENEZUELA, JUNE 1967

1. The delegation of the two parties express satisfaction at the positive results of the meeting. They consider that bilateral exchanges of this kind are an effective means of establishing closer links between Communist parties and of intensifying joint action against the common enemies—U.S. imperialism and the national oligarchies.

2. The meeting proceeded in the spirit of the Havana Conference of Latin American Communist Parties (1964) and confirmed the resolve of the two parties to go on working for the execution of the Conference resolution.

3. Having examined the political scene in Latin America, the meeting noted the intensification of popular struggles against American monopoly capital, for democratic liberties and a radical solution of the structural crisis affecting our nations as a result of plunder by foreign capital. In step with these struggles, which are not developing along the same lines, an imperialist offensive is getting under way on a vast scale, using new methods of infiltration to keep the continent in subjection. Economically this offensive involves repeated attempts to refurbish the abortive Alliance for Progress, various maneuvers to put trends toward Latin American economic integration in the service of the big monopolies, and the use of new methods of infiltration in every field.

The rapid deterioration of trade terms, the growing indebtedness of our countries and the successive devaluations imposed by the International Monetary Fund and logically leading to inflation and poverty are palpable manifestations of the present neo-colonialist policies of the United States.

On the other hand, the American rulers are adopting a more aggressive and interventionist stance. Ever since the victory of the glorious Cuban Revolution, whose example has visibly stimulated the fight for national liberation in the hemisphere, it has been typical of this policy to exert pressure on so-called "representative democratic" governments so as to make them totally subservient or to supplant them by military or terroristic dictatorships whenever this was thought suitable. While the Washington effort to set up the "Pan-American Permanent Force" for collective intervention against

*Abridged.

the liberation movements of our people has not been entirely successful, it is a constant threat to these countries. Meddling by the U.S. military missions, implementation of plans of aggression against the peoples, and CIA interference in domestic policies are taking ever more brazen forms.

In this situation, which seriously handicaps the advance of the national liberation movement, the revolutionary and democratic movements of our countries need greater unity than ever before. The attainment of this goal was, therefore, the main concern of the meeting, since it is primarily the parties of the working class that should take the initiative of assuring this coordination.

4. It is undoubtedly the Communist and Workers' parties that must play the role of a vanguard by virtue of their class composition, their ideology and their vast experience—a role which they must win as the fight against the enemies of the people makes headway. Historical development points to the need for proletarian parties, and to the role they must play in this struggle. The two Communist parties declare their intention to apply themselves with still greater energy to fully playing their leading role in the democratic and revolutionary actions of their peoples.

In the course of continuous ideological struggle the two parties must uphold these principles against erroneous concepts that tend to gain ground owing to the peculiar developments of the situation.

5. The two parties are convinced that it is for the national movements to work out their own political line according to national reality, by making adequate use of and properly combining diverse forms of struggle, and by giving preference to the form whose application on Marxist-Leninist principles that reality and the experience gained in revolutionary action call for. It is therefore impossible to shape common policies, tactics and forms of struggle for all countries. The Communists of Colombia and Venezuela hold that in keeping with their revolutionary duties they must lead the struggles of their peoples to defeat their common enemies — imperialism and the oligarchies—in the particular conditions of the countries concerned, with due regard to the distinctions that must be taken into account.

6. Mutual respect for and non-interference in the internal affairs of the other parties are principles which in the opinion of the participants in the meeting must be strictly adhered to. Every move and every attitude violating these standards loosens the necessary unity and cohesion of the parties and hampers consolidation of the front against the U.S. imperialists and their national agents. The autonomy and independence of our parties in shaping their policies do not deny but rather confirm the principles of proletarian internationalism, to which the Communists of Colombia and Venezuela are loyal.

Guided by these principles, the meeting condemns every disruptive maneuver aimed under any pretext at undermining the unity of the Communist parties and at promoting factionalism and division in the revolutionary movement.

7. The participants in the meeting regard it as their prime duty to contribute to joint action and solidarity by the Communists and other segments of the people in Latin America. Close cooperation between our two parties, which are linked by political, geographical and historical bonds, is particularly important for success in the common fight for national liberation. The meeting therefore decided on concrete steps to stimulate this cooperation.

The ruling camarillas of Colombia and Venezuela inspired by the U.S. imperialists, are cooperating more and more in the economic and political spheres against the interests of the masses, against the people's democratic rights and revolutionary aims. The alliance of the reactionary forces of the two countries is becoming ever more threatening. This makes it necessary to intensify and extend our joint actions. The Communists of the two countries consider it their absolute duty to fight in common against police repression, for the freedom of arrested political and trade union leaders, in defense of democratic liberties, for the advancement of national culture and a higher standard of living for the working people.

8. The two parties consider it necessary steadily and resolutely to extend their action for world Communist unity. They commit themselves to join efforts to this end and to participate with determination in steps likely to overcome the current differences in the world Communist movement, which are so harmful to the cause of the revolution. They affirm their support of the general orientation contained in the statements of the world meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties. Accordingly, they declare in favor of holding shortly a new conference of the Communist parties of Latin America that would contribute to the fight against U.S. imperialism.

9. The celebration of the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution is a propitious occasion for still more vigorous effort to strengthen the unity of the world proletariat, bring about closer relations between our countries and the Soviet Union, the bulwark of the socialist world system, and the other socialist countries, and to popularize the advantages and achievements of these countries.

10. The two delegations are agreed on the need to foster solidarity with the Cuban Revolution. To defend Cuba against imperialist aggression and to foil maneuvers which the puppet government of Raul Leoni employs through the OAS and in collusion with the U.S. State Department against the first socialist country in Ame-

rica is an honorable obligation of our parties and an imperative duty of our peoples.

11. The meeting regards it as a constant concern of the two parties to organize actions of solidarity with the Vietnamese people battling courageously against the U.S. aggression. To mobilize the masses against that criminal war of the imperialists is an urgent demand which we must do our utmost to meet.

In adopting this point of view the two parties send a message of encouragement and admiration to the Working People's Party of Vietnam and to the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, which is effectively resisting the fierce American offensive. The cause of the Vietnamese people is also the cause of the peoples of Colombia and Venezuela.

12. The two parties believe that now that imperialist aggression is the greatest danger to world peace and the tranquility of the peoples, the struggle for peace is inseparable from the most determined fight against imperialism, a fight which today is the fundamental task of the peoples of the world.

13. The delegates of the two parties express their ardent solidarity with the nations that today suffer most from repression encouraged by the imperialists: with the democrats of Greece who are under fascist attack, with the Indonesian people subjugated by a brutal dictatorship, with the peoples of Africa who continue to fight against colonial oppression, and with the nations of the Middle East who are victims of militarist maneuvers by the imperialists.

As for Latin America, the two parties voice their solidarity with the patriots who in various parts of the continent, including Colombia and Venezuela, are fighting against U.S. imperialism and reaction in the most diverse forms.

Lastly, the Communists of Colombia and Venezuela signify their firm resolve to go on joining their efforts and will to defeat the common enemy, imperialism. Following the example of the Liberators and armed with the unshakable principles of Marxism-Leninism, our parties will firmly lead their peoples to national liberation that is bound to culminate in a socialist future capable of guaranteeing peace and security to all.

*Central Committee, Communist Party of Venezuela.*
*Central Committee, Communist Party of Colombia.*

*June, 1967.*

# CONTRARY TO THE INTERESTS OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE*

I. Alexandrov

The "great proletarian cultural revolution" in China has been going on for more than a year now, accompanied by the "beating of gongs and drums" in Peking over its "great victories." Developments have shown, however, that this " cultural revolution," which the Chinese press says was organized and is personally directed by Mao Tse-tung has nothing in common either with culture or with socialist revolution. It has not brought about the victories the Peking leaders expected but has merely subjected the Chinese people to great ordeals, endangering their socialist gains and dooming China to increasing international isolation.

It will be remembered that the current events in China were preceded by a sharp turn in the policy of the CPC leadership: At the end of the 1950s it advanced a special foreign and domestic policy line amounting to a departure from Marxism-Leninism and grossly contradicting the principles of proletarian internationalism and the main objective laws governing the building of a socialist society.

In 1958, on instructions from Mao Tse-tung, the notorious "Big Leap" was announced in China, signifying an attempt to skip necessary stages in economic development, to set up a barracks regime in the sphere of social relations with a view to ensuring a direct transition to what the Peking leaders called "communism" but what in reality could only be a malicious caricature of a genuine communist system.

The "Big Leap" policy was inaugurated after eight years during which the Chinese people had scored major successes in socialist construction. With the assistance of the international working class and the countries of the socialist community, the People's Republic of China fulfilled its first five-year and provided the objective basis for rapid economic development and progress in raising the material and cultural standards of the working people. Had it not been for the voluntarist decisions of Mao and his retinue, the PRC could have successfully continued along the socialist road after 1957 as well.

*Pravda, August 16, 1967.

But Mao and his followers, blatantly ignoring the objective economic laws of socialism and the experience of other socialist countries, tried to replace planned industrialization with the establishment of numerous primitive enterprises, reckless scheming in the sphere of big industry, and the setting up of rural and urban "communes" where people would have to live as in barracks.

Showing concern for the destinies of socialism in China, the CPSU and other fraternal parties frankly told the Chinese leaders that departing from the Leninist principles of socialist economy was bound to yield fatal results. It is noteworthy that in those years not a single socialist country followed Mao Tse-tung's recommendations concerning the development of socialism "by leaps." But Mao, who likened the Chinese people to a "blank sheet of paper," proceeded to draw "beautiful characters" on that sheet, as he put it.

The introduction of the military barracks system of organizing labor and the very lives of the workers and peasants on primitive egalitarian principles—a system alien to socialism—had disastrous consequences. The "Big Leap" disrupted the Chinese economy: industrial production dropped by half, and agriculture fell into decay. Famine set in. Millions of people perished. Peking's widely advertised "speedy transition to communism" did not come about. Then, entirely at variance with the previously announced goals of the "Big Leap," Mao declared that the building of socialism in China was a remote prospect which would "require, not dozens, but a hundred or even hundreds of years."

The failure of the "Big Leap" caused serious internal political complications to which Mao and his entourage reacted by a series of purges in the Party, the People's Liberation Army and among the intelligentsia.

Characteristically, the anti-Leninist policy of the Peking leaders manifested itself in the international arena simultaneously with the "Big Leap." In 1960 the Peking leaders came out openly against the general line of the world Communist movement, counterposing to it their own platform which signified a departure from the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Beating the air with ultra-Leftist phrases about hastening the world revolution, they peddled a revisionist concept by negating the role of the socialist world system as the chief base and the mainstay of the world revolutionary process, negating the revolutionary role of the working class of the capitalist countries, minimizing the role of the Communist and Workers' parties as the militant vanguard of the working class, and distorting the role and importance of the national-liberation movement, which they counterpose to the other revolutionary movements of our time.

It became increasingly clear that this revisionist concept and the practical deeds af the CPC leaders stemmed from far-reaching claims to hegemony in the socialist community and the world Communist movement. These claims were covertly but closely linked with the chauvinistic aim of achieving a special, exclusive position for China in the international arena.

Profoundly hostile to Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's concept, hard though he tried to camouflage it with "Left revolutionary" phraseology, revealed step by step its anti-popular, anti-revolutionary nature, its theoretical poverty and cynical falsity. Having come up against legitimate criticism from the Marxist-Leninist parties, the CPC leaders went over from polemic to large-scale subversive activities against the world revolutionary movement, implanting and financing in various countries anti-party groups consisting of its supporters, all sorts of renegades. To cover up these activities, the Peking leaders slanderously accused the bulk of the fraternal parties of revisionism.

They aimed their main blow at the socialist countries, above all at the CPSU and the Soviet people, in an attempt to undermine the universally recognized role of our Party and people in the struggle for the unity of the world socialist commonwealth, to subvert the Leninist general line of the international Communist movement, to discredit the USSR as a bulwark of the great cause of peace and socialism, to besmirch the experience of socialist and communist construction in the Soviet Union.

The series of flagrant anti-Soviet provocations has been followed of late by bandit attacks on the Soviet ship *Svirsk* and a new serious provocation against the Soviet Embassy in Peking. Squads of rioting "Red Guards" have again been hurled against the Embassy. The Mao group is deliberately complicating Soviet-Chinese relations still further.

The attempts of the CPC leadership to impose its adventurous and provocative line upon the world Communist movement were accompanied by a number of foreign-policy moves designed to aggravate international tension. While carefully avoiding any clashes with the imperialist forces, the Chinese leaders did everything to create war-hazardous situations outside China. At the same time they fanned war hysteria at home on the plea that China was threatened with war. The Peking leaders went as far as to make the absurd slanderous assertion that China was in a "ring" created by the danger of attack on the part of not only imperialist but also socialist countries.

At the beginning of their struggle against the Marxist-Leninist parties the Peking leaders carefully camouflaged their real intentions, and their line appeared as an agglomeration of dogmatic,

Left-sectarian mistakes. Later on, however, this "special line" clearly manifested itself as hostile to Marixsm-Leninism. The course which the present CPC leaders are pursuing in the international arena, their hostile policy with regard to the socialist countries, their fierce campaign against our Party and the Soviet people, and their splitting activities in the world Communist movement all injure the interests of socialism and the international working-class and liberation movement, the socialist gains of the Chinese people, and objectively help imperialism. The Mao group has openly entered upon a course which presents a mixture of petty-bourgeois adventurism and great-power chauvinism thinly veiled by Leftist phraseology.

International socio-political development in the past few years has fully revealed the anti-Leninist nature of the concepts of Mao and his accomplices, has shown them up for what they are. The overwhelming majority of the Communist and Workers' parties have denounced them as renegades from Marxism-Leninism. The facts showed that the claim of Mao and his group to hegemony in the world Communist movement and to a special position in the internaional arena, as well as being unattainable, had discredited themselves. The Marxist-Leninist Communist and Workers' parties discerned, behind the smokescreen of the Peking leaders' "ultra-revolutionary" verbiage, their dangerous plans aimed at splitting the Communist movement and disarming it ideologically. The peoples of the countries fighting against imperialism, for national independence and freedom, saw that underlying Peking's foreign-policy moves and "recommendations" were the pernicious and selfish aspirations of the Peking leaders, who do not bother to think of their responsibility for the destiny of the counry, let alone for the destinies of other peoples.

A situation developed in China in which many Party members, the politically conscious sections of the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia holding dear the destinies of their counry, began to realize the ruinous character of Mao's policy, and this found expression also in statements by many Party functionaries and statesmen. Apparently that was the reason for the deep anxiety of the Mao group, which came to realize that sooner or later it would have to account to the Party and the people for all its doings.

Mao and his group had the opportunity and the time to ponder over the disastrous results of their activities and rectify their mistakes. But they chose not to do so and set out to punish Party and government cadres, forward-looking workers, peasants and intellectuals, and to install an outright military bureaucratic dictatorship. Thus unseemly political aims engendered the filthy campaign launched in China under the catchword of the "proletarian cultural revolution."

Instead of a real cultural revolution, which under socialism means raising the cultural and educational level of the masses and inculcating a scientific world outlook in them, promoting rapid all-round progress in science and technology, and training a people's intelligentsia, there began under its flag persecution of Party, YCL and trade union cadres on a vast scale, humiliation of the intelligentsia, and terror against the foremost workers and peasants.

This campaign was set off in the spring of 1966 by *Chiehfanchun pao*, organ of the Defense Ministry, which came out against the Peking City Committee of the CPC and its press, insisting that "fire" be opened upon what it described as an "anti-Party, anti-socialist front." Lauding the "Big Leap" of 1958, it accused those who disagreed with "Mao Tse-tung's ideas" of "revisionism" and "bourgeois monarchism," and blamed them for the calamities that had befallen China.

The campaign of persecution of Mao's opponents spread from Peking all over the country. However, it did not yield the results the Mao group had expected. There is growing resentment in the Party and among the masses over the intolerable economic and political situation in which the country has been put by the Peking leaders. And while at first the Chinese press described the aims of the "cultural revolution" as overthrow of the bourgeois ideology and vindication of the proletarian ideology, claiming that this "revolution" was to "reach the souls" of people, it was not long before the thesis that the "cultural revolution" in China is a "struggle to seize power" gained priority.

The Constitution of the PRC and the documents of the Eighth Congress of the CPC say that all power in the People's Republic of China belongs to the working people. From whom, then, does the Mao Tse-tung group intend to wrest power?

Although Peking propaganda alleged that it was necessary to fight against only "the handful of those in power who are following the capitalist road," the "cultural revolution" soon proved to be a vast progrom-like operation against millions of people.

At the very outset of that operation, Mao Tse-tung and his group had to admit that the opposition to their policy had surpassed all expecations. The resistance to Mao's line—uncoordinated but very strong, ranging from the Party rank and file to members of its Central Committee, was seized upon by Mao and his followers as a direct pretext for still fiercer persecution of all whom they regard as their actual or potential political opponents.

Kang Sheng, who had won ill fame as Mao's right-hand man in the persecution of revolutionary cadres—a recurrent event in CPC history—and who in the '40s was nicknamed the "butcher of the Party" by Chinese Communists, was back on the scene. Mao

ordered "opening fire upon the headquarters," i.e., upon leading Party and government bodies and trade union, YCL and other mass organizations.

State security and Army organs became the main agencies carrying out the "cutural revolution." To give this campaign of repression the semblance of a public movement, the so-called "Red Guards." movement was organized—a movement of school children, teen-agers and students brought up in an atmosphere of rabid chauvinism and the cult of Mao's personality. Tens of millions of young people under the age of elementary civic maturity were ordered into action to "expose," "denounce" and "punish" the "enemies of Mao Tse-tung." These youngsters were proclaimed to be "little skirmishers of the revolution," its vanguard.

The disgustingly cynical political machination of the Peking leaders resulted in a great tragedy for the Chinese people. The campaign of "criticizing" and "exposing" the so-called revisionists became a vast orgy of violence in which the vilest of instincts were turned loose. To march "Mao Tse-tung's enemies" through the streets in dunce caps was not the severest of punishments, for mass manhandling, brutal tortures and murder were made the daily practice of the "Red Guards." The schools and universities were closed, and bonfires of books appeared in the streets and squares.

Inciting the "Red Guards" to a "revolutionary rebellion," the Mao group clearly overestimated its ability to keep this "rebellion" under the control of the security service and the Army, and the country began sliding into chaos and anarchy.

In these conditions the growing resistance of the Party rank and file and the masses to the monstrous provocation threatening the loss of the country's socialist gains became stronger still. Many Party and people's committees, supported by politically conscious workers and peasants, are resisting the fierce onslaught of the Maoists. Big political demonstrations, strikes and armed actions against the anti-popular terror have taken place in a number of provinces and cities. Towards the end of 1966 the course of events had become so unfavorable to Mao and his group that measures were taken to check the excesses to a certain extent, to curb the "Red Guards" and, lastly, to split and weaken the forces opposed to Maoist ideology and practices. It was alleged again that the present political campaign is directed against only the "handful of those following the capitalist road."

Seeing, however, that in the overwhelming majority of the provinces it could not change the situation in its own favor, the Mao group launched a new campaign against its opponents. This time is frankly put in the forefront a section of the Army by entrusting it with the execution of the " cultural revolution" and by declaring

it to be "the mainstay of the dictatorship of the proletariat." After announcing a thousand "great victories," Mao and his yes-men insist, with increasing vehemence and alarm, on "waging an even harder and more serious struggle", on "overthrowing and discrediting" his enemies "politically, ideologically and theoretically." This is the theoretical wording, so to speak, which the press and *tatzupao* posters translate into calls for "bashing in the dog's heads," "finishing off the drowning dogs," "hanging Mao Tse-tung's enemies," "giving one's blood to defend Chairman Mao Tse-tung," "fighting the scum and dog's muck," the "vicious snakes," and so on. It has been announced that China will need not one but three or four "cultural revolutions."

Recent developments in China, such as the armed clashes in Wuhan, Shanghai, Kwangchow, Chungking, the Northeast, Sinkiang, Tibet, Inner Mongolia and a number of provinces, have shown that the political crisis in China has gone deeper and that it is fraught with new complications. The primary reason for this is that the Mao group, for all its skill in socio-political demagogy and in misleading the masses, is exposing itself more and more through actions running counter to the people's vital interests.

By undermining the political and social organization of the state, the Mao group is virtually striking at the very roots of the socialist system in China.

The group, having debarred the working class and its Communist Party from governing the country and hence set out, in effect, to accomplish a coup aimed at what it calls "seizing power," has shown to the people that the program of the "cultural revolution" merely expresses the desire of Mao and those around him to establish their dictatorship.

In an effort to justify this solution, the Peking propagandists allege that the people could not fully assume power when, in 1949, the revolution triumphed in China, nor have they been able to do so since then, although the revolution triumphed more than 17 years ago. Thus they would like to cancel with one stroke of the pen the gains of the Chinese people, who under the leadership of the Communist Party made substantial progress in socialist construction before Mao and his followers embarked on their "special course."

To consolidate their dictatorship, Mao and his group are stepping up reprisals against those who voice their disagreement with them in one form or another. The group sees its opponents primarily in the Party—in the cadres who have ample revolutionary experience and are against Maoism being substituted for Marxism-Leninism. This is why Mao directs his main blow against the Party and the decisions of its Eighth Congress.

The Mao group distrusts and fears the Party, and so it tries to rout the Party and government bodies set up according to the CPC Rules and the Constitution of the PRC and to replace them by "revolutionary committees' composed in all haste of agents of the group and described as a "new form" of power. But this has turned out to be no easy task, as is shown, for instance, by events in the Chinese capital, where the Party bodies and people's committees were repeatedly "reorganized" and then disbanded altogether. They were supplanted by a "committee" under Hsieh Fu-chih, the security chief. Yet the organizers of the "struggle for power" give all this out to be a measure for "strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat."

Lenin stressed that only the political party of the working class, that is, the Communist Party, is equal to leading the proletariat politically, to leading all working people. "Without this," he said, "the dictatorship of the proletariat is unfeasible." But how can those who put themselves above the Party, undermine its guiding and leading role, and replace the Party by a narrow group pursuing selfish aims under cover of demagogic shibboleths speak of proletarian dictatorship?

That this is how matters stand is seen in the fact that the activity of the CC CPC has been paralyzed and that over two-thirds of its members, including most members of the Political Bureau and the Secretariat, specifically Liu Shao-chi, Chu Teh, Chen Yun, Teng Hsiao-ping, Peng Te-huai, Ho Lung, Peng Chen, Tao Chu, Li Ching-chuan, Lu Ting-i, Po I-po, Wulanfu, Chang Wen-tien, Wang Chiahsiang and Lo Jui-ching, have been relieved of their leading posts and defamed, as have many other leading government officials.

In combating the Party and the very foundations of socialism in China, Mao has put his last stake on the Army, in whose leadership he has long since placed men he trusts. While at first the Army and the security service "Red Guard" squads and led them in riots and repressions, it is now Army units that are installing, by force of arms, "committees" acceptable to Mao in which the military play a role of first importance. Work in the factories and in the countryside today is carried on under the supervision of the Army, which exercises so-called "military and political control". Even the "committee" heading the Academy of Sciences has a representative of the war department posing as chairman. Peking openly admits that the "cultural revolution" would have been impossible without Army support, and calls on the population to submit to it. Nevertheless, resistance to Maoism has lately been developing in the Army too, which is now going through another purge.

The anti-popular nature of the Mao group's policy expresses

itself, furthermore, in the fact that during the past year the group has been attacking the workers' and peasants' standard of living, dismissing their attempts to uphold their rights as "economism." Strikes and armed action by workers and peasants have swept most regions of the country, so that even the official press cannot keep silent about them. These actions show the economic policy of Mao Tse-tung, who is setting up a regime of organized poverty, for what it is.

Characteristically, the only class which the Mao group has spared in the course of the "cultural revolution" is the bourgeoisie. Thousands upon thousands of capitalists go on getting interest on the receipts of the enterprises transferred to the state, and virtually continue to manage them. Active on the Chinese political scene is many an enemy of the people, such as Li Tsung-jen, the Kuomintang ex-"President," who has been brought back from American exile and has entrenched himself under the protection of the ruling clique.

It will be recalled that the Chinese Communists at their latest congress, the Eighth, adopted a number of important decisions with due regard to their revolutionary struggles and the experience of other fraternal parties. The CPC Rules approved by that congress say that "the Communist Party of China guides itself in its activity by Marxism-Leninism." By adopting this fundamental thesis, the Chinese Communists showed the people the source of achievements in building the new society.

At present the Peking leaders want the CPC and the Chinese people to serve exclusively "the ideas of Mao Tse-tung" rather than being loyal to Marxism-Leninism and the socialist cause. In setting up new organs of power, only those are included in them who swear unquestioning allegiance to Mao's ideas. These "committees" are expected to assert Mao's ideas in every corner of China and, indeed, to "raise" "Mao Tse-tung's banner" above the world.

If Peking ever makes any mention of Marxism-Leninism, it is only to declare that Mao's ideas constitute "the highest stage of Marxism-Leninism," that Mao Tse-tung is above Marx, Engels and Lenin, and that the "cultural revolution" is "the beginning of a new era in man's history." The theorists and propagandists of Maoism have plainly slid to the level of the "Red Guards" and would like to drag the whole people down to the same level.

Such is the logic of development of the disgraceful, essentially reactionary campaign which has been shaking China for more than a year now. Perhaps the most surprising aspect of this campaign is that the Peking clique is trying with brazen hypocrisy to convince the Chinese people that the whole world regards Mao as

"the very reddest sun." One might think those who are spreading this lie do not realize how deeply they are humiliating their people by making out serious failures in the home and foreign policy of China to be evidence of the triumph of "Mao's ideas" and the "cultural revolution." One must really have gone out of one's mind to allege rapturously that the working people of the world "admire" Mao's wisdom, whereas they see Mao and those around him decimating the genuinely revolutionary, internationalist forces of the Chinese people.

Our Party and the Soviet people as a whole have always felt deep respect and fraternal solidarity for the revolutionary struggle of the Chinese people, and have rejoiced at their achievements in transforming their country socially, in developing its economy and culture. They helped People's China to win. China owed its progress largely to its all-round political, economic, military and cultural cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. The Soviet people feel deep sympathy for the Chinese people, who are passing through a difficult period.

The Soviet people angrily dismiss the foul calumnies which the Mao group continues to heap on our country, Party and state, on other socialist countries, and on the Communist and Workers' parties which maintain the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The imperialists and their hangers-on have been slanderng our Party and people for half a century now. They have spent plenty of tar trying to blacken the Soviet Union and the socialist system but have got nowhere. Now the Peking leaders and their propagandists are echoing bourgeois propaganda, resorting, in their turn, to the basest methods of political provocation and fraud to smear the Soviet Union and fraternal socialist countries, mislead their own people and poison the international atmosphere.

Imperialist reaction applauds the Chinese slanderers, expressing its gratification over the fact that the "Left-revolutionary" Peking leaders' phrasemongering is merely a front for chauvinistic ambitions that play into the hands of the forces of imperialist reaction and war.

Indeed, Peking combines "Left-wing" demagogy with the rejection of unity of action with the socialist countries, the Communist parties and other forces of the anti-imperialist front in supporting the heroic people of Vietnam against the predatory U.S. aggression.

The events in the Mideast prompted the Mao group to launch a new slander campaign against the socialist countries in an effort to disunite the anti-imperialist forces through acts of provocation and to sap the mutual trust of the Arab nations and the peoples of the socialist countries.

The latest developments in China suggest that, despite the drum-

beat in Peking announcing "great victories" of the "cultural revolution," the Communists and the people of that great country are awakening more and more to the profound political degradation of Mao and his group. The facts show that Mao and his followers, by trying to crush the working class and the Communist Party, are merely hastening the exposure of their petty-bourgeois, adventurous policy, which has nothing to do with Marxism-Leninism and pursues great-power objectives foredoomed by history.

It is hard to say how things will eventually shape up in China. To uphold its anti-popular course and retain power, the Mao group resorts to the most treacherous devices and methods, including frank demagogy and humiliation and physical destruction of the cadres opposing its policy. It sows chauvinistic sentiments among the Chinese people, particularly among the inexperienced youth, and foments hatred for fraternal socialist countries, first of all for the Soviet Union. These are, in effect, methods of consolidating a personal dictatorship and they are identical with the methods generally used by anti-popular police regimes.

To be sure, Mao would like to give the "cultural revolution" a more respectable appearance. It is evidently to this end that talk has begun in Peking about the possibility of calling a Party congress and session of parliament in 1968 that would obey Mao and would "legalize" his criminal deeds.

If the Mao group succeeds in maintaining its present course in China for a long time and continues to weaken the positions of socialism, Chinese society may well describe a steep historical zigzag.

The Soviet people, who have always seen the great Chinese people as a friend and ally in the struggle to reorganize society along revolutionary lines, are certain that the time will come when the Communist Party of China and the Chinese people will reject the present disastrous policy of Mao-Tse-tung and his group, and will restore the fraternal relations of the People's Republic of China with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in the interest of world socialism and, first of all, in the interest of China itself.

## 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION
### Decision* of the Board of the SUPG-West Berlin

This year the Soviet people and the whole of progressive mankind are commemorating the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Fifty years ago the Russian Empire's millions, led by the Communist Party, ushered in a new era in human history. They wrested power from their exploiters and enslavers and established their own worker-peasant state, a state of peace and socialism.

The October Revolution transformed the world and goes on transforming it. It showed the peace-loving peoples, working men and women all over the world, the road to freedom from exploitation and bondage, to victory over capitalism and imperialism.

The enemies of the people and of social progress did their utmost to destroy the young Soviet state by resorting to intervention, counter-revolution and war.

The working people of the first worker-peasant state in history, led by Lenin's party, defeated all their enemies and built the first socialist state in the world.

Five decades of Soviet rule, of rule by the working class allied with other working people, have shown that war is foreign to socialism.

The Soviet Union has become a mighty state because it is led by a Party which throughout its glorious history has been loyal to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The historic achievements of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union fully entitle it to its role of pioneer of human progress.

The Soviet Union has on innumerable occasions furnished proof of its solidarity with the revolutionary labor movement in Germany and of its friendship with the German people.

As a result of World War II, the socialist world system came into being, the international working-class movement became stronger, and many countries and peoples won freedom from long-time colonial rule.

In Germany there emerged the socialist German Democratic Republic, which is linked with the mighty Soviet Union by fraternal bonds.

The attitude to the Soviet Union in good and bad times alike has been the touchstone of every revolutionary since the Soviet Union was established. This was so in the most trying hours, in the years

*Abridged from **Die Wahrheit**, August 3, 1967.

of fascist terror and during World War II, when Hitler's armies scored their initial successes. This attitude proved its worth when, on August 13, 1961, the working people of the GDR safely locked their frontier.

Post-October history has shown that each gain of the Soviet Union strengthens the positions of the peace forces all over the world.

The Soviet Union wants peace because it is a state ruled by the people. It wants peace because it is the first country to have set about building communism. It needs peace to carry out its great plans for building power stations in Siberia and irrigation networks in Kazakhstan, for the peaceful use of atomic energy, for space exploration.

The Soviet Union sides with the people of Vietnam who are fighting gallantly against the American aggressor, for their national independence and sovereignty. The Soviet Union gives the Vietnamese people all the material, economic and military aid they want.

The Soviet Union sides with the Arab peoples and states seeking national independence and social progress.

The Soviet Union sides with the peace forces of Germany who are striving to ensure that war shall never again originate on German soil. One lesson of history is that the German people will have a future provided they live in peace and friendship with all nations, first and foremost with the great Soviet Union.

# PARTY PERIODICALS

## ITEMS IN CURRENT ISSUES

### WEG UND ZIEL, No. 7-8, 1967, CP of Austria

"The Mideast Crisis and War; Mideast Problems" *(editorial);* Peter Aschner, "From Economic to Social Reforms"; Robert Dubovsky, "The Housing Law"; Jaroslav Tondl (Prague), "Problems of Education in the Scientific Revolution."

### MARXISM TODAY, August 1967, British CP.

"Bomber Base in Thailand," "Lessons from the Setback in Indonesia," "Marxism and History," "Tribute to William Gallacher" *(editorial comments);* J. R. Campbell, "Maurice Dobb—Communist, Economist, Historian"; E. J. Hobsbawm, "Capitalist Development: Some Historical Problems"; Ron Bellamy, "The Scientific Revolution and the Productive Forces of Modern Capitalism."

### HOC TAP, No. 6, 1967, WPP of Vietnam.

"Increase Agricultural Production to Contribute to Victory Over the U.S. Imperialist Aggression" *(editorial);* Pham Van Dong, "Some Pressing Tasks of the Social Sciences in Our Country"; Hoang Quoc Viet, "The Struggle of the American People and the Vietnamese People's War of Resistance Against the U.S. Aggression, for National Salvation"; Le Liem, "Foster and Build Up National Heroism in Public Education."

### EINHEIT, No. 8, 1967, SUPG, GDR.

Gerhard Liebig, "A Global Strategy Against Peace and Progress"; Guenter Mittag, "Mastering the Socialist Economy and the Scientific Revolution"; Klaus Dieter Wuestneck, "Cybernetics: Its Significance for the Leading Activity of the Party"; Arnold Knauer, "The Scientific Revolution and Occupational Training"; Kurt Tiedke, "The October Revolution — the Greatest Act of Liberation in Human History"; Herbert Kroeger, "Bonn's Claim to Spokesmanship for All Germany — a Permanent Threat of Aggression and Intervention Contrary to Law"; Max Schaefer, "The Struggle for Democratization in West Germany".

### PARTY LIFE, No. 8, August 1967, CP of India

"Implementing the Organizational Resolution" (*editorial* on the April session of the National Council); G. Adhikari, "July Meeting

of the CEC"; C. Rajeswara Rao, "The Slogan of 'Non-Congress Democratic Coalition at the Center' and Criticism by Certain Comrades."

The issue carries that section of the document of the Marxist-Leninist group of the CP of Indonesia analyzing the events of September 30, 1965.

**NOWE DROGI, No. 8, 1967, PUWP**

"Sixth Congress of the Polish Trade Unions" *(editorial);* Tadeusz Jaroszewski, "The Perspective of Socialist Democracy in Poland"; Ryszard Koniczek, "Notes on the Discussion on Film Art."

The issue includes the Theses of the CC, CPSU on the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution.

**KOMMUNIST, No. 11, 1967, CPSU.**

The issue opens with a *section devoted to the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution.* Other items are: "The Social Formation Born of October" *(editorial)*; A. Kochinyan, "Ideological Staunchness, a Feature of the Builder of Communism"; E. Baller and N. Zlobin, "Communist Culture: a Culture of the Whole People, of All Mankind"; G. Smirnov, "The Individual in Socialist Society"; A. Yefimov, "The Dynamic Advance of Soviet Industry"; V. Golikov, "The Leninist Road of the Soviet Peasant"; A. Pashkov, "Growth Rates of the Two Subdivisions of Social Production"; A. Dmitryuk, "Mastering Revolutionary Theory"; L. Sheidin, "The Imperialist Plot in the Mideast."

**POLITICAL AFFAIRS, July 1967, CP, USA.**

Hyman Lumer, "The Middle East Crisis"; Dorothy Healey, "How to Build a New Left"; Betty Gannett, "The Fascist Military Coup in Greece"; Herbert Aptheker, "The Theory of Peaceful Coexistence"; Al Richmond, "Integration or Separation?" (contribution to the discussion on Black Power).

**ESTUDIOS, No. 43, 1967, CP of Uruguay.**

José Luis Massera, "Six Months of National Politics"; Ricardo Saxlund, "Bolivia: a Struggle for the Future of All Peoples"; Rodney Arismendi, "Lenin's Thought and the Latin American Revolution"; Communiqué: Brezhnev-Arismendi; José Luis Massera, "Events in China".

**KOMMUNISTI, No. 6-7, 1967, CP of Finland.**

Erkki Tuominen, "Useful Talks"; Hilkka Ahmala, "Events in the Middle East"; Hilkka Saarikoski, "Political Trends in Broadcasting"; Eino Tainio, "Background of the Discussion on the Presidential

Elections"; Aimo Haapanen, "People's Power and Socialism: the Goal of the Democratic Alliance of the People of Finland"; Christina Porkkala, "Anti-Communism, an Object of Scientific Investigation." Communiqué on Talks between the CPF and CPSU.

**CAHIERS DU COMMUNISME, No. 7-8, 1967, French CP**

"The International Situation and the Struggle for Peace (resolution of the CC, FCP, June 1967); Jacques Couland, "The Israeli-Arab Conflict, Imperialism and Peace"; Georges Frischmann, "The Condition of the Working People and the Outlook for Their Struggle"; Claude Lecomte, "Operation 'White Book' and the Real Problems of Youth"; Maurice Bouvier-Ajam, "Alliance of the Working Class and the Middle Classes Against Big Capital"; Léo Figuères, "Lenin and the Possibility of Peaceful Development of the Russian Revolution (February-March 1917)."

**NOVA MYSL, No. 16, 1967, CP of Czechoslovakia**

M. Cermakova, "Collective Leadership at the Present Stage"; L. Tomasek and J. Korinek, "A Contribution to Sociological Research into Party Work"; J. Sebesta, Czechoslovak-Soviet Economic Cooperation; M. Vaross, "Problems of the Imitative Arts."

**AFRICAN COMMUNIST, No. 30, 1967, CP of SAR**

"Imperialism, Israel and the Arabs", "Again the Congo", "A Worthy Laureate" *(editorial notes;* the latter note refers to Abram Fischer, Lenin Prize winner).

B. Kades, "The Sources of Economic Growth"; Z. Nkosi, "South African Imperialist Expansion"; J. J. Jabulani, "Money Screams in Katanga"; Terence Africanus, "50th Anniversary of the October Revolution: From February to October"; Sol Dubula, "Africa: Notes on Current Events."

**WORLD MARXIST REVIEW, No. 9, 1967, theoretical and information journal of the Communist and Workers' parties.**

I. Norlund, "Preventing Imperialist Aggression: Opportunities and Tasks"; A. Saarinen, "Finnish Communists and the Government"; E. Papaioannuou, "Dark Clouds Over Cyprus"; J. Prazsky, "Vietnam: Continuing Escalation"; A. Dewhurst, "Violence Against Negro Americans"; D. Lakkas, "The Fascist Regime in Greece Has No Future".

*International Theoretical Symposium on the Significance of the Great October Socialist Revolution*

V. Joannes (France), V. Vitello (Italy), J. Angenfort (FRG), N. Clarke (Canada), T. Namsarai (Mongolia), M. Harmel (Tunisia), R. Castellanos (Panama), M. Soza (Honduras), J. M. Fortuny

(Guatemala), A. Delgado (Colombia), H. C. Varga (Costa Rica), M. Talla (Mali), P. Kekhotso (Republic of South Africa), T. Babiker (The Sudan).

*The issue carries articles on theory and practice of building socialism:*

E. Honecker, "The Problems of Building a Highly-Developed Society in the GDR"; J. Havelka, "New Features in Czechoslovak Agriculture".

*The issue features activities of the Communist and Workers' Parties:*

G. Corvalan, "Paraguayan Communists Prepare for Congress"; M. G. Mendis, "For Unity of the Democratic Forces in Ceylon"; J. Rodriguez, "The New in the Political Line of the Communist Party of Venezuela"; F. Lager, "Congress of Swedish Communists".

# ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

**July 5-August 5.** Franz Muhri, Chairman of the Communist Party of Austria, spent a holiday in the Soviet Union.

On August 4 Comrade Muhri was received by M. A. Suslov, Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC, CPSU, and N. B. Ponomaryov, Secretary of the CC, CPSU. Opinions were exchanged on problems of the international situation, the world Communist movement and Soviet-Austrian relations. The talk passed in an atmosphere of cordial friendship and mutual understanding.

**August 8.** The Chilean Communists are marking the 100th anniversary of the publication of Karl Marx's *Capital* and the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution by the inauguration of an Institute of Marxism-Leninism, *Pravda* reported.

Luis Corvalan, General Secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of Chile, spoke at the inauguration ceremony.

**August 8.** *Akahata* printed a statement of the CC of the Communist Party of Japan concerning "massive violence at the Peking airport against Comrades Sunama and Konno". The statement points out that on August 3 on their way home Sunama, alternate member of the Presidium of the CC CPJ, and Konno, correspondent of *Akahata,* were attacked at the Peking airport by a mob of several thousand Chinese and Japanese anti-Party elements. There are facts indicating that these actions were undertaken on instructions from the CC CPC, the statement says.

The statement goes on to say that the outrage perpetrated against two defenceless foreigners by irresponsible elements who went to all lengths is a disgraceful act of terrorism without precedent in the history of the international Communist movement. It reeks of great-power chauvinism and is an attempt to deal a blow at the Communist Party of another country with the help of physical violence. This is how "Mao Tse-tung's ideas" whose laudation it is attempted to impose internationally are being implemented in practice.

The Communist Party of Japan, the statement says, expresses resolute protest to the ultra-Left-Opportunist great-power leadership of the CPC and holds it fully responsible for this incident.

**August 11-12.** The Montevideo Communist Party organization, the biggest in Uruguay, held a conference to discuss a report on the following questions: international solidarity and the tasks of the Party in the struggle against U.S. imperialism, aggravation of

the financial and economic crisis in the country, and the policy of the Party to enrich the experience of the toiling masses in the struggle for immediate demands, enhancement of the role of the Left Liberation Front in uniting all the vanguard and progressive forces of the country, the building of a solid mass Party, with cadres capable of winning over the masses ideologically and politically.

Comrade Jose Luis Massera spoke on the second point on the agenda—the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution.

The conference unanimously endorsed the report of the leadership of the organization and sent a message of solidarity to the people of Vietnam.

Conference also adopted a message to the Soviet people in connection with the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution.

**August 14-17.** Comrade Waldeck Rochet visited Rumania and had talks with Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu.

According to Agerpres, the sides informed each other about the activities and tasks of their parties and exchanged opinions on questions of the international situation and the Communist and working-class movement.

**August 16-17.** Comrade Luigi Longo visited Rumania and had talks with Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu.

According to Agerpres, Longo and Ceausescu informed each other about the activities of the Italian and the Rumanian Communist Parties and exchanged opinions on a number of topical problems of the international situation and the Communist and working-class movement.

**August 17.** *Neues Deutschland* reported that in his radio and television address in connection with the 11th year of the ban on the Communist Party of Germany instituted by the Bonn authorities Comrade Max Reimann pointed out that more and more citizens in the German Federal Republic were beginning to see that the ban is directed against all those who refuse to follow the course of the monopolists and the policy of their government.

Max Reimann urged all democrats, Social Democrats, trade unionists and all those who cherish peace, social justice and humanity to support the just struggle of the Communists for the recognition of the legitimate rights of the CPG and for the legalization of its activity in the GFR.

**August 17.** *Morning Star,* organ of the CC of the Communist Party of Great Britain, published excerpts from the draft of the

new program of the Party, "The British Road to Socialism", to be presented to the Party's 30th Congress. The previous program, bearing the same title, was adopted in 1952 and amended in 1958. New changes conforming to Britain's present international and internal situation have been introduced into it by a commission which was appointed by the Executive Committee and which included General Secretary John Gollan.

As before, the draft program outlines ways by which the Party thinks Great Britain can come to socialism. It seeks "to explain, first, why Britain needs socialism; second, how to set about making the change; finally, what a government and the people of a country dedicated to building socialism can do".

**August 18.** According to CTK, Comrade Antonin Novotny met with Comrade Walter Ulbricht, who is taking a rest in Czechoslovakia, and exchanged opinions with him on questions of mutual interest.

**August 19.** Soviet Communist Party leaders L. I. Brezhnev, N. V. Podgorny, M. A. Suslov and B. N. Ponomaryov met with R. Arismendi, First Secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of Uruguay, and L. Bruera, member of the Central Committee's Executive, who are visiting the Soviet Union.

A wide range of questions of the international situation and the world Communist movement was discussed. The representatives of the two parties voiced profound conviction that the top-priority task of the Communist Parties in the present international situation is to strengthen unity and solidarity in the common struggle for the interests of the working class, against imperialism, for national independence and freedom, against the aggressive plans of U.S. imperialism and its associates. It was stressed that cohesion of the working-class movement and its vanguard — the Communist and Workers' parties—on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism is an earnest of this unity.

The meeting was marked by an atmosphere of friendship and complete mutual understanding characteristic of the relations between the CPSU and the CPU.

INFORMATION

105(17)

*Included in this Issue*

**TURNING POINT FOR THE WORLD**
Statement by the CP USA

**STATEMENT BY JORDANIAN CP**

**PARTY BUILDING IN FRANCE**
George Marchaia

FILE COPY

# bulletin

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# Information bulletin — 105(17)

*contents*


**COMMUNIQUE ON CC MEETING**
Portuguese Communist Party **5**

**ON THE IMPERIALIST AGGRESSION IN THE MIDDLE EAST**
Statement of the CC, Portuguese CP **17**

**TURNING POINT FOR THE WORLD**
Statement of National Committee CP USA **19**

**GUS HALL GREETS VILNER AND TOUBI AS LEADERS OF TRUE ISRAEL CP** **26**

**STATEMENT**
Jordanian Communist Party **28**

**STATISTICS**
Communist Party of India **32**

**PARTY BUILDING: RESULTS AND PERSPECTIVES**
Georges Marchais **33**

**PROGRESS OF SOVIET ECONOMY**
**Nikolai Baibakov** **36**

**PARTY PERIODICALS**
Items in Current Issues **42**

**ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES** **46**



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# COMMUNIQUE* ON CC MEETING, PORTUGUESE COMMUNIST PARTY

In July 1967 the Central Committee of the Portuguese Communist Party held a plenary meeting which discussed the present political situation and the immediate tasks of the Party. A careful analysis was made of problems of the international situation and of the world Communist movement. The meeting approved corresponding resolutions.

## THE INTERNAL SITUATION

1. The economic situation in Portugal is developing within the framework of the general trends foreseen and indicated by the Party.

The grip of a handful of big monopoly groups on the life of the country is growing tighter. The new mergers, arrangements and agreements between banks and enterprises, the new plans for industrial reorganization, the monopolization of credit and the money market testify both to an intensified competition and to a collusion between monopoly groups against the interests of the working class and other groups of the population.

Being incapable of mastering the laws of evolution of capitalism, the fascist policy is generating grave difficulties in the entire economy. In industry, the industrialization plans are falling through, growth rates have been declining, and marketing difficulties are experienced due to a limited domestic market and competition on world markets.

To compete successfully on world markets, the monopolies reduce production costs by amalgamating enterprises and raising labor productivity. Since production capacities are growing at a time when the market is shrinking, a serious crisis can break out in vital branches of the economy.

As for agriculture, in 1966 production dropped by one-fifth, the output of grain crops fell and there emerged the danger of a grave crisis expressed in a shortage of consumer goods for home consumption and the excessive growth of exports. This creates difficulties in supply and causes a decline in output in many branches.

The colonial super-profits, foreign investments and loans, receipts from tourism and remittances from emigrants have been covering, so far, the exceedingly high foreign trade deficit. The

*Abridged.

economy, which lacks a solid base and independence, is afflicted with sudden imbalances, difficulties and crises which seriously affect the conditions of life of the broad strata of the people.

2. The fascist government makes the working people shoulder the brunt of the difficulties, but other classes and social groups also suffer from its policy.

New forms of intensifying the exploitation of the working people are being introduced. The growth of labor productivity is not accompanied by a rise in wages. The retooling of enterprises and the development of capitalism in the countryside, the stagnation and crisis in numerous traditional branches of industry, the wage-freeze policy, the growing employment of female labor, the extension of the working day through overtime, the intensification of labor—all this means new hardships for the industrial and agricultural proletariat. More than 100,000 Portuguese workingmen leave the country every year in search of work and bread which they cannot find in their own country.

The sky-rocketing prices and accelerating inflation rapidly reduce the purchasing capacity of the masses.

The crisis in agriculture is worsening the plight of small producers, whose impoverishment is proceeding apace. Crushed by taxes and denied credits, they are compelled to sell their produce at low prices; the big landowners and capitalists who head the corporative organization are squeezing them out of the market.

Small manufacturers and tradesmen, subjected to powerful pressure from finance and monopoly capital, are suffering from "selective" and other forms of bank credits, from the process of concentration, the new "industrial-reorganization" plans and the monopolization of trade.

3. The CC stresses that the enslavement of the national economy by foreign imperialism is accelerating, for, in search of capital, credits, partners and markets the domestic monopoly groups are uniting ever more closely with big foreign monopolies.

As the Party has always jointed out, the fascist policy, the submission to imperialism and the fascists' acceptance of Portugal's subordinate position in the seven countries' Free Trade Zone, the elaboration of development plans subordinated to imperialism's economic tutelage, the export-oriented industrialization—all this does grave harm to the national economy. In the event of Britain's possible entry in the Common Market and the break-up of the Free Trade Zone Portugal may find itself in isolation, with a disbalanced and severely damaged economy, and will have to accept new international agreements on the imperialists' terms.

The CC calls attention to the danger of this policy of submission to imperialism, for it will soon precipitate a violent crisis in many branches of industry and agriculture.

The CC considers that little is being to explain to the masses the real character of foreign domination over Portugal, and its implications for the country and the people. Intensification of the anti-imperialist struggle is the central task of today.

4. More than 120,000 Portuguese soldiers are now thousands of miles away from home, waging an unjust war in which the Portuguese people have no stake and in which more and more young Portuguese perish daily.

Relying on the new military service law and the "conscription reserve," the fascist government is trying to speed the call-up of young people and prevent their *en masse* emigration, which is one form of protest against the war. It is squandering national resources on this war; it solicits and receives assistance from great imperialist powers, increasing the country's dependence and mortgaging its future; it burdens the toiling classes with the brunt of war expenditures by stepping up exploitation, establishing new taxes and raising prices; it is drawing the nation into a wave of mass murders and other crimes against peoples whose interests and aspirations coincide with those of the Portuguese people.

The CC stresses again that the colonial war is a criminal undertaking doomed to failure. Nothing will prevent the peoples of the Portuguese colonies from winning their independence.

The CC again assures the peoples of Angola, Guinea and Mozambique of the active solidarity of the Portuguese Communists. The PCP will go on fighting to ensure that the right of these peoples to self-determination and independence is recognized and guaranteed, to step up and make more effective the resistance of the Portuguese people to the government's colonial policy and above all to the colonial war.

5. The CC emphasizes that there are no signs of an abatement of repression. On the contrary, they are being intensified, affecting new groups of the population and new spheres of activity.

The numerous precautionary measures, the atmosphere well-nigh resembling a state of siege in some regions and industrial centers, the establishment of new precincts of PIDE, GNR and PSP (the various types of secret police), the setting up of new structures within the framework of total political espionage in all spheres of the life of the nation, the reactivation of the Legion, the reorganization of the Portuguese Youth, the militarization in industry and in the services envisaged in the new law on military service—all this testifies to a methodical and planned preparation of a large-scale terror campaign designed to prevent the possible outburst of massive indignation.

This state of things and the prospect of still harder battles which the anti-fascist forces expect, make it a task of not only the Party but also other anti-fascist groups to step up the struggle against

repressions, strengthen organizations, intensify political activity and consolidate the links with the masses.

## POLITICAL PROBLEMS AND PROBLEMS OF THE STRUGGLE OF THE MASSES

1. The profound discontent of the people, the economic difficulties, the failures of the government's policy, the ever greater squandering of resources on the colonial war, the loss of prestige in the international arena, the inability of Salazar's successive governments to control the course of events breed disquietude and contradictions and even lead to the emergence in the fascist circles themselves of different views regarding the forms and methods of preserving the rule of finance capital and big landowners.

These trends ("liberal" or "ultra") will tend towards diversification and polarization around the fascist-oriented plans as the internal crisis sharpens and the struggle of the Portuguese people and the peoples of the Portuguese colonies gains momentum.

The attempts of certain fascist circles to find a way out should be regarded as symptoms of the weakness of the regime, as indicators and factors of its crisis.

The CC stresses that the democratic forces and above all the PCP should follow closely the internal difficulties of the regime to prevent it from finding a way out and taking advantage of their disagreements.

At the same time the CC points out that in assessing the present political situation it is exceptionally important to realize that what these trends and clans are seeking is not a solution to the national problems but a way out for the reactionary forces which would preclude a democratic solution.

The CC considers that the situation makes it imperative for the democratic forces to strengthen unity, step up their revolutionary work, consolidate their organizations and the links with the masses, intensify propaganda on a principled basis and mobilize the broad masses in a struggle for the most diverse aims.

2. The CC calls the attention of the working class and all anti-fascists to the fascists' attempts to win over the moderate elements of the opposition by offering them the possibility of "liberation" and even cooperation to achieve political "modification." The chief aim behind this maneuver is to corrupt the democratic forces politically, deceive them, divert them from political activity, detach them from the masses, split, neutralize and paralyze them while isolating the Communist Party.

The CC states that this fascist maneuver is meeting with a broad response in some opposition circles, which increasingly subordinate

their positions to the regime in the hope that the "liberals" and "dissidents" will pave the way for a "transitional regime," and are thus following in their wake.

The CC emphasizes that the downfall of the fascist regime cannot be brought about by those who want to save it.

The policy of compromise with the regime is a logical development of the "theory" of spontaneous and automatic downfall of the fascist dictatorship, it is the result of the legalist illusions and fear of the masses. These trends have existed for a long time, but now are developing to the point of taking the stand to retreat and capitulation, whose principal characteristics are political degradation, renunciation of basic aims, passivity, disregard for the need to build up revolutionary structures and undertake revolutionary action, the loss of militancy and of a high anti-fascist spirit, replacement of struggle by backstage maneuvers, containment and active sabotage of the people's struggle.

Although the leftist and adventuristic trends are still manifesting themselves and can advance to the foreground with the intensification of political struggle—and therefore have to be resolutely combated—the CC considers that Right-opportunist concepts present the most dangerous trend in the Portuguese anti-fascist movement today.

3. The CC reaffirms the determination of the PCP to join efforts with all those who are ready to fight against the fascist policy and the fascist dictatorship, for freedom, for a democratic and genuinely independent Portugal.

The CC puts on record that whereas there are serious vacillations in some opposition circles, a positive movement striving for unity and struggle is developing in other groups.

The PCP is ready to cooperate with all groups and circles favoring anti-fascist struggle.

The CC urges all non-Communist anti-fascists to cooperate with the Communists. The CC calls for anti-fascist unity to organize, intensify and broaden the popular struggle for immediate concrete demands.

4. The Portuguese people headed by the proletariat, its most revolutionary class, is the decisive motive force in the anti-fascist revolution. As the 6th Congress of the PCP stressed in its Appeal, "when it acts, the revolutionary potential of the popular masses is invincible."

In the difficult conditions of fascist repressions, the stubborn struggle of the industrial proletariat, the rural proletariat, the fishermen and the office employees, the actions of the peasants, the resistance of young people to the colonial war, the movement of the students, the opposition of the intelligentsia to the regime testify to the existence of a broad anti-fascist front, the front of the

masses who have united in a struggle for their vital interests, against the dictatorship, for democracy.

The CC regards it as a top-priority task to channel the discontent and indignation of the people into stepping up the struggle on all fronts, to conduct explanatory, agitational and organizational work in order to activate and canalize the revolutionary potential of the masses, without losing sight of the principal aim: abolition of the fascist dictatorship, the winning of freedom.

5. The CC puts on record this year's intensification of the struggle of the working people against exploitation by the employers and fascists.

At the same time the CC concludes that there exist shortcomings in the leadership of this struggle. Some setbacks are due to the absence of organs which could direct the struggle, the spontaneity in establishing many commissions and lack of close contacts between these commissions and the masses, the absence of democratic discussion between the working people concerned with a view to determining the demands and the forms of action, the trend to accept the interference of the corporative bureaucracy rather than to insist on mass actions. These phenomena have stood in the way of broadening the movements.

The CC stresses that the magnitude and correct organization of the struggle of the toiling masses depend to a decisive degree on the correct orientation and organized strength of the Party, and on the activity of its cadres.

The weakness of Party organizations in some strata, the insufficient study of the problems of these strata, a trend to trail behind events and the cult of spontaneity, the lack of a critical approach, the inadequate knowledge and study of past experience and inattention to new experience, the bureaucratic and routinist trend merely to take stock of actions rather than to interfere in them vigorously and dynamically—such are the negative phenomena and the weaknesses which must be overcome in order to step up and correctly guide the struggle for the satisfaction of the demands of the masses on a countrywide scale.

At the present stage of the anti-fascist struggle actions for economic and other demands are of primary importance not only for defending the immediate interests of the working people but also for improving their organization and paving the way to a general rise of the political struggle against fascism.

6. The CC considers that the abatement of the political struggle of the masses against fascism is the chief aspect of the ebb of the revolutionary struggle that has been observed since 1962. Activization of the mass political struggle cannot be achieved solely with the help of decisions or appeals. What is needed is correct political

and tactical reaction to events in the life of the nation, consolidation of anti-fascist organizations and intensification of their coordinated dynamic and confident activity to stir the masses into action, the establishment of illegal, semi-legal and legal unitary organizations.

The CC considers that at the present moment the anti-fascist circles and the broad strata of the population can be drawn into the struggle on the following fronts:

—against repressions, specifically against the arrests of democrats, against tortures in PIDE and inhuman conditions in the prisons, for the repeal of the "security measures," for an amnesty and the release of political prisoners;

—for the right of association, in particular for the establishment of legal organizations of the opposition, for the existence and activity of cultural associations, in defense of the democratic character of the student association;

—for genuine elections in the national trade unions, for recognition of the working people's commission;

—for the freedom of thought and in particular against censorship, against the suppression of initiative in the field of culture, against the persecution of writers and artists;

—against the colonial war and its consequences.

The CC considers that the launching of new major political battles largely depends on the intensification, better organization and expansion of the political struggle for limited objectives, as well as on raising the level of the economic struggle.

7. Events show that only through struggle can the Portuguese people get rid of fascism and build a democratic Portugal.

Events show that the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship, uprooting its social and economic basis and building a democratic Portugal call for hard revolutionary struggle, for mass actions, for a nationwide uprising.

The objective conditions are favorable for the development of the popular struggle.

The CC came to the conclusion that the abatement of mass actions in recent years is due not so much to objective factors as to subjective ones (weaknesses in the organization and activity of the democratic forces, including the Communist Party). The task is to overcome these weaknesses and resolutely step up the popular struggle against fascism, bearing in mind the prospect of a revolutionary solution by force of arms.

The CC stresses that the emergence of a revolutionary situation does not depend on objective factors alone; it also depends on anti-fascist actions. Already today the anti-fascist forces can and must accelerate the emergence of such a situation by strengthening their unity and organization, by urging the people to fight for immediate concrete aims of an economic and political character, and undertak-

ing steps, at different levels and in different fields, conforming to the existing perspective.

## PARTY PROBLEMS

1. The CC decided to continue the efforts outlined at its meeting in August 1966 within the framework of the orientation approved at that time, and took new measures of an executive character.

2. On the basis of available information, the CC closely examined the question of the latest arrests of Party functionaries and other members that followed a year of fairly limited losses. Although the immediate causes of the mishaps have not been fully cleared up yet, the arrests took place in a situation when shortcomings and weaknesses of an organizational nature, in the selection of cadres and in protecting the Party had created gaps on which the repressive organs were quick to seize.

The CC noted that in a number of instances organizations and leading comrades from the afflicted sectors had failed to detect the danger and take prompt and effective measures to ward off or lessen it.

After the questions of the arrests and their causes have been elucidated the results and appropriate conclusions will be brought to the knowledge of the Party.

The CC has taken measures to restore the situation in the sectors concerned.

3. The CC examined the difficult situation in the Party resulting from continuous waves of ruthless repressions. Having checked upon practical activities, the CC states that there still exist serious shortcomings in implementing the line that has been set. The CC has outlined measures to overcome these shortcomings. The CC considers that before launching the offensive it is necessary to consolidate positions in some sectors. The CC has instructed the Secretariat and the Executive Commission to carry out these measures. The CC regards as erroneous and dangerous the views of those who more or less openly advocate the so-called "mustering of forces" which, they claim, can be achieved as a result of general curtailment of the Party's practical activity and actual ceasing to give leadership to the mass struggle—all for the purpose of protecting the central underground apparatus. These trends, if they materialize in practice, will still further isolate the leadership from the rank and file and the latter from the working class and the masses, and make it more difficult to protect the Party. Defense of the Party and mass activity are not alternatives, but reciprocally complementary and vitally important tasks. The Party can be protected and move forward only when, along with taking protective mea-

sures, it pursues a policy aimed at striking deeper roots in the working class and the masses.

The CC considers also that it is necessary to combat vigorously any sentiments of defeatism and panic.

The following tasks remain principal in protecting the Party:

—improvement of underground work through drawing upon the rich experience accumulated by the Party;

—renovation of methods in accordance with the existing conditions;

—better discipline;

—calling to account not only those who make mistakes but also those whose instructions lead to these mistakes;

—war on traitors;

—safeguards against provocations;

The CC considers that protection of the Party remains connected not only with improvement of underground work and enhancement of discipline, but also with overcoming shortcomings and weaknesses in organizational work, in the style of work, in the cadres policy and in the work among the masses.

4. Having discussed questions of leadership, the CC co-opted to the CC membership several new comrades and took a number of measures in order to:

—raise the level of the political activity of the CC;

—ensure greater participation of the CC Secretariat and Executive in political leadership and in everyday practical activity;

—induce a greater number of cadres to cooperate regularly with the CC and its executive organs;

—improve the provision of information for the rank-and-file about all leading functionaries to make their work more secure and efficient;

—create conditions for the elaboration and dissemination (in different forms) of materials explaining the Party line and guiding the practical activities of its organizations.

5. Following up the measures that have been taken and having in mind the recent arrests and their consequences, the CC resolves to conduct thorough organizational work in the central underground apparatus and above all among the functionaries in order to:

—improve the protection of the entire Party;

—make the central underground apparatus more efficient, more flexible and more dynamic and reduce the amount of the Party's energy it consumes;

—improve the composition of the cadres with a view to improving their training, strengthening the revolutionary spirit and raising the confidence of the Party and the masses in Party functionaries;

—ensure the unity of thought and action of bodies responsible for executive work at all levels;

—actively combat bureaucratism and routinism;

—accelerate the readjustment of the methods and style of work.

The CC considers that in the present conditions the central underground apparatus remains an essential element of the activity of the Party.

6. Having discussed organizational matters, the CC found it necessary to:

—intensify the work aimed at ensuring organizational decentralization and enhancing the initiative, sense of responsibility and decision-making ability of the lower and middle-level committees, and strengthen political centralization, political unity and political discipline in the entire Party;

—concentrate efforts on improving the organization of the industrial and agricultural proletariat;

—make serious and patient efforts to build up membership and promote new cadres, having in mind above all industrial and agricultural workers who excel in mass actions and without slackening at the same time the work among the office employees, peasants, servicemen, students and intellectuals;

—boldly but cautiously and flexibly intensify the work to strengthen the structure of the Party organization.

7. The CC considers it necessary that the entire Party participate actively in the change-over to be accomplished in practical work.

The CC believes that this requires:

—a correct assessment of the present situation leading to the adoption of correct decisions and the setting of correct tasks;

—doing away with the discrepancies between the general orientation and practical activities;

—active and constructive participation of Party functionaries—within the framework of the general orientation—in the search for decisions and solutions suited to the corresponding circles and conforming to the general situation;

—replacement, wherever possible, of individual contacts by the establishment of organizations;

—greater initiative and a higher sense of responsibility of the lower and middle-level organizations;

—enlivenment of the political life of the Party organizations by means of discussing political problems and mass actions and the tasks stemming from them;

—a general improvement of the criticism and self-criticism practices, with combating one-sided criticism, fault-finding and the trend to hush up rather than hear dissenting opinions;

—abandonment of malpractices in treating the cadres, with combating authoritarianism, subjectivism, uncomradely attitudes, personal preferences, clanship and favoritism.

Routine, the feeling that work is being done in whose effectiveness no one believes and whose perspective is not clear, weakens the militancy and creative energy of the cadres.

When Party members realize that they are taking part in necessary, immediately fruitful and productive although difficult and dangerous work, their vigor, devotion and confidence grow.

The Party possesses sufficient strength and reserves to cope with the tasks it sets before itself.

## THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

1. Consistent defense of the unity of the Communist movement is an unconditional duty of all fraternal parties and a criterion of their devotion to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. The PCP is doing everything in its power to fulfil this duty with honor.

2. The CC reaffirms the position of the PCP, which is that relations between fraternal parties must be based on strict respect for the principles of equality, independence and sovereignty of each party, and non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

The CC notes that these principles underlie the relations of fraternal cooperation that the PCP has established with numerous fraternal parties, and the decisions it has adopted with a view to strengthening these relations.

The CC summed up the results of the participation of the PCP in multilateral meetings, the latest of them being the Karlovy Vary conference on problems of European security. The CC approves the activities of the PCP delegation in the preparation and holding of the conference to which the PCP delegation made a constructive contribution.

3. The CC closely examined the evolution of the situation in the Communist Party of China. After the launching of the "cultural revolution" the nationalistic and adventuristic policies of the Mao Tse-tung leading group became more apparent. Anti-Sovietism has become the pivot of the current policy of the Chinese leaders, who, despite the failure of their attempts to impose on the world Communist movement their hegemony and commandeering, keep trying to undermine it and to tear away from it the national-liberation movement. This activity is doing colossal harm to the cause of socialism and the struggle against imperialism.

Many Party members have asked the CC to explain to them the situation and provide them with informative and explanatory materials. The CC has found this demand just and taken appropriate measures.

4. The CC adopted a resolution, whose full text is to be published, on convening a world conference of the Communist and Workers' parties; it thus reaffirmed its support, in principle, of this initiative.

Bearing in mind the different attitudes of fraternal parties to the new conference, the CC PCP declares for a preliminary collective study of the situation and declares its readiness to take part in a consultative meeting of all the fraternal parties that might wish to hold a broad and frank exchange of opinions on all questions connected with the new conference, including the question of its being or not being expedient.

The CC stresses also that in the opinion of the PCP the decision on holding the new conference, the definition of its aims, the formulation of the agenda, its composition, and the methods of preparatory work should result from a collective judgment in whose elaboration all parties should be given opportunity to take part.

## OTHER RESOLUTIONS

In addition to the above-mentioned resolutions and secret documents, the CC approved the following resolutions:

—a resolution on refusal to serve in the armed forces and on desertions. In this resolution the CC points to the importance of desertions as a broad movement of the Portuguese young people's resistance to and protest against the colonial war, stressing that it welcomes the expansion and strengthening of this movement. On the other hand, the CC considers it important that Communist servicemen should remain in the army both on Portuguese soil and in the colonies, in order to continue revolutionary work;

—a resolution on the Party membership of the Portuguese who reside abroad, ruling that questions of the membership of the Communists who emigrate without the Party's instructions should be examined on their merits in every particular instance. The resolution lays down the general rules of the membership and activity of PCP members abroad.

These resolutions will be published for discussion and practical implementation.

The CC also approved an appeal to the working people in connection with the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

*Central Committee*
*Portuguese Communist Party*

*July 1967.*

# STATEMENT OF THE CC, PORTUGUESE CP, ON THE IMPERIALIST AGGRESSION IN THE MIDDLE EAST

The Central Committee of the Portuguese Communist Party has closely examined the question of the situation in the Middle East.

1. Israel's war of aggression against Arab states not only is designed to facilitate the expansionist plans of the reactionary Israeli government, but is an attempt by U.S. imperialism to regain, in collusion with British and West German imperialism, its economic and strategic position in that part of the world, to overthrow the anti-imperialist regimes in the United Arab Republic and Syria (and also in Algeria), and to strangle the national-liberation movement of the Arab peoples.

2. Tht CC delcares the solidarity of the Portuguese Communists with the just struggle of the Arab peoples in defense of their territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence. The CC declares against any territorial aggrandizement resulting from military invasion. If the aggressor is allowed to exploit the results of its aggression, this precedent will gravely endanger the evolution of international relations. Withdrawal of Israeli troops from occupied Arab territory is the first condition for a joint settlement of the problem. As long as Israeli troops continue to occupy Arab territory and the reactionary government of Israel nurtures its expansionist plans, war can break out again on an unforeseeable scale.

3. The reactionary Israeli government has become an instrument and a shock force of the U.S. imperialists who, in turn, support its expansionist and annexationist plans. While condemning anti-Arabism, the PCP has always condemned anti-Semitism and its savage manifestation in the genocide of millions of Jews by Hitler fascists. The PCP appreciates the contribution of numerous Jews in all countries to culture, science, art and revolutionary struggle. The PCP appreciates the courageous and consistent internationalist stand of the Communist Party of Israel, which denounces the Israeli aggression and supports the national-liberation movement of the Arab peoples. The PCP supports the right of the State of Israel to existence. At the same time, the PCP condemns the chauvinistic, expansionist, annexationist and adventuristic policy of the reactionary government of Israel, a policy which does not conform to the interests of the Israeli people and can jeopardize the very existence of the State of Israel.

4. The Arab peoples art not alone in their struggle. The imperialists' plans have fallen through mostly due to the vast political, diplomatic and military assistance which the Soviet Union and other socialist countries have rendered and continue to render to the Arab peoples as well as due to the solidarity of the international working class. The imperialists' extensive campaign and all actions aimed at belittling the importance of aid from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, conceal the truth of facts and are designed to estrange the Arab peoples from their best friends and allies without whose help they cannot, in the present international atmosphere, effectively resist imperialist aggression and ensure an independent development of their states.

5. The Chinese leaders, driven by their anti-Sovietism, have adopted, in connection with the conflict in the Middle East, a position aimed at tearing away the Arab peoples from the socialist camp and pushing them onto the road of an adventuristic policy. This position objectively plays into the imperialists' hands.

6. The CC voices the hope that the consequences of the aggression will be eliminated and that the Arab peoples, with the aid of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the working class and the progressive forces of all the world, will be able to strengthen their independence, marching along the road of democracy and social progress.

7. The events in the Middle East show what danger imperialism's aggressive policy presents to world peace. The struggle against imperialism is inseparable from the struggle for peace.

*Central Committee*
*Portuguese Communist Party*

*July 1967.*

# TURNING POINT FOR THE WORLD

## STATEMENT OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE CP USA

Our readers, we are confident, will find its analysis of the 50-year history of the Soviet Union, the first socialist state, of great interest.

Turns in human affairs so earth-shaking as to raise civilization to a new plane and to give an entirely new meaning to all aspects of life are extremely rare. The Great October Revolution, which gave birth to the first socialist state—the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics—is among the most monumental of such turning points.

It marked the beginning of a new era. It marked the end of the existence of capitalism as the sole, all-embracing world social system.

It brought into being a new and higher social order—socialism. It marked the beginning of the end of the rule of grasping, inhuman corporate wealth and gave life to a new social system whose guiding principle is: everything for the good of all.

For the first time in history, power was placed in the hands of those who work. A break was made with the long succession of social systems in which the many were exploited by the few.

The Great Octoper Revolution opened the most far-reaching revolutionary transformation in human history—the era of the passage of human society from capitalism to socialism.

Such was the meaning of the victorious struggle of the working class of the old Russian Empire 50 years ago—a struggle in which together with the peasantry, and under the leadership of Bolsheviks, they overthrew capitalist and landlord rule and established the first workers' state in the world.

Until then, socialism, as taught by Marx and Engels, had been a distant goal sought by the oppressed throughout the world. Now, for the first time, under the inspired leadership of Lenin, a state was established in which it was about to become an actuality.

Today, after 50 years of Soviet power, the promise of that dawn of a new life has indeed become an inspiring reality. The glow of the Revolution continues to shine brightly, lighting up the road toward communism in the Soviet Union and toward a socialist future for all mankind.

Under the most difficult conditions of economic backwardness and the devastation of war, and in the midst of a hostile capitalist

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*The Worker, August 6, 1967.

encirclement, the working class of the USSR, at great sacrifice of human energy and life, pioneered he first socialist society. It abolished class exploitation, unemployment, poverty, illiteracy and other ills of a decrepit capitalist society.

In the place of the old Czarist Russia there now stands a modern edifice, where all the benefits of life and culture are assured for the entire population as never before in history. From a country whose name was synonymous with the most miserable conditions of life and with the deepest reaction, the land has become an example of fully human existence, and a great world force for peace and progress.

This magnificent achievement is testimony to the validity of the scientific principles of Marxism-Leninism. The inevitability of the transition from capitalism to socialism is governed by the laws of social development, and it is because it correctly reflects the social and political processes arising from the working of these laws that Marxism-Leninism has become the mightiest of social forces—the social science that guides man's struggle for that social order which best serves human needs.

The victory of socialism and the accomplishments of these 50 years are also a tribute to the splendid leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union—the party of Lenin and the living embodiment of this science.

It was the steeled, disciplined Bolshevik Party, at the head of the Russian working class in alliance with the masses of the peasantry, which led the revolution to a successful conclusion and placed the newly-born Soviet Union firmly on the path to socialism.

It is the CPSU which has guided the Soviet people in the building of a society solidly founded on the principles of Marxism-Leninism. More, it is this party—a party of a new type—which was the forerunner of the Communist and Workers' parties throughout the world—parties which have already extended socialism to one-third of the earth's people and are leading the fight to make it a reality in all countries.

A cardinal principle upon which this new society was established is proletarian internationalism. It could not be otherwise in a working-class state, where the extraction of private profit through the exploitation of others has been eliminated. In the Soviet Union this was also an internal necessity for the success of socialism, for the regime that was overthrown was known as a "prison of nations," so many were the peoples and nationalities that suffered oppression at the hands of the Great Russian chauvinists.

From this "prison of nations" was forged the freest association of nations the world has yet seen—a multinational state in which

all are equal, in which national enmity and racial hatred are punished as crimes.

Nowhere else, in the internal affairs of multinational states, have downtrodden and subjugated peoples been able to emerge so completely from their previous condition, to enjoy almost overnight the possibility of rapid development into modern nations, and to share the full advantages, often on a privileged basis, of a high-level industrial society.

The principle of internationalism inherent in Soviet life and in its social structure, of necessity, played a central role in the world position of the USSR. Whereas the only "internationalism" known to capitalists is the common bond of profit, to which the national welfare is often sacrificed, the internationalism of socialist states is based on the common humanity of the working class and exploited peoples everywhere, white or colored. It is for this reason that the victory of the Socialist Revolution in Russia and every accomplishment of the USSR since then have been hailed by the workers and the oppressed all over the world, who regard this victory as their own.

Patriotism is a fool's errand when it serves the interests of an exploiting class, which rides roughshod over the rights and lives of entire nations to attain its ends. The true patriot fights best for his country when he opposes the aggressive actions of his ruling class, whether committed abroad or at home.

It was this very internationalist principle, given life and meaning by the needs of socialism, which determined the role of the Soviet Union in supporting with its world policies and with generous aid all socialist and national-liberation revolutions. Such support and aid is most reliable and most readily acceptable when it is based on common interest, whether it be the development of brother socialist nations or the weakening of world imperialism by the overthrow of colonial rule and the founding of new independent nations.

Thus the USSR, itself straining to recover from the ruinous war against fascism, gave of its very substance to sustain the new socialist states of Eastern Europe and of Asia, particularly China. And subsequently it gave on a much greater scale to the new nations of Africa and Asia that had overthrown imperialist rule and were seeking their own free development.

Soviet aid enabled Cuba, the courageous pioneer of socialism in Latin America, to withstand its powerful imperialist neighbor and to proceed with the building of the new society. The development of trade and industrial aid projects with other nations, in Latin America and elsewhere, help these countries evade the total

impact of imperialist control, and encourage the alternative course of independent growth.

Most precious is the unity, based on proletarian internationalism, of the socialist countries themselves. Any breach in this unity is a loss not only to the countries involved but to the forces everywhere engaged in the struggle against monopoly power and imperialism. While it is true that each country goes to socialism in the way determined by its own history, tradition and structure, and that national rights and mores dare not be violated, the basic attributes of socialist society are shared in common by all.

One of the great accomplishments of the Soviet Union in recent years is the effectiveness with which it overcame the serious effects of the violations of socialist democracy during Stalin's later years, and set the country on a path of accelerated development, free from the obstacles of narrow dogma in all fields. In the same manner, it has sought to re-establish normal international relations with the brother socialist countries. There is every reason to have confidence that despite complexities and problems, and in the face of imperialist aggression, the common base of all socialist countries will nourish and renew the unity of the socialist world.

Policies of the group around Mao Tse-tung in the leadership of the Communist Party of China have sharply departed from this working-class path. This group has moved into the swamp of narrow nationalism, of disruption of the world forces of anti-imperialism, of dividing and weakening the forces of world socialism, and of chaos and anarchy within the country. Theirs is a policy based on downgrading and attacking all concepts, ideas and organizations reflecting or based on the working class. The essence of their thought is petty-bourgeois radicalism.

The policies of Mao Tse-tung have resulted in a weakening of the world forces of anti-imperialism and socialism. But by far its most serious negative effects are in the building of a socialist society in China.

At the very heart of the Soviet endeavors for 50 years has been the fight for peace. The central idea, originally put forth by Lenin and elaborated by Soviet leaders since, that peaceful coexistence between socialist and capitalist nations is possible, without any sacrifice of socialist principles or socialist gains, has served as a reliable guide for the socialist peace policy. The world owes a great debt to the Soviet Union for its persistent struggle for this policy, from which it never departed despite imperialist provocations and despite adventurist proposals by its so-called friends.

This long-range peace policy arises from the reality of building socialism, first in a single country and then in many, in a world in which imperialism, although on the wane, still remains powerful

and aggressive.

Armed with this basic policy, as the only socialist country and then as the most powerful among a number of socialist lands, the Soviet Union has carried the main burden of defending peace on a world scale, first against the fascist aggressors and then, after World War II, against U.S. imperialism.

It has done this while building a socialist society at home and providing generous aid to fellow socialist states and to new nations emerging from colonialism. At great sacrifice of blood and treasure, the USSR during a half century has remained the bulwark of the world struggle for peace, national liberation and socialism.

In our capitalist country, armaments, while serving imperialist aims, are also considered an "aid" to the economy. But under socialism armaments are considered a burden on the economy, a waste of valuable labor and material that could easily be put to constructive social us. Armaments, including nuclear weapons, are therefore produced in the Soviet Union solely as a dire necessity of defense, and not to serve an aggressive foreign policy or to prop up a faltering economy.

It is indeed fortunate for the world that the Soviet Union is not tempted to flaunt its nuclear arsenal in a confrontation with the United States, either in Vietnam, where the USSR is supporting the glorious struggles of the Vietnamese people, or in the Middle East, where it supports the Arab revolution.

This certainly should not be taken as a sign that the Soviet Union is intimidated by an imagined U.S. nuclear superiority, as some weak-kneed critics say. It is rather the sign of a sane and responsible approach to the problem of peace in the nuclear age, which is at the same time an age of world revolutionary change.

U.S. imperialism, at the pinnacle of the capitalist world in a period when that world is on the way out, seeks to preserve the old order by force, using every dreadful "conventional" weapon in its arsenal, as it did in Korea and as it is now doing in its unprecedented devastation in Vietnam.

But the further escalation of the war in Vietnam by the United States, and the stoking of a new hotbed of war in the Middle East, raises more sharply the serious danger of a world nuclear conflict. The world again owes a great debt to the Soviet Union for its determined efforts to limit the war in Asia, while giving great military assistance to the defense of the Vietnamese people, and to prevent the renewal of aggression in the Middle East, while sustaining the cause of Arab Revolution.

The role of the Soviet Union in a world in the midst of revolutionary change would be better understood among broad Left and progressive circles if they were to understand more thoroughly the role played by anti-communism, even in their own ranks. A great

advance has been made in these circles, particularly in the peace, student and civil rights movements, in rejecting the principal tenets of the anti-communist ideology propagated by the Establishment. Unfortunately, however, a certain brand of anti-Sovietism still persists in the Left and has even grown, as an offshoot of old anti-communist ideas and as the result of a tendency to accept at face value the charges against the Soviet Union which are current in some parts of the world.

If it were only a question of objective criticism, within a balanced, positive approach to the historic meaning of Soviet society, this would only be natural. No society can be perfect, and in view of the complex choices that have to be made today, there are bound to be differences of view, even among Communists and revolutionists. Such questions are hotly debated not only here but also in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

But the type of criticism which can be characterized as deliberate anti-Sovietism, and which is of the greatest harm to the Left and progressive movement, is a reflection of the anti-communist crusade which had dominated for so long all media of information which are instruments of the cold war. This is the ideology of the imperialist ruling class, directed against socialism from the beginning, and now, with world socialism on the horizon, escalated into an all-inclusive and pervading miasma.

Fighters for democracy, peace, national liberation and socialism should reject influences of this ruling ideology and recognize such positions as dangerous to peace and to the unity of progressive forces.

For the reality is that in its fiftieth year the Soviet Union, in the full vigor of its socialist manhood, stands at the center of the world struggle for democracy, national liberation, peace and socialism.

The fact is that socialism as a virile and progressive social system made such great advances that it was was able to withstand and defeat the most aggressive force yet set loose against the world.

It is now a fact that in its present high stage of socialist development, the Soviet Union is pioneering in new methods of social organization, overcoming some of the features of over-centralization, and encouraging initiative at the point of production, so that advanced technology can bring the greatest benefits to the people.

It is also true that the standards of living are rising constantly, that the amenities of city life are becoming more generally available to the countryside, and that education at all levels is ever more easily accessible. There is no doubt that the trend has been set for a freer and more creative approach to all intellectual endeavors.

Far from weakening the inner revolutionary compulsion of Soviet

society and dimming the socialist vision, as some critics charge, this higher material and cultural level demonstrates to the working class of the Soviet Union and the world the advantages to be gained from socialism—not only for "underdeveloped" nations but also for peoples already at a more advanced economic level.

It is not only socialist propaganda by example. It is equally important, if not more so, that every new advance along these lines enables the Soviet Union to play a greater role as the pivot of world peace and progress. Without this constant progression in Soviet life, and the new positions that constantly have to be won to prepare the way for the equalitarianism and plenty of communism, the revolutionary dynamics of socialism would be lost and the vision of the future dimmed.

As American Communists we take pride in these achievements, although they belong to the working class of another country, because they prove in life the potential of socialism in our own country as well.

We are ever aware that we confront the greatest contradiction the world has ever faced: while socialism now shows clearly how the limitless potential of science and technology can be put to work for human benefit, the destructive aspects of the new technology at the same time are used to threaten the world with nuclear disaster.

Every possible effort must be exerted by a vast peace movement of the American people to force a change of course upon our government, away from a policy headed for war and toward a policy of peace and non-intervention.

Throughout the world, nations threatened by U.S. imperialist aggression, and intent upon realizing revolutionary changes long overdue, are fighting back, with confidence in victory, or are strengthening their defenses and alliances.

We believe that the revolutionary and progressive forces are powerful enough on a world scale to defeat imperialism and realize their aims.

A world nuclear conflict, which would bring catastrophe to all nations, can and must be averted if long overdue revolutionary changes are to be fully realized. And this requires, above all, a long-range policy of peaceful coexistence as a national policy of the United States, in the first place in its relations with the Soviet Union and all other socialist countries.

On the 50th anniversary of the first and leading socialist state we reaffirm our determination to direct all our efforts toward the achievement of peace and toward a policy of peaceful coexistence and American-Soviet friendship. And we express our determination to work with redoubled vigor for the triumph of socialism in our own country.

# GUS HALL GREETS* VILNER, TOUBI AS LEADERS OF TRUE ISRAEL CP

A split took place in 1965 in the Communist Party of Israel. It resulted in two organizations of equal size, each calling itself the Communist Party of Israel, the first headed by Shmuel Mikunis and Moshe Sneh, and the second by Meir Vilner and Tewfik Toubi. The first was almost totally Jewish in its composition. The second contained virtually all the Arab members in addition to a substantial body of Jewish Communists.

The position taken by other Communist parties at the time was generally that the split was both unfortunate and unnecessary and would do great harm to the Communist movement. They called upon both groups to do everything possible to reunite the Party; meanwhile neither group could be recognized as *the* Communist Party of Israel.

Since then the differences have sharpened, and with the outbreak of the war crisis the logic of the two positions came to full expression. The Mikunis group, moving in the direction of Jewish nationalism, capitulated to the pressures and upheld Israel's attack as a war of self-defense. On the other hand, the Vilner group, in the face of repression and persecution, stood its ground and opposed the war as one of deliberate aggression.

On these grounds, it is now felt by the leadership of the CPUSA that it is the organiaztion headed by Vilner and Toubi which must be regarded as the true Communist Party of Israel.

This is expressed in the following letter by General Secretary Gus Hall:

Good news sometimes travels slowly. We here in the United States are only now receiving the news about the courageous stand of the Communist Party of Israel that you, its leadership, have taken on the crisis created by the aggression of Israel against its Arab neighbors.

A crisis tests the ideological armor of all parties and individuals. Your Party, standing both on a firm principle and the best interests of the people of Israel, has earned the respect of all progressive mankind. The bouregois nationalist ideology that has festered beneath the veneer within the Mikunis-Sneh group broke to the surface during this crisis. They are getting the applause of the forces of reaction. But they will be discarded by the people of Israel as people who did not meet the test of time.

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*The Worker, August 20, 1967.

After our paper, *The Worker*, published the speeches of your leaders, there was a very healthy and wonderful response by our Party and the Left progressive forces of our country.

The enclosed $300.00 money order was collected by and from Jewish garment workers in New York as a tribute to your courage and militancy. It is in appreciation of your valiant struggle and for your correct Communist stand, for your ultimate exhibition of proletarian internationalism.

With warmest comradely greetings from our Party, its leadership and membership.

# STATEMENT*
# BY THE JORDANIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

Jordan, and the other Arab countries have been subjected to a savage aggression reminiscent of the barbarous crimes committed by Hitler during his invasion of Europe. Backed and helped by the U.S., Britain and other imperialist powers, Israel resorted to Nazi methods in destroying towns, villages and houses with their inhabitants, using napalm bombs, which are internationally banned, to kill people and burn their crops and other property, taking the life of thousands of victims—children, old people and women—and mutilating thousands of others. Tens of thousands of people were turned out of their houses, whole towns and villages reduced to ruins, many young people arrested, murdered or taken away to unknown places. War prisoners were treated in a most savage manner, many of them were killed and others manhandled.

With the help and support of world imperialism, Israel executed the first part, the military, of its foul conspiracy against our Jordanian people and the other Arab peoples, by occupying the Western bank of the Jordan, the Gaza strip, the Tiran Straits and the Syrian border area as a result of its dirty war against the Arab nation, a war which had been planned for a long time and which was executed in complete concert with the imperialists.

Aggressive Israel is now cooperating with all the criminal imperialist forces which supported it and instigated it to commit aggression, making feverish efforts to carry out the second, political part of its conspiracy by exploiting the military gains achieved through treachery and aggression. The U.S. and British imperialists and their aggressive agent, Israel, have many criminal projects and plans all aimed at definitively eliminating the Palestinian problem in the interests of Israel and imperialism, at imposing insulting and humliating settlements on the Arab states and enabling the Zionist octopus, a creation of imperialist monopolies, to grow and to prey on the wealth of the Arab peoples, to deal a blow at their political, economic and social gains.

The most dangerous of these Israeli-Anglo-American plans is the one which is to be carried out in case the aggressors and their supporters do not succeed in subjugating the Arab states and in imposing final general solutions upon them. It is the plan which is being brandished by the Zionist aggressors and their partners in Washington, London and Bonn and which is evident from the

*Abridged.

behavior of the Zionist assassins on the Western bank and in the Gaza strip, as well as from the behavior and the moves of a handful of traitorous agents who are collaborating with the enemy in order to establish an artificial entity on the newly usurped land under the spears of the barbarous invaders, conclude a unilateral peace with that entity, and achieve mutual recognition in an attempt to mislead and deceive world opinion and make it believe that the Palestinian question has been settled by agreement with its "people" and that no other side, Arab or non-Arab, has anything to do with the Palestinian question any longer.

To achieve this, the Zionists and their traitorous agents have resorted, and continue to resort to persecution, terror, injustice and discrimination, used by successive governments against the population.

Today, with the western bank of the Jordan and Gaza occupied and Palestine with its natural frontiers under Israeli control, the imperialists, Israel and the reactionary circles think this is the time to achieve what they were unable to achieve in the past, by establishing the false and artificial Palestinian entity in the occupied areas of Jordan and Gaza. The plotting aggressors realize that this would inevitably contradict the existence of the Jordanian state as an independent and sovereign state and a UN member and that international laws, principles and practice do not allow any part of its territory to be taken by force of arms. That is why the second part of their conspiratorial plans is to destroy and eliminate Jordan as a state and as an entity, which would enable Israel to swallow the western bank of the Jordan and Gaza. If they do not succeed in liquidating the Jordanian state, their alternative would be to destroy the forces opposing the Israeli and imperialists plans in the country and to put in power those willing to conclude a separate peace with Israel, to submit to any settlement or to conspire to tear off the eastern bank and annex it to a reactionary state, thus eliminating the Jordanian state.

That is the reason for the furious activities of the open and secret agents of U.S. and British imperialism who are everywhere in the state apparatus of Jordan, and of the Arab ultra-reactionaries and their agents in Jordan, as well as of the imperialist circles and their agents in Jordan, of the pressures, rumors and dubious contacts resorted to by the American, British and West German embassies in Jordan. It explains the attacks made on King Hussein and the forces supporting him in the government with a view to diverting them from the new Arab policy line of Jordan, to instigate the anti-national elements opposed to the policy of Arab solidarity, against King Hussein's initiative of concluding a mutual defense agreement with the UAR, against his effort to promote

Arab solidarity, release political prisoners and give all Jordanians at least some opportunity of working hand in hand in order to regain the western bank and undo the effects of the imperialist and Zionist aggression against our country.

The fundamental task facing our people and the brother Arab peoples today is to defeat all imperialist and Israeli plans and eliminate all the effects of the treacherous aggression territorially, militarily and economically. It is therefore necessary inside the country to rally the mass of our Jordanian people with all their national forces and organizations, official or otherwise, which are opposed to imperialism and Israeli occupation, to fight as one man and unrelentingly for the preservation of the eastern bank of our country and the recovery of every inch of our country on the western bank, to be fully vigilant in the face of imperialist agents and Israeli spies in the country, to bar the way of all conspirators and adventurers, to consolidate and strengthen the trend which is loyal to the country and to Arab solidarity within the state apparatus, and to resist all trends towards conspiracy and collusion with imperialism and Zionism and their criminal projects.

Realization of of this sacred task requires, in our opinion, the convening of a general national conference, on the initiative of King Hussein as the first responsible official who can pave the ground for this meeting and contribute effectively to its success. This meeting should be attended by representatives of the different popular and patriotic forces, the elements known for their hostility to imperialism and Zionism, and all loyal and patriotic elements in the government, both civilians and military men. The meeting should exchange opinions with a full sense of responsibility and in all frankness in order to formulate a national charter defining the mottos and aims at the crucial stage that Jordan and our entire Arab homeland are passing through.

To contribute to the success of this national conference, we propose, with full responsibility and modesty as a basis for discussion, the following points, which can be changed or modified for inclusion in the above-mentioned charter:

1. To preserve the territorial and political existence of Jordan as a basis for regaining our occupied territory and for resisting any attempt to encoach on the eastern bank of the Jordan.

2. To struggle for the recovery of the western bank as an integral part of the Jordanian state.

3. To rebuild our armed forces and equip them with efficient up-to-date weapons.

4. To unite all forces hostile to Zionist occupation and imperialism in a broad front grouping all loyal elements among the people and in the government.

5. To resist and foil all imperialist and Israeli plans, and to eliminate all the effects of the aggression.

6. To mobilize, train and arm the people, and to foster their political consciousness.

7. To solve the economic, financial and social problems resulting from the aggression.

8. To insist on the return of the refugees to their homes and on the payment of compensation for damage to state and private property.

9. To persevere in the policy of promoting deep solidarity with the UAR, Syria, Iraq and all other brother Arab states against imperialism and Israel, defeating all imperialist and Zionist plans, and regaining all the Arab territory occupied by Israel.

10. To establish the best of friendly political, economic and cultural relations with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and friendly states.

It is proposed that a coalition government be formed on the basis of the above program.

We are fully confident that the Arab peoples will finally triumph over all their enemies in the just battle they are engaged in, that our people in Jordan will succeed in regaining every inch of national soil, set out again to rehabilitate Jordan, use their resources in the interests of their sons, and work shoulder to shoulder with the brother Arab countries for the future, progress and unity of the Arab nation and for the recovery of all the usurped rights of the Arabs in Palestine.

# COMMUNIST PARTY INDIA MEMBERSHIP: LATEST FIGURES*

COMPILED BY RASHID

| State | 7th Congress 1964 based on 1962 membership excludes CPM Membership | 1965 | 1966 |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Andhra | 22,094 | 20,000 | 24,064 |
| 2. Assam | 2,100 | 2,475 | 5,055 |
| 3. Bihar | 13,235 | 11,780 | 15,000* |
| 4. Delhi | 1,123 | 1,000 | 1,326 |
| 5. Goa | 56 | 150 | 250 |
| 6. Gujarat | 431 | 764 | — — |
| 7. Himachal Pradesh | 200 | 305 | 567 |
| 8. Haryana Pradeh (west part of Punjab) | | | 1,078 |
| 9. Jammu & Kashmir Valley | — — | — — | 98 |
| 10. Karnatak | 964 | 625 | 1,000 |
| 11. Kerala | 11,473 | 12,193 | 21,217 |
| 12. Manipur | 825 | 1,200 | 1,500 |
| 13. Maharashtra | 7,398 | 8,151 | 5,000* |
| 14. Madhya Pradesh | 2,300 | 2,862 | 3,000 |
| 15. Orissa | 4,022 | 1,380 | 4,000 |
| 16. Punjab | 7,124 | 6,661 | 9,000* |
| 17. Rajasthan | 1,870 | 1,500 | 2,600* |
| 18. Tamilnad | 15,015 | 13,922 | 18,500 |
| 19. Tripura | — — | 1,000 | — — |
| 20. Uttar Pradesh | 9,917 | 8,000 | 17,000* |
| 21. West Bengal | 7,560 | 7,010 | 15,000 |
| PHQ Branch | 55 | 56 | 55 |
| | 107,762 | 101,034 | 145,310 |

*Awaiting final figures.

**Note:** Figures for Gujarat, Jammu and Tripura units were not available at the time of compiling (August 4, 1967).

***Party Life,** August 1967.

# PARTY BUILDING; RESULTS AND PERSPECTIVES*

GEORGES MARCHAIS

At the beginning of 1967 the Twenty-Third Congress of the French Communist Party called on all Party organizations and activists to redouble their efforts to recruit new members, to increase the number of Party cells at enterprises, in the towns and the countryside.

Judging by the following three facts we can already say that the Party's forces will be considerably reinforced in 1967.

1. The number accepted into the Party in 1967 will be much higher than in previous years. Thus, whereas in 1966, 33,000 people joined the Party, by July 1, 1967, the figure was 37,000, i.e., 4,000 more than in the previous year. In 70 federations the number of new members already exceeds the 1966 results, the increase being a very considerable one in some of them as the following examples show: by July 1 the Nord Department had registered 2,720 new members as against 1,482 in 1966, the Rhone Department—1,005 as against 614, Meurthe-et-Moselle—1,010 as against 493, the Seine-Maritime—766 as against 577, the Alpes-Maritimes—637 as against 348, Bouche-du-Rhone—1,700 as against 1,295, Herault—637 as against 474.

We welcome the influx of new Communists all the more because for the most part they are young people. For example, a survey made by the Federation of the Gard Department shows that the average age of the 163 new members who applied for membership during the Federation's summer festival was 23, and that most of them were workers.

2. The number of new cells is markedly increasing. By July 1 they totalled 867 as against 740 in 1966. The new cells are distributed as follows: 295 at enterprises, 328 are local, and 244 are rural. All the federations that worked to expand the network of branches have achieved rewarding results. Thus, 57 new branches have been formed in Paris, 34 in the Upper Seine Department, 33 in the Upper Marne Department, 30 in the Nord, 18 in the Aisne, 15 in the Finistere, and so on.

3. The resolute fight started against negligence and a narrow-minded approach to young Communists proved beneficial. In most federations all new members were quickly issued Party cards and

*Abridged. **L'Humanité,** July 21, 1967. The author is a Member of the Political Bureau, Secretary of the CC, FCP.

drawn into the activity of their respective branches.

True there are still shortcomings in some of the federations. But there is every possibility of limiting these shortcomings to those which are objectively unavoidable.

These three facts—mass recruitment, the establishment of many new cells and the issuing of Party cards without undue delay show that we shall be able to substantially increase our forces in 1967.

In many federations the increase in membership has been by the hundreds. Thus the Federation of the Nord Department has registered 1,150 more members than in 1966. The figures for Upper Marne are 500, the Upper Seine 410, Meurthe-et-Moselle-Sud, 330, and the Rhone, 250.

These results call for no comment. They speak of the perspectives for making a big leap forward in reinforcing the ranks of the Party.

During the parliamentary elections five million electors voted for the Communists for they see the Party as the best champion of their immediate and future interests, as the best equipped to form an alliance of Left forces in the fight against the regime of one-man rule and for the establishment of a truly democratic regime.

The same reasons prompt the more politically conscious of them to join the French Communist Party and to fight in its ranks for a better future in conditions of democracy and peace. The attitude adopted by the Party at the time of the Middle East crisis, an attitude that conforms with national interests, with the right of peoples to decide their own destiny, with the cause of peace, inspired many working people, many democrats and peace partisans to join the Party. Indeed, never before did we register so many new members as during the summer festivals of the federations: 167 in Nimes, 150 in Marseille, 158 in Montpellier, 132 in Lyons and 80 in Limoges.

In these conditions the doors to the Party should be opened wide to the thousands of men and women, to the representatives of the youth who want to join our ranks. New cells should be formed at enterprises, in the towns and the countryside.

The independent activity of the Party and its political work among the masses should be constantly promoted.

The development of a mass movement for the right of peoples to decide their own destiny, to preserve peace, defend economic and social gains and for the creation of an alliance of Left parties on the basis of a joint government program—this is part and parcel of intensive work by all Party organizations to explain to the masses the attitude of the Party and its proposals in all spheres, and to organize an alliance and mass action.

Cantonal elections will be held in two months' time. Our aim is to collect the maximum number of votes already in the first round.

To achieve this we must convince the largest number of electors that to *vote communist is* to come out in favor of a genuine policy of social progress, democracy, peace and national independence, in favor of an alliance of all Left parties on the basis of a joint government program, a program making possible a policy that truly corresponds to the interests of the people and France.

Naturally the more there are of us and the more Party cells we establish, the more successfully we will cope with this big political, ideological and organizing job. As Comrade Waldeck Rochet noted at the last plenary meeting of the Central Committee, "the reinforcement of the organization of the Party and the recruitment of new members is a condition for accomplishing the political tasks of the Party in the service of the working class and the people."

First of all we must prepare to make the most of the *l'Humanité*-sponsored celebrations. In 1966 we were able to recruit 2,560 new members. This year we can and must do better. Every federation participating in the celebrations must simply enlist as many members as possible whose task it will be to propose to the hundreds of thousands of men, women and young people who will come to Vincennes to join the Party.

Many public meetings will be held during the cantonal election campaign. Every such meeting and all our propaganda material distributed in this connection must be used to win new members.

Finally, in a few months' time we shall be celebrating the 50th anniversary of the glorious October Socialist Revolution of 1917, which opened a new era in the history of mankind—the era of socialism, communism and the liberation of men and peoples. On this occasion we shall acquaint ourselves with the successes of the Soviet people in all spheres, successes that speak of the superiority of the socialist system over the capitalist. And we shall show how the French Communist Party will pave the way to socialism for the working class and the people of France.

There is no doubt that on the occasion of this glorious anniversary many workers and democrats will join the ranks of the French Communist Party.

By making the maximum use of these three major political events, by continuing the efforts to enlist into the Party all who want to join it, by forming many new cells we will be in a position to make 1967 the most fruitful year in our Party building.

# PROGRESS OF SOVIET ECONOMY*

NIKOLAI BAIBAKOV
Member of the CPSU Central Committee

Our country started out on its development from a very low level. As a result of the damage inflicted by the First World War, the Civil War, and foreign intervention Russia's industrial output in 1921 was roughly five times below that in 1913 and less than one per cent of world output.

There were more than 20 million individual small peasant households with primitive implements and manual labor predominating. About a third of the peasants had no draft animals, and 65 per cent of the poor peasants hadn't enough grain to last them till the new harvest. That was what we inherited, the starting point from which we began the development of a new, socialist economy.

Climbing the steep slopes of the five-year plans, our country is steadily advancing towards the summits of communism, becoming ever more mighty and beautiful. The peoples of the world are beginning to see ever more clearly the advantages of the socialist system. They see that the Soviet economy is developing on the basis of modern science and engineering, becoming ever more balanced and harmonious. The Soviet Union has attained uninterrupted, crisis-free economic growth, full employment of the entire able-bodied population, and rising living standards.

Notwithstanding the difficulties the Soviet Union has accomplished what many of our contemporaries considered impossible and unattainable. In 1966, as compared with 1913, national income increased more than 34-fold and gross industrial output—66-fold. This is also borne out by the figures indicating the growth in output of key industrial and agricultural products.

| | 1913 | 1940 | 1966 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Electric power (1,000 mill. kwh.) | 2.0 | 48.3 | 545 |
| Steel (mill. tons) | 4.3 | 18.3 | 96.9 |
| Oil (mill. tons) | 10.3 | 31.1 | 265 |
| Gas (1,000 mill. cu. m.) | 0.02 | 3.4 | 145 |
| Coal (mill. tons) | 29.2 | 166 | 586 |
| Cement (mill. tons) | 1.8 | 5.7 | 80 |
| Mineral fertilizers (in conventional units, mill. tons) | 0.1 | 3.2 | 35.8 |

*Abridged from **Pravda**, August 12, 1967.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Fabrics of all kinds (1,000 mill. sq. m.) | 2.2 | 3.3 | 7.9 |
| Knitted wear (all kinds, mill. units) | — | 183 | 993 |
| Leather footwear (mill. pairs) | 68 | 211 | 522 |
| Granulated beet sugar (mill. tons) | 1.4 | 2.2 | 8.3 |
| Grain (mill. tons) | 86.0 | 95.6 | 171.2 |
| Butter (industrial product, thousand tons) | 129 | 226 | 1,042 |
| Vegetable oil (industrial product, thousand tons) | 538 | 798 | 2,730 |

Throughout its 50-year history, the USSR national economy developed at a rate unattainable for capitalism. From 1918 to 1966 the average annual growth in industrial output in the Soviet Union was about 10 per cent, in the United States—3.7, in Britain—2.1 and in France—3.7 per cent. Maintaining these high rates the Soviet Union has lately surpassed the United States in the absolute growth of output of a number of important products. This qualitatively new achievement foreordains Soviet victory over the United States in peaceful economic competition.

Today, the USSR accounts for nearly one-fifth of world industrial output. Our country's industries turn out today as much as is produced by the major West European countries put together.

In 50 years the Soviet people have prospected and begun to utilize immense natural resources. Hence the USSR has a most favorable mineral and raw material balance, and possesses sufficient raw material of all kinds to fully satisfy domestic needs as well as export.

We have achieved a considerable increase in consumer goods production. It should, however, be admitted that the rate of increase of consumer goods production has been inadequate. That was because we had to concentrate, in the first place, on creating a first-class technical basis for the national economy.

Consolidation of the gains of the socialist revolution called for radical and profound reforms in the economics and technology of production. Lenin proved scientifically that the country could be brought to the forefront of economic, scientific and technical progress only through socialist industrialization and electrification, by placing the country's entire economy on the solid foundation of heavy industry.

The experience of socialist construction fully confirmed the correctness of that line. Economic development could proceed in good tempo and labor productivity be boosted only by developing heavy industry. Socialist industrialization had secured for our country economic independence, assured the economic and cultural growth of the formerly backward national provinces and created the conditions for strengthening the country's defenses. It also

solved important and complex social problems—it created the premises for full employment, and subsequently resulted in speedily eliminating unemployment.

History had given us too little time to liquidate our technical and economic backwardness. We had to bridge the yawning gaps in the country's industrial development and overtake the technically more advanced capitalist countries in the shortest possible time. The need quickly to develop the country's technical might was made urgent by the obtaining international situation.

Just imagine what would have happened to the Soviet Union, and even to the whole course of world history, if the country had not in some ten or fifteen years fundamentally industrialized its economy. The answer is self-obvious: it would not have been able to withstand the invasion of the Nazi aggressors.

In implementing the vast program of upgrading and developing the productive forces and building up the country's technical foundation we always proceeded from the final aim of socialism—production should serve to satisfy the social needs and raise the living standards of the working people. Although external and internal circumstances had occasionally forced the Soviet people to restrict consumption so as to accelerate industrial progress and strengthen the country's defenses, our achievements were quite significant: real earnings of workers in industry and construction increased 6.6-fold, and of farmers, 8.5-fold compared to 1913. Agricultural output almost trebled, production of consumer goods increased more than 20-fold, urban housing, 7.2 times, hospital accommodation, 11.2 times.

Now that we have successfully solved the problems of creating an up-to-date technical basis for our economy all the opportunities are there for a more rapid development of consumer goods production.

The 23rd CPSU Congress stressed the need more rapidly to eliminate the lag in the rate of consumer goods production as compared to that of capital goods production, and more rapidly to overcome the lag in the rate of agricultural development as compared to the growth rate in industry. That is one of the characteristic features of the current stage of economic development in the USSR.

Speaking of the sources of the high rate of economic development we need specifically to stress the changes that have taken place in the cultural standards of the people. A country almost wholly illiterate in the past, in an unbelievably short time became one of the world's most foremost countries in culture and education. We have large contingents of skilled specialists in all branches of the national economy, in all Union Republics.

The national economy at present boasts about 13 million specialists with higher and secondary special education, which is 60 times the figure for 1913. In the current Five-Year Plan our secondary and higher schools will graduate some seven million specialists.

The Soviet State has ensured intensive development of science. Apart from the USSR Academy of Sciences, academies have been set up and are fruitfully operating in all the Union Republics. In 1957 another large scientific center was established in the East—the Siberian section of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Scientific research is being expanded in industry, in other branches of the national economy, and in higher educational institutions. All this is promoting a more rapid advance of our country's economy. The Soviet Union holds a leading position in world scientific and technical progress, and our specialists can cope with the most complex tasks.

The wide opportunities created in our country for development of the productive forces provide a sound basis for economic progress. The Soviet Union is conducting undeviatingly a policy of raising the level of the formerly backward economic areas and is thereby providing for higher growth rates in these areas. It is this policy that has enabled all the Union Republics of the USSR to become industrially developed and economically powerful.

The years of Soviet power have witnessed the implementation of a gigantic construction program throughout the country. Large investments have been made in the development of the Soviet economy. Six hundred thousand million rubles' worth of fixed assets have been commissioned, over 40 thousand large industrial enterprises have been newly built or rehabilitated and put into operation, more than 140,000 km. of railway lines have been laid. In this same period 1,367 million square metres of housing have been built in towns, workers' settlements and state farms, and 21 million homes erected for collective farmers. In the last ten years alone about 114 million Soviet people, or almost half the country's population, have moved into new apartments or improved their housing conditions.

The Soviet State is investing large financial and material resources into the eastern areas which account for about 90 per cent of the country's fuel deposits and have large reserves of timber, ferrous and non-ferrous metal ores, and immense hydroresources. Almost 35 per cent of the State's total investments have been channeled into the country's eastern areas (including the Urals). The share of the eastern areas in the overall all-Union output of many key industrial products has thus increased manifold.

Twenty years have passed since socialism had outstepped the confines of one country. The establishment of the socialist world

system is the triumph of the Leninist theory of socialist revolution. The socialist countries, through their all-round cooperation, are successfully developing their economies and coordinating their national economic plans. Mutual support and assistance, and exchange of experience have become a mighty factor in the advancement of all the socialist countries along the road of progress.

The plan for the first year of the Five-Year Plan has been overfulfilled both by industry and agriculture. The plan for the jubilee year, 1967, is also being implemented well. Industrial output in the first six months increased 10.6 per cent compared with the same period last year. In two years national income will have risen by no less than 14 per cent and real per capita earnings—by approximately 12 per cent. The targets of the Five-Year Plan are being successfully fulfilled.

The Party and Government at present attach singular importance to consistent implementation of the principles of socialist management, planning and economic incentives worked out by the March and September Plenary Meetings of the Central Committee of the CPSU. The experience in agriculture and the initial results of the industrial enterprises that have gone over to the new system of planning and management bear out the correctness of the path charted by the Party and Government. The reform's main result is increased output, higher labor productivity and profits.

Statements have been appearing in the Western press and elsewhere to the effect that the present reform in management and planning is the outcome of a crisis in Soviet economy, that our economic reorganizations are a retreat from socialism.

These allegations are occasioned either through ignorance of the actual state of affairs or are a deliberate distortion of the facts.

The economic reform in our country has been made necessary by economic growth, by the need to accelerate technical progress and improve the methods of management because of mounting production and the complexity of economic ties. The reform's principal task is to enhance the efficiency of all social production.

The economic reorganization now under way signifies further development of the principles that have been tested and proved viable during the many years of socialist construction. Here we need to mention in the first place socialism's underlying principle: "From each according to his abilities, to each according to his work." Abiding by this principle, we seek to stimulate the abilities of each working man to do highly productive work, provide greater material incentives for high quality performance, introduce cost accounting throughout the economy which makes for a more efficient development of socialist production.

Consistently adhering to the socialist principle of democratic centralism we are introducing new aspects of management and

planning in the branches of the economy. The central management bodies concentrate wholly on the implementation of a single policy in the sphere of technical progress, capital investments, finance and prices. At the same time factories and plants are given more independence and rights in resolving concrete problems of local management.

All aspects of economic performance have improved at the overwhelming majority of enterprises which have gone over to the new methods of work. Thus, in the first half of this year, as compared with the first half of 1966, enterprises that switched over to the new system have increased sales by 12 per cent, profits 22 per cent and labor productivity eight per cent.

The changeover to the new system is effected gradually as the enterprises complete preparations for the move. Forty-six hundred industrial enterprises producing more than 30 per cent of the total industrial output are now operating under this new system. Next year the economic reform will spread to nearly all industries and transport and then to other branches of the national economy.

The full and final victory of socialism in the USSR and the transition to the building of communism is the basic result of the Soviet people's revolutionary and transforming activity under the leadership of the Leninist Party. The Soviet State greets its 50th anniversary with achievements of world historic significance.

# PARTY PERIODICALS

## ITEMS IN CURRENT ISSUES

### NOVO VREME, No. 7, 1967, Bulgarian CP

V. Bonev, "The Role of the Patriotic Front in Rallying the People Behind the Policy of the BCP"; P. Rusev, "Creative Approach to Party Work"; P. Gramatikov, "Trends in the International Economic Relations of People's Bulgaria"; A. Kolev, "Additional Material Incentives in Agricultural Cooperatives"; I. Kuzminov, "Problems of the Postwar Capitalist Cycle"; V. Momov, "Sense of Responsibility and Its Inculcation in Young People"; M. Manev, "The October Socialist Revolution and Bulgarian-Soviet Friendship"; V. Kolevski, "The October Revolution and the Affirmation of Leninist Principles in Bulgarian Literature"; B. Petkov, "Remove the Threat to Peace in the Middle East and Throughout the World"; N. Belousov, "The Underground CC Survived"; A. Todorov, "He Sang Anti-Fascist Struggle"; A. Antimov, "Behind the Facade of American Democracy"; S. Popov, "A New Marxist Periodical."

### No. 8, 1967

Editorials: "From the Heights of Half a Century"; Militant Class Positions"; K. I. Grigorov, "A Solid Ideological and Theoretical Basis of Socialist Construction"; A. Shishkov, "Contractual Relations and Purchase of Farm Products"; K. Baichinski, "The October Revolution and the Development of the World Communist Movement"; S. Mikhailov, "Problems of Young People in the Light of Sociological Research"; A. Sokolov, "Marxist Periodicals in Bulgaria."

### CRITICA MARXISTA, No. 3, 1967, Italian CP

Emilio Sereni, "Problems of the Struggle for Peaceful Coexistence"; Luciano Gruppi, "Notes on the Problem of Freedom"; Andras Hegedus, "Division of Labor in Socialist Society."

### KOMMUNIST, No. 12, 1967, CPSU

"The Great Force of Socialist Emulation" (editorial); A. Sneckus, "Educating Soviet People in the Spirit of Proletarian Internationalism"; O. Ozerov, "The Spirit of the Times—the Inspiration of Literature"; L. Leontyev, "Marx's *Capital* and Our Epoch"; Otto Reinhold, "The World-Historic Importance of *Capital*"; I. Sokolov, "Leninist Analysis of Monopoly Capitalism and Our Time"; M. Sladkovsky, "A Threat to the Economic Foundations of Socialism in China."

## NOVA MYSL, No. 17, 1967, CP of Czechoslovakia

Pavel Reiman, "The Influence of the October Revolution on the Development of the Working-Class Movement in Czechoslovakia"; V. Nemec, "The Significance of the New Law on Administrative Management"; J. Rederer, "The British Labor Party and Neocolonialism"; B. Prouza, "French Agriculture and the Common Market"; J. Osers, "Plan and Prognosis in Capitalist Countries"; J. Pospisil, "Problems of Our Scientific Basis."

## TARSADALMI SZEMLE, No. 7, 1967, HSWP, Hungary

The issue includes the Theses of the CC CPSU on the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution. Other items: "The Centenary of *Capital*"; R. Nyers, "Some Problems of Our Economy Policy" (report to the CC Meeting on June 23); "After the Congress of the Hungarian Young Communist League"; I. Patko, "The Background of the War in the Middle East"; E. Soeter, "Industrial Democracy at Some Big Enterprises"; A. Sipos, "Some Theoretical Problems of Capitalist Reproduction in Our Economic Literature"; G. Bicskei, "Production and Public Education."

## WISSEN UND TAT, No. 7-8, 1967, CP of Germany

The issue contains excerpts from the reports of M. Reimann and the Political Bureau to the 10th Plenary Meeting of the CC, materials devoted to the Karlovy Vary conference of Communist and Workers' parties (M. Reimann's speech at the conference and M. Schaefer's article "For Peace and Security in Europe"), and replies to letters from young Communists. Other items: H. Machelett, "Trade Unions and the Economic Reform"; E. Stern, "The October Revolution—a Turning Point in World Revolutionary Development."

## TIDEN, No. 5, 1967, CP of Denmark

C. H. Jensen, "Whither China?"; A. Jensen, "The Common Market—a Market of Monopolies"; "Communists and the Agreement on Working Conditions in Agriculture."

## NUESTRA BANDERA, No. 53, 1967, CP of Spain

Editorials: "Against Repressions," "Discussion in the Cortes," "Spain, the European Common Market, GATT," "The Example of Sastago." Materials devoted to the new law on trade unions: A document of workers' commissions, proposals of Barcelona's workers and technicians. *University Life*: F. Melchor, "A Chronicle of Events." *International Panorama*: S. Alvarez, "A Historic Task—Aid to Vietnam"; "The Middle Eastern Crisis" (editorial). *Karlovy Vary Conference*: speech by Dolores Ibarruri, General Resolution, statements on Vietnam and Greece, abridged text of L. I. Brezhnev's speech. *50th Anniversary of the October Revolution*: First

decrees of the Soviet government; E. Lister, "Malinovsky—Our Friend." *Party Documents*: "For a Mass Party," resolution of the Executive Committee; "Letter of the CC to Students"; "The Role of the Intelligentsia," document of a CC commission; "Statement of the Executive Committee on the Conflict in the Middle East."

## HORIZONS, No. 2, Summer of 1967, CP of Canada

N. Clarke, "Peace and the Independence of Canada"; W. Kashtan, "The Coming Century"; "An Open Letter to Canadian Nationalists" from the editors of *Canadian Dimension*; E. Modrjinskaya, "Aspects sociologiques de la Souveraineté nationale"; S. Walsh, "Some Aspects of the National Question in Canada"; L. Racine, "Colonialism in Quebec" (review of André d'Allemagne's book); Jeannette Walsh, "La Question nationale et la lutte des classes"; A. Pelletier, "Industrial Ontario as Seen by a Quebecois"; P. Prokop, W. Harasym, M. Sago, "Changing Nature of the Ukrainian Canadian Community." The issue also contains a review of research themes of the Montreal Marxist Research Center: theory of the national question, monopoly capital, the role of the State, the structure and conditions of social classes, etc.

## NAMYN AMDRAL, No. 7, 1967, MPRP, Mongolia

Documents of the 3rd Plenary Meeting of the CC in June 1967: resolution on the report of Y. Tsedenbal "On Amending the Model Rules of Agricultural Cooperatives and the Establishment of the Union of Agricultural Cooperatives"; resolution "On Strengthening Contacts with the Communist and Workers' Parties"; statement on the Moscow conference of representatives of socialist countries in connection with Israeli aggression in the Middle East.

"Important Tasks of Agricultural Cooperatives" (editorial); T. Dugersuren, "Educating the Younger Generation in the Spirit of the Revolutionary and Labor Traditions of the Older Generation"; S. Purev, "The Mongolian People's Republic—a Component of the Socialist World System"; V. Zhamyan, "The Tasks of Labor and Wages Boards"; B. Lamzhav, "Concern for Cadres"; G. Zhamsranzhav, "Plot, Image, Idea"; R. Gongor, "Development of the Socialist World System."

## LUPTA DE CLASA, No. 6, 1967, Rumanian CP

"The Right Man in the Right Place" (editorial); A. Crisan, "Application of Results of Scientific Research—an Imperative of Modern Production"; G. Raboaca, "Material Incentives and Labor in Agriculture"; M. Malita, "The Position of Man in the Process of Economic Development"; I. Florea, "History and Determinism"; F. Constantiniu, "Social Psychology in Historical Research"; I. Iordan, "More Attention to the Scientific Value of Doctor's Degree Theses"; C. Codreanu, "The Study of Physics in Technical Departments"; G.

Stroia, "The National Specificity of Art and Literature"; Zoe Dumitrescu-Busulenga, "Humaniora"; P. Berar, "Studying the History of Rumanian Social and Philosophical Thought"; P. Apostol, "Dialectics and Integration of Science" (review); T. Chirita, "Producer Cooperatives in Agriculture"; M. Oprisan, "Modern Trends in the Electric Power Market of the Capitalist World."

## PRINCIPIOS, No. 119, May-June 1967, CP of Chile

"The People Want Change" (editorial); H. Jiménez, "Integration: a Problem of the Present-Day World"; J. Cademartori, "Integration: Imperialism and Latin America Taking Sides"; M. Marquez, "Venezuela's Political Problems"; *Round Table*: "New and Old in Party Publicity Techniques."

# ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

**August 3-September 4.** Invited by the CC CPSU, a delegation of the Sudanese Union of Mali visited the USSR to study the work of the CC CPSU.

**August 15-25.** A delegation of Hungarian Party functionaries headed by I. Szatmary, deputy head of the Party and mass organizations department of the CC, visited the Soviet Union to familiarize themselves with the experience of the CPSU in work with mass public organizations.

On August 24 the delegation had a talk with P. N. Demichev, alternate member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC CPSU.

**August 18**. The Board of the Left Party-Communists of Sweden sent a letter to the government demanding resolute condemnation of the escalation of the U.S. war in Vietnam. The Communists of Sweden consider that the government should verify Swedish exports to the USA which that country can use directly or indirectly in its war against the people of Vietnam, and take measures to ban the export of such goods.

**August 19.** Nicolae Ceausescu received Jesus Faria, General Secretary of the CP of Venezuela, who was taking a rest in Rumania. Information was exchanged on the situation in both countries and the activities of the two parties. The need was stressed for strengthening the unity of the Communist and working-class movement and mobilizing and uniting all anti-imperialist forces in the struggle against imperialism's aggressive plans, for national independence, social progress and world peace and security.

**August 20.** The Polish News Agency reported that Alexandru Draghici, member of the Executive Committee and Permanent Presidium and Secretary of the CC of the Rumanian CP, had spent several days in Poland during which he had unofficial talks with Zenon Kliszko, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC of the Polish United Workers' Party.

**August 22-27.** Yugoslavia played host to Luigi Longo, *TANJUG* reported. On August 23 Comrades Longo and Tito met on Brioni Island and had a talk, in the course of which they expressed satisfaction with the current development of relations and the desire to promote and strengthen all-round contacts along both party and

state lines and develop trade and technical, cultural and economic cooperation between Italy and Yugoslavia.

**August 27.** According to a report of the Hungarian *MTI* news agency, Aarne Saarinen, Chairman of the CP of Finland, was received by Janos Kadar. Opinions were exchanged on major problems of the international situation and other questions of interest to both parties.

**August 24.** Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the CC of the Bulgarian CP, met with R. Radmanesh, Chairman of the Bureau of the CC of the People's Party of Iran (Tudeh), and had a talk with him on the relations between the two fraternal parties as well as topical problems of the world Communist movement and the international situation, specifically the crisis in the Middle East resulting from Israeli aggression against Arab countries.

Complete identity of views on all questions under discussion was recorded.

**August 25.** P. N. Demichev, alternate member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC, CPSU, received Kim Chung Vong, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Korean People's Democratic Republic, on the latter's request, and had a talk with him which passed in a warm comradely atmosphere.

**August 25.** G. Mittag, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC SUPG, received a delegation of the CC of the Party of Working People of Vietnam which visited the German Democratic Republic for an exchange of experience.

G. Mittag assured the Vietnamese comrades that the SUPG and the GDR would do everything to support the heroic struggle of the people of Vietnam against the escalating aggression of the United States.

**August 25.** *Le Drapeau Rouge*, the daily paper of the CP of Belgium, wrote editorially that condemnation of the bombing of the DRV by the United States and the demand for peace talks were assuming a nationwide character in Belgium. The newspaper criticized the Belgian government for failure to dissociate itself from the U.S. aggression against the people of Vietnam.

**August 26.** Janos Kadar received Max Reimann, First Secretary of the CP of Germany, who was spending his vacation in Hungary. The two leaders discussed problems of the international situation and the world Communist movement and questions of interest to both parties. Complete identity of views of the two parties was established.

**August 26.** Passing through Rome, Rodney Arismendi, First Secretary of the CC of the CP of Uruguay, met with members of the Leadership of the ICP. During the meeting, *L'Unita* reported, which

passed in a friendly atmosphere, an exchange of information took place and the fraternal relations existing between the two parties were reaffirmed.

**August 27.** *L'Unita* published a statement of the ICP Leadership sharply condemning the policy of the United States in Vietnam. "The heroic resistance of the Vietnamese people," the statement said, "which enjoys ever more active support of all democrats in the world and growing assistance from the USSR and the other socialist countries, and the moral and political superiority of the freedom fighters, prevent the U.S. imperialists from suppressing the staunch resistance of the National Liberation Front. This drives them to the madness of escalating the war. This irrational logic must be stopped before it is too late. The escalation in Vietnam demands an appropriate reply: solidarity, assistance in the struggle for the liberation of Vietnam, dissociation from the U.S. aggression, and its condemnation."

In conclusion the statement said that the ICP Leadership protested against the brutal repressions against Indonesian Communists, calling these repressions "one of the vilest anti-Communist crusades history has ever known."

**August 29.** Waldeck Rochet, who visited Yugoslavia as a guest of the CC of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, left Zaghreb for Paris. A joint communique published in Belgrade stated, among other things, that the delegations had exchanged opinions on the international situation and problems of the world working-class movement and the cooperation between the two parties. Both parties declared again for an unconditional discontinuation of the bombing of the DRV and for the creation of conditions in which the Vietnamese people could exercise the right to decide their destiny independently, without foreign interference.

In connection with the situation in the Middle East the representatives of the LCY and FCP declared that withdrawal of troops from the occupied territories was indispensable for a constructive settlement of the problem. Only a political solution based on the elimination of the consequences of the aggression and on ensuring the right of all the peoples of the Middle East to free and independent development would guarantee peace and security in that part of the world.

The LCY and FCP were convinced that peace in Europe was exposed to grave dangers and that this called for the establishment of an effective system of European security.

**August 30.** According to the Bulgarian News Agency, Todor Zhivkov received a DRV government delegation headed by Le Thanh Nghi, member of the Political Bureau of the CC PWPV and Deputy Chairman of the DRV Council of Ministers.

At the end of August a delegation of the CP of Ceylon led by Arnolis Appuhami, member of the Political Bureau, visited Mongolia as guests of the CC of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party.

**September 1.** A. P. Kirilenko received J. Hendrych, member of the Presidium and Secretary of the CC of the CP of Czechoslovakia, who was taking a rest in the Soviet Union, and had a talk with him, which passed in an atmosphere of cordiality and fraternal friendship.

**September 2.** Zenon Kliszko met with Meir Vilner, Secretary of the Political Bureau of the CP of Israel, the Polish News Agency reported. Opinions were exchanged on major problems of the international situation, the world Communist movement and the contacts between the Polish and Israeli parties. The representatives of the two parties condemned the ruling circles of Israel, which had attacked Arab countries, acting in collusion with the U.S. and British imperialists and with the encouragement and assistance of the West German revenge-seekers. They declared that immediate withdrawal of Israeli troops from the occupied Arab territory and discontinuation by the Israeli government of the aggression against its neighbors were the main conditions for a peaceful settlement in the Middle East.

Discussing problems of the world Communist movement, the representatives of the two parties stressed the need for further efforts to strengthen the unity of action of the Communist and Workers' parties and all anti-imperialist forces against the aggressive actions of the imperialists in Vietnam, the Near East and other regions of the world, in the struggle for the security of the peoples and peace. Complete identity of views of both parties on the questions discussed was put on record.

**September 3.** *Prensa Latina* (Cuba) reported that the Political Bureau of the CC of the CP of Cuba had decided to set up a commission for the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The commission is headed by Armando Hart Davalos, member of the Political Bureau and Organizational Secretary of the CC.

**September 4.** Commenting on the Chinese leaders' message of greetings to the leaders of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam on its 22nd anniversary, *l'Humanité* wrote: "The anti-Sovietism of Mao Tse-tung and his group knows no limits. Their message to Hanoi reads in part: 'Modern Soviet revisionism is stepping up its collusion with U.S. imperialism and is trying to sabotage in every way the Vietnamese people's war of resistance to U.S. imperialism. We feel sure that the Vietnamese people will frustrate the perfidious and sinister designs of the enemy';

"Their aim is to embarrass the Hanoi government, which in deed, and not merely in word, has every day to fight back the U.S. aggression. Everyone knows that the North Vietnamese leaders welcome the effective assistance they are receiving from the USSR;

"And if anything does stand out in glaring evidence, it is that these actions weaken assistance to Vietnam and objectively help the aggressors. We are therefore entitled to ask: What are the Peking leaders' real intentions?"

**September 6.** A delegation of French Communist economists headed by G. Frischmann, member of the Political Bureau, arrived in Moscow on the invitation of the CC CPSU to familiarize themselves with topical problems of the Soviet economy.

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**GREATEST EVENT IN CONTEMPORARY HISTORY**
**Waldeck Rochet**

**APPEAL OF MARXIST-LENINIST GROUP OF CP OF INDONESIA**

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## contents

THE GREATEST EVENT IN CONTEMPORARY HISTORY
Waldeck Rochet 5

POLITICAL PROGRAM OF THE NATIONAL-LIBERATION FRONT OF SOUTH VIETNAM 12

THE CHINESE PUZZLE 16

STATEMENT OF THE CP OF ARGENTINA 19

SPEECH BY JANOS KADAR 23

SPEECH BY LEONID I. BREZHNEV 34

APPEAL OF MARXIST-LENINIST GROUP OF THE CP OF INDONESIA 44

PARTY PERIODICALS
Items in current issues 70

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# THE GREATEST EVENT IN CONTEMPORARY HISTORY*

WALDECK ROCHET
General Secretary, FCP

Since time immemorial people have dreamed of a society free from oppression, exploitation and war, and have fought for freedom, justice and fraternity. But throughout the ages one exploiting class has succeeded another, and oppression with its misery, injustice and violence have remained. The theoretical substantiation for mankind's age-old dream of a new society, a fraternal community of free men, was given by Marx and Engels. They showed that the advent of communism was foreordained by history itself, and that the mission of remaking the world in revolution and building a new social system based on collective ownership of the basic means of production was to be performed by the working class allied with other strata of the working people. Proceeding from a careful scientific analysis and study, particularly of the lessons of the Paris Commune, history's first proletarian revolution, Marx and Engels elaborated a truly revolutionary doctrine of class struggle and armed the exploited and the oppressed with it.

The ideas of scientific socialism were put into life by the Russian proletariat and its Communist Party, which thus covered themselves with unfading glory. In October 1917, merging the struggle of the working class for socialism, the peasantry's fight for the land, the working people's yearning for peace, and the movement of the oppressed peoples of tsarist Russia for national freedom into a single revolutionary stream, the Russian Communists overthrew the rule of capitalists and landowners and established the world's first socialist state.

Although the bourgeoisie of the imperialist countries depicted the October Revolution as an anarchic rebellion of ignorant muzhiks, it did not delude itself—specifically in France—as to the significance of that event. It organized military intervention against the young Soviet state and extended every possible aid to the reactionaries who had unleashed a civil war against the power of workers and peasants.

In contrast, progressive-minded workers and intellectuals in our country received the news of the October Revolution with enthusiasm. There emerged in France a powerful movement of prole-

*Abridged from Pravda, August 11, 1967.

tarian solidarity of which the munity of French sailors in the Black Sea and the refusal of the Dunkirk dockers to load munitions for the interventionist troops of French imperialism were striking examples. The slogan "Hands off Soviet Russia!" resounded in the factories and cities of our country.

Under the guidance of the Party of Lenin the Soviet people repelled the imperialist intervention and gave the lie to the ill-judged contentions of the bourgeois ideologists who predicted the collapse of socialism in Russia and claimed that toilers were incapable of governing society. They also refuted these ideologists' smears such as that "muzhiks seize their masters' canvasses and make footcloths from them."

The task that faced the Soviet working people was immense indeed: to lay the foundations of a socialist society, blazing a trail unknown in history and solving problems that had never confronted any one before. They had to do all this, overcoming tremendous difficulties inherited from tsarism—the aftermath of centuries-long oppression; a backward economy dislocated, in addition, by the intervention; technical backwardness, especially in agriculture; mass illiteracy resulting from the obscurantist policy of the former ruling classes.

The correct Leninist policy of the Communist Party made it possible to surmount all these difficulties. Within a historically short space of time the first socialist state turned into an industrial power. Agriculture, backward and based on the small-scale and private system of farming, took the road of large-scale collective production. Planning made for rational utilization of all the resources of the vast country. As Lenin had foreseen, "all the miracles of technology, all the gains of culture" became "the possession of the people." Despite the imperialist policy of economic blockade and aggression, which compelled the country to make great sacrifices, the well-being of the people began to grow steadily. Modern cities were built in all parts of the country. The more than a hundred nations and nationalities which only yesterday languished under the colonial yoke, became equal members of a powerful multi-national society.

Today, looking back at the path traversed by the Soviet Union and seeing that its people have set about realizing mankind's age-old dream—the building of communism—one feels surprised, not at the fact that the socialist revolution is *already* fifty years old, but that it has taken *only* fifty years—despite the foreign intervention and the war against Hitler fascism—to achieve such successes in this gigantic constructive work.

Grappling with such a formidable task the country had to overcome great difficulties. In addition, it was constantly "under fire" from world imperialism. In such conditions mistakes could be com-

mitted. But the working people of all the world know that these mistakes, which are not inherent in socialism, were boldly revealed and corrected by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. They regarded the achievements of the country of the first socialist revolution as a *convincing victory scored by socialism in the course of these fifty years,* as vivid proof of socialism's superiority over capitalism both in developing the productive forces and in meeting the needs of the people.

Significantly, the Socialist workers, among whom hostility towards the Soviet Union has been cultivated for a long time, show increasing respect for its successes. We can read, for instance, in *Revue socialiste,* organ of the French Socialist Party (SFIO), that the countries of the West can hardly compete with the USSR while remaining capitalist.

* * *

The line of historical development embodied in the October Revolution increasingly determined the course of events. The Soviet peoples' victory over Hitler fascism and Japanese militarism was followed by the emergence of new socialist states and eventually the socialist world system, which today exerts decisive influence on world development.

At the same time, the impact of the ideas of the October Revolution, the economic, social and cultural achievements of the Soviet peoples, the change in the correlation of class forces in the world in favor of socialism, created conditions for a powerful upsurge of the national-liberation movement in the colonial and dependent countries. The October Revolution inaugurated the epoch of the downfall of the colonial system of imperialism.

The peoples fighting for their independence invariably received from the Soviet Union many-sided assistance without any conditions. The same holds true for today. The internationalist solidarity of the Soviet Union is of inestimable support to the peoples who have not yet won political independence or are fighting for economic independence. The Soviet Union is rendering fraternal aid of decisive importance to the Vietnamese people in their struggle against the aggression of U.S. imperialism. However monstrous are the means the latter may use, it will never deprive the Vietnamese people of their right to decide their own destiny. The strength of the Vietnamese people lies in its boundless courage and determination, in the political, economic, technical and military assistance of the socialist countries, in the solidarity of the working class and all those who want peace and progress all over the world. Even in the United States itself certain political circles are beginning to realize that the days of "gunboat policy" are past.

Our Party, which unreservedly supports the stand of the DRV and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, will continue

and multiply its efforts for the victory of the just cause of the Vietnamese people. It regrets that the Chinese leaders reject proposals on coordinating the assistance of the socialist countries to the Vietnamese people and ensuring the unity of action of all anti-imperialist forces. In so doing they objectively play into the hands of the imperialists.

* * *

As Lenin wrote, the October Revolution showed all peoples "something that is very substantial from their inevitable and near future."

The significance of the main lessons of the October Revolution and the building of socialism in the Soviet Union cannot be overestimated. The 1960 Meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties had every reason to point out in its Statement that "the experience which the CPSU has gained in the struggle for the victory of the working class, in socialist construction and in the full-scale construction of communism, is of fundamental significance for the whole of the world communist movement."

Indeed, the October Revolution and the experience of the Soviet Union are proof of the possibility of overthrowing capitalism and building a new society free from any exploitation of man by man.

They are proof that the working class, as the founders of scientific socialism maintained, is the custodian of social progress, that it stands in the center of our epoch and that its historic mission is to take the lead in accomplishing the tremendous revolutionary changes demanded by our time.

They are proof that the working people are the motive force of history and that after they free themselves from oppression and exploitation their active and conscientious role will grow steadily.

They are proof of the possibility of and the need for the working class to win over the other strata of the working people suffering from capitalism, primarily the peasants, as well as the urban middle strata. It was due to this broad alliance of the working class with the non-proletarian masses that the socialist revolution did not end with the "funeral dirge" that announced the fall of the Paris Commune.

At a time when reformism and opportunism had greatly weakened the European labor movement, the October Revolution reaffirmed to the working people that conquest of power by the working class is a condition for the transition to socialism. The October Revolution implemented in practice Lenin's doctrine that the new power of workers and peasants which the founders of Marxism characterized as the dictatorship of the proletariat, has a double function: to ensure the broadest democracy for all toilers and for the whole people, enabling them to take an active part in running the affairs of society, and to protect socialist democracy against sabotage

organized by the exploiting classes in order to regain power and restore captialism.

The October Revolution also gave a convincing answer to a question posed by modern history, the question of the need to replace private ownership of the basic means of production by public ownership. It proved that only when the means of production are turned over to the people will it become possible to organize planning of production and, consequently, create conditions for a rapid development of the productive forces. The very purpose of production changed cardinally; not to enrich a handful of capitalists, but to satisfy the constantly growing material and spiritual requirements of the entire people. Thus the transition from capitalism to socialism assumed a humane character, for conditions were created, as Lenin pointed out, "for ensuring the *full* well-being of and free *all-round* development of *all* members of society."

The October Revolution showed, finally, that peace and socialism ar inseparable. Proclamation of peace was the first act of the young Soviet Republic. At the same time the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets called upon the masses in other countries to take the cause of peace into their own hands. Since then the foreign policy of the Soviet Union has been invariably based on the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different economic and social systems. In the fifty years of socialism's existence the world balance of class forces has changed so greatly that today, given the mobilization and unity of all peace forces, it is possible to prevent war and rule it out from the life of society. This imperatively calls for the cohesion of the world Communist movement and the unity of all the contingents of the world revolutionary movement.

* * *

The victory of the October Revolution and the successful building of socialism in the Soviet Union became possible because the Russian working class had forged an irreplaceable weapon for itself—a workers' party of a new type, the Leninist Communist Party. The existence and activity of such a revolutionary vanguard of the working class, a party based on the principles of democratic centralism, linked with the masses, firmly united and invariably inspired by the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, stood behind the success of the Russian proletarians.

This lesson was not lost on progressive-minded workers in France. Parting ways with opportunism and relying on what Marcel Cachin called the most splendid socialist tradition of the country, they responded to Lenin's appeal and founded, at a congress in Tours in 1920, their own Communist Party.

Just as did the heroes of October, we proudly bear the name of Communist. Having withstood grim trials, our Party has became a

great national force. It is inseparably linked with the life of our country. Its ranks are united. It possesses reliable ideological weapons, combats both opportunism and dogmatism, combines adherence to principle with boldness of tactics, pursues at every stage a policy which is at once unitary and independent, and wages an ever more successful struggle for democracy and socialism, for peace and friendship among all nations. As Maurice Thorez said, the French people increasingly regard our Party as the spokesman of their aspirations.

We realize that we owe this to our Leninist approach to the lessons of October 1917. Indeed, Lenin always pointed to the existence of universal laws of socialist revolution and socialist construction, on the one hand, and to the need for the ability to implement these principles in keeping with the specific conditions of the given country and epoch, on the other. He taught us that all nations are bound to come to socialism, but along different roads. Every nation will make its own contribution by creating this or that form of democracy, of workers' rule, and choosing this or that pace of socialist reconstruction.

The victory of the October Revolution, the building of socialism in the USSR and later in other countries, have brought about such a change in the conditions of the class struggle on an international scale that today it is possible to outline ways of transition to socialism other than the one used by the Russian Communists.

At the same time, the rule of monopoly capital in France creates objective conditions for strengthening the unity of the working people and rallying all social strata suffering from monopoly.

In shaping its policy our Party pays due attention to all these diverse factors. It is precisely this approach that has enabled the Party, at its latest congresses, to formulate propositions which have met with active response among all democrats, specifically in the ranks of the SFIO—propositions on the possibility of a peaceful transition to socialism, on cooperation of democratic parties in building socialism, on the character of the political power of the working people in a socialist France. These propositions, which stem from the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and at the same time take into consideration the new situation resulting from the successes of socialism the world over, help to consolidate the unity of action of Socialists and Communists. This is essential for building an anti-monopoly front of all strata of the working people and ensuring victory in the struggle for genuine democracy, for socialism.

* * *

The French Communist Party has always displayed firm solidarity with the heroic pioneers of October, the fraternal Soviet Party, the Soviet peoples who are marching in the van of the builders of that

new world which is bringing freedom, well-being and happiness to man. We regard this active solidarity with the Party which ushered in the era of socialism and which plays the decisive role in the struggle of the peoples for peace, independence and social progress, as a manifestation of proletarian internationalism. We also regard it as the main factor in strengthening the unity that is needed by the world working-class revolutionary movement.

Hence the enthusiasm and confidence in the future with which our Party celebrates the 50th anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution.

For several months now our Party has been actively popularizing, with the help of the press, cinema, exhibitions and conferences, the economic, social and cultural achievements of the first socialist state. It stresses the ever broader participation of Soviet working people in running the affairs of their country and the decisive role played by the Soviet Union in the struggle for peace, disarmament and the independence of the people, explains the historic significance of the lessons of the October Revolution, and shows the greatness of the personality and cause of the brilliant thinker and indomitable fighter that Lenin was.

The 50th anniversary of the October Revolution is a holiday not only for the French Communists, but for all the working people of our towns and villages, for many progressive-minded intellectuals, for the broadest masses of our people, who see in the Soviet experience "something that is very substantial from their future" and regard friendship with the Soviet Union as the surest guarantee of the security of our country and the preservation of world peace.

*Paris.*

# POLITICAL PROGRAM* OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT OF SOUTH VIETNAM

**The program was approved by an extraordinary congress of the NLF in August 1967.**

The first part, entitled "Unite All People, Fight U.S. Aggressors, Save the Country," states:

The U.S. aggressors and their henchmen think they can intimidate our people by use of force and hoodwink them by all sorts of tricks. But our people will never submit to force and never allow themselves to be deceived.

In keeping with their traditional intrepidity, the 31 million compatriots in South and North Vietnam, one and all, rose to fight against the U.S. aggressors, for the salvation of the country.

The peoples of the socialist countries and other countries of the world, including progressives in the United States, resolutely condemn the U.S. imperialists' war of aggression and sympathize with, support and assist the Vietnamese people in their struggle against the U.S. aggression, for national salvation.

The facts show clearly that the more stubbornly the U.S. imperialists intensify and escalate their war of aggression the more often they suffer resounding defeats and the greater their isolation, whereas our people score new victories and acquire new friends.

The current tasks and aims of the people of South Vietnam in the struggle for national salvation are as follows: to unite the entire people, rout the U.S. imperialists in their war of aggression, overthrow the South Vietnamese puppet government subservient to the Americans, establish a broad-based national-democratic coalition government, build an independent, democratic, peace-loving, neutral and prospering South Vietnam, and embark upon peaceful reunification of our homeland.

The National Liberation Front consistently advocates unity of all social strata, all classes, nationalities, political parties, organizations, religious groups, all patriots and progressives, irrespective of their political views, in order to fight jointly against the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, win back our sacred national rights, and build our own state. Fighting for their sacred national rights, the people of South Vietnam actively fulfil their international duty.

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*Abridged. Release of the Vietnam Information Agency, September 1, 1967.

Their war against the U.S. aggression is an integral part of the revolutionary struggle of the people of all the world.

The NLF pledges itself to fight in the common front of the peoples of Indochina against the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen, in defense of the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos.

The NLF solemnly swears to participate actively in the common struggle of the peoples of the world against the bellicose and aggressive imperialists headed by U.S. imperialism, for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress.

In the second part, "Build an Independent, Democratic, Peace-Loving, Neutral and Prospering South Vietnam," it is pointed out that in connection with the establishment of a broad-based democratic government, the NLF pledges itself to do the following:

—abolish the camouflaged colonial regime set up by the U.S. imperialists in South Vietnam, topple the puppet administration on the U.S. payroll, refuse recognition to the puppet "national assembly" established by the U.S. imperialists and their servitors, annul the "constitution" and all the anti-national and anti-democratic laws imposed by the U.S. imperialists and the puppet administration;

—hold free general elections, elect the National Assembly in a truly democratic way, on the basis of universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot;

—establish a democratic government of national unity composed of the most authoritative representatives of the different social strata, nationalities, religious groups, patriotic and democratic parties and patriotic forces contributing to the cause of national liberation;

—proclaim and carry into effect broad democratic freedoms;

—establish equality of men and women and equality of nationalities, respect the freedom of opinions, and ensure the equality of creeds.

To build an independent economy that will cater to the needs of the country, and to improve the life of the people, the program proposes the following measures:

—to do away with the policy of economic enslavement and with the monopoly position of the U.S. imperialists in South Vietnam;

—confiscate the property of the U.S. imperialists and their inveterate agents, and turn it into public property;

—build an independent economy that will meet the country's needs;

—protect the right of ownership of the means of production and other property rights of the citizens in keeping with the laws of the state.

As for agrarian policy, the program states that the NLF will take measures to confiscate the land belonging to U.S. imperialists and rapacious landowners and their flunkeys, turn it over to landless and poor peasants, and reaffirm and protect the peasants' right to the land distributed among them as a result of the revolution.

The state will negotiate the purchase of land from those owners whose holdings exceed the limits established for the given region. It will turn over this land to landless and poor peasants gratuitously.

It is stated in the third part of the program, "Restore Normal Relations between North and South Vietnam, Embark on Peaceful Reunification of the Homeland":

The policy of the NLF in this respect envisages:

1. Reunification of Vietnam will be carried out gradually, by peaceful means, through negotiations between the northern and southern parts of the country, without pressure from either side and without outside interference.

2. To bring about the reunification of the country, the residents of both parts of Vietnam will undertake joint actions to fight the foreign invasion and safeguard the homeland, striving at the same time to broaden economic and cultural contacts. The residents of both parts of the country will be free to correspond and visit each other and choose the place of residence.

The fourth part, "Pursue a Foreign Policy of Peace and Neutrality", points out:

The NLF pursues a foreign policy of peace and neutrality which guarantees the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of the country and helps preserve universal peace. More concretely, this policy presupposes the following:

1. Establishment of diplomatic relations with all countries, irrespective of their social and political systems, in keeping with the principle of mutual respect for independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, without encroachments on each other's rights and interests or interference in internal affairs.

Annulment of all the unequal treaties which the puppet government has concluded with the United States or any other country.

Respect for the economic and cultural interests of the countries which sympathize with, support and assist the Vietnamese people in their struggle against the U.S. aggression, for national salvation.

Acceptance, from any country, of technical and economic assistance unaccompanied by political conditions.

Refusal to enter into any military alliances and allow the stationing of foreign military personnel or bases in South Vietnam.

2. Consolidation of friendly relations with all countries which sympathize with, support and assist the Vietnamese people in their struggle against the U.S. aggression, for national salvation.

Consolidation of friendly relations with Cambodia and Laos. Constant promotion of solidarity and mutual assistance between the peoples of the countries of Indochina, to protect their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity against the policy of aggression and military provocations pursued by the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen.

3. Active support for the national-liberation movement of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

Active support for the struggle of the people of the United States against the U.S. imperialists' war of aggression in Vietnam.

Active support for the just struggle of the Negroes in the United States for their basic national rights.

Active support for peace, democracy and social progress in all countries of the world.

4. Vigorous struggle in defense of universal peace, against the bellicose and aggressive imperialists; insistence on the disbandment of aggressive military blocs and the dismantling of the imperialists' war bases in other countries.

Tireless strengthening and development of contacts with the democratic international organizations and the peoples of all countries, the people of the United States included.

Active promotion of the worldwide movement in support of Vietnam, against the U.S. imperialist aggressors, for national independence and peace.

# THE CHINESE PUZZLE*

One of the elementary principles of diplomacy is, surely, that you should always strive to increase the number of your friends and reduce the number of your enemies.

But the present rulers in Peking are apparently determined to reverse this principle in their diplomatic and political relations.

For in recent years, while verbally denouncing U.S. imperialism and serving it with innumerable "serious and final warnings," the Chinese Government has in practice set about fouling up and reducing to naught the good relations the PRC had established with the other socialist countries and the new national states of Asia and Africa.

As a result, China has today reached a position of almost total isolation in world relations.

This fact can only dismay to the friends of China and her people and delight the enemies of China and of socialism in general.

But the extraordinary thing is that the Mao Tse-tung group which is in power in Peking at present seems to revel in and relish this self-isolation and to pursue it with a masochistic and total determination.

The quarrel that flared up last week between the government of China and Ceylon has, naturally enough, led to intense speculation over what the government of China is really after in fanning this fight.

The abusive and intimidatory character of the two Notes delivered to the government of Ceylon last week and the characteristic Red Guard demonstrations outside the Ceylon Embassy in Peking made it pretty clear that the government of China intends to pursue the quarrel further.

The United National Party (UNP) had staged several anti-China provocations during the 1965 general elections. Some of its Ministers, like Mr. M. H. Mohamed, had continued such provocations after the UNP-FP (Federal Party) government was formed.

But nothwithstanding this and despite their bloodcurdling appeals for the armed overthrow of all reactionary governments the world over, China's leaders pursued a more than cordial policy of accommodation towards the UNP-FP government.

The concessions that China made to the UNP-FP government in the annual re-negotiations of the Ceylon-China Trade Pact were more generous than anything that had been given to Mrs. Bandaranaike's government.

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*Abridged from **Forward**, August 26, 1967.

After a short period, the UNP-FP government responded by dropping its public attacks on China, putting its fears about the Maritime Agreement in cold storage, and despatching as its Ambassador to the PRC Mr. Robert Gunawardena who has aptly been described as the "original Red Guard."

The government which denounced socialism and communism at home, looked on benignly while its Ambassador Robert Gunawardena sported a Mao badge and gave public lectures praising the "cultural revolution."

(Incidentally, what a pity it was that Ambassador Robert was back in Ceylon for the umpteenth time when the Red Guards stormed his Embassy. It would have been interesting to see whether he would have joined the Red Guards to demonstrate against the Ceylon ambassador!)

What, then, made the government of China suddenly decide to berate the government of Ceylon in so rude, threatening and public a manner over two relatively minor matters?

The Chinese government's first note was based on the Ceylon Government refusal to release 300 Mao badges consigned to the Chinese Embassy and the damage to about 110 books by Chairman Mao addressed to the Embassy and sent to Colombo by the ship "Ioannis."

On this basis, the Chinese government accused the government of Ceylon of conniving at and instigating "acts of robbery and sabotage." It warned the "small handful of anti-Chinese elements in the Ceylon government" that "the 700 million Chinese people are not to be trifled with."

And, as the final and substantial threat, the Note added:

"Under such circumstances it will be impossible to ensure the normal functions of the trade between China and Ceylon. The Ceylon government must be held responsible for all the consequences arising therefrom."

The fact that the Chinese government should officially and in so sharp a manner raise the question of the continuation of the Ceylon-Chinese Trade Pact, which is due to be renegotiated next month, over two such relatively minor matters made many people conclude that China was seeking to create in advance an alibi for its inability to honor next year its commitment to supply Ceylon with 200,000 tons of rice under the Pact.

These commentators argued that the turmoil and internecine fighting of the so-called "cultural revolution" has so disrupted China's economy that she had no rice for export. Nor could China buy rice from Burma for Ceylon as it had done in previous years, owing to the deterioration of China's relations with Burma. Hence, they said, the blowing up of minor incidents out of all proportion.

The Chinese government was on stronger ground in the complaint

made in its second Note regarding the accommodation that our government has repeatedly given to those travelling on Taiwan passports.

The "two-China" policy has been decisively rejected in this country which, for very many years, has correctly upheld the view that there is only one China—the People's Republic of China.

But the Taiwan issue was not mentioned at all in the original Chinese Note, which contained all the objectionable threats and bluster, and the fact that it has been brought up after these threats and after the demonstration outside our Embassy in Peking, smacks of second thoughts.

China has done no service to herself or to her friends in Ceylon by her arrogant behavior and big-power bluster in this matter. It was not so long ago that the same Chinese government, which now talks threateningly of 700 million Chinese people not being trifled with, used to proclaim from the housetops "the equality of all nations, big and small."

What has been the objective result of China's boorish and threatening behavior and its needless affront to Ceylonese self-respect? The present Chinese leaders have only helped Mr. Dudley Senanayake to hide his real policy of sell-out to Anglo-American imperialism by posing as a champion of Ceylon's independence and sovereignty. They have provided the reactionary government of Ceylon with further alibis for its failures on the food front. Opponents of Ceylon-China friendship and of the Ceylon-China Trade Pact have been given a convenient propaganda weapon to undermine this Pact, and the traditional friendship between the peoples of Ceylon and China. And reactionaries of various hues have been given a tar-brush with which to smear the noble cause of socialism and communism by making out that the Big Power chauvinism of the Mao Tse-tung group in China represents the real face of socialism and communism.

# STATEMENT* OF THE CP OF ARGENTINA

The forthcoming approval of the anti-Communist "law" (effective since August 25, 1967.—*Ed.*) has been announced. It is unashamedly admitted that this law has been patterned after the draconic McCarran Act in the United States. Thus the dictatorship has confirmed, perhaps even inwittingly, that U.S. imperialism has played its dirty hand in this case as well.

The "law" is couched in the spirit of the American theory of "internal front." Under the pretext of "defending the nation"—which is not threatened by anyone—the dictatorship arrogates to itself the right to exercise in peacetime such powers and apply such repressive methods as if it were wartime. It is out to turn the armed forces into a pretorian guard in order to use them against the Argentine people and eventually against the people of fraternal countries fighting for their freedom and national independence. Proof of this is provided by Ongania's statement at a recent press conference.

But the Argentine democrats and patriots and even a large part of the armed forces, inspired by the lofty traditions of San Martin, the traditions of struggle for democracy and national independence, should unite with the overwhelming majority of the people—and they are already beginning to do so to prevent the approval of this law or, if they fail in this, secure its abrogation.

The purpose of the infamous law is becoming clear to all: to deal a mortal blow at the freedom of speech, at human and civil rights, to prevent the establishment of a genuinely democratic system and consolidate the present regime of a corporate-fascist type under which "the people have no right of choice but only the right to accept what is imposed on them."

The monstrous law is opposed not only by Communists, but by all democrats and patriots, men and women cherishing the ideas of social and cultural progress, the ideas of progress, freedom, peace and national independence.

The working class is assuming leadership of this protest movement. The peasants and all other working people are also rising against the law, for it equips the landed oligarchy, the big capitalists and foreign monopolies with a dangerous instrument of persecution and violence. With the help of this law scores of thousands of factory and office workers will be thrown out into the street; scores of thousands of peasants will be driven from the land they till.

Announcement of the new anti-Communist law has coincided—

*Abridged from **Nuestra Palabra**, August 22, 1967.

and it is not accidental—with the beginning of a new stage of the large-scale onslaught of the employers and the state, which are jacking up the cost of living to unprecedented heights, on the living standards of the people. The government's financial and economic measures cause mass unemployment and spell ruin to small and medium industrial and trading enterprises. An anti-national law on electric power and fuel is effected to complete the transfer of deposits of oil, gas and other fuel resources and minerals to U.S. monopoly control. Hasty measures are being taken to abolish nationalized branches of great economic importance, such as the railway and air transport, the iron and steel and petro-chemical industries and the merchant marine.

It is no accident that the anti-Communist law is proclaimed at a time when the Soviet Union has expressed readiness to broaden mutually beneficial trade relations with Argentina and to take part in the construction of the Chocon Cerros Colorados complex, thus contributing to the solution of our major national problem.

These reactionary and pro-fascist steps are taken in the year of the 50th anniversary of the glorious Russian revolution. The fifty years since the Revolution have witnessed the consolidation and development of the Soviet system which provides the Soviet people with growing prosperity and a constant rise in their political and cultural standards. Having accomplished this glorious revolution, the Soviet Union places all its might at the service of the cause of fraternity among nations, national independence, democracy and world peace.

The reactionary and pro-fascist policy of the government has brought about a new rise of the popular and democratic movement, a stepped-up struggle in defense of social legislation, against the high cost of living, unemployment and the eviction of peasants, in defense of the freedom of speech and human and civic rights. Despite the numerous bans, political parties and organizations are becoming more active.

Urging people's vigilance made necessary by the new fascist measures, the CC, CPA notes with satisfaction that the law meets with opposition from the vast majority of the people of Argentina who are acting through trade union, public and political organizations. It has been challenged by the General Confederation of Labor and the more responsible and bigger trade unions, the Civic Radical Union of the People, the Peronist Party, the Argentine University Federation, the Bar Association, responsible newspapers and periodicals, various public and cultural organizations and prominent public figures. They have denounced the law and exposed the sinister designs of its makers. Pronouncements to this effect will continue to be made.

The law is supported only by a handful of reactionary and

fascist elements, both military and civilian, despicable agents of foreign monopolies, U.S. monopolies in the first place.

The workers and peasants, office employees and professional people, small and middle tradesmen and industrialists, groups of the national bourgeoisie, believers and atheists, servicemen and civilians, Communists, Peronists, Radicals, Socialists, Demo-christians, Social Democrats, Progressist Democrats, non-party people —all who love democracy, freedom, national independence, social and economic progress and peace reject this law.

Thus conditions have shaped up for coordinating efforts to block the approval of the law or prevent its application. A powerful blow will thus be delivered at the fascist dictatorial government and favorable conditions created for overthrowing the dictatorship, so hated by the people, and forming a Provisional Government of a broad democratic coalition which will immediately hold elections to a constituent assembly on the basis of proportionate representation.

That a coordinating center of all democratic and patriotic forces can be set up is demonstrated by similar attitudes expressed in statements by democratic political parties and public and trade union organizations. We shall list several of them:

—abolition of the corporate-fascist state and establishment of a genuinely popular and democratic system; unrestricted democratic freedoms—the freedom of speech, press, assembly, the right to association and the right to strike; release of all political prisoners;

—protection of the oil resources, railway transport, petrochemical, power and iron and steel industries, of all natural riches;

—establishment of the peasant on the land; agrarian reform;

—effective measures against the constant growth of prices of prime necessities and against unemployment; wage increases consistent with the growth of the cost of living; preservation and extention of the existing social gains;

—an immediate end to all victimization under the pretext of streamlining production; reinstitution of the dismissed factory and office workers;

—reinstitution of the dismissed university professors and cessation of the persecution of students; restoration of university autonomy and of the system of tripartite management;

—an independent foreign policy of peace; maintenance of diplomatic and economic relations with all countries which want mutually beneficial trade with Argentina promoting the independent development of our economy;

—solidarity with the valiant people of Vietnam and all peoples suffering from imperialist aggression and fighting for freedom and national independence.

Formulating these demands, the Central Committee of the Com-

munist Party of Argentina reaffirms its readiness to take into consideration all concrete proposals of other parties and trade union and public organizations as the basis for joint action.

*Central Committee, Communist Party of Argentina*
*Buenos Aires, August 1967.*

# MEETING OF PARTY AND GOVERNMENT DELEGATION OF THE USSR AND THE HUNGARIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

**A Soviet Party and government delegation headed by Leonid I. Brezhnev visited Hungary on September 6-9 on the invitation of the CC of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the Hungarian Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government.**

**On September 8 the talks between the Party and government delegations of the Soviet Union and Hungary ended. The Hungarian delegation was headed by Janos Kadar.**

**As a result of the talks a Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Aid between the Soviet Union and the Hungarian People's Republic was signed.**

**"Information Bulletin" prints the texts of the speeches delivered by Janos Kadar and Leonid I. Brezhnev at a Hungarian-Soviet friendship meeting in Budapest on September 7, 1967.**

## SPEECH BY JANOS KADAR

Comrades, friends,

Today we again can greet among us, in the capital of our country, esteemed Soviet guests. This meeting is of outstanding significance; it can prove a new landmark in the history of our relations. On the basis of powers given us by law, we have signed today the Hungarian-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance for a new 20-year term. By so doing we have reaffirmed and strengthened the fruitful, constantly strengthening, inviolable eternal friendship of our peoples.

Our Treaty, which has international legal force, is to govern relations between two states—the Soviet Union and the Hungarian People's Republic—which are building socialism and communism.

Our friendship and cooperation are based on the identity of interests and the community of ideas and aims, and express the proletarian internationalist unity and fraternity of two socialist states. This friendship has not only a present, but also a past made sacred by the blood of heroes, and therefore a secure future.

Owing to the teaching of Lenin and the October Revolution which triumphed 50 years ago, in 1918 a Communist Party of the working class was founded in Hungary, and in 1919 our people pro-

claimed the Hungarian Soviet Republic. During the civil war in Russia tens of thousands of class-conscious Hungarians joined the young Red Army and fought for Soviet power. Thousands of miles away from their country, they fought for the freedom of their people. In their turn, during the Second World War Soviet Army-men freed the Hungarian people from the chains of Hitler fascism and slavery and liberated our country, opening before it the road to independent national development and social progress.

Our people made good use of this historic opportunity. Holding power, the Hungarian working class took over the factories; the Hungarian peasants became masters of the land, the intelligentsia placed its knowledge at the service of the people. With the victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the birth of People's Hungary conditions arose for the establishment of relations of a new type between Hungary and the Soviet Union, relations thinkable only between socialist countries—relations of fraternal co-operation.

Reviewing the past period, we can confidently say that February 18, 1948, the day when the first Treaty of Friendship was signed, is a red-letter day in our national history. By concluding this treaty the Soviet Union became the first state to recognize the new, independent, free and democratic Hungary which was rising from the ruins after a lost war, and thus listed it among equal sovereign nations. The Soviet Union was the first great power which—for the first time in Hungarian history—treated our country as an equal partner and was ready to enter into a firm alliance with it on equal terms.

The Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Aid signed in February 1948 did not remain on paper. The people of our republic strove to fulfil all commitments under the Treaty. The Soviet Union rendered and continues to render many-sided assistance to the development of our country and the labor of our people. There is not a single important field in economic development, scientific research, education, culture, public health and generally in the life of our society where our achievements have not been in some way or other promoted by Soviet experience and knowledge as well as concrete assistance which has always been readily given us. Since 1947 trade between our countries has grown almost 40-fold.

Hungary, which is known to be poor in raw materials, receives from the Soviet Union vitally needed assistance: more than half of our imported blast-furnace coking coal, copper and cotton, 70 to 80 per cent of sulphur and lead, almost 100 per cent of iron ore, cast iron, nickel and timber. Plants built with Soviet assistance produce two-fifths of our cast iron and one-fifth of our steel; our best agricultural machines and the highest-yielding varieties of

wheat are of Soviet origin. We established and continue to broaden cooperation with Soviet science, which has advanced to the leading position in the world in decisive branches and which today, at a magnificent exhibition here in Budapest, demonstrates what it has achieved in half a century.

In addition to all this, the Soviet Union, which more than twenty-two years ago liberated our country, in 1956, when internal and external enemies wanted to strangle the Hungarian People's Republic, rendered us, on our request and on the strength of our Treaty, selfless internationalist assistance as a real friend would. And now as well the Soviet Union effectively helps to protect the sovereignty of our country, the independence of our nation, the peace of our people. The Hungarian people remember with eternal gratitude and respect the Soviet heroes who twice shed blood for their freedom, and thank all Soviet people, who have been rendering them all-round assistance in their struggle, in their hard work to build a socialist society.

Dear comrades and friends, the international and internal positions of the Hungarian People's Republic are stable today; our people are successfully and confidently building a socialist society, their radiant future, and taking part in international struggle for social progress, for the freedom of the peoples, for peace. In the past years we waged a hard struggle first in defense of the power of the working class, our state and our system, and then for their consolidation. This struggle was crowned with complete victory. The ranks of Communists are solid, our policy of alliance of all strata of the population brings together all the creative forces of the country; the working class and the people generally support the policy of the Party. We have defeated the enemies of socialism, the enemies of our system. They have grown smaller in number and find themselves in isolation.

Relying on the results of this struggle and strengthening the alliance of the working class and the peasantry, we successfully carried out the socialist reorganization of agriculture. The first but not insignificant achievements of our agriculture which has taken the road of large-scale socialist farming, the direction of its further development are well displayed at the current, 66th agricultural exhibition in Budapest. The past years witnessed considerable consolidation of the foundations of our socialist society, the growth of the cultural and living standards of the population. Having laid the foundations of a socialist society, our people, implementing the decisions of the 9th Party Congress, are successfully fulfilling the Third Five-Year Plan; all their efforts are aimed at achieving mature socialism.

I am saying all this not out of a desire to boast. We still have

enough difficulties and unsolved problems, but it is important to know that the struggle and labor of our people, the sacrifices and assistance of our Soviet friends have not been in vain.

Today the emphasis is on raising the effectiveness of our ideological, political, economic and cultural work. We strive to accelerate the development of socialist relations of production and socialist conditions of production and distribution. Labor productivity should be raised in order to hasten socialist construction and further improve the life of the people. In the past five years the annual growth rates of the national income averaged five per cent. The other basic indices of plan fulfilment, including growth of real incomes, were at the same level. In other words, in the course of several years the pace of our advance even surpassed the average growth rates in the more developed capitalist countries, but we cannot rest content with this. Our socialist system, the creative energies of our free people, make it possible and necessary to raise the effectiveness of constructive labor and to multiply, with the help of a comprehensive reform of economic management, our achievements.

The implementation of the reform is a difficult and many-faceted task. In importance, it is the third—after the consolidation of power and the socialist construction of agriculture—major revolutionary task that faces our Party and our society. But we believe we shall succeed, for Marxist science and our experience speak in favor of the reform. The preparation of the reform was careful and all-sided, and in carrying it out we shall rely on the hundreds of thousands of tried and tested participants in socialist construction, on socialist labor teams, on the multi-million working class, peasantry and intelligentsia, on the political consciousness of the working people and their willingness to act. We have faith in the future, because our plans are well-founded, and in the last two decades here, in the valley of the Danube and the Tisza, our people have demonstrated that they have always coped with the tasks that confronted them and are now victoriously marching along the road of the socialist revolution.

We are looking to the future with confidence, because the Marxist-Leninist principles, the policy and the guiding role of our Party, the unity of our working class and the entire people in attaining socialist aims are a great force, and because in the present-day complicated world we have a reliable international rear. At our side stand the peoples of the other socialist countries, all the forces of progress and above all the Soviet Union, the most powerful, unshakeable and invincible mainstay of social progress and peace.

It is said in the first clause of the new Treaty that the Contracting Parties will in the future as well consolidate eternal friend-

ship between the peoples of Hungary and the Soviet Union, promote their all-round cooperation and render each other fraternal assistance on the basis of mutual respect for state sovereignty, equality and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. We are convinced that our Treaty conforms to the interests of not only our countries but of the entire socialist community. We shall continue to strengthen the unity and cooperation of all the socialist countries, and we want to contribute to the consolidation of peace and security in Europe and the whole world.

As regards the basic principles of our Treaty, I can say that they are fully in agreement with the foreign policy of the Hungarian People's Republic and conform both to our national interests and to the idea of proletarian internationalism and the principle of peaceful coexistence to which we adhere in relations with countries whose social systems differ from ours. Exceptionally favorable conditions for implementing the basic principles of the Treaty are ensured by the fact that the Soviet Union and the Hungarian People's Republic hold identical positions not only on matters of relations between our countries, but also on major issues of the international situation; there is complete unanimity of views between us, and accordingly we have heretofore as well acted jointly in the foreign policy field.

The foreign policy of different countries is being analyzed, explained, attacked and "defended" by a host of "experts." This applies to our foreign policy as well. To avoid misunderstanding, I would like to stress here that the foreign policy course of the Hungarian People's Republic is permanent, does not depend on contingencies, does not take shape under the influence of alluring songs of seductive sirens, but rests on firm foundations of principle. In other words, our foreign policy, in conformity with the national interests of the Hungarian people and the interests of the socialist countries, is patriotic and internationalist. Our principles, our convictions, our historical experience teach us that the national aspirations of the Hungarian people have always materialized to the degree to which they coincided with the mainstream of human progress, and have suffered tragic defeats when the destinies of the Hungarian people were chained to the chariot of reaction. Today, marching along the road of socialist construction, the Hungarian people have made unprecedented progress, and every Hungarian who loves his country—and loves it not only with his heart but with his mind—knows that the secure future and happiness of our people can be achieved only along the road of progress and socialism, only at the side of and together with the socialist countries, with the Soviet Union.

We stand for eternal friendship between the Soviet Union and the Hungarian People's Republic. The Soviet people, led by the

CPSU, are building communism. By their struggle, their creative labor, their economic, scientific and cultural achievements the Soviet people have demonstrated beyond doubt the superiority of socialism over capitalism. The struggle of the forces of progress and peace the world over has a prospect primarily thanks to the policy of the Soviet Union, to its economic and political might. The countries building socialism are developing on the basis of Soviet experience and assistance. The Soviet Union's solidarity with the peoples suffering under the colonial yoke contributes decisively to the winning of freedom by the peoples. The Soviet Union inspires the peoples still oppressed and strikes fear into the hearts of the imperialist tyrants; its might holds in check the adventurers seeking to unleash a new world war.

We are convinced that neither in our country, in any other socialist country nor in any capitalist country can those who come out against the Soviet Union and proclaim anti-Soviet views call themselves Communists, internationalists or just progressives. Those who isolate or strive to counterpose their country, their people to the Soviet Union, the most authoritative, the greatest and the most powerful champion of any right cause, are doing a disservice to socialism, to the world Communist movement, to the struggle against imperialism, to peace and the interests of their own nation.

Some people are trying to scare small socialist and non-socialist countries saying that they will become "dependent" and jeopardize their sovereignty if they trade with the Soviet Union or establish cooperation with it in some other field. History has already shown on many occasions that a small country jeopardizes or altogether forfeits its independence if it surrenders to the imperialists economically or in any other way. But the independence and sovereignty of any country, Hungary included, will be strong and secure precisely to the degree to which it will have as an international partner the Soviet Union, which respects the sovereignty, independence and equality of every country, for this will be the best protection against imperialist pressure and blackmail. Friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union is the surest guarantee of the sovereignty and independent socialist and national development of the Hungarian People's Republic. We regard the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as our best political comrade-in-arms, for its Marxist-Leninist activity, its historical experience have tremendously enriched the ideological treasure-house of our Party. That is why the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the Hungarian People's Republic are staunch supporters of Hungarian-Soviet friendship, comradely fraternal unity and ever more effective cooperation.

It is rightly said that the international situation is complicated and has been aggravated of late. But even in the most complicated

situation we must discern the main current of history and its direction. Fifty years ago, with the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the single imperialist system that dominated the world has broken, for one-sixth of the world broke away from it. In the past two decades the world has again changed considerably. There has emerged a socialist world system extending over Europe, Asia and Latin America. The colonial system has disintegrated and has been destroyed, in the main. The movement of Communist parties, which total more than 50 million members, has become the most influential political force of our time; the ideas of socialism are irresistibly spreading over the world. The imperialist system is in a deep and drawn-out crisis; it is struggling for existence in its shrunken zone of influence.

At the same time we must see that imperialism, having mobilized the considerable economic and military forces at its disposal, has been organizing—especially in the last three years—all sorts of coups and Rightist take-overs and unleashing wars in Vietnam and the Middle East and other local wars; it is seeking to stop the rapid process of its decay, to preserve its positions and, if possible, regain some of them. Imperialism takes advantage of the relative backwardness of the Asian, African and Latin American countries, their disunity and the complexity of the internal situation in these countries. It is trying to utilize them in its interests and, if possible, exacerbate the disputes now going on in the international working-class movement, in socialist countries. It capitalizes on the fact that the socialist countries, guided by the sense of responsibility for the destiny of the peoples, regard it as their duty to prevent a new world conflagration and are searching for ways of settling disputed issues by peaceful means.

The main front of struggle between the forces of progress and reaction passes today through Vietnam. Several days ago the 22nd anniversary of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam was celebrated in Hanoi. During the festivities the wailing of air-alert sirens could be heard. The Vietnamese people are still waiting for a life of peace, because the United States is waging a brutal war against the people of South Vietnam and daily committing criminal acts of aggression against the DRV. The U.S. brass-hats want to force to their knees the Vietnamese people who are fighting for their freedom and independence, for their right to self-determination. But the Washington strategists will never attain their aim. The people of Vietnam are indomitably, with admirable determination, fighting against the invader.

The Soviet Union and other socialist countries support their heroic efforts. The Americans feel this on their own skin. The Vietnamese fighters frustrate all plans of the Americans; they destroy U.S. bases with their rockets; the effectiveness of the Viet-

namese air defense is constantly growing. The socialist countries will in the future as well assist embattled Vietnam in every way. We are convinced that the United States' colonialist designs will be foiled, the Vietnamese people will win and will be free.

At dawn on June 5, with Israel's attack on Arab countries, imperialism unleashed a new local war of aggression, this time in the Middle East, with the aim of destroying anti-imperialist progressive Arab regimes and regaining Middle Eastern Arab oil and strategic communications. The imperialist aggression was only partly successful. Israel occupied Arab territory and again drove hundreds of thousands of Arabs from their homeland. The socialist countries, consistent champions of progress, stand on the side of the attacked Arab countries. The struggle continues, and it will go on until the aggressor withdraws his troops from occupied territory and the destiny of the Palestine Arab refugees is justly settled.

In Europe, the struggle for security and peace is waged in conditions when there is neither war nor peace on our continent, for the imperialists have created a situation in which the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany is impossible. Thus, the problems of peace and security have not been settled precisely in Europe where world wars broke out twice in the first half of this century and where the main forces of the two world systems directly confont each other.

Things would be made easier should the capitalist powers shape their policy with due regard to the actual facts and recognize the real state of affairs — the existence of two German states, their borders established as a result of the war. But so far signs of this are hardly seen in the United States in particular, which has occupied a number of European regions, or in West Germany. The Bonn rulers complain that almost all socialist countries reject their "new" eastern policy because they "do not understand" it. In reality, however, the socialist countries understand this "new" policy very well, they see how old it is. If the Federal Republic of Germany initiated a truly new policy, based on consideration for the facts, and applied this policy to all socialist countries, including the German Democratic Republic, this policy would then harmonize with the desire of the socialist countries to bring about genuine normalization in Europe.

Our intentions and proposals are clear. We propose the conclusion of a European security treaty, to be signed by all the European states, guaranteeing the frontiers and security of all countries, peaceful coexistence, and relations presupposing mutual benefit. We propose the simultaneous annulment of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, the establishment of atom-free zones, and a number of other reasonable steps. This is a policy of peace. Likewise, when the Soviet Union makes proposals regarding the solution of

numerous problems, it is guided by a sincere desire to lessen the danger of war. The Soviet Union proved this quite recently by submitting in Geneva its proposal on nuclear non-proliferation, which the Hungarian People's Republic fully approves.

The socialist countries, the Soviet Union and Hungary included, always and on all issues act in the interests of progress, national independence and peace. With the same aims in view, our countries have resumed solemn obligations in the Treaty which has been signed today and which is to govern our relations. We consider that of special importance among our common tasks is that, upholding the common interests of socialism and peace, we shall spare no effort in the fight for the most important thing—the cohesion of all revolutionary and progressive forces, unity of action against the imperialist aggressors, the establishment of a united front.

In the present international situation it is desirable that the socialist and all anti-imperialist countries, the forces of communism and all progressive trends rally to curb the imperialists and safeguard peace. Unity of the forces of communism and socialism is especially important. We stand for the cohesion of all the parties of the world Communist movement, for the close unity of all the socialist countries on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Regrettably, in recent years our unity has been disrupted by a striving for national aloofness opposed to internationalism and, moreover, by reactionary nationalistic views, by anti-Soviet actions reflected primarily in the harmful utterances and practices of Mao Tse-tung and his group. The imperialists have greatly benefited from this splitting activity.

The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party most resolutely repudiates the policy of Mao Tse-tung, which does grave harm both to the interests of the Chinese people and to the peoples of the socialist countries and the world Communist movement. We believe that ultimately the sound forces of the Chinese revolution will prevail, and that the Communists, the working class, the industrious people of China will rejoin the international working class in a united front of struggle against imperialism, for the common cause of socialism and peace. Our Party considers that concessions are out of the question when matters of principle are concerned. The common task of the Communist and Workers' parties is to uphold the purity of Marxism-Leninism against all and sundry deviations from communism.

We stand for a principled elucidation of views; we remain opposed to a deepening of the divergencies, an exacerbation of the disputes. We are working to ensure that the differences in views be cast aside and unity achieved for rendering assistance to our Vietnamese brothers, the progressive Arab countries which have

been attacked, all peoples who need help in repelling imperialist aggression.

An important role in working out joint steps needed for defending socialism and peace has been played by the meeting of leaders of Communist and Workers' parties and heads of government of socialist countries that have taken place in recent months. We hold that such meetings will be necessary in the future as well, whether they will be regional or take the form of a large-scale international conference of party leaders.

We favor a big conference, to be convened after appropriate preparations, which will discuss the tasks of our movement in the anti-imperialist struggle. We would like this conference to be attended by the representatives of all the Parties, but we think that we should not wait for every Party to display readiness to take part in it. The enemies of communism are wasting no time working out ever new aggressive plans and implementing them and we cannot allow them to gain an edge in terms of time again. The conference will be successful if the Parties which are today interested in having a broad exchange of opinions send their representatives and analyze the situation and discuss their tasks jointly, in a comradely way, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

Such are the thoughts I wanted to share with you at this magnificent Hungarian-Soviet friendship meeting taking place in such a warm atmosphere, on the day and on the occasion of the conclusion of our Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Aid. The Treaty signed today will infuse in us fresh strength; our people will continue with still greater vigor and confidence their historic struggle and great endeavor for the sake of the complete and final victory of socialism. Every people, our people included, have good and bad traits. Besides, a nation consists of different people. It is said that generally the Hungarians are a proud and hot-tempered people, sometimes reserved and sometimes obstinate. Perhaps there is a grain of truth in all this, but what is much more important is that the majority of Hungarians, once they have really embraced an idea, remain loyal to it; if they give their word, they keep it. Dear Comrades Brezhnev and Kosygin, dear Soviet friends! Upon your return home you can confidently say: The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the Hungarian working class are internationalists; the overwhelming majority of the Hungarian working people are sincere supporters of Hungarian-Soviet friendship; the Hungarian People's Republic will stand guard over the spirit and letter of the Treaty of Friendship and will carry it into life.

Half a century ago the Russian working class, the peoples of the former tsarist empire materialized for the first time the idea which is today transforming the world and leading us forward. We in our country, too, are worthily celebrating this great anniversary. The

Hungarian working class, the Hungarian people whose life and struggle have in the past five decades merged with the destiny of the Soviet revolution, regard this anniversary as their own holiday. We are sincerely glad that our Treaty was concluded in a jubilee year of this great international event. From the rostrum of our meeting we take this opportunity to extend, on behalf of the entire Hungarian people, warm fraternal greetings to the Soviet people and wish them fresh successes and continued flourishing of the great Soviet land.

## SPEECH* BY LEONID I. BREZHNEV

### At the Hungarian-Soviet Friendship Meeting in Budapest on September 7, 1967

This is a red-letter day for all of us: a new Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Aid has been just signed between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Hungarian People's Republic. This is an important event in the history of our peoples, in the development and consolidation of the socialist community of nations.

The new Treaty comes to replace the first Soviet-Hungarian Treaty of Friendship signed in 1948, that is, nearly two decades ago. These two decades hold a very important place in the history of the socialist system and in the entire world development. This period witnessed radical changes in the lives of the peoples who had taken the road of socialist construction and whose heroic labor ensured the triumph of socialism in their countries. Fraternal relations sprang up and grew stronger between socialist countries and all-round political and economic cooperation between them asserted itself. The growing might of our states and their cohesion contributed to the growth of the influence of socialism in the world, and resulted in the consolidation of the world forces of democracy, national liberation and social progress.

In these years the working people of People's Hungary achieved outstanding victories in building socialism both in the cities and in the countryside. They completed the laying of the foundations of socialism and are now successfully tackling the job of completing the construction of socialist society.

We now visit each other frequently and every time we have an opportunity of touring Hungary we find ourselves in an atmosphere of creative enthusiasm which permeates the life of your republic. We see the confidence and conviction with which the Hungarian people are working for the realization of the socialist ideals. We are aware of the people's trust in their Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and its Central Committee, headed by an ardent patriot of his country, consistent internationalist, prominent figure in the world Communist movement, Comrade Janos Kadar.

The prestige of your Party stands high not only in Hungary. By its unflinching loyalty to Marxism-Leninism the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party has earned the respect of the Communists of the whole world. Its contribution to the common revolutionary

*Pravda, September 8, 1967.

cause, to the struggle for closer cohesion and greater influence of the Communist movement is highly appreciated also by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, by all Soviet people.

The role of the Hungarian People's Republic in world politics is steadily growing. Your country follows a course which accords with the interests of the Hungarian people and those of the socialist community as a whole; it firmly upholds the cause of peace, freedom and independence of peoples. In its foreign policy Socialist Hungary successfully works for the solution of both national and international tasks.

The successes of People's Hungary give us sincere joy as they do to all friends of socialism. We are sure that the years ahead will bring you further victories, new achievements and we sincerely wish you this.

Comrades, this is a special year for our country. It is the year of the 50th anniversary of the Great October, the half-century jubilee of the first Socialist state in history. For every Soviet man and woman this is a great holiday. It gives us pleasure to tell our friends that the Soviet people marks this holiday with signal achievements in all fields.

You probably know that in the past two or three years our Party has paid special attention to improving economic policy, the methods and forms of socialist economic management. We carried out a number of major measures which have opened up new horizons before the Soviet national economy. These measures are already yielding fruit. In particular, the rates of growth of industry and agriculture have increased considerably.

In the first seven months of the current year gross industrial output in our country increased 10.6 per cent. This is a very impressive figure, considering what it means practically, in terms of material values. I shall draw only one comparison. Every per cent of industrial growth in the USSR this year equals two-thirds of gross output in tsarist Russia in 1913.

Also agriculture is definitively on the upgrade. By using economic levers and raising labor efficiency in every way we have achieved tangible successes in ensuring a steady growth of agricultural production. Our collective and state farms are known to have achieved excellent results last year. Much is being done to ensure good results this year as well.

The efficiency of our economy is growing, this is particularly important. Labor productivity has considerably increased. Important changes are taking place in the style and methods of work of our economic organizations, changes prompted by a deeper understanding of the economic laws of socialism and their more skilful utilization. Economic progress brings about steady improvement in the

well-being of the Soviet people. All this gives our people a feeling of justified satisfaction.

Generally speaking, the atmosphere in our country is marked by optimism. An upsurge of enthusiasm is in evidence. The growing scale of the emulation movement dedicated to the 50th anniversary of the October greatly promotes the initiative of the broad mass of the people.

We fully realize, of course, that we are still facing formidable and complicated tasks. But the results we have achieved give us confidence that these tasks will be successfully carried out and that our advance along the road to communism will register a still quicker pace.

Comrades, the successes of Hungary and the USSR are the fruit of the efforts of our peoples and at the same time of growing co-operation between socialist states, specifically between the Soviet Union and the Hungarian People's Republic.

In this respect the 1948 Treaty stood us in good stead. It marked a radical turn in the Soviet-Hungarian relations. The aspirations of Russian Communists of half a century ago, the dreams of the heroes of the Hungarian Soviet Republic of 1919 have come true: unbreakable fraternal friendship, all-round fruitful cooperation — this is what characterizes Soviet-Hungarian relations today. In the political sphere our countries, relying on the identity of their social systems, act in unbreakable unity. Our parties cooperate fruitfully on all the key issues of world politics and of the world Communist movement.

Political cooperation between Hungary and the Soviet Union developed on a particularly broad scale in recent years. Regular contacts between Party and government leaders became traditional. Contacts are developing between local Party, trade union, YCL and other organizations. There is an intensive exchange of ideas and experience on Party, state and economic matters.

I would like to stress the last circumstances in particular. As Lenin foresaw, exchange of experience between socialist countries has become an important factor in speeding up the construction of a new society. Now every socialist country can creatively use what it finds suitable in the experience of another fraternal country, sharing at the same time its own achievements with friends. We in the Soviet Union find highly interesting, specifically, your work in carrying into life the decisions of the 9th Congress of your Party aimed at improving economic management and facilitating the search for new forms of promoting socialist democracy.

Economic, scientific and technical cooperation is an important and highly promising area forming part of the fraternal relations between Hungary and the USSR. You and we strive to ensure that the unbreakable friendship of our peoples, our political alliance

have a reliable foundation in well-organized international specialization and combination of production, large-scale trade, and coordination of research.

The significance of economic cooperation between socialist countries is growing from year to year. This holds out long-term and stable prospects for their economic progress. Further growth and improvement of the planned economies of our countries afford new, favorable possibilities for cooperation and we should use these possibilities in the interests of the socialist countries.

We have accumulated considerable experience in establishing close production cooperation with People's Hungary. Cooperation in the production of a number of goods of great importance for our national economies is developing. We would like this practice to become even more fruitful, to assume a steadily increasing scale. We want to give the people all the benefits of socialism, and in this respect economic cooperation and division of labor constitute important resources for further progress of our countries' economies, for the growth of the well-being of our peoples.

Last but not least, Soviet-Hungarian contacts continue to expand in the sphere of ideology, in science, education and culture. These are highly important areas of cooperation of the socialist countries, for the moulding of the new man, the education of working people in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism is our common task. Cooperation in this sphere cements the friendship and unity of our peoples with the most durable material — the invincible ideas of Marxism-Leninism.

Thus, in the course of the 20 years that have passed since the signing of the first Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Aid, Hungarian-Soviet relations have become deep-rooted and many-sided. And it is only natural that with expiration of the first treaty we should deem it necessary to sign a new document, a document that would reflect new possibilities and new prospects of our relations. The treaty just signed in your capital bears precisely this character. It records our joint gains. It contains a program the fulfilment of which would further enrich our relations and render them even more solid, even more profound.

I think no one of us doubts that the coming years will see further success in the consolidation of Hungarian-Soviet friendship. I would like to assure you, dear friends, that the Communists of our country, all Soviet people, sincerely wish for this, that the Central Committee of our Party and the Soviet Government will spare no effort to achieve this lofty goal.

Dear Comrades, we live at a time when the socialist countries bear enormous historical responsibilities for the further progress of our common revolutionary cause, for the peace and security of peoples, for freedom, democracy and mankind's social progress.

Life has fully confirmed the correctness of the fundamental conclusion drawn by the Communist and Workers' parties of the whole world in 1960, namely: "Today it is the world socialist system and the forces fighting against imperialism, for a socialist transformation of society, that determine the main content, main trend and main features of the historical development of society."

Watching the process of world development, unbiassed people with common sense cannot but see what direction it takes. The revolutionary, anti-imperialist forces throughout the world become more active and achieve major successes. Despite all the complexity and at times contradictory nature of events in certain sectors, the main direction in which mankind is advancing is clearly discernible: socialism is gaining in strength and winning, building up its material might and greatly increasing its political and ideological influence; imperialism as a whole, as a world system, is on the wane.

The cause of socialism is advancing from victory to victory, primarily in the countries successfully building a new, just and humane society — socialism and communism. The peoples of the world see that developing socialist society has no other aim than to protect peoples' interests and ensure ever fuller satisfaction of the material and spiritual needs of all its members, and that socialist foreign policy is a policy of peace and consolidation of international security.

This explains why millions of people outside the socialist countries also opt for socialism and communism.

The activity and influence of the international Communist movement, which has been, is and will be a reliable vanguard of the world working class in the struggle for the rights of all working people, for peace among nations, for revolutionary reorganization of public life on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, are constantly growing.

The power of attraction of socialism increasingly influences millions of people in the countries that have thrown off the yoke of colonial dependence. In search of ways to overcome their age-old backwardness they turn to the light of socialism, and some of these countries have already embarked on the road of non-capitalist development.

The successes of world socialism, the force of its example will be steadily growing in the future too, because it has on its side the great popular truth which nobody will ever suppress. No matter what moves imperialists resort to, no stratagems by provocateurs who, posing as orthodox spokesmen, commit deeds which have nothing in common with communist convictions and ideals, no measure of propaganda of the enemies of the working class, will halt the historical triumphant march of socialism and communism.

The imperialist camp is being increasingly undermined as a

result of the deep-going process engendered by the very essence of this society based on exploitation and violence. The class struggle in the developed capitalist countries is mounting. Take a look, for example, at the situation in the United States, the main citadel of world imperialism. There we see definite activization of the labor movement in defense of the vital interests of the working people. Driven to despair, the American Negroes, that more oppressed and exploited group of the U.S. population, came out into the streets of many cities seeking recognition of their elementary rights and respect for their human dignity in this so-called free world.

The peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America are offering an increasingly active rebuff to the neo-colonialist policy of imperialism. To the problems of contemporary social development, to the natural striving of the peoples for national independence, progress and peace, imperialism provides only one alternative — violence and brutal crimes against the peoples. Proof of this we see every day. Witness the expansion of the aggression in Vietnam, the organization of Israel's attack on independent Arab states, the fascist military coup in Greece, Bonn's persistent claims to "the whole of Germany," its demand to carve up the European frontiers, and its perfidious designs against the German Democratic Republic.

Disgraceful interference into the affairs of other peoples, direct aggression, secret plots, bribery, bloodshed, bombs and napalm, truncheons and prisons are the things imperialism, U.S. imperialism in the first place, brings to the peoples.

Even in the past, when the bourgeois system was much younger and stronger, wise people noted that those in power cannot feel comfortable if supported by bayonets. With such support they cannot remain in power for long. Nowadays, the violent conduct of imperialism makes its historical doom particularly evident.

Imperialism's strength is seriously sapped, but it is still strong enough to present a grave menace to world peace and security. We have learned much in the decades of our struggle against the imperialists' attempts to halt or at least retard the development of the new world. But the adversary has also learned something. He has become more cunning, more sophisticated in his actions aimed at undermining the political and economic positions and unity of the socialist countries. This we should always bear in mind.

The people's hopes for peace, for a happy future are more and more associated with the socialist world. The people increasingly see in the socialist countries a stronghold of peace, freedom and progressive development of mankind.

All this, naturally, inspires all of us, but at the same time it places a great responsibility on our countries.

The peoples of the socialist countries regard it as their prime duty to respond to the trust of our friends throughout the world

and to the intrigues of our class enemies by building socialism and communism even more successfully, by advancing our economy and culture and developing socialist democracy and the political consciousness of all citizens.

In the present situation, the interests of peace and socialism, the interests of the working people of all countries demand that the socialist states strengthen their unity and cooperaion on the basis of socialist internationalism, for the good of each country and our community as a whole.

Today it is more important than ever to strengthen the alliance of the socialist countries with the national-liberation movement, with all those who are fighting against imperialism. The international front of forces beating off the attacks of the enemies of peace, freedom and independence must constantly grow more powerful.

The adventurist policy of the imperialists makes it imperative for all of us to maintain a high degree of alertness and constantly to strengthen the defenses of the socialist countries. Lenin remarked in his time that the previous revolutions had perished because they did not know how to defend themselves. We, he stressed, will not perish because we know how to defend ourselves. We always remember this behest of our great leader.

The Soviet Union and Hungary are cooperating successfully in strengthening their joint defense potential. That is reflected in the new treaty which was signed today. As you all know, our cooperation is effected not only on a bilateral but also multilateral basis, within the framework of the Warsaw Treaty Organization.

We regard all-round consolidation of the collective defense potential of the socialist states as one of our most important tasks. Let me assure you, comrades, that the Soviet people will continue to make a worthy contribution to the accomplishment of this very important task. We shall do everything, in close cooperation with our friends and allies, for the technical perfection and power of our weapons, the combat readiness of our Armed Forces to discourage the imperialists from even thinking of encroaching on the socialist gains of our peoples.

In our foreign policy we shall continue firmly to uphold the principle that the peaceful coexistence of socialist and capitalist states is quite possible if the independence, sovereign rights and territorial integrity of every state are respected. And the stronger the positions of the socialist countries become, the more opportunities there will be for bringing about the triumph of this principle in international relations.

We Communists will reply to the intrigues of the forces of imperialism and reaction by still more vigorous efforts to rally the world Communist movement and by a still more resolute rebuff

to all attempts to disrupt the unity of our ranks. Facts show with increasing clarity that he who discards proletarian internationalism, our movement's strongest weapon, he who substitutes narrow-minded nationalism, alien to our ideology, for the international unity and militant solidarity of revolutionary forces, he who engineers splits, thus helping our class enemy, cannot be considered to be a Communist.

That is why Marxist-Leninists the world over are so indignant at the adventuristic actions of Mao Tse-tung and his group. The true aims of this group's great-power, chauvinistic course are now obvious to the whole world. Facts show that this group is actually fighting not against imperialism but against the socialist countries, against the international Communist movement.

It is clear from the latest events in China that Mao Tse-tung and his myrmidons are jeopardizing the revolutionary gains of the Chinese people. What the Mao Tse-tung group calls "cultural revolution" should be more correctly called counter-revolution. The people's democratic rule is, in fact, threatened in China today. The Party bodies elected according to the Party Rules, and the constitutional bodies of state authority have actually ceased their activities. The trade unions, the Young Communist League and public organizations have been dissolved. Many prominent and esteemed Party and government leaders, well-known participants in the Chinese Revolution, outstanding army commanders, people prominent in culture and science are being defamed and outrageously persecuted.

The social gains and rights of working people are being reduced to nil. The Chinese workers and peasants who oppose in various parts of the country the arbitrary rule of Mao Tse-tung and his yes-men are being suppressed by force of arms. Not only groups of fanatical *hungweipings* and *tsaofans* blinded by lying propaganda, but also deceived army units are being hurled against them. But in the army itself an ever growing number of officers and men are beginning to understand to what ends the Mao Tse-tung group is trying to use them.

The events in China show not only the ideological and politcal degeneration of the Mao Tse-tung group but also the strength of the resistance to this policy on the part of broad segments of working people, numerous Party and government cadres and the best representatives of the armed forces.

The Communist Party and people of China are now living through a critical period in their history. But no matter how complicated the struggle will be we are convinced that ultimately they will muster up sufficient strength to uphold the gains of the revolution and lead their great country onto the correct road.

We are convinced that in the long run the cause of socialism

in China will win. The CPSU and the entire Soviet people, whose attitude to the Communists and people of China has been invariably imbued with a spirit of fraternal friendship and proletarian internationalism, will welcome this as an important victory for our common great cause.

The conference of Communists from 24 European countries held in Karlovy Vary last spring was a good example of cooperation of fraternal parties. It seems that the time has come to develop further our joint efforts in this direction. Many parties hold this view and we fully share it.

Unity has been, is and remains our motto. We would like to assure you, dear comrades, that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is doing and will do everything it can to enable the Communist movement to act as a single whole, to perform fully and with maximum effect its historical role—the role of the inspirer and leader of worldwide struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

Dear comrades, you know that we are preparing to mark the 50th anniversary of Soviet power. The 50th anniversary of the October Revolution will be celebrated not only by the Soviet people but also by the entire Communist and liberation movement, by the whole of progressive mankind. We know very well that Hungarian Communists and all people of socialist Hungary are actively preparing to celebrate the anniversary of the October Revolution as their own great holiday. We are deeply grateful to you, dear friends, for this. Yes, the October Revolution belongs not only to us, and in this we see an expression of the vast historical significance of the world's first victorious socialist revolution for the destinies of mankind.

The inviolable friendship of our parties and peoples epitomizes the splendid traditions of proletarian internationalism, the fraternal cooperation of revolutionaries and comrades in arms which have long since linked the working people of our countries.

We shall never forget that tens of thousands of sons of Hungary's working people were active participants in the October Revolution in Russia and helped our people in the battles to uphold the cause of socialism. Many of these glorious veteran internationalists have lived to see the golden jubilee of the Revolution and during their great holiday Soviet people will feast them as their brothers together with all the other heroes of the October Revolution.

The 50th anniversary of the October Revolution is a good opportunity to assess on a genuinely historical scale the significance of the work started by Russia's workers and peasants in 1917 under the leadership of Lenin and the Bolshevik Party. This, if you wish, is a sort of examination for socialism, its account to history, to all the freedom-loving peoples of the world. And we can

say with confidence that socialism has brilliantly passed this examination. Socialist achievements in the USSR and the other fraternal countries enable their peoples to look confidently to the morrow, to continue their advance to communism. These achievements light up for all mankind the way to the future.

The new Soviet-Hungarian Treaty, too, is designed to contribute to the struggle for a bright future. Our treaty is a joint reply of socialist Hungary and the Soviet Union to all those who would like to sow discord among the socialist countries. We want to say that by dint of this historic document the USSR and Hungary will always be at one in the struggle for the practical realization of the great teachings of Marx-Engels-Lenin, for the building of socialism and communism. We shall be together in strengthening the socialist community. We shall be together in defending the right of the peoples to national independence. We shall be together in the struggle for peace, against imperialist aggressors.

# APPEAL OF MARXIST-LENINIST GROUP OF THE CP OF INDONESIA

**The course of events in Indonesia since the take-over by the military Right under Suharto and Nasution has been characterized by growing neo-colonialist influence, a campaign against democratic rights and freedoms, reactionary repressions and brutal terror against Communists.**

**According to press reports, there is a growing desire among Indonesian Communists to rebuild their Party for active work to safeguard the interests of the people and to break out of the isolation the regime is trying to impose on it.**

**This found expression, in particular, in the "Appeal of the Marxist-Leninist Group of the Communist Party of Indonesia," which has recently been circulated in the country.**

**The publication of this document with its analysis of the recent events in Indonesia has been received with interest by the Communist and Workers' parties. Communist papers and periodicals in many countries acquaint their readers with this appeal of the Indonesian Communists.**

*IAB (Aus der Internationalen Arbeiterbewegung),* **the information bulletin published in Berlin, carried in its issues 9-11 for 1967 the text of the document, which we reprint below.**

## TO BROTHERS AT HOME AND COMRADES ABROAD FIGHTING AGAINST IMPERIALISM FOR INDEPENDENCE, PEACE, DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALISM

## FOR A SOUND INDONESIAN REVOLUTION

The attempt by the September 30 Movement to engineer a counter-coup failed. The counter-revolutionaries have succeeded in gaining control of the situation and consolidating their forces. A ruthless campaign of white terror ensued which transgressed all the limits of inhumanity. Hundreds of thousands of progressive revolutionaries and innocent people ranging from babies to old men lost their lives in this unprecedented massacre. Hundreds of thousands of activists from progressive organizations were thrown into prisons and concentration camps. The top Party leadership, including such prominent men as Comrades D. N. Aidit, M. H. Lukman and Njoto, also fell victim to the terror campaign. In fact, the Communist Party of Indonesia (PKI) and other mass revolutionary organizations were paralyzed. The Indonesian Revolution suffered a major

setback. Counter-revolutionaries rejoiced in their victory.

The failure of the September 30 Movement has greatly harmed the cause of the national Indonesian Revolution and the international front of anti-imperialism and peace.

Naturally, deep in their hearts all progressive people and revolutionaries in Indonesia and in the entire world began to ask themselves how it could have happened that a small group of leaders of the Communist Party of Indonesia, a Party seasoned by a heroic 45-year-long struggle, a Party that demonstrated its strength during the celebrations of its 45th anniversary,* a Party that commanded admiration among friends and fear among foes, got themselves involved in the September 30 Movement, which was of a purely adventuristic nature, and was used by reaction to strike a blow at the Party, a blow that has stunned it and left it unconscious for a long time. Where does our main mistake stem from? Or has it been pre-ordained that such a tragic fate should have befallen us? Did we have to pay for the Revolution so dearly and in vain?

It is but natural that the revolutionary and progressive forces in Indonesia and throughout the world demand that the leadership of the Indonesian Communist Party be held responsible, for as the 1960 Moscow Statement says, each party is answerable to the workers and the people of its own country, to the international Workers' and Communist movement.

## 1.

A correct assessment of the Party's success in the sphere of ideology and administration in the past, and an analysis of serious mistakes, which are the reverse side of this success, committed especially during the PKI's recent development—will give us objective guidance in the work of rebuilding the Party in the future; it will show us what we must strengthen and consolidate, and what must be removed from the Party's body.

The objective and subjective factors which have been influencing or determining the course of the Indonesian Revolution may be listed as follows:

A. International factors;

B. National factors;

C. Subjective factors operating within the PKI.

It is, obviously, very useful for the Party and the revolutionary progressive masses in Indonesia always to remember the importance of making a correct estimate of the degree of mutual influence of international and national factors.

In other words, on an international scale, the might of the socialist camp is not merely an external condition which affects the

*The 45th anniversary of the CPI was celebrated on May 23, 1965.—Ed.

course of events, but, in conjunction with other forces combating imperialism, it determines the main content, direction and individual trends of the historical development of human society in our times.

The *international factors* which have played no small part in pushing Indonesian policies to the left are as follows:

1. The emergence of the socialist camp which has become the bastion of the struggle of nations against imperialism, for peace and freedom. At the present time the socialist camp towers high above the imperialist camp in all spheres of human endeavor and the life of society.

2. The force of example set by socialist countries in improving living conditions and raising living standards.

3. The progressive trends of foreign policies pursued by socialist countries, i.e., peaceability, peaceful coexistence and *unconditional* support of all national-liberation movements in the world.

4. Economic and cultural cooperation between socialist and developing nations, meetings of statesmen and various international forums of all prominent fighters for peace and the independence of nations held on a non-govermental level.

5. Fraternal militant solidarity of the international proletariat and progressive nations of the world with our struggle in Indonesia.

The *national factors* which have objectively catalyzed the revolutionary process in Indonesia are as follows: the existence of strong revolutionary traditions among the Indonesian people; polarization —on the one hand, the impoverishment of the working people and, on the other, the emergence of a rich stratum alongside the comprador bourgeoisie and landowners—which has revolutionized the Indonesian working people and caused a rapprochement between the national bourgeoisie and the people which, in turn, has fertilized the soil for the establishment of a united national front; and, finally, the rallying of the peasantry around the Party.

*Subjective factors*—the existence of the Party of the working class—the PKI—which has been a vital stimulating force in the development of the revolutionary situation in Indonesia.

The working class and its Party—thanks to their experience in effecting the August 1945 Revolution and due to making their knowledge of Marxism-Leninism more profound and through borrowing ideas from other fraternal parties—demonstrated their ideological, political and organizational maturity, succeeded in providing answers to the crucial questions of the Indonesian Revolution and in laying the correct strategic and tactical foundation for the victory of the Revolution. This foundation was laid at the Fifth National PKI Congress and further developed at the Sixth National PKI Congress.

The Party correctly concluded that Indonesian society at the

present stage of development is a semi-feudal and semi-colonial society (or more mildly, not yet fully independent and semi-feudal); the enemies of the Indonesian Revolution are the class of the comprador bourgeoisie, landowners and capitalistic bureaucrats; because of the geographic factors which determine the uneven development of the Indonesian Revolution, its progress has taken a long time and has had a complex nature, while to lead this lengthy and complex Revolution the PKI had to follow gradual and cautious tactics in the revolutionary struggle, fighting two tendencies at the same time, i.e., a tendency to surrender and a tendency to adventurism, both tendencies being based on the instability of the petty bourgeoisie, with the PKI having to carry out a well-planned ruthless struggle against both these dangerous tendencies; as regards its essence the Indonesian Revolution was a bourgeois-democratic revolution of a new type, or a popular-democratic revolution, i.e., a revolution of the broad popular masses led by the proletariat; the leadership of the Revolution should be effected by the working class while its driving force is the working class and peasants, the petty bourgeoisie outside the peasantry, and other democratic elements; these classes, together with the national bourgeoisie represent a revolutionary force in Indonesia; the prospect of the Indonesian Revolution is socialism; a government of people's democracy will assume the form of a united national front and will be a joint government of all anti-imperialist and anti-feudal classes. This government will lean heavily on the popular masses and will effect changes of a democratic, not socialist, nature. It will secure national independence and the development of the nation, along democratic and progressive lines; a people's democracy in Indonesia can be attained by peaceful means—a possibility which we must do our best to turn into reality, simultaneously increasing our vigilance toward our political enemies and bearing in mind that the class of the bourgeoisie will strive to foist upon us a non-peaceful way of attaining this end; the way out lies in changing the balance of power between the imperialists, the class of landowners and the comprador bourgeoisie, on the one hand, and the forces of the people on the other, it lies in arousing, mobilizing and organizing the masses, workers and peasants first and foremost.

It was on the basis of the above conclusions that the general strategic line of the Revolution was determined, i.e., a line of a united national anti-imperialist front based on union between workers and peasants, a line of building up a party on a nationwide and mass scale, a party fully consolidated ideologically, politically and organizationally.

The working class must make up the vanguard of the people's struggle. To reach this end, the working class must heighten its activity, educate itself and become a large and conscious force able

to render help to the struggle of other classes. The working class must help the peasants in their struggle to obtain land, it must help the intelligentsia in the struggle it is waging for its rights, it must help the national bourgeoisie in its struggle against foreign competition, it must help the entire people of Indonesia in the struggle for national independence and democratic freedoms. The people cannot achieve victory unless the working class of Indonesia becomes a free, conscious and politically mature force, well organized and able to lead the struggle of the nation, unless the people see in the working class their undisputed leader.

To win the peasants over to their side, the immediate target for the Indonesian Communists was the elimination of the vestiges of feudalism. The first step in conducting work among the peasants was to give them assistance in their everyday needs, in formulating their demands. This implies the organization and education of the peasants, so that they might reach a higher level in their struggle. This is the basis for the creation of a union of workers and peasants as the foundation for a powerful united national front.

As was officially recognized, on the national scale the strength of the Party began to grow after it had succeeded in winning a major victory at the elections to the Council of People's Representatives (DPR) and the Constituent Assembly, a fact that made it the fourth biggest party in Indonesia. It was this particular basis which enabled President Sukarno, for the first time, to put forward the concept of "mutual cooperation" (Pemerintah Gotong-Rojong) according to which the Communists had to participate in the work of not only legislative but also of executive organs, both on a central and on regional levels.

If we give prominence to the great successes of the Party achieved during the 1954-1960 period, it does not mean that there were no bad symptoms already then.

—Lack of order in the admission of new members. It can be said that each of the rules determining the admission of new members into the Party (Party Statute, Part 2) was violated. According to Lenin, the Party can play its vanguard role only when it comprises the best elements of the working class. However, as a result of the subjective assessment of a mass party as one which has a large membership, the Party admitted new members without sufficiently rigorous selection, so much so that there was little difference between admission to the Party and to various mass organizations. This resulted in the Party becoming oversaturated with petty bourgeois ideology; the organizational purity and quality of the Party dropped. This was further aggravated by the inactivity, or simply lack of groups and primary Party organizations in villages, which led to a situation where ideological education in the Party within the framework of strengthening the views and methods of the work-

ing class, could not be carried out as it ought to have been.

—In primary Party organizations and in the revolutionary peasant organization (BTI) leadership was in the hands of rich peasant elements and petty bourgeoisie of non-peasant origin (employees, village headmen, teachers).

—The figures contained in the reports and bearing on the plan were impressively high, although the number of people versed in Marxist-Leninist ideology was rather slender.

As a result, the Party organism began to be infected with bourgeois ideology. That was the reason why after the most trying of ordeals—the third white terror—many primary Party committees embarked on the road of disbanding their Party organizations—something entirely without precedent in other countries or in the history of our own Party even at the period of terror which occurred during the "Madiun Affair." The main reason was crystal clear: our Party with its large membership had not yet developed into a true Leninist party.

We often talk about the strength of our Party as the largest party beyond the borders of the socialist camp, because the PKI had 3,000,000 members, while mass revolutionary organizations had the following membership: SOBSI 3,500,000; BTI 3,000,000; GERWANI 1,500,000 and Pemuda Rakjat 2,000,000 members. The flouting of these figures of strength, supported by various inspiring acts such as mass meetings, demonstrations, etc., produced a good effect in the sense that it boosted the Party's prestige both within the country and abroad, and proved the best attraction for the masses which were sill hesitating about whether or not to join the Party.

However, this advertising of strength did more harm than good. The enemy learned too much about it and acted with greater caution, whereas we were not vigilant enough. Our closest allies, the intermediary forces, did not trust us and were afraid lest we should dominate them and take the helm of the Revolution into our own hands.

The greatest damage, however, has been done to us. We let down our guard and overestimated our strength. We were sure that our real strength was as great as we had vaunted it to be. Miscalculations in the assessment of the balance of forces could lead to political steps fatal to the Party and the Revolution, which actually was the case during the September 30 Movement.

Another obvious drawback in the implementation of the plan for Party building was the failure to reach the targets in collecting membership dues. Thus, the Party had no firm financial footing, which ought to have been provided by membership dues received from the Party masses, but rather was supported by donations from Party sympathizers from among high social quarters, private owners, etc.

Undoubtedly, this limited the Party's political freedom with regard to national private owners and some bureaucrats.

The period of the Party's development prior to the outburst of the September 30 Movement was marked by the flourishing of these negative tendencies, all extremely dangerous to the safety of the Party and the Revolution. These tendencies are as follows:

1) Increasing penetration of bourgeois ideology into the Party organism and the shifting of the Party's policy on to an adventuristic footing;

2) Increasing symptoms of the Party leadership turning bourgeois, which made them lose the Party identity, caused them to sink down ever deeper into the bog of self-conceit and bureaucracy, and become drunk with their achievements.

All this affected the Party's political activities which produced a paradoxical impression. On the one hand, there was an overindulgence in leftist phraseology, such as "our determination is stronger than hunger," "crush all the imperialists and revisionists," "let us turn Indonesia into the revolutionary beacon for Asia, Africa and Latin America," etc., while, on the other hand, we tended to depart still further from stepping up mass revolutionary action, engaged in class collaboration with the bourgeoisie and thus were steadily losing our political freedom.

The Party made quite a few gains from cooperation with Sukarno. But this cooperation was also fraught with some negative symptoms. Not infrequently, when analyzing our political successes it was hard to see which of them were the result of our own struggle and which we achieved by borrowing from the President's prestige. Moreover, the Party was being increasingly misled by illusions with regard to Bung Karno which resulted in the loss of its political independence, the inexorable gravitation toward ideological prostitution, and the alignment of its theory and practices with those of Bung Karno. This, in turn, led to utter confusion in interpreting Marxism-Leninism—and to complete departure from it.

The Party's cardinal mistake in the field of theory was the thesis of "subordinating class interests to national interests" ("Madju terus menggempur imperialisme dan feodalisme" /Forward to the victory over imperialism and feudalism/, D.N.A., J.P. 1961, p. 18). Compliance with this thesis would make it appear that, allegedly, class interests contradict national interests. In actual fact this was a deviation from Marxism-Leninism which teaches us that the interests of our class encompass the best interests of the entire nation.

It is thus clear that the thesis of the priority of national interests over class interests, the attempts to subordinate the Party Program to the Political Manifesto, the United National Front to the *Nasakom* Alliance, the attempts to "make Marxism the property of the

nation"—all this is but a reflection of how deeply petty-bourgeois ideology became rooted in the body of our Party.

The Chinese comrades were not averse to capitalizing on the positive and negative characteristics of President Sukarno, while in doing so they aligned themselves with our Party's leadership to ensure the victory of their petty-bourgeois concepts of political hegemony in Asia and Africa and to replace the policy of the international anti-colonial front and struggle for peace with the "Djakarta-Peking axis."

Petty-bourgeois political views and nationalism have resulted in an inability to correctly understand the burning issues of today, and this crippled the anti-imperialist struggle and the fight for peace on an international scale, and it hurled Indonesia into the catastrophe of the September 30 Movement.

**2.**

As a doctrine, which is not dogmatic but creative, Marxism-Leninism is constantly being enriched with the latest experiences of the international workers' and Communist movement as summed up in such militant documents as the Moscow 1957 Declaration and the Moscow 1960 Statement. Both of these historic documents should become the common guiding principles in solving Party problems in each individual country, aimed at achieving the victory of the revolution, and in fighting the common enemy, international imperialism led by the United States of America.

In this common cause we are united first and foremost by devotion to Marxist-Leninist principles and proletarian internationalism.

The Indonesian Revolution is part and parcel of the world revolution of mankind in its struggle for socialism and eternal peace. Likewise, the theories of the Indonesian Revolution were elaborated by us through combining the general precepts of Marxism-Leninism with concrete revolutionary practices in Indonesia. However, these theories of the Indonesian Revolution should constantly be put to the test in the process of the development of our Revolution so as to see to what degree they truly reflect the fundamentals of the universal Marxist-Leninist theory. That is why it is by no means permissible to believe that our revolutionary theories are the only correct ones and are not liable to reconsideration.

In the past few decades Marxism-Leninism has gone through an ordeal of major discussions in the international Communist movement aimed at blazing the best trail to follow in its effort to expedite the historical mission of the proletariat. Our true devotion to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism is gauged by our disinterested service to the spirit and the letter of the documents elaborated and agreed upon by all Marxist-Leninist parties,

i.e., the Moscow Declaration of 1957 and the Moscow Statement of 1960.

As a member of the international Communist movement, the PKI, which has already demonstrated its maturity, at first held a position from which *a priori* it neither accused nor justified any side in its earnest desire to make a critical study of all the materials and arguments that issued from the already-mentioned major discussion. It also strove to make a contribution of its own to the reunification of the international Communist movement in accordance with the ideas of proletarian internationalism, having no intention whatsoever of taking a middle-of-the-road position.

Further developments demonstrated, however, that in reality a deviation did manifest itself in the policy of our Party from the above approach. Not only did we fail to become more critical of ourselves, we succumbed to sentimentality and *a priori* justified one side while we preached alienation toward the other. Not only did we fail to elevate the principle of holding discussions and consultations in search of the contradictions in the international Communist movement, but we used the slogan, "Let us turn the major discussion on the international Communist movement into a Marxist-Leninist university on an international scale," to support the idea of an open and broad discussion of internal issues in the international Communist movement before the very eyes of the enemy. Although, officially, our relations remained good and friendly, in actual fact we followed the wrong path by treating as our enemies those whom we believed to be "revisionists" matching in their viciousness and evil the pillars of world imperialism. Each critical thought or argument which failed *a priori* either to justify or accuse the sides was increasingly strongly condemned as "an inconsistent class position reeking of revisionism," to be, naturally, exorcised from the Party. Not only did we fail to stand on our own and strengthen our identity, but rather we became even more ideologically, politically and economically dependent on a certain party. What is more that party was responsible for turning the Indonesian Revolution into a gaming table for its political gambles.

## A. ON THE MAIN CONTENT AND THE CHIEF CONTRADICTIONS OF OUR EPOCH

At the beginning we expressed our full agreement with the thesis of the Moscow 1960 Statement to the effect that the chief contradiction of our epoch is the contradiction between socialism and imperialism.

However, the Second Plenary Meeting* of the PKI which took place after the 7th Party Congress,** had drastically changed the

*Held in December 1963.
**Held in April 1962.

Party's stand on this score by declaring that the chief and decisive contradiction of our time is the contradiction between the national liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America on the one hand, and imperialism on the other. This change was caused by a new orientation, from which it followed that the center of world storms, the center of revolutionary explosion in the modern world lay not in imperialist and capitalist countries but in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

It is quite obvious, and it is correct to assert, that the flames of the Revolution are burning bright in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and in the past few years they are especially hot in Vietnam, although this is by no means proof of the fact that the main contradiction in the world today has changed into the contradiction between the oppressed nations and imperialism. The chief world contradiction of our time, a time of transition to socialism, a time of the world revolution, is still the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in general and the contradiction between the new victorious social system (socialism) and the moribund social system (capitalism) in particular, between the proletarian states and the bourgeois imperialist states.

Recognition of the fact that "in our epoch world development is determined by the course and results of the competition between two diametrically opposed social systems" means that:

1) For the international Communist movement, for Communist and Workers' parties the prime duty is to strengthen the cohesion of the countries of the socialist system, guarding it as the apple of their own eye, and to oppose any actions that may undermine the authority and unity of the world socialist system.

2) For the proletariat in the countries where it is in power, for socialist states, the prime duty is continuously to increase the economic and defense potentials of these states and see to it that socialism preserves its leading role in the field of science, technology and culture, retaliates to any imperialist outrages, thus augmenting socialism's possibilities in the implementation of the tasks of proletarian internationalism, acting as the tried and tested friend of the peoples fighting for their freedom.

All this indicates that making the strengthening of the world socialist system its cornerstone by no means implies that the revolutionary struggle in Asia, Africa and Latin America should be treated as a bastard child. On the contrary, the strengthening of the socialist system creates more favorable conditions for the growth of solidarity with this struggle to which it renders moral and material support, giving the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America economic, cultural, armed and other types of assistance, so that their

struggle may end in the victory of the revolutions of Asia, Africa and Latin America at their first and second stages.

## B. ON THE STRUGGLE FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE

In later documents of the Party there is not a single paragraph refuting the task of the Communists to struggle for world peace and peaceful coexistence between the two different social systems. However, a point of view has been expressed recently, and has developed into the Party line. This point of view boils down to antipathy toward the struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence.

Thus, it was pointed out that:

—talking of peace, and especially of disarmament, when imperialism is still in existence is simply a waste of words;

—only then does the struggle for peace acquire any sense when it is a struggle against colonialism and imperialism and, in particular, against the imperialism of the United States;

—the correct slogan is this: "We love peace, but more still we love independence." Peaceful coexistence has a meaning solely for the settlement and the preservation of relations between socialist and imperialist states and cannot be extended to the struggle going on in colonial nations. There can be no peaceful coexistence between imperialism and the oppressed peoples;

—the struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence is, in effect, only a poisonous concoction paralyzing the revolutionary energies of the oppressed nations who are in a state of revolutionary upsurge, and serves to adorn the facade of imperialism, making it look as if the U.S. loves peace too;

—making peaceful coexistence task No. 1 means to deviate from the highest principle governing relations between socialist countries and fraternal parties, i.e., the principle of proletarian internationalism while, in fact, it implies surrender to the nuclear imperialist blackmail.

Chiefly, this line was readily toed only by the hot-headed petty-bourgeois revolutionaries, but it could not be taken for granted by the proletariat armed with the theory of scientific socialism and thinking along more realistic lines. If a thorough analysis is made of this issue, it will turn out that the relations between its many aspects are impaired, which results in these questions falling short of the mark.

*Firstly*, it is necessary to have a clear idea that the struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence is an alternative to destructive thermonuclear war between different social systems, a war which would inevitably push all countries and peoples of the world on to

a road of disaster. Thus, it cannot be an alternative to the revolutions of liberation of the oppressed peoples in their struggle against imperialism. It can by no means make imperialism look more attractive, but rather heightens the vigilance of the peoples and fully exposes the nature of imperialism and all its cunning tricks. The struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence does not imply class collaboration but on the contrary creates more favorable conditions for a class struggle in all spheres. The principle of peaceful coexistence should by no means be considered an Aladdin's lamp which would bring wealth and happiness to humankind without a struggle, for it is in conditions of peaceful coexistence that we are expected tirelessly to mobilize the broad popular masses to form a peaceful front against imperialism.

On all these questions the Moscow Statement clearly pointed out the following:

To fight for peace today means to maintain the greatest vigilance, indefatigably to lay bare the policy of the imperialists, to keep a watchful eye on the intrigues and maneuvers of the warmongers, arouse the righteous indignation of the peoples against those who are heading for war, organize the peace forces still better, continuously intensify mass actions for peace . . .

"The struggle of the peoples against the militarization of their countries should be combined with the struggle against the capitalist monopolies connected with the U.S. imperialists."

It is further pointed out: "Peaceful coexistence of states does not imply renunciation of the class struggle as the revisionists claim. The coexistence of states with different social systems is a form of class struggle between socialism and capitalism. *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. In their turn, the successes of the revolutionary class and national liberation struggle promote peaceful coexistence.* (Author's emphaiss).

*Secondly,* it is necessary to combat an opinion, which, *although revolutionary in form, in essence signifies the lack of trust in one's own strength* of rendering imperialism unable to unleash a new world war for many years to come. We must realize that although imperialism still exists in some parts of the globe, and although wars are always concomitant to the system of capitalism in conditions of the present-day balance of forces and the ever-changing conditions in favor of the socialist camp, the mighty front of the peoples of the world will prevent imperialism from madly gambling on war, and if it does take this crazy step, it will doom itself to destruction.

*Thirdly,* as regards the slogan that "we love peace, but more still

we love independence," it should be pointed out that this is indeed a true slogan and there is no need to counterpose it to the slogan that it is necessary to raise high the banners of peace. For in case imperialism does wage its aggressive war in Asia, Africa and Latin America, or if it attacks one of the socialist-camp countries, hard-headedly pitting itself against peaceful public opinion, there can be no doubt that we shall have to launch a counter-offensive and deal imperialism a resolute blow. We are not pacifists or saints and we do not believe in non-resistance to violence.

*Fourthly,* it should be remembered at the same time that the world struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence contains lofty humane traits, which are instrumental in mobilizing mighty forces and attracting the progressive and humanistic-minded intelligentsia, of which we had ample proof during our own experience of stepping up the peace movement in Indonesia.

*Fifthly,* a distinction should be made between peaceful coexistence and proletarian internationalism. The Moscow Declaration and Statement when dealing with the question of peaceful coexistence, always pointed to the character of relations between countries with different social systems. In other words, relations between socialist countries and imperialist states, e.g., between Britain and the Soviet Union, or relations between socialist countries and independent non-socialist states, e.g., relations between the Soviet Union and Indonesia. Due to the triumph at the Bandung Conference of the principles of peaceful coexistence they are in fact followed in state relations by the countries in Asia and Africa.

Even though the Declaration and the Statement lay such a heavy stress on the principle of peaceful coexistence this does not mean at all that these documents want to extend these principles also to relations between socialist states, between socialist states and the nations fighting for their freedom, to relations between fraternal parties.

Unity of the international Communist movement would indeed be durable and strong if all parties (including the PKI) showed true mutual respect in the implementation of all these principles which they themselves had jointly formulated. But it is a great pity, a thousand times great pity, that there were some parties which violated these principles, with the result that the rift in the international Communist movement grew steadily wider to the obvious advantage of the enemies of revolutionary progress.

The line pursued by the PKI leadership in relations with the CPSU prior to the 7th Congress of our Party was materially and morally manifest in our firmly advocating the idea of friendship, we highly valued what the Moscow Statement said about relations between fraternal parties, although even then different points of view on this issue had already emerged. A year later, however, our

relations were rather of a formal nature and had departed from the standards of relations between fraternal parties.

The stand taken by the 7th Congress of the PKI on the successes of socialist construction, the acme of which is the construction of communism in the Soviet Union and which was hailed with applause by the entire gathering, was later abruptly denounced by the CC of the PKI without any reason whatsoever.

The weakening and disappearance of friendship between the two major parties, while the advantages of this friendship had been tested over decades, caused serious damage to our movement due to the fact that we were forced to subscribe to a lopsided point of view. This is what led us to the 1965 tragedy.

While considering in its entirety the chief problem of the international Communist movement, it is possible to define the international duties of the PKI as follows:

1) The need to pursue a consistent anti-imperialist and anti-colonial foreign policy and to defend world peace and peaceful coexistence;

2) The need to raise aloft the banners of proletarian internationalism, consolidate the unity of the international Communist movement and remain truly faithful to the letter and spirit of the Moscow Declaration and Statement.

## C. THE PROBLEM OF A PEACEFUL AND NON-PEACEFUL WAY OF REVOLUTION

Many a classical statement has been made to defend the point of view that the revolution can be effected by violent means, i.e., an armed revolution against an armed counter-revolution. On the other hand, there is weighty proof that Marx, Engels and Lenin did not believe that the revolution should necessarily develop along military lines; they insisted that it can also be effected by peaceful means, although in their lifetime the chances for this were very slender indeed and the idea lacked practical confirmation. It would be out of place to discuss this problem *per se* in this work. It is sufficient to draw your attention to what is in concert with our consensus as laid down in the Moscow Declaration and Statement, which was that under present historical conditions, especially after the emergence of the world socialist system, *there are chances* for a peaceful victory of the revolution. Whether revolution can develop peacefully or not depends largely on concrete historical conditions in each individual country.

The Statute of the PKI points out in this connection that since it is we ourselves who are concerned, our way should be that of the least possible sacrifices, i.e., the way of peace. The Indonesian ex-

perience teaches us that to use this best of opportunities, i.e., to follow the peaceful way, we must:

*firstly*, be sure that this peaceful way is open to us and, acting on this optimistic assumption, prepare all the conditions that will be instrumental in achieving the victory of the revolution by peaceful means;

*secondly*, we should by no means create an illusion that there is no other opportunity, i.e., the non-peaceful way, so as not to weaken ideological, political and organizational vigilance.

In short, it is for the sake of achieving the victory of the revolution by peaceful means that we must be ready for both alternatives and do our utmost to prepare the conditions outlined above.

Later, however, this point of view underwent some changes and turned into its opposite, i.e., into the belief that the revolution could be victorious solely if effected by force of arms while pessimism was expressed as to the peaceful way of revolutionary development.

The subjective opinion that revolution can be victorious solely if brought about by force of arms had a hypnotizing effect upon us and drastically changed the course of our Revolution pushing it on to the wrong path. This revisionist leftist point of view was instrumental in paving the theoretical way for the gamble known as the September 30 Movement.

**3.**

An analysis of the facts demonstrates that the September 30 Movement was triggered off by several units of the Indonesian Republic's Armed Forces, the Army in particular, comprised of the most progressive servicemen. The Movement concentrated in Djakarta. In other words, it was an action started in the center, in the hope that it would extend to all the regions of the Motherland.

The following goals were pursued:

1) To foil the plot of the Generals' Council and purge the Armed Forces of the conspirators.

2) To set up a "Revolutionary Council" as an organ of assistance to NASAKOM which would be a precursor of a people's democracy, a body that would consistently have to implement the five principles (Pantja Azimat) of the Indonesian Revolution.

It is quite clear that the September 30 Movement was a movement spearheaded against the coup, a movement that overthrew the Generals' Council and was at the same time a revolutionary movement aimed at the establishment of a state power that would be a harbinger of a people's democracy. In reality, this Movement developed into a military adventure, and was foiled.

The primary cause of the defeat of the September 30 Movement was not that the enemy confronting us was too strong, or that we lacked courage, or that our fighters lacked courage. The subjective causes lie in recklessness on the part of some leading Party quarters, in the ideological, political and organizational muddleheadedness, which was the objective result of the petty-bourgeois ideology of revolutionism, in excessive revolutionary zeal, a desire to achieve a quick victory, in forcing the development of the revolution which miscarried, in gambling on the balance of forces, in indulgence in adventurist fantasies, etc.

These chief mistakes set off a chain reaction of other serious errors committed during the Movement.

Let us now consider the political situation which obtained on the eve of the September 30 Movement, so as to see whether there had been any subjective and objective conditions for a revolutionary explosion in Indonesia then.

Lenin taught us that revolutions are not made to order. A revolution must needs be preceded by a revolutionary situation.

The objective symptoms of a revolutionary situation are as follows:

—the inability of the ruling classes to hold power in its old form;

—usually, it is not enough for a revolution to occur when the lower classes do not want to live as before, what is needed is that the upper classes, too, cannot live as before;

—the unprecedented aggravation of the impoverishment and the sufferings of the oppressed classes, which is fraught with extreme intensification of spontaneous action by the masses.

Lenin also said that the existence of such a revolutionary situation does not automatically lead to revolution. Added to this should be subjective conditions, i.e., the ability of the revolutionary class to wage a courageous and self-sacrificial struggle and the presence of an experienced revolutionary party which effects *strategically and tactically correct leadership*

The Fourth Plenary Session of the CC of the PKI (May, 1965) made the following conclusions:

At the present time Indonesia finds herself in an ever-increasing and maturing revolutionary situation which has the following characteristics:

1) The popular masses are actively fighting for changes that could be instrumental in improving their living conditions.

2) Anti-popular aspects of political power are increasingly replaced by popular aspects, while the government's policies are increasingly adapted to the demands of the people.

3) Mass popular actions are broadening, which results in the ever-growing role of the popular masses and their decisive importance in the life of society and state politics.

Our task at the present time is "to step up the revolutionary offensive, continue to develop the revolutionary situation bringing it to a state of maturity."

Let us test the correctness of the above conclusions by the realities of the economic and political situation in our country.

## In the Field of Economics

The economic crisis which had afflicted Indonesia was growing increasingly worse; setbacks in all the key sectors of the economy had worsened the living standards of the people; prices of foodstuffs and clothing were inexorably rising.

The luxury in which the upper stratum of the population was wallowing was becoming ever more apparent against the background of the intolerable suffering of the people and the flourishing of capitalist bureaucrats, who were plunging their claws ever deeper into the body of the Indonesian economy, their interests being interlocked with those of the imperialists, while the latter were using these capitalist bureaucrats as their mainstay; this "economic dynasty" had caused great damage to the public sector of the economy, aggravated the living conditions of the working people and brought to bankruptcy private enterprises which were not the property of capitalist bureaucrats.

The progressive revolutionary forces of Indonesia had time and again tried to find a way out of these economic difficulties, but their efforts had proved futile due to the following causes:

a) Sabotage on the part of internal reactionaries holding key positions in the majojr branches of Indonesia's economy, assisted by the subversive economic actions of the imperialists;

b) The sky-rocketing state budget within the framework of confrontation with Malaysia and the squandering of public funds on major uneconomical projects and all kinds of government political activities.

Failure to cope with the economic difficulties had both given rise to general dissatisfaction among the progressive revolutionary circles in Indonesia and been used by the internal reaction as material to discredit Sukarno's regime—a campaign which had affected the sentiments of the broad masses still lacking sufficient political consciousness.

## In the Field of Politics

The revolutionary and progressive forces, the PKI and its mass revolutionary organizations were becoming ever stronger. They put forward the demand that the Gotong Rojong Cabinet be formed:

—in the process of crystallization of the middle-of-the-road forces, they were cleaning their house of right-of-center elements;

—the hardheaded elements were consolidating themselves and emerging as a new group comprised of the right-wing old-timers (former Masjumi—PSI) and new right-wingers (capitalist bureaucrats and Trotskyites), plus the right wing of the Centrist forces kicked out of the nationalistic parties;

—the number of mass actions by the people rose abruptly and aimed at the following major targets:

1) crushing the city devils (capitalist bureaucrats, corruptionists and embezzlers of public funds);

2) crushing the village devils;

3) take-over of U.S. imperialist enterprises.

The President's deteriorating health started speculations in Indonesia's political circles. Playing on President Sukarno's illness, the new right-wing trio, Sukarni-Hatta-Chairul, attempted to engineer the seizure of state power in Indonesia. This attempt backfired, as a result of which the Murba party was banned and its leader, Sukarni, arrested.

Simultaneously, the conspirators from the Generals' Council and their braintrust (Hatta-Nasution) were taking more and more concrete steps towards thorough and well-planned actions which were hard to expose since they were not known beyond a group of topmost officers of the Armed Forces and in a number of regions. Nevertheless, Subandrio and his central intelligence organ, the BPI, got wind of these actions, reported them to the President and informed the Party.

As soon as they received word of the danger of the generals' conspiracy the high party leadership called an expanded meeting and drew conclusions, then took preventive steps which boiled down to the following:

—necessary action was undertaken to prepare the Party for any emergency in case the Generals' Council dared carry out their dastardly plan;

—consultations with the President and left-wing nationalist leaders were held in the event of possible complications that could set in in connection with the danger presented by the Generals' Council.

Had a consensus been reached at that period by the joint front acting against the Generals' Council to destroy the conspiracy, great political progress within the country could possibly have been achieved, Indonesia's progressive forces could have been consolidated and the Gotong-Rojong Cabinet—the objective of a long drawn out struggle—could probably have been formed. At that time, even President Sukarno himself was already more resolutely inclined to renovate his Cabinet along the lines of the Gotong-

Rojong Cabinet, in spite of strong pressures brought to bear on him by the Generals' Council. Reports had it that in the Generals' Council itself there was no unanimity as to the timing of their actions: some believed that the anniversary of the Armed Forces should be the date (October), others were inclined to fix a later date in the belief that Armed Forces Day should be turned into a show of force, so as to prevent the formation of the Gotong-Rojong Cabinet.

Following the return of our leaders from a trip abroad which also included one of the Asian countries (July-August 1965) it became known that the Party leadership had taken a rash decision to begin preparation for playing the role of a "savior," with or without President Sukarno and other democratic forces. And all this happened at a time when there was no revolutionary situation in evidence, no instability was manifest in the position of the ruling quarters, the broad masses were not prepared for armed action. There was only a danger of a counter-revolutionary plot and there were the diseased kidneys of President Sukarno. Had a revolution occurred it would have been based not on the revolutionary situation or the support of the revolutionary masses, but would have rather hinged on Sukarno's lesioned kidneys. Truly, that was a gamble of the first water which had nothing to do with the Marxist theory of armed uprising.

Lenin taught us that to be successful, an uprising should rest not upon a conspiracy of any one party, but on the progressive class. That is the first precondition. An uprising must be based on the revolutionary wave of a popular upsurge. That is the second precondition. An uprising should coincide with the most tense moment in the history of a revolution, which sets in when the activities of the vanguard of the people reach their peak and when instability in the enemy ranks and among the weak and inconsistent allies of the revolution is at its highest. That is the third precondition. The existence of these three preconditions in posing the question of an uprising differentiates Marxism from Blanquism.

The PKI made the final analysis and algebraically formulated the power balance in Indonesia at the time as follows:

center forces + right wingers are greater than the leftist forces
center forces + leftists are greater than the right-wing forces

That meant that in taking action that could lead to the instability of the center forces and their tendency to make common cause with the Right-wing, the situation was very disadvantageous for the Party and the whole affair would have fizzled out.

It is necessary to bear in mind at the same time that the formula:

Left-wingers + centrists are greater than the right-wingers

is justified within the framework of an anti-imperialist struggle, although it cannot be applied as easily against the Generals' Coun-

cil due to the following factors:

The reactionary forces had acquired considerable additional strength from the Right-wing of the Center forces which were ousted from the Marhaenis Front as a result of the increasing crystallization of the center forces.

The religious parties were more sympathetic toward the Generals' Council which they tended to see as a savior of religion from atheism.

That was the root of the difficulty of preserving NASAKOM intact in the duel with the Generals' Council especially at a time when part of the PKI leadership were behaving like fighting cocks.

We often said that at least thirty per cent of the Armed Forces are the followers of the Hammer and Sickle. However, we often also mistakenly forgot what measure of the thirty per cent were loyal to the Party and President Sukarno. One can say with certainty that when the Party and Bung Karno were united these thirty per cent of the Armed Forces would pledge their hearts and souls to them. When, however, they had to choose between the Party and President Sukarno it is a good guess that the majority would demonstrate greater devotion to Sukarno; at best they would occupy an unstable position. That is why the factor of President Sukarno had to be seriously borne in mind.

Let us now analyze the subjective factors bearing upon ourselves, factors which, scientifically speaking, determine the success of the revolution, namely: the readiness of the vanguard class for a struggle under the leadership of the Party armed with the correct strategy and tactics.

Actions aimed at taking over U.S. imperialist enterprises did not imply any physical clashes because they were fully supported by the government. The workers, at the same time, had a bitter experience that these actions failed to give them clear advantages, while the enterprises were falling into the hands of capitalist bureaucrats.

The actions aimed at crushing the city devils were still at the level of demonstrations and demands that government officials take resolute steps against the city devils, i.e., there was no immediate physical contact with the devils themselves. Only the one-sided actions of the peasants aimed at crushing the village devils went through the stage of physical clashes with the armed forces and resulted in the loss of human life. However, these one-sided actions were later checked by the Party and directed along the lines of reason and negotiations (musjavarah). It is becoming ever clearer that we were not sufficiently seasoned in non-peaceful action, that we did not want to quarrel with Sukarno who had extinguished the revolutionary actions of the peasants.

As a result of the disease of self-conceit, bureaucracy and the cult of the personality that flourished in the Party (see Chapter 2) many functionaries and rank and file were unable to train themselves ideologically and organizationally to act according to the maxim: "Do not cry over broken pots and cut knuckles."

During those tense days the Party, having given its support to Colonel Untung's actions, committed the following political mistakes:

a) The organizers of and immediate participants in Untung's actions failed to take into consideration the need to draw the masses to their side in order to secure the support of progressive forces within the country. After the successful seizure of Radio Republic of Indonesia (RRI), they did not offer their people a positive socio-economic platform, nor did they call upon peasants and workers to watch for the danger of the conspiracy of the Generals' Council.

Instead of issuing a decree for the creation of people's armed forces, a decision was made to give a fresh boost to the military. Following all this, it was hard to count on the support of the masses for the September 30 Movement.

b) when all the political leaders denied their participation in the Revolutionary Council the leadership of the Party made a belated statement to the effect that it was wrong to believe that the Party had taken part in the September 30 Movement. However, the Party leadership did not refute allegations that it had supported the purge carried out by Untung and his followers.

Western Java, as a region where the influence of the Party was relatively small, ought to have received primary attention from the Party leadership during the preparatory stage. In actual fact it was treated as an orphan up to the defeat of the September 30 Movement in Djakarta. In Western Java neither the situation nor plans for future actions were known.

Within twenty four hours the Party leadership in the provinces and in the Kebupaten (countries) were arrested by the authorities on a large scale and practically without resistance. In the following days, under the influence of dissatisfaction with the leadership and despondency resulting from mass surrender to the reactionary authorities, statements were made on the dissolution of Party committees, accompanied with accusations against the Party leadership. On the other hand, those who still continued to fight attacked the Party leadership from the left, which explains the fact why two diametrically opposed tendencies emerged in Western Java: shameful mass surrender was going on parallel with the flourishing of the ultra-leftists. Both stem from the one and same source: general disillusionment with the political leadership of the Party.

Heated debates had taken place in the Party leadership about

whether the Party should obey the President's orders or continue the struggle and repulse the onslaught of reaction. It was decided to issue a statement in support of a political solution by the President, to attend the full Cabinet meeting so as to bring pressure to bear upon the President during that meeting, to recognize the Generals' Council and agree to the formation of the NASAKOM Cabinet; if this failed—to continue resistance.

In this lies the following major mistake committed by the Party: the passivity of and panic among the Party leadership in an emergency situation which resulted in surrender of all authority to President Sukarno and his political decision, but not reliance on the strength of the masses.

While the Party depended on President Sukarno's actions aimed at finding a political solution, which was long in coming, reaction was not idle. Persecution of progressive revolutionary elements began. Mad white terror was unleashed which knew no limits of inhumanity. Hundreds of thousands of the Party rank and file and the functionaries of progressive revolutionary organizations together with their innocent families were plunged into a blood bath and became victims of mass killings. Hundreds of thousands of others were thrown into prisons or concentration camps. Even the Party's top leaders failed to avoid the terror, among them Comrades D. N. Aidit, Lukman and Njoto.

Counter-revolutionaries came to power and the revolutionary tide began to ebb. Such is the sad fate of the September 30 Movement resulting from suicidal leftist policies for which the Revolution paid a dear and unnecessary price. That was the mistake the consequences of which for the Indoniesian Revolution and international communist movement are hard to rectify.

## CONCLUSIONS

An analysis of the entire development and activities of the Party in the past few years and during the September 30 Movement yields the conclusion that:

1. The chief reason underlying the failures of the PKI in leading the revolution was that the PKI still lacked the traits characterizing a Leninist party, i.e., it was not a sufficiently bolshevized party, nor did it have a mass nature. In the past the Party had not paid adequate attention to measures aimed at increasing the role of proletarian elements in it or at improving its ideological and cultural level. In the recent past the Party tended to ascribe too much significance to the revolutionary spirit of the peasantry, whereas, without wishing to detract from our view that the peasantry is the staunchest ally of the working class, it should be pointed out that the petty-bourgeoisie is hamstrung by a serious drawback and

one to be borne in mind, namely, that it is inconsistent in its actions.

The doors of the Party were flung wide open for the mass admission of petty-bourgeois elements with the result that ideologically, politically and organizationally the Party was flooded with a petty-bourgeois wave, while the fact that the Party leadership was turning bourgeois was completely ignored.

Hence, ideologically the Party was infected with a petty-bourgeois spirit and fell victim to overindulgence in ultra-leftist slogans and petty-bourgeois nationalism, all of which crippled the spirit of proletarian internationalism, that integral and inalienable part of the activities of the party of the working class.

*Theoretically*, there was, on the one hand, an upsurge of dogmatism which found expression in easy acceptance of concepts revolutionary in form but failing to take stock of local conditions. On the other hand, there was an emergence of revisionism which tended to upend the monolithic doctrine of Marxism-Leninism and replace it with "national Marxism" within the framework of the so-called "Indonesification of Marxism-Leninism."

*Politically*, the Party was not consistent in defending its class positions and engaged in class collaboration with the bourgeoisie; it gave prominence to cooperation within the framework of the NASAKOM, it lost its freedom of action in strengthening the sacred alliance of the workers and peasants; it demonstrated subjectivism and haste in assessing the situation and in evaluating the balance of forces; it failed to define its tactics, shuttling between adventurism and capitulation; it made absolute its choice of the forms of struggle, tending to take just one aspect of the struggle out of the many forms that a party of the working class must employ.

All of this led to the Party's inability to play the role of leader of the Revolution.

*Organizationally*, in its internal activities the Party was further deviating from the principles of democracy and collective leadership; it was increasingly falling into the snare of the personality cult, it was demonstrating an increasing lack of internal democracy in the Party, it was stifling initiative coming from the rank and file, it was fettering criticism from below and was not encouraging the development of vigorous self-criticism.

Firm discipline was not strengthened in the Party, liberal attitudes towards the decisions of the Party organization flourished, serious measures to curb bureaucracy in the Party were not taken.

2. The adventurism of the abortive September 30 Movement and its epilogue proved to be the inevitable result of the accumulation of the Party's past mistakes, its confused ideological, political and

organizational line, all of which caused the Party to be punished by the objective development of history.

The alternative facing the Communist and Workers' movement in Indonesia at the present time is this: whether to stick to the old erroneous position and continue adventurist policies, failing to see the real state of affairs, and upholding organizational sectarianism, which signifies a divorce from the masses, or to completely give up pseudo-revolutionary concepts and take to the right path again, to be devoted to the Statutes and the Program of the Party adopted by the Fifth Congress of the PKI and supplemented at the Sixth Congress, to enjoy the love and sympathies of the broad masses and to make the Party play the role not just of the vanguard, but of leadership of the Revolution.

*Ideologically,* it is necessary to strengthen the outlook and methods of the working class, strengthen the proletarian elements of the Party, oppose petty-bourgeois nationalism, develop the spirit of proletarian internationalism in conjunction with true patriotism. The Party should deepen the knowledge of the universal teachings of Marxism-Leninism in conjunction with concrete revolutionary practices in Indonesia, it should free itself from the wrong concept of the "Indonesification of Marxism-Leninism."

The Party should return to the correct way of creating a united national front. It should value most of all the strengthening of the union between workers and peasants as the basic foundation of the united national front. The Party should step up its work among the peasants on the basis of a revolutionary agrarian program, which can make the peasants a tested ally of the working class and secure correct proportions in the cooperation of the working people with the national bourgeoisie and other democratic elements. The Party should increase its influence in the masses by using all forms of legal or illegal struggle, take into account the requirements and demands of all strata of the working people for improved living conditions, consistently and increasingly carry out mass revolutionary action for democratic rights, higher living standards and social progress.

3. The building of a bolshevized and mass party should continue, a party that would be spread through the entire country, giving priority in it to the admission to the party of workers, without, however, slamming the doors in the faces of the best sons of other strata of the working people, especially the poor peasants and agricultural laborers in accordance with the norms and standards of the party Statutes bearing on party membership.

The The Leninist norms of party organization should be restored, the principles of democratic centralism should be unflinchingly followed, among them the principle of collective leadership; criticism and self-criticism should be reborn.

4. For the sake of preserving true unity within the Party and for the sake of the renovation of the Party, a clear line of division should be drawn with those who still stand on positions of advocating ultra-leftist and sectarian principles, those who in the past unambiguously pushed the Party to adventurism and opposed cohesion in the international Communist movement.

5. Under the prevailing conditions, it is important to remind the Party of the need always to heighten Party vigilance, enforce firm discipline among the Party members, effect the division of labor in concert with the abilities and growth of professional Party cadres; it is necessary to remember the need to encourage initiative from below, the wise and flexible use of all the forms and methods of work in legal organizations, even though they may be of the most reactionary sort.

6. To provide for the victory of the August 1945 Revolution the immediate target task of the Party today is to forge a united Left-wing front, progressive, democratic and patriotic in nature, a front able to carry on a consistent struggle against pro-imperialist and anti-democratic reaction and thus deal it a crushing blow, as before to concern itself with keeping Indonesia in the camp of anti-imperialism and peace and preserve the good relations of the Republic of Indonesia with the Socialist-bloc countries.

7. In the sphere of international activities the Party should continue to pursue a consistent anti-imperialist and anti-colonial foreign policy, continue to defend peace and peaceful coexistence.

8. The banners of proletarian internationalism should be raised aloft, the unity of the international Communist movement should be strengthened, all attempts to split and undermine the alliance and unity of the front of Communists and Workers' parties fighting the common enemy—imperialism led by U.S. imperialism—should be frustrated and foiled, the Party should be truly devoted to the letter and spirit of the Moscow Declaration and Statement worked out jointly by all the fraternal parties. Realistic relations should be maintained with all the Communist and Workers' parties on the basis of the principle of independence and equality, without allowing an open attack against each other in the face of the enemy.

Such is the way out of the existing situation.

Confidence should prevail that the international proletariat, the Communist and Workers' parties of the world, all the progressive and revolutionaries the world over will always demonstrate their international solidarity with us, as was the case during the time when Indonesia's progressive and revolutionary forces went through an ordeal similar to the present one, and we drew on their support and sympathy. Experience demonstrates that life itself ruthlessly condemns those who, instead of gratitude, flaunt evil prejudices by alleging that there are fraternal parties which, while

saying they are concerned, in fact do no more than shed crocodile tears.

To the fallen victims, who number hundreds of thousands of Communists and their followers, who have shed their blood for the escutcheon of the Motherland as a result of the recent atrocities of the white terror, and in token of our gratitude for fervent international solidarity, we can give but one answer: to forge ahead along the new correct way, along the Marxist-Leninist way toward the final victory of our national democratic Revolution.

Long live the PKI, the vanguard of the working class!

Long live the unity of the international Communist and Workers' movement!

Eternal condemnation to the assassins of the hundreds of thousands of Communists, workers, peasants and intelligentsia—the true sons of Indonesia!

Long live the Indonesian people and the Indonesian Revolution!

*The Marxist-Leninist Group of the PKI.*

# PARTY PERIODICALS

## ITEMS IN CURRENT ISSUES

### HOC TAP, No. 7, 1967, WPP of Vietnam

"Enhance Guidance in Questions of Labor Force" (editorial); Le Thanh Nghi, "Questions of Socialist Division of Labor in North Vietnam"; Nguyen Khanh Toan, "The October Revolution and the Revolution in Vietnam"; Nguyen Van Tien, "South Vietnam Liberated Areas and the War Against U.S. Imperialism for National Salvation"; Vu Ky Lan, "Experience of Party Committee in District T. (Wingling Province) in Guidance of War against U.S. Imperialism"; Le Hai An, "To Study Lenin's 'Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism' and Develop a Revolutionary Spirit to Crush U.S. Imperialists" (on the 50th anniversary of publication of Lenin's 'Imperialism . . .'); Le Thanh, "Arab Peoples Fighting Aggression by U.S. Imperialism and Israeli Reaction." *Documents:* Chairman Ho Chi Minh's letter to Jurist Nguyen Huu Tho, Chairman of the Presidium and all Members of the Central Committee, National Liberation Front of South Vietnam; Greetings of Chairman Ho Chi Minh to all Compatriots, Cadres and Fighters of the People's Armed Forces; Greetings of the National Assembly of the DRV to Fighters of the People's Armed Forces.

### SOCIALISTISK DEBATT, No. 2, 1967, Left Party—Communists, Sweden

Fritjof Lager, "Political Program of the Central Association of Swedish Trade Unions"; Borje Svensson, "Discussion of Production Democracy"; C. H. Hermansson, "The Aim of Socialism"; "On Contradiction"; John Tokman, "Vietnam and We"; Benne Lantz, "The Common Market"; Kjell E. Johanson, "Avert A War"; Sixten Rogeby, "People's Defense."

### MARXISM TODAY, No. 9, 1967, Communist Party of Great Britain

Editorial Notes: First Scientific Analysis of Capital; Centenary Symposium; Government and Crisis, etc.

From *Marxist-Leninist Group of CPI:* "Lessons from the Setback in Indonesia."

*Articles:* Tom Drinkwater, "For Economic Growth and Social Progress in Britain"; Marguerite Morgan, "Questions of Ideology

and Culture"; James Klugmann, "Dialogue between Christianity and Marxism," etc.

## DOCUMENTOS POLITICOS, No. 68 (July-August), CP of Colombia

"The Assault of Moncada and Its Significance" (on the 14th anniversary)—editorial.

Roso Osorio, "The Working Class and the National Crisis"; Manlio Lafont Herrera, "Soviet Aid to Under-Developed Countries."

*Documents:* Communique on Negotiations Between Delegations of Communist Parties of Colombia and Bolivia.

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*Included in this Issue*


**TRIUMPH OF LENINIST IDEAS**
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*contents*

**TRIUMPH OF LENINIST IDEAS**
John Gollan 5

**SPEECH BY WLADYSLAW GOMULKA** 12

**THE INTERNATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION**
Vladimir Koucky 15

**SPEECH BY DANG QUANG MINH** 19

**VIETNAM WILL WIN** 21

**"NHAN DAN" ON SOVIET AID TO THE DRV** 23

**COMMUNIQUE ON THE PLENARY MEETING OF THE CC CPSU** 26

**MODERN MOVEMENTS AMONG THE SPANISH INTELLIGENTSIA** 29

**THE USSR IN 50 YEARS** 34

**APPEAL TO THE POPULATION**
Syrian Communist Party 44

**ON THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION IN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA**
CP of East Pakistan 48

**PARTY PERIODICALS**
Items in current issues 52

**ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES** 54

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# TRIUMPH OF LENINIST IDEAS*

**JOHN GOLLAN**
GENERAL SECRETARY, CP OF GREAT BRITAIN

It is almost impossible to write briefly of the enormous historical significance of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The conquest of political power by the Russian proletariat led by Lenin and the Bolsheviks, turned what had hitherto been exclusively the theory of socialism into the fact of the first working class state. This fact has been the dominant force of history since 1917.

For more than 20 years the Soviet people by hard work and many sacrifices, built the new socialist state to such economic, social and political strength that it was the main force in the destruction of fascism in the Second World War.

In turn, this historic victory paved the way for the emergence of a whole series or a system of socialist states decisively increasing the weight of socialism in the world, decisively changing the balance of world power.

It likewise enormously speeded up the process of national liberation for the colonial countries.

The October Revolution was also the prelude to the development of the Communist movement as a world force. It enriched and developed the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism into the invincible ideological weapon it is today.

If, as Marx said, "Hitherto philosophers have only explained the world—our task is to change it," this indeed, is the historical destiny of the October Revolution. The inherent challenge of the Revolution was that it heralded the end of the capitalist system. In the half-century since the revolution, socialism has expanded, capitalism has contracted.

At all times the cause of the October Revolution was bound up with the international working class movement. This was the case in Britain where the forces which were later to found the Communist Party of Great Britain, crystallized around the great issue of solidarity with the October Revolution.

Lenin knew well the strength and the weakness of the British working class movement. He followed all its developments with close attention. In the famous meeting of the International Socialist Bureau which debated the admission of the Labor Party to the

*Pravda, August 24, 1967.

Socialist International, Lenin argued for admission "because it (the Labor Party) represents the first step on the part of the really proletarian organizations of Britain towards a class conscious policy and towards a Socialist workers' party."

In the midst of this struggle the news of the October Revolution made an enormous impact. It not only stimulated the industrial struggles but gave a new impetus to the political understanding of the more class conscious workers.

If the class conscious workers welcomed the revolution, the British bourgeoisie organized to crush the young Soviet Republic.

Opposition to the war and growing industrial militancy among the workers in 1919 and 1920 combined with the political fight against British imperialist intervention in Russia, under the famous slogan "Hands Off Russia."

In January 1919 the "Hands Off Russia" Conference was held in London organized jointly by the London Workers Committee, the British Socialist Party, the Socialist Labor Party, and the International Workers of the World. Delegates came representing trade union branches and District Committees, Trades Councils, Cooperative organizations, and branches of the Independent Labor Party.

Committees were set up all over Britain to conduct propaganda and mass activity against the intervention in Russia organized by Lloyd George and Churchill. This mass pressure and action combined with unrest and mutinies in the armed forces, compelled the government to withdraw British troops from Murmansk. As Lenin noted in his report to the Central Executive Committee on December 5, 1919, the withdrawal of British troops from Murmansk was "not only a military victory, and not even a military victory at all, but actually a victory of that international solidarity of the working people . . ."

By August 1920, British intervention against Socialist Russia threatened to become open war in support of the counter-revolutionary invading Polish armies. In the spring, the London dockers had refused to load the Jolly George with munitions bound for Poland, an act which will always be associated with the name of Harry Pollitt. On August 13, a delegate conference called jointly by the TUC and the Labor Party decided to set up a Council of Action to stop the war by "any and every form of withdrawal of labor." British intervention was stopped by the power of the working class—although its mass organizations were still dominated by reformist leadership.

Solidarity with the October Revolution and the movement to create a Communist Party went hand in hand.

The Communist Party of Great Britain, which was founded in

1920, was formed out of the British Socialist Party, the Socialist Labor Party, active shop stewards, the Workers' Socialist Federation, the South Wales Socialist Society, and other groups.

Our Communist Party grew in stature and authority and became integrated with and gave leadership to the main struggles of the British working class.

Its leading forces played an outstanding part in developing British trade unionism as a mass force. It developed great links of solidarity with the British miners. On the eve of the British General Strike of 1926, its leaders were arrested and imprisoned. It led the great Hunger Marches and organized the unemployed in the great capitalist depression of the early thirties.

One of the greatest achievements was to found the *Daily Worker*, later to become the *Morning Star*. In his famous letter to Tom Bell in August 1921, Lenin wrote of the need for the British Communists "to start a daily paper of the working class . . . to start it not as a business . . . but as an *economic and political tool of the masses* in their struggle." It was only 9 years later, in 1930, that the Communists were able to start the paper. But since then it has fought daily for socialism and peace, for every interest of the British working class.

The October Revolution and arising out of it, the Third International, hastened the social, economic and political internal developments in every country making for the creation of Communist Parties. The October Revolution made the Communist movement a world movement.

From the start, the struggle of the first workers' state on foreign policy at a state level joined with the efforts of the working class and the Communist Parties for progressive policies, for national liberation and for peace. This introduced a new dimension into the struggle.

Above all this was the case in relation to the struggle against fascism, the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinist and most imperialist elements of finance capital.

At the famous 7th Congress of the Communist International, following the experiences of the French and Spanish workers, Dimitrov issued the call for a United Popular Front against fascism.

When the Franco rebellion broke out in Spain in 1936, the Sovie Government alone, as a government, came to the aid of the Republican Government with material supplies, arms, volunteers and diplomatic support.

As on so many occasions the principled position of the CPSU and the country of the October Revolution coincided with the aims of progressive humanity.

The Communist Parties everywhere fought fascism and organ-

ized the International Brigade to aid the Spanish Republic. The Communist Party of Great Britain organized the British battalion of the International Brigade, and played a leading role in the mass "Aid Spain" movement.

Hitler fascism was the real power behind the Franco revolt. The Spanish War was the prelude to world war.

Again the Soviet Union was in the lead. The call of the Soviet Union to resist the advance of Hitler and for collective security against aggression found a powerful echo in the progressive movement in every country in the world.

In our country our Party sought to develop the widest campaign against the appeasement of fascism by the Chamberlain Tory Government. These momentous days were a significant stage in the development of our Party, above all in the factories and as a force for progressive trade unionism. The Party was more and more finding the ways to mass work.

In the event, the unity against Hitler was only achieved in world war.

The Second World War was the climax of the struggle against fascism. Not without good cause do the Soviet people refer to it as the Great Patriotic War. The Soviet people, at the cost of enormous sacrifice, bore the main burden of the defeat of Hitler fascism. This will always remain the great historical achievement of the Soviet socialist system arising from the October Revolution.

Our Party played a great role in the Second World War, above all in the repeated political campaigns for the opening of the Second Front. At the same time, it continued its fight for the defense of the people against bombing and on all the other big social issues arising from the war. It was another vital stage in the development of our Party.

The consequences of the war were momentous especially in the countries occupied by Hitler and the Japanese militarists, where wide national resistance movements led by the Communists developed.

In. created a system of socialist states in Eastern Europe. The French and Italian Parties developed as mass parties. The defeat of Japan facilitated the Vietnamese, the Korean and the Great Chinese Revolutions.

The Communist Parties had grown in numbers, stature, maturity and authority, more and more integrated with their own peoples.

U.S. imperialism emerged, backed by Britain, to challenge socialism and the advancing national liberation. It was responsible for the re-emergence of West German militarism with its revanchist aims seeking to annul the consequences of the war. The Common Market, backed by the U.S., was created as a bulwark of mono-

poly capitalism in Europe. The Americans launched their aggression in Vietnam, which today represents the most serious danger to world peace.

But the Sixties are not the Thirties. A broad, developing front of struggle against U.S. imperialism has developed underlined by the heroic resistance of the Vietnamese people. The power of the Soviet Union and the associated socialist states, the national liberation movement and the mass workers' movement in the capitalist countries are actively challenging the imperialist forces led by the United States.

Our Party has consistently led the struggle against the cold war myths, for national independence, and against American aggression.

It has fought against the policies of successive British Governments which have sought to reverse history. It has opposed Britain's East of Suez adventures and the rearmament of West Germany and British entry to the Common Market. It has fought against the wage freeze and social decline in Britain arising from these policies. It has advanced a counter-program of peaceful coexistence, curbing the monopolies, cutting military expenditures, advancing the social demands of the people.

All this received a great new impetus at the Karlovy Vary Conference of the European Communist Parties. This conference issued a call for a great popular All-European movement for peace and security, far in advance of the anti-fascist movement of the thirties.

Once gain events have shown how the broad principled lines of socialist foreign policy coincide with the aims of the progressive forces in the capitalist countries.

The significance of the October Revolution here is that it freed the Tsarist prison-house of nations. It showed a new way to solve the national problem. It must never be forgotten that the USSR is a union of national socialist states.

As a consequence it has become a force for national liberation the world over, from the earliest days to Vietnam, to aid the struggle for freedom and to assist actively the new states when freed.

This Leninist principled stand is shown by the broad military and material assistance to the battling people of Vietnam now in the forefront of the world struggle. As the Soviet Union has said, every step taken by the Americans to escalate the war will be answered by an appropriate Soviet response.

It is no accident that at the Karlovy Vary Conference Vietnam was first on our agenda. European security cannot be separated from the war in Vietnam. The parties in Europe jointly pledged increasing assistance, including, if the Vietnamese request it, the provision of volunteers.

In the Suez crisis as in the tense Middle East situation today, the Soviet Government actively assisted and helped defend the cause of Arab liberation.

Our Party, like the Communist Party in the greatest imperialist nation in the world, has always had a special responsibility of solidarity in the national liberation struggle. Our members have been brought up in that spirit.

But of course our greatest responsibility, our greatest mass campaigning is to still further develop the already considerable mass movement in Britain in support of the Vietnamese people.

The stand of the Soviet Union and the CPSU on these vital matters is the direct outcome of the October Revolution. The stand of the Communist Party of Britain stems from the same Marxist-Leninist principles of internationalism.

The October Revolution has had a profound influence on the development of Marxist theory. As a consequence Marxism developed into Marxism-Leninism.

These theoretical developments were of the utmost importance for the advance of the working class movements in the capitalist countries, not least in Britain.

Lenin developed Marxist theory on imperialism, the last stage of capitalism, enabling the working class movement everywhere to understand the nature of the problems confronting them.

He developed the Marxist theory of the state into a powerful instrument of the working class movement to challenge the current reformist ideas holding back the labor movement in Western European countries.

A great new impetus to the further development of Marxist theory was given by the 20th Congress of the CPSU, which broke sharply with dogmatic hangovers from the past.

In coming out against the fatalistic conception of the inevitability of a third world war, it gave new force and strength to the world struggle for peace, and showed the class character of the Leninist struggle for peaceful coexistence.

In pointing out the possibility in some countries, given a high level of mass struggle, working-class unity and defeat of the right wing forces in the working class movement, of a non-violent development of the revolution, it took into account the new relationship of class forces opening out in the world.

Already in many Communist Parties these ideas were developing. Our Party published our basic program, "the British Road to Socialism" in 1951. It called for mass struggle to prevent nuclear war as an essential strategy for our advance to socialism, with the battle to replace imperialist policies by policies of peaceful coexistence and assistance to national liberation.

It spelled out the possibility in Britain, where 87 per cent of the population is working class, to create a powerful united alliance of the people, isolate the Tories, the monopolists and the right wing Labor forces, and achieve social revolution without civil war.

Therefore the entire work of our Party today is aimed to create the broadest democratic anti-monopolist alliance which challenges the whole imperialist policy with a new comprehensive national policy of breaking with imperialism and advancing the social demands of the working class and the people.

In this way the struggle now has a direct association with the strategy for the advance to socialism.

All over the world the peoples are preparing to celebrate the 50th Anniversary. It will take place in a world situation which is very tense with the American aggression in Vietnam, the Middle East crisis, and the Greek coup.

But the main element in the world situation is the enormous power of socialism and the Soviet Union, the great surge of national liberation and the power of the working class in the capitalist countries. That power would be even stronger if it were more united, and the prerequisite here is the unity of the world Communist movement in the struggle against imperialism. On the 50th Anniversary of October, the Soviet people and the CPSU can look back with pride on 50 memorable and momentous years. They have fulfilled with honor Lenin's aims and visions. The Soviet Union stands at the height of its power and authority. The further development of that power, economic and social, was laid down by the 23rd Congress of the CPSU in the reports of Comrades Brezhnev and Kosygin. But the greatest strength of the Soviet Union and the CPSU has been its resolute stand at all times on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principle. This above all is the finest achievement of these 50 years.

# SPEECH* BY WLADYSLAW GOMULKA

Speaking at the unveiling ceremony in Sosnowiec on September 16, 1967, Wladyslaw Gomulka said in part:

This monument is a tribute to the revolutionary effort, selflessness and heroism of generations of workers of the Dabrowa basin and Silesia who fought unrelentingly for the rights of the people, the independence of Poland, and socialism. The Dabrowa miners were the first in the history of the Polish revolutionary movement to paralyze the Tsar's machinery of violence in the autumn of 1905 through mass strikes and demonstrations, take the political initiative and form a revolutionary public security committee, the embryo of their working-class rule.

When, thirteen years later, the thrones of predatory monarchs toppled as a result of the world war and the victorious October Revolution in Russia, the working class of the Dabrowa basin, that vanguard of the Polish masses fighting for a socialist system in an independent Poland, established the first Polish soviets of workers' deputies, organs of revolutionary proletarian power.

The speaker stressed the class struggle which the workers of the Dabrowa basin and of Silesia waged in the twenty years between the two world wars against foreign monopoly exploitation and the rule of the Polish landowners and capitalists, and pointed out their selfless fight for Polish freedom and independence in the years of Hitlerite occupation.

The workers of Dabrowa and Silesia, he went on to say, have during the last two decades won the deep respect of the whole people by their creative contribution to the development of new Poland.

Industrial Silesia together with the Dabrowa basin has become the backbone of Polish industrialization thanks to the key position it holds in capital goods production and to the high skill, technical know-how, organizing ability and efficiency of its workers, technologists and engineers.

The rich traditions of socialism and our workers' unremitting struggle throughout the past centuries are part and parcel of our national history. In recent decades the socialist idea has had a decisive effect on Polish history. Socialism has proved to be the most fruitful, viable and creative socio-political doctrine in the whole of Polish history, and socialist rule has shown itself to be

*Published according to a PAP release.

a factor for real and rapid political, economic and cultural progress of our people.

We are unveiling this monument on the eve of the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution, the greatest event of our time, an event that opened the socialist era in the world.

The October Revolution brought into being the first socialist state in the world, a state of workers and peasants, the Soviet Union. The formation of this state set man's history on a new course. It took the Soviet Union only half a century to become a leading power holding world priority in dynamic development, educational and cultural standards, and space exploration. During World War II the Soviet Union made the most important contribution to the liberation of the peoples of Europe from fascism.

The October Revolution initiated the socialist world system. Under its influence the oppressed peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America were aroused to a conscious life and began to fight for their freedom; the colonial system set up by capitalism disintegrated.

The Polish revolutionary movement has from the outset been linked with its Russian counterpart by common ideas and by bonds of militant brotherhood. Thousands of Polish revolutionaries fought at the October barricades alongside Lenin's Party, and many of them gave their lives in the cause of the revolution, which they saw as the road to the national and social emancipation of their own country.

The October Revolution helped the Polish people win independent nationhood after almost 130 years of bondage. The decree issued by the Council of People's Commissars of the Russian Federation on August 29, 1918, read:

"All the treaties and acts concluded by the government of the former Russian Empire with the governments of the Kingdom of Prussia and the Austro-Hungarian Empire, concerning the partitioning of Poland are hereby irrevocably annulled as contrary to the principle of self-determination and the revolutionary sense of justice of the Russian people, who have recognized the Polish people's inalienable right to sovereignty and unity . . ." The first signature put to the decree was Lenin's.

A quarter of a century later the Soviet Union restored our independence by defeating the Hitlerite aggressors. A common fight against fascism gave rise to the alliance and friendship between our peoples that underlie the formation of our people's state and safeguard our country and its lawful frontiers.

People's Poland and the Soviet Union, and the PUWP and the CPSU today are linked by ties of indestructible friendship and close all-round cooperation based on the principle of equality and mutual respect. We are united by a common Marxist-Leninist ide-

ology, by a common desire to build socialism and communism and to achieve a lasting peace in Europe and the world.

The legacy of the October Revolution is our common patrimony, for we are part of a world dating from October 1917 and deriving its strength from the October Revolution. We have made a creative, revolutionary contribution to the development of this new world, and will continue to do so.

The world, which today is threatened by nuclear disaster, associates its hopes with the cause of the October Revolution, the world Communist movement and with socialism.

The possibility of safeguarding world peace depends, first of all, on the further growth of the forces of socialism, on the defense capacity and economic potential of the socialist countries, on the political consciousness and internal unity of the socialist nations, on the cohesion of the socialist camp and its cooperation with the revolutionary labor movement and the anti-imperialist liberation movement of the peoples.

Today, when the forces of war and imperialism threaten national independence, when the imperialists try through local aggression to impose their will, and when they step up their maneuvers to carry the differences in the socialist community deeper, it is particularly important to implement the principles of internationalism throughout the labor movement of the world.

The Polish United Workers' Party, which adheres to these principles, will never slacken its effort toward achieving the unity of all Communist and Workers' parties and all socialist countries against imperialism. We declare for a new world meeting of brother parties to exchange views on a broad basis and to formulate a common position on the key issues of the international struggle for peace, national freedom, democracy and socialism. We have always championed the unity and fraternal cooperation of all working-class parties, all socialist countries, all revolutionary and national-liberation forces, all the forces that must form a united international front against imperialism.

Our state, which is based on the revolutionary gains of the Polish working class, is steadfastly following a policy of peace and economic cooperation with all countries irrespective of their political systems. It is due to this active policy of peace that People's Poland, which is linked with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries by a fraternal alliance, has gained fitting international prestige and is furthering friendly relations with all those countries that want a détente in Europe and elsewhere.

# THE INTERNATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION*

**VLADIMIR KOUCKY**
SECRETARY OF THE CC, CP OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

No single event has influenced modern history as much as the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Unless we constantly take into account the significance of October, we will find it hard to appreciate the role which the revolution has played in the history of each particular nation. The attitude to the October Revolution is the main criterion of estimating this or that point of view, a yardstick of how progressive and revolutionary various political parties, classes and movements really are. It is not an overstatement to say that ever since 1917 the world has been living in a climate created by the October Revolution.

October 1917 had a decisive impact on modern history and predetermined historical development in this century. It gave rise to the world's first socialist state and imparted unprecedented scope to the revolutionary movement. Along with the Soviet Union's subsequent victory over fascism in World War II, it gave a powerful spur to the national liberation movement which resulted in the disintegration of the colonial system and provided the principal conditions for the rise of the world socialist community whose primary object is to fight for world peace and friendship among nations.

The October Revolution had a deep-going effect on the recent history of our peoples. The fact that there would have been no independent Czechoslovakia without October was realized by increasing sections of the Czechoslovak working people. It made for shedding the illusion about the "liberating mission" of the Western imperialist powers, an illusion spread by the bourgeoisie. The last remnants of this illusion were dispelled by the tragic events following the Munich deal, under which the Western powers gave the Nazi aggressor a free rein in relation to Czechoslovakia.

The fact that at the time the Soviet Union was the only country to remain loyal to the Czechoslovak people and that our peoples were freed from German fascism by a socialist state left an

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Abridged from **Zivot strany**, No. 18, September 1967.

everlasting imprint on the minds of all decent citizens of our republic.

With the rise of the socialist world system there developed conditions for carrying forward Lenin's idea of the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems, an idea which finds an expression in the foreign policy of the socialist countries. Of course, this policy varies from area to area. It is conditioned by the intensity of the class struggle, the strategy and tactics of the relevant brother parties and other revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces, the forms of struggle used by the class enemy, etc.; but what is certain is that the forces of progress have grown immensely and can achieve their ultimate goals ruling out a thermonuclear world conflict.

However, genuinely Leninist implementation of the policy of peaceful coexistence is always aimed at exposing the military intrigues of imperialism and its policy of aggression, and at bringing every section of the working people into the fight for peace. This policy therefore never runs counter to the interests of the national liberation and revolutinary movements, nor can it ever do so. It is not an expression of weakness or indecision. On the contrary, it very clearly reflects our firm confidence based on the objective laws of social development.

The ideas of October, successfully tested in the crucible of the harshest trials, strengthened during World War II the revolutionary resolve of the peoples suffering from colonial oppression. This accounts for the grand scope of the national liberation movement, which smashed and swept away the worldwide colonial system of imperialism. On its ruins in Asia and Africa there emerged dozens of free, independent states making up the so-called third world, which is becoming an increasingly important factor in resolving the basic contradictions of the world of today.

Undoubtedly, the final victory of socialism on a world scale will largely depend on the road which the countries of the "third world" follow, on whether it will be a progressive or a conservative road. It is now obvious that many of these countries emphatically reject the capitalist road and alliance with imperialism. It is therefore all the more indispensable to refute the false idea that the "third world" is merely a buffer between the socialist and the capitalist camps.

The direct influence of the October Revolution played a decisive part in transforming and reviving the labor movement in all countries. The Theses of the CC CPSU on the 50th anniversary of October are therefore quite correct in stating that "the world significance of the October Revolution is that the revolution showed the ways, forms and methods of bringing about revolutionary changes,

which have assumed an international character. The experience of the October Revolution is an inexhaustible source of theory and practice for the revolutionary movement, an example of scientific strategy and tactics."

The Communist parties' fifty years of revolutionary experience and class struggle have shown that every success in the political, economic or ideological struggle against capitalism was due to revolutionary maturity, to loyalty, to Marxism-Leninism and the principles of proletarian internationalism.

History has also shown that no one and nothing can prevent the Communist parties from playing their vanguard role and accomplishing their revolutionary mission. Hence, in the light of this revolutionary experience gained over long years, those who question the necessity of a revolutionary political party leading the class struggle against imperialist reaction, and those who allege the vanguard, the revolutionary party, can be replaced by the headquarters of a guerrilla movement cannot but be regarded as people expressing paradoxical views.

However, each Communist party is something more than the vanguard of the working class and other progressive forces of its country. It is also an integral part of the vanguard of the world proletariat, a revolutionary contingent of the world Communist movement assigned by history the role of vanguard of human progress. This implies, moreover, that each Communist party is fully accountable for the state of the movement as a whole, for the ability of the movement to take action, for its revolutionary activity and its Leninist political and ideological unity.

This makes the responsibility falling on the Mao Tse-tung group in the Communist Party of China all the greater, since that group is frankly torpedoing the unity of the socialist commonwealth, splitting the world Communist movement and discrediting the socialist idea. Under these circumstances, to refrain from combating that group's policies or to ignore their disastrous consequences would mean demobilizing the movement, undermining its prestige and lessening the confidence the progressive world has in it.

World Communist unity is an imperative of present-day development. It is a matter of vital importance to the entire movement. If we are to re-establish unity and carry it deeper, we need, first of all, joint action to fulfil the principal tasks of the struggle against imperialism and capitalist exploitation, to promote the new society. Concrete steps in this direction include direct cooperation in struggle, bilateral and multilateral consultations and exchanges of experience, and regional and world conferences of revolutionary parties.

In taking such steps, account must be taken of the new condi-

tions in which the various brother parties carry on their political activity, and the conference should be adapted to these conditions in form. The Karlovy Vary Conference, whose outcome showed that this kind of meeting is useful and which increased faith in the feasibility and necessity of a new world meeting, is an indication that suitable forms have already been found.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, like dozens of other Communist parties, considers that the situation today favors the launching of concrete preparations for a world Communist meeting. World development shows that there is a number of most pressing problems which only an international meeting would be equal to discussing thoroughly. Coordination of the aid to and solidarity with the heroic people of Vietnam, the ways and means of building up the unity of the anti-imperialist front and of making it more active, the problem of supporting the national liberation movement, fundamental problems of the development of the "third world," and many other issues that are just as pressing, call for a comprehensive and collective discussion which cannot be put off much longer.

Our Party is convinced that it is possible, through joint efforts with other fraternal parties, to ensure that the proposed world Communist meeting and the exchange of views on key problems of modern development which should precede the meeting takes in as many Communist and other revolutionary parties as possible. Within the framework of the preparations for the meeting, we could evolve a fundamental platform acceptable to all who sincerely seek a common, genuinely internationalist policy.

The jubilee year of the Great October Revolution can give fresh strong stimuli to our movement and open up new vistas on the road which the October Revolution showed to the world fifty years ago.

# SPEECH* BY DANG QUANG MINH

The Great October Revolution aroused the peoples of the East and kindled the flames of national liberation revolutions throughout the world. To quote President Ho Chi Minh, the *Aurora* broadside announced the advent of mankind's spring.

We Vietnamese revolutionaries experienced the stimulating influence of October. It was like the life-giving water offered to a wayfarer burning with thirst. Our people, who have long traditions of uncompromising struggle against foreign invaders, engaged as early as 1930, after the example of the October Revolution, in a movement to set up soviets and in 1940 began an armed uprising that was a rehearsal of the revolution of 1945.

The defeat of the Kwantung Army in Manchuria by the Soviet Union provided favorable conditions for the victory of the revolution in Vietnam and the establishment of the first people's democratic state in Southeast Asia. Supported and aided by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the people of Vietnam routed the French colonialists. North Vietnam today is firmly following the path of socialist construction. It has become the great home front of the great war front in South Vietnam and is resisting the American aggressor shoulder to shoulder with the people of South Vietnam.

While fighting the French colonialists, we in South Vietnam studied the experience of the October Revolution and followed Lenin's recommendations by combining the slogans of national independence, democracy and a higher standard of living for the people in the struggle of the working class and the urban population with the slogans of the struggle in the countryside. At present the Front is confidently leading the struggle of the town population while pursuing an agrarian policy according to the principle "The land for those who till it." This is why the peasants are taking so active a part in the fight against the American aggressor. It is on this basis that the political struggle has been developing in the rural regions, and has led to the miscarriage of the notorious "pacification" plans.

The October Revolution led to the triumph of the Leninist nationalities policy. Drawing on its experience, we are now fostering the unity of all the nationalities inhabiting South Vietnam, imple-

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*Abridged from **Bakinsky Rabochy,** September 21, 1967. The speech was delivered by Dang Quang Minh, head of the Permanent Mission of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam in the USSR, at an international seminar held in Baku.

menting a policy of equality and mutual assistance, abolishing the system which the imperialists and their hangers-on established to divide, oppress and exploit the various nationalities. As a result of a correct national policy, almost all the national minorities in South Vietnam now are actively participating in the fight against the U.S. aggressor, for the salvation of the country.

The great Lenin advanced the theory of forcible revolution and insurrection to seize power. We all know that he attached great importance also to using every opportunity to accomplish the revolution by peaceful means. In 1917, however, the situation developed in such a way that there no longer was any opportunity for the revolution to develop peacefully. Studying the experience of October, we in South Vietnam patiently waged a political struggle from 1954 to 1959 for the implementation of the Geneva agreements. But the U.S. imperialists and the clique of their lackeys, who wanted to perpetuate the division of our country and to turn South Vietnam into a military base and a new type of colony, resorted to force to suppress the struggle of our people. We therefore had no choice but to take up arms and resist the enemy. With due regard to the experience of the October Revolution, the Front used revolutionary force in two forms: political and armed. The political struggle is a necessary and inevitable form of preparing for the armed struggle. It is indispensable to combine these two forms of struggle in order to weaken and eventually destroy the enemy, to preserve and extend our own forces and lead the revolution to decisive victory.

The result is that the people's war in South Vietnam has reached a higher stage. Our armed forces and our people, once weak, have become strong. They continuously attack the American aggressor and his flunkeys both on the battlefield and in the towns and villages. The armed forces of the Front always retain the initiative. They strike lightning blows at the enemy as they grow and develop. In a mere two years of fighting, since the time when the United States began to move its troops into South Vietnam, the armed forces and the people of South Vietnam have carried out over 80,000 combat operations and put 600,000 enemy troops out of action, shot down and destroyed 3,467 aircraft, destroyed 5,260 combat vehicles, and sunk 178 ships and launches.

# VIETNAM WILL WIN*

The flames of war continue to rage in Vietnam. Far from intending to pull out of the country they have invaded, the U.S. imperialists are intensifying their aggressive actions. But they have not achieved—and could not achieve—any progress in their monstrous designs. It is becoming increasingly clear that Washigton's policy of escalation is doomed to failure.

In their unparalleled struggle against the U.S. aggressors the valiant people of Vietnam rely on the assistance of the Soviet Union, other socialist countries and the entire progressive mankind, on growing solidarity throughout the world. Their selfless labor, their unbending will to fight for their just cause have won them the admiration and support of all those who cherish the ideals of peace, justice and progress.

Our Party's and government's policy of support for embattled Vietnam has been approved by the 23rd Congress of the CPSU and reaffirmed by plenary meetings of the Central Committee. Our people condemn the crimes committed by American soldiery in Vietnam and demand that the United States definitely and unconditionally stop the bombings and other acts of aggression against the DRV, withdraw occupation troops from South Vietnam and respect the Vietnamese people's right to decide their own affairs.

The Soviet Union is doing everything possible to help the Vietnamese people safeguard their freedom, independence and revolutionary gains; it is rendering them all-round and increasing assistance. The results of the recent talks in Moscow between the government delegation of the USSR and the government economic delegation of the DRV are a new expression of our people's loyalty to their revolutionary duty.

Under these agreements the Soviet Union will grant the DRV gratuitous military and economic aid and additional credits. In 1968 it will supply the DRV with aircraft, anti-aircraft missiles, artillery and infantry weapons, ammunition and other material necessary to increase the defense potential. The DRV will also receive industrial plant, means of transportation, oil products, ferrous and non-ferrous metals, foodstuffs, chemical fertilizers, medicine and other materials necessary for the economic development of the republic.

The government economic delegation of the DRV expressed the warm gratitude of the CC PWP, the DRV government and the

*Abridged from **Pravda**, September 25, 1967.

Vietnamese people to the CC CPSU, the USSR government and the Soviet people for the effective assistance in repelling the U.S. imperialist attack and meeting the requirements of the national economy, for the active fraternal support of the Vietnamese people.

The signing of the new Soviet-Vietnamese agreements is a new important event in the development of fraternal cooperation between our countries. Their significance is tremendous. It should be clear to the arrogant imperialist aggressors that the people of Vietnam will not be left without the help of its loyal friends. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, our government, will in the future as well pursue an active policy aimed at helping the fraternal Vietnamese people defeat the U.S. aggressors; they will continue to work for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Vietnam.

The road to peace in Vietnam does not lie through escalation of hostilities. A just basis for settling the Vietnam problem is provided by the stand of the DRV government and the program of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. They express the aspirations of the entire Vietnamese people, fully conform to the Geneva agreements and are in keeping with the interests of peace and security in Southeast Asia and the whole world. The Soviet Union fully supports these clear-cut concrete proposals designed to bring about a peaceful political settlement of the dangerous conflict.

The U.S. aggression in Vietnam gravely threatens peace. It has complicated the international situation and hampers the solution of major international problems. That is why a wave of protest against the piratical actions of the U.S. imperialists in Vietnam, a wave of solidarity with the heroic Vietnamese people is rising all over the world. The U.S. aggression in Vietnam is vigorously denounced also from the rostrum of the 22nd session of the U.N. General Assembly. The actions of the United States vividly show once again to the whole world that U.S. imperialism is the main force of aggression and reaction in the present-day world.

# NHAN DAN* ON SOVIET ASSISTANCE TO THE DRV

Commenting editorially on the signing in Moscow of new agreements on economic and military assistance to Vietnam, the newspaper *Nhan Dan* writes that this event eloquently testifies to the steady growth of all-round aid which the peoples of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are rendering to the people of Vietnam in their effort to defeat the U.S. imperialist aggressors and build socialism. The Vietnamese people rejoice over the valuable, extensive, sincere and effective assistance they are receiving from the CPSU, the government and the fraternal people of the Soviet Union.

Close friendship has long since existed between the peoples of Vietnam and the Soviet Union. The people of Vietnam have always enjoyed the warm support and assistance of the CPSU, the government and the people of the Soviet Union—both in the past, during the war of resistance against the aggression of the French colonialists, and now, during the fight against U.S. aggression, for national salvation. The more feverishly the U.S. aggressors step up and expand the war of aggression against Vietnam, the more active support and assistance the Soviet people render to the people of Vietnam.

Soviet Party leaders and statesmen have repeatedly expressed resolute condemnation of the acts of escalation of the U.S. imperialists' war in Vietnam, denounced their fraudulent peace talk, and reaffirmed the Soviet Union's support of the Vietnamese people.

Pointing out the active political, economic and military assistance of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries to the people of Vietnam, L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, declared on April 24, 1967, that it could not be otherwise, for an imperialist aggression had been committed against a socialist country, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The Soviet Union's support of the just struggle of the Vietnamese people and of the correct stand of the DRV government and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam on ways of solving the Vietnam problem was emphasized in the statements signed in February 1965 on the occasion of the visit to the DRV of A. N. Kosygin, member of the Political Bureau of the CC CPSU and Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and in April 1965 on the occasion of the visit to the

*A September 24 release of the Vietnam Information Agency.

Soviet Union of Le Duan, First Secretary of the CC of the Party of Working People.

Voicing the will and sentiments of the entire Party and the people of the Soviet Union, the 23rd Congress of the CPSU issued a statement on Vietnam in which it resolutely demanded an end to the U.S. aggression and the withdrawal of all interventionist troops from Vietnam. When the Johnson clique first sent its aircraft to bomb and strafe Hanoi and Haiphong, the USSR Supreme Soviet issued (on August 3, 1966) an important statement sternly warning the U.S. aggressors, supporting the July 1966 statement of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty states, and reaffirming the determination of the Soviet people to render all the aid Vietnam needs to defeat the enemy. It declared that "all responsibility for the continuation and expansion of this war and for its consequences rests with the government of the United States. The more crimes the aggressors commit in Vietnam, the harsher the retribution that shall be meted out to them . . . The governments which assist the aggressor in any way will also be called to strict account by the peoples."

Soviet Party leaders and statesmen have always condemned the heinous war crimes of the U.S. imperialists in Vietnam and rejoiced over the victories of the Vietnamese people in all fields. Hailing the political program of the National Liberation Front, A. J. Pelshe, member of the Political Bureau of the CC CPSU, declared that the adoption of this program undoubtedly constituted a milestone in the struggle for the liberation of South Vietnam.

The Soviet people have invariably sympathized with and supported the Vietnamese people's hard but certainly victorious struggle. The movement of the Soviet people in support of Vietnam, against the U.S. aggression, is growing and assuming diverse forms. Tens of thousands of meetings and demonstrations are being held throughout the vast Soviet Union to protest against the brutal crimes of the U.S. aggressors and to express Soviet people's feelings of deep affection for the people of Vietnam and to declare pride in the struggle of their Vietnamese brothers. On July 18, 1966 six thousand representatives of the Soviet people met in the Kremlin and adopted a resolution in which they vigorously supported President Ho Chi Minh's appeal to the people of Vietnam and voiced readiness to send their sons and brothers to fight side by side with the Vietnamese people against the U.S. aggressors. Campaigns to raise funds, collect medicines and other gifts and donate blood invariably meet with warm response among Soviet people. The workers of many Soviet factories enthusiastically participate in the socialist emulation to raise labor productivity for the benefit of Vietnam. Despite American bombing and shelling, Soviet seamen regu-

larly deliver equipment, relief goods and other materials needed by the Vietnamese people. Celebrating the 50 anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the entire Soviet people express the best feelings for the people of Vietnam.

The people of Vietnam will have to overcome new grim trials before winning final victory in their struggle against the U.S. aggression, for national salvation. The ruthless, obdurate and perfidious U.S. aggressors are recklessly escalating their war of aggression. But they are coming up against the resistance of all of Vietnam, which is gaining strength as it fights and which enjoys the sympathy and support of the whole progressive mankind. The people of Vietnam are firmly resolved to fight on and to win for the sake of safeguarding the North, liberating the South and reuniting the country.

The fraternal socialist countries are increasing their assistance to Vietnam. The recent agreements on Soviet economic and military aid show how sincere, important and valuable is the assistance of the CPSU, the government and the people of the Soviet Union to the people of Vietnam. This aid and support inspire us and help to strengthen our economic and military potential for the sake of completely defeating the U.S. aggressors and building socialism.

We are sincerely grateful to the CPSU, the government and the fraternal people of the Soviet Union.

# COMMUNIQUE*

## ON THE PLENARY MEETING OF THE CC CPSU

On September 26, 1967, the CC CPSU held a plenary meeting to hear and discuss the report of L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, "On Measures for Further Raising the Well-Being of the Soviet People," the report of N. K. Baibakov, Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, Chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee, "On the Drafts of the State Plan for the Economic Development of the USSR in 1968 and the Economic Development Plans for 1969 and 1970" and the report of V. F. Garbuzov, USSR Minister of Finance, "On the Draft State Budget for 1968."

The plenary meeting adopted corresponding resolutions.

The plenary meeting fully approved the measures for further raising the well-being of the Soviet people worked out by the Political Bureau of the CC CPSU. (The decision of the CC CPSU and the USSR Council of Ministers on this question is printed below.)

In view of A. N. Shelepin's election to the post of Chairman of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, the plenary meeting released him from his duties as a secretary of the CC CPSU.

## RESOLUTION OF THE PLENARY MEETING OF THE CC CPSU

### Adopted on September 26, 1967

Having heard the report of Comrade Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, on the measures for further raising the well-being of the Soviet people worked out by the Political Bureau of the CC CPSU in keeping with the decisions of the 23rd Party Congress, the plenary meeting *resolves:*

to approve in full the measures for further raising the well-being of the Soviet people worked out by the Political Bureau of the CC CPSU.

## RESOLUTION OF THE PLENARY MEETING OF THE CC CPSU

### Adopted on September 26, 1967

To approve in substance the drafts of the State Plan for the Economic Development of the USSR in 1968, the economic deve-

*Pravda, September 27, 1967.

lopment plans for 1969 and 1970, and the State Budget of the USSR for 1968.

## DECISION OF THE CC CPSU AND THE USSR COUNCIL OF MINISTERS ON MEASURES FOR FURTHER RAISING THE WELL-BEING OF THE SOVIET PEOPLE

Adopted on September 26, 1967

In following up the decisions of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU on further raising the material well-being of the Soviet Union, the Central Committee of the CPSU and the USSR Council of Ministers resolve:

To effect, from January 1, 1968, the following measures to raise the well-being of the Soviet people:

a) to increase the minimum wages of factory and office workers in all branches of the national economy to 60 rubles a month.

With this aim in view, wages and salaries shall be fixed at a level not lower than 60 rubles a month, with the wages and salaries of some categories of employees raised up to 70 rubles a month.

To raise in the first half of 1968 the wages of machine tool operators in the engineering and metalworking enterprises of all branches of the national economy by an average of 15 per cent;

b) to introduce wage differentials for the employees of enterprises and organizations of the light and food industry, education, public health, municipal economy, science, culture and other branches of the national economy in the regions of the Far East and the European North for whom they have not been established;

c) to grant greater privileges to persons working in the regions of the Far North and localities equated with them, having in view the payment of additional bonuses with a lesser duration of employment, the raising of the wages of persons working in newly developed regions, and the implementation of other measures to provide greater benefits for these persons;

d) to increase to 15 days the annual holidays of those who now have a 12-day holiday;

e) to continue the reduction and abolition of income taxes on wages and salaries. With this aim in view, to reduce the tax on wages and salaries of 61 to 80 rubles amonth by an average of 25 per cent;

f) to increase sick pay to 100 per cent of the earnings of workers with more than eight years' record of service and 80 per cent with five to eight years' service;

g) with a view to improving the pension system:
to increase pensions for invalids from among privates and NCO's

who became invalids as a result of wounds or shock received while defending the USSR or performing other military duties, or as a result of illness connected with wartime service in the field: by 15 rubles a month for groups I and II invalids (without exceeding the established limits), and from May 1, 1968 to increase minimum pensions for group III invalids from 21 to 30 rubles a month;

to increase pensions for invalids from among officers and the senior and middle command personnel who became invalids as a result of wounds or shock received while defending the USSR or performing other military duties, or as a result of illness connected with wartime service in the field: pensions for group I and II invalids fixed on the basis of salaries (exclusive of pay for military ranks)—by 25 per cent (without exceeding the established limits), and from May 1, 1968 to increase pensions for group III invalids to 40 rubles a month;

to lower the retirement age for servicemen who became invalids as a result of wounds or shock received while defending the USSR or performing other military duties, or as a result of illness connected with wartime service in the field—from 60 to 55 years for men and from 55 to 50 years for women;

to lower by five years, i.e., from 55 to 50 years, the retirement wage for women workers in some branches of the textile industry employed on jobs with high intensity of labor;

to lower by five years, i.e., from 65 to 60 years, the retirement age for men collective farmers and from 60 to 55 years for women collective farmers;

to increase disability pensions for collective farmers in the case of group I disablement resulting from occupational disease or accident from 18 to 30 rubles a month, for group I disablement resulting from other ailments from 15 to 25 rubles a month, and for group II disablement, from 14 to 20 rubles and from 12 to 16 rubles a month respectively;

to establish group III disability pensions for collective farmers who became disabled as a result of occupational disease or accident;

to establish a monthly allowance of 16 rubles for group I and II invalids since childhood who have reached the age of 16.

*L. Brezhnev,*
*Secretary, CC CPSU*

*A. Kosygin, Chairman,*
*USSR Council of Ministers.*

# MODERN MOVEMENTS AMONG THE SPANISH INTELLIGENTSIA

## DOCUMENT* OF THE CC, CP OF SPAIN

The Franco regime, weighed down with the burden of its Nazi-fascist origin, its ingrained anti-intellectualism and the outmodedness of its archreactionary political institutions and ideological instruments, has achieved no tangible results in its hypocritical efforts to win over the intelligentsia. Its present policy toward the intellectuals is based chiefly on repressive measures accompanied by despicable corruptive maneuvers.

Most of the professionals and intellectuals have been forced into the background (unless persecuted) by a regime of retrograde people led by a political bureaucracy that hardly represents anyone. Like their other compatriots, they lack the most elementary civil rights. They are not allowed to speak, and when they do speak they are fined or imprisoned.

The living standard of the vast majority of the intellectuals and professionals is far from corresponding to their capacity or their role.

Many of them have to hold more than one job, which generally forces them to renounce creative activity. Others, whose number is appreciable, are compelled to emigrate. Thus Spaniards bring fresh blood into the culture and the universities of other countries while Spanish science lags alarmingly behind world progress.

Writers, playwrights, film makers and artists are muzzled by a press law and by official controls surpassing in rigor all censorships preceding the present regime. New typical problems of Spain and the Spaniards cannot be presented in works of art faithfully and profoundly, from a revolutionary or progressive, or even a liberal, standpoint.

Shackled by so many restrictions, writers, film makers, poets, playwrights and painters are constrained to censor their own work, that is, to subject themselves to the most painful and most ruinous censorship of all.

The overall result is that the working people, and more particularly those who are keenly aware of the spirit of the times and the atmosphere of tense expectations in which Spain is living, seldom find what they need in books, on the stage or on the screen.

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*Abridged from **Nuestra Bandera**, No. 54, 1967.

To make things worse, a sizeable segment of the population has an exceedingly low purchasing power and is illiterate (10 per cent of the population still cannot read and write), and there are vast areas with a bare minimum of culture. These are the three barriers making it difficult for millions of Spaniards to gain access to books, the theatre and art in general, or even blocking it altogether.

Due to these factors, the objective and universal trend which today expresses itself in the growing dissemination of books and works of art among the masses, is far less marked in Spain.

Until recently there was a press censorship, and now we have the Press Law. It is just another form of censorship under which newspapers and periodicals must exercise self-censorship. Unless they do this rigidly enough they are confiscated, banned or prosecuted. No labor or democratic newspapers are tolerated. Periodicals suspected of democratic or liberal leanings are in constant jeopardy.

Lately this policy of the government has been meeting with widespread resistance on the part of journalists. Many of these have become advocates of a free and responsible press, of publications representing all of the nation's political and social groups and enabling journalists of different trends to express their ideas.

The situation in Spain is characterized by growing protest, opposition to the regime, and the advocacy of democratic procedure among the intelligentsia. Many of the best works of today created by writers, film makers, painters, playwrights are a protest against oppression and are inspired by a desire for freedom.

In documents of great political and humanist significance, eminent men of culture take a stand against repression and censorship. They demand democratic liberties and an amnesty, and identify themselves with the working-class and student movement. They are spokesmen of the democratic aspirations of the Spanish people.

While admitting that there are privileged groups influenced by prejudice and by reactionary and conservative traditions, we maintain that strong mass movements against the dictatorship are developing among the more dynamic and influential groups of professionals and intellectuals.

One of the most difficult problems facing the democratic-minded intelligentsia is *how to organize* so as to fight for their objectives. Action by the intellectuals is rather sporadic. Yet the tense political situation at home calls for systematic and sustained, and hence organized, action. Ample experience has already been accumulated in this respect, and it is well worth stressing. It includes the following elements:

work in the professional associations;

the formation of groups of young doctors, lawyers, engineers, architects, and so on, within or outside the professional associations;

progressive activity in cultural organizations such as literary clubs, etc.;

the setting up, in some fields of intellectual activity, of committees or assemblies linked in one form or another with the movement of workers' committees;

study groups, lectures, symposiums, bulletins, and so on.

The political situation today makes it imperative for *all* sections of the intelligentsia to fight for *freedom of expression.* There are opportunities of raising the level of this struggle, of intensifying it and making it more permanent and diversified by bringing new segments of professionals into it.

This struggle has an extraordinary capacity for unifying the journalists and writers threatened with brutal sanctions, the doctors who want to democratize their professional association and whom the new regulations prevent from expressing their views in the press, the professors' councils, which the government forbids to publish their decisions, the students persecuted for holding their assemblies, publishing bulletins, etc., the artists whose paintings are removed from exhibition halls, the film makers whose films are mutilated—all who are directly and deeply concerned with the issue of freedom of expression.

The task is to set up—with due regard to local conditions and the actual situation—associations, groups or committees to fight for freedom of expression made up of members of professions, cultural workers and artists holding different views but willing to carry on sustained work in order to attain this goal, which is of such vital importance to them.

A very important task today is to coordinate on a national scale the movements of professionals and intellectuals fighting for democratic objectives.

The work of the professional associations, the increased activity of artists on a national scale, the national congresses held by young professionals, etc., have made it possible to achieve noteworthy progress in this direction.

Today, every conference and every action by the intelligentsia in favor of freedom of expression, against repressions, is warmly supported by thousands of workers. The voice of freedom—the voice of writers, poets and artists—will be heard with enthusiasm in the factories, residential neighborhoods and wherever else working people meet.

There are numerous forms of contact between intellectuals, students and workers. It is necessary to proceed to better and more systematic coordination. The struggle against repression in any form, for civil rights, interests all social segments and groups. This will help to establish and strengthen the Alliance of the Forces of Labor

and Culture—workers, peasants, intellectuals, artists, professionals, specialists, etc. These forces are an earnest of the democratic future of our country.

(The document devotes special attention to health and educational problems, and outlines a general program of reforms in both spheres.—*Ed.*

The democratic movements of intellectuals and professionals now developing in Spain show qualitatively new characteristics that set them apart from the participation of intellectuals in progressive political actions in the past. The deepest roots of these new features lie in the objective changes affecting the role of the intelligentsia in production and in public life.

Under monopoly capitalism, the numerical growth and the increasing role of the professionals and intellectuals in society is accompanied by a series of contradictions, such as the following:

—monopoly domination gives a peculiar slant to the objective socialization of mental labor. With the disappearance of the liberal professions as such there emerge factors that are plainly negative economically and professionally.

—the contradiction between scientific rationalism, which is what the intellectual is striving for, and the irrationalism of an insignificant oligarchic minority, whose paramount aim is domination and profit, is increasing, especially within the various professions.

—a series of humanist and democratic values largely originating in the more positive traditions of the bourgeois revolutions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have taken firm root among large sections of the intelligentsia. These values clash with a society in which the power of money and the ruling minority's thirst for gain are taking increasingly brazen and inhuman forms.

—another factor operating in the same sense is that the outstanding role of scientists and technologists, of professionals and the intellectuals generally in socialist countries is becoming more and more known.

In Spain some of the general trends mentioned above are not as advanced technically as in other, more developed countries. But these contradictions manifest themselves during a deep-going political crisis. The inadequate and lopsided nature of the economic growth of Spain shows to many intellectuals and specialists that the Franco regime prevents them from playing an appropriate role in public life. The persistence of so obsolete a political and ideological superstructure as the Franco regime accentuates the impact of these contradictions.

On the other hand, the strength and example of the new working-class movement produce a powerful effect on various sections of

society, prompting them to act, to organize, to take a more resolute stand against the regime.

The result is that, inside the existing democratic movements of professionals and intellectuals, *new forms* of confrontation are beginning to develop between these categories and the regime, bringing out problems of the socio-political structure in bold relief.

The diverse platforms elaborated by the movements of intellectuals and professionals reveal a highly important common characteristic: whether they concern organizing the health services or social security, teaching or research, the activity of lawyers or some other problems, the demands are aimed at bringing about deep-going *structural reforms* impossible under the present regime. Thus, due to their programmatic content, these movements are clearly *structural,* being directed toward forms that would change life in Spain along modern democratic lines. It is therefore fair to presume that subsequently these movements will become important elements of Spain's advance to political and economic democracy.

The Alliance of the Forces of Labor and Culture is an extremely important socio-political development. It accords with the political reality of today and, moreover, reflects the deep structural changes in the making in our society.

It would be hard to assess the contribution of progressive-minded writers and artists to the formation of this alliance and to Spain's progress toward democracy. Their work, which shows an immense variety of styles and schools, is laying the groundwork for a thoroughly humanist modern democratic Spanish culture, a culture which often inspires and heartens large segments of the people in the face of all obstacles.

*Direct* contact between writers, artists, and the people will be a mighty factor for cultural and artistic renovation.

The Alliance of the Forces of Labor and Culture is not emerging spontaneously. The role of advanced people and groups acting on the scientific and dynamic concepts of Marxism-Leninism is decisive. More and more intellectuals and professionals are joining the Communist Party. At a time when the revolutionary process in our country is going deeper, more and more scientists, professors, artists and specialists are coming to realize that the political options of the Communist Party meet the interests of Spain, the genuine interests of culture.

# THE USSR IN 50 YEARS

## FACTS AND FIGURES*

*"The principal result of the Soviet people's revolutionary and transforming activity under the leadership of the Communist Party is full and final victory for socialism."*

(Theses of the CC CPSU on the 50th Anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution.)

**Development of Soviet Economy (in %% of 1913)**

| | 1917 | 1928 | 1940 | 1945 | 1960 | 1966 | (plan) 1967 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National income | 75 | 119 | 535 | 445 | 2,327 | 3,431 | 3,658 |
| Basic production assets | 94 | 115 | 264 | 226 | 838 | 1,432 | 1,554 |
| in industry | 89 | 105 | 689 | 657 | 2,925 | 5,355 | 5,837 |
| Total industrial output | 71 | 132 | 769 | 705 | 4,032 | 6,613 | 7,096 |
| Producer goods production | 81 | 155 | 1,340 | 1,504 | 8,936 | 15,458 | 16,617 |
| Consumer goods production | 67 | 120 | 460 | 273 | 1,498 | 2,183 | 2,327 |
| Total agricultural output | 88 | 124 | 141 | 86 | 224 | 276 | 288 |
| Total freight turnover | 75 | 104 | 387 | 297 | 1,496 | 2,315 | 2,431 |
| Railway freight turnover | 96 | 142 | 543 | 411 | 1,968 | 2,637 | 2,682 |
| Capital investments | — | 106 | 555 | 523 | 3,665 | 5,324 | 5,694 |
| Number of factory and office work. | — | 100 | 263 | 221 | 481 | 618 | 643 |

It should be borne in mind that twenty of the fifty years of the Soviet state's existence were years of the civil war and foreign intervention, the Great Patriotic War against German fascism, and subsequent rehabilitation periods.

### Industry

In 1913 Russia accounted for a little over four per cent of world

*Abridged from Pravda, September 15, 1967.

industrial output and in 1917, for less than three per cent. Today the Soviet Union produces almost one-fifth of it.

Productivity of labor in industry is growing constantly on the basis of technological progress and the rising cultural level and skills of workers.

In recent years more than 60 per cent of the increment in industrial output has been obtained due to growth of labor productivity.

The Soviet Union ranks first in Europe and second in the world for industrial output. In 1913 the Russian empire produced an equivalent of 12.5 per cent of output in the United States. Today Soviet industrial output equals more than 65 per cent of the U.S. level.

**Rates of Production Growth in USA and USSR**

| | 1966, number of times greater than in 1913 | | Number of times faster in USSR than in USA |
|---|---|---|---|
| | **US** | **USSR** | |
| Electric power | 52 | 267 | 5 |
| Oil | 12 | 26 | 2 |
| Coal | 0.95 | 18 | 19 |
| Steel | 4 | 22.5 | 6 |
| Mineral fertilizer (in conventional units) | 15 | 403 | 27 |
| Metal-cutting lathes | 4 | 110 | 27.5 |
| Turbines | 24 | 2,572 | 107 |
| Cement | 4 | 45 | 11 |
| Cotton fabrics (unbleached | 1.5 | 3.3 | 2 |
| Woollen fabrics | 0.7 | 3.7 | 5 |
| Leather footwear | 2.2 | 2.7 | 3.5 |

## Electric Power

In 1967 the output of electricity reached 598,000 million kilowatt-hours. In power production the USSR ranks first in Europe and second in the world.

## Coal

Output grew from 29 million tons in 1913 to 586 million tons in 1966, and will climb to 590.7 million tons in 1967.

## Oil and Gas

Oil extraction increased from 10.3 million tons in 1913 to 265.1 million tons in 1966. The figure for 1967 will exceed 286 million tons.

In 1928 only 0.3 million cubic meters of gas was extracted. This year's output will be 158.3 million cubic meters.

## Iron and Steel

Between 1913 and 1966 production of pig iron increased from 4.2 million tons to 70.3 million tons, steel from 4.3 million tons to 96.9 million tons, rolled metal from 3.6 million tons to 76.7 million tons, steel pipes from 78,000 tons to 9,905,000 tons, iron ore from 9.2 million tons to 160.3 million tons. Pig iron production in 1967 is to reach 74.7 million tons. The Soviet steel industry has reached an annual capacity of more than 100 million tons. The output of rolled metal will amount to 80.6 million tons.

The Soviet Union ranks first in the world for the output of iron ore, coke and steel pipes, and second for pig iron, steel and rolled metal output.

## Engineering and Metal-Working Industries

In 1966 total production of the engineering and metalworking industries exceeded the 1913 level 538 times, and in 1977 engineering output will be 588 times greater than before the revolution.

As far back as 1941 the Soviet engineering industry advanced to first place in Europe for volume of output. At present the engineering and metalworking industries employ more than one-third of all industrial workers.

## Chemical Industry

In 1967 the 1913 level will be exceeded 322 times. The Soviet Union ranks first in Europe and second in the world for the production of sulphuric acid, soda ash, synthetic ammonia and mineral fertilizers.

## Building Materials

The Soviet Union produces more cement, prefabricated ferroconcrete, bricks and window glass than any other country in the world. Only 1.8 million tons of cement was produced in 1913. The figure expected in 1967 is 85 million tons, or 47 times as much.

## Light and Food Industry

In 1967 light industry output will be 17 times greater than in 1913. Soviet years have witnessed a sharp increase in food industry production. For instance, between 1913 and 1967 the output of granulated sugar grew from 1.4 million tons to 9.7 million tons, meat from 1.3 million tons to 6 million tons and butter from 129,000 to 1,016,000 tons. The Soviet Union is the world's biggest producer of sugar and butter.

In 1967 total output of the food industry will be 14 times greater than in 1913.

## Transport and Communications

Total freight turnover in 1967 will be 24 times that of 1913 and passenger turnover, 13 times. At present 92 per cent of freight haulage is done by electric and diesel locomotives.

At beginning of 1967 there were 39.8 million radio receivers, 19 million TV receivers and 37 million radio plug-ins.

## Economic Contacts with Foreign Countries

The Soviet Union actively develops foreign economic contacts. Almost all countries of the world are its trade partners. Long-term agreements have been concluded with almost 70 countries.

In fifty years foreign trade has grown fourfold. Trade with the socialist states has increased in the postwar period more than 12-fold, reaching about 70 per cent of total foreign trade.

Since the end of the Second World War trade with developing countries has increased 21-fold. Economic relations with these countries are based on the principles of equality and mutual benefit which facilitate their independent economic development.

## Agriculture

Agriculture was radically transformed on the basis of Lenin's cooperative plan. Individual poor and middle peasants, whose households numbered 23.7 million in 1927, united to form collective farms.

In 1927, before mass collectivization, there were 14,800 collective farms and 1,400 state farms in the country. At present their numbers stand at 37,100 and 12,200 respectively.

Collective and state farms are large highly mechanized enterprises.

In his time Lenin dreamed of 100,000 tractors for Soviet agriculture. At the beginning of 1967 it had 1,660,000 tractors (3,233,-000 in terms of 15-hp units), 531,000 grain harvester combines, more than a million trucks and many other modern machines.

Electric power capacities in 1960 were more than ten times bigger than before the revolution, and power consumption per farm was 16 times bigger.

Between 1913 and 1966 total agricultural output grew 2.8-fold, while the share of manpower employed in agriculture dropped by more than 50 per cent.

Total grain output in 1966 was 171.2 million tons, 13 per cent more than in the record 1964 harvest. Grain purchases also reached an all-time high.

**Growth of Grain, Meat and Milk Production**
(Annual average, in millions of tons)

| 1909-1913 | Grain | Meat | Milk |
|---|---|---|---|
| within present-day borders of the USSR | 72.5 | 4.8 | 28.8 |
| within USSR borders before September 17,1939 | 65.2 | 3.9 | 24.1 |
| 1924-28 | 69.3 | 4.2 | 29.3 |
| 1936-40 | 77.4 | 4.0 | 26.5 |
| 1946-50 | 64.8 | 3.5 | 32.3 |
| 1951-55 | 88.5 | 5.7 | 37.9 |
| 1956-60 | 121.5 | 7.9 | 57.2 |
| 1961-65 | 130.3 | 9.3 | 64.7 |
| 1966 | 171.2 | 10.8 | 76.0 |

## Welfare

Unemployment had been wiped out towards the end of 1930.

Compared with the pre-revolution period, per capita real incomes of industrial workers have grown 6.6-fold and those of peasants, 8.5-fold.

More than 80 million factory and office workers are employed in the national economy.

**Average Wages of Factory and Office Workers in 1966**
(plus payments and benefits from public funds in rubles)

| | Average annual | Average monthly |
|---|---|---|
| Average wages | 1,188 | 99 |
| including paid holidays | 77 | 6 |
| Payments and benefits from public funds (exclusive of paid holidays)— average per worker | 417 | 35 |

In 1966 monthly wages per family with more than one breadwinner (with payments and benefits from public funds added) averaged 214 roubles.

In addition, the state spends 150 roubles per family annually on the construction of houses, schools and cultural, public services and medical establishments.

The growth of real incomes is in large measure due to the constant increase of public consumption funds, which pay for free medical service, free education and advanced training, allow-

ances and pensions, free and reduced-cost accommodation at health centers and holiday homes, the maintenance of creches and kindergartens.

The overwhelming majority of collective farms have guaranteed remuneration schemes comparable with wage levels on state farms. A uniform system of pensions for collective farmers has been established.

## Housing Construction

In fifty years 2,134 million square meters of living floor space have been built or restored in towns and villages. Urban living floor space grew from 180 million square meters in 1913 to 1,290 million in 1966.

Between 1950 and 1966 155 million people received new or better flats.

The Soviet Union occupies a leading place in the world for the scale and pace of housing construction. Every year 10 to 11 million families give housewarming parties.

## Free Medical Assistance

In 1966 the death rate in the Soviet Union was 37.5 per cent lower than in Britain, 23.1 per cent lower than in the United States and 33.4 per cent lower than in France.

Between 1913 and 1966 the number of deaths per 1,000 population fell to one-fourth of the 1913 level (from 29.1 to 7.3). Child mortality rate dropped still lower.

Average life expectancy is 70 years, 2.2 times longer than in old Russia.

The Soviet Union leads the world in the number of doctors per given number of residents.

There are more than two million doctors in the world today. The Soviet Union has 578,000, or one-fourth of them.

## Rest and Leisure

The introduction of a shorter working day for all factory and office workers, started in 1956, was completed in 1960.

The working week today is 18 hours shorter than in 1913.

The right of Soviet citizens to rest and leisure is ensured by paid annual holidays and a large network of health resorts, holiday homes, hiking centers, etc. There are 4,678 health centers, holiday homes and boarding houses in which about nine million people took rest or treatment in 1966.

At the beginning of 1967 the number of pensioners stood at about 34 million. Of these, 8.9 million were collective farmers who received pensions in accordance with the Law on Pensions and Benefits for Collective Farmers.

## Social Structure of Society

The class composition of society has changed radically since the victory of the October Revolution.

**Changes in Class Composition (in %%)**

| | 1913 | 1928 | 1939 | 1959 | 1966 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total population | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| factory and office workers | 17.0 | 17.6 | 50.2 | 68.3 | 76.39 |
| collective farmers and cooperative artisans | — | 2.9 | 47.2 | 31.4 | 23.58 |
| non-cooperated peasants and artisans | 66.7 | 74.9 | 2.6 | 0.3 | 0.03 |
| bourgeois, landlords, merchants and kulaks | 16.3 | 4.6 | — | — | — |

## Equality of Nations

More than 100 nations and nationalities inhabit the Soviet Union. The USSR consists of fifteen Union republics, some of which have autonomous republics, autonomous regions and national areas. At the beginning of 1967 there were 20 autonomous republics, eight autonomous regions and ten national areas.

In Soviet years all republics have built a powerful modern industry.

Prior to the revolution Central Asia and Kazakhstan were backward feudal borderlands of tsarist Russia. Between 1913 and 1966 industrial output grew 32 times in Uzbekistan, 64 times in Tajikistan, 117 times in Kirghizia, 33 times in Turkmenia, and 101 times in Kazakhstan.

The industrial progress of the Caucasian republics is generally known. From 1913 to 1966 industrial output in Georgia went up 62 times and in Armenia, 119 times. Industry is rapidly developing also in Azerbaidjan.

Rapid progress attends the economic development of the Russian Federation, the Ukraine, Byelorussia, the Baltic republics and Moldavia. Whereas total industrial output in the Soviet Union in 1940-66 grew 8.6-fold, in Moldavia it increased 17 times, in Latvia 19 times, in Lithuania and Estonia 20 times.

The Byelorussin Soviet Socialist Republic is today a major economic region. One out of every five tractors manufactured in the USSR and one out of every eight metal-cutting lathes bear the trademarks of Byelorussian plants. Industrial output in Byelorussia grew 64-fold from 1913 to 1966.

Prior to the revolution many peoples inhabiting the border-

lands of Russia, especially in the Far North and Central Asia, were totally illiterate.

Today all the Soviet republics have a practically 100 per cent literacy. An extensive network of general, specialized secondary and higher schools has been established in them. All the nationalities inhabiting the Soviet Union have the right to education in their mother tongues. Instruction in Soviet schools is conducted in 57 languages.

In the 1966-67 academic year Byelorussia had 28 higher schools with 116,000 students, Azerbaijan 12 with 78,000, Lithuania 11 with 51,000, Armenia 12 with 43,000, Moldavia 7 with 41,000, the Central Asian republics 55 with 283,000, Kazakhstan 41 with 163,000. The Soviet Union has more higher school students per 1,000 population than any European capitalist country.

The Union republics have their own academies of science. With a total 7-fold increase in Soviet scientific manpower from 1939 to 1966, the number of scientific workers grew 32-fold in Kirghizia, 19-fold in Kazakhstan, 18-fold in Turkmenia, 17-fold in Uzbekistan, and 12-fold in Tajikistan.

## Education, Culture

In pre-revolutionary Russia, almost three-quarters of the population were illiterate. The right to free education at all levels ensured to all Soviet citizens is one of the great achievements of socialism. At present 73.6 million Soviet people—one out of every three citizens (not counting children of pre-school age)—are studying in one form or other. In tsarist Russia, four out of every five children had no opportunity to get an education. In the Soviet Union, universal compulsory primary education was introduced as early as 1930, and today the transition to universal secondary schooling is being effected. The Soviet Union has become, in effect, a country of 100 per cent literacy. More than 56 per cent of gainfully-employed persons have a primary, secondary or higher education.

In 1966-67 Soviet general educational schools had 48 million pupils, five times more than in 1914-1915. There were upwards of 27 million pupils in the 5th-10th (11th) grades — 44 times the number prior to the revolution.

In 1914-15 the student body of higher and specialized secondary schools barely exceeded 18,000. The present number exceeds 8 million, which is 45 times more. There are more than 4 million students in Soviet higher schools, which is 3.5 times more than in Britain, France, the FRG and Italy put together.

About 8,000 newspapers and over 4,000 magazines are published in the Soviet Union. The annual print of books exceeds 1,250 million. A total of more than 31,000 million copies of books have been

printed since the revolution. They have appeard in 140 languages—89 languages of peoples of the Soviet Union and 51 foreign languages.

At the beginning of 1967 the Soviet Union had 124,000 public libraries—nine times more than in 1914. The number of books in public libraries has increased in that period 117 times. There are 471 copies of books and magazines per 100 population as against 6 in 1914.

There are more than 40 film studios. In 1966 they released 159 full-length and 666 short-reel films, not counting newsreels.

The number of scientific workers grew from 11,600 in 1914 to 98,300 in 1940 to 712,400 in 1966. The Soviet Union accounts for one-fourth of world scientific manpower.

The Academy of Sciences of the USSR has 194 research establishments with a staff of more than 27,000.

In addition to republican academies of science, a number of specialized academies have been established in Soviet years.

## The Highroad of World Development

*"The revolutionary renovation of the world, begun by the October Revolution and embodied in the triumph of socialism in the USSR, has been continued by the victories of socialist revolutions in other countries. The emergence of the socialist world system was the most important historic event after the October Revolution."*

(Theses of the CC CPSU on the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution.)

The peoples of another thirteen countries of Europe, Asia and America are now standing under the banner of Marxism-Leninism raised by the October Revolution fifty years ago.

The changes in the political map of the world between 1919 and 1967 are characterized by the following data:

| | 1919 | | | | Beginning of 1967 | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Area | | Population (estimated) | | Area | | Population (estimated) | |
| | mln sq. km. | in % of total | mln | in % of total | mln sq. km. | in % of total | mln | in % of total |
| Total | 135.8 | 100 | 1,777 | 100 | 135.8 | 100 | 3,380 | 100 |
| Socialist world | 21.7 | 16.0 | 138.0 | 7.8 | 35.2 | 25.9 | 1,190 | 35.2 |
| Rest of the world | 114.1 | 84.0 | 1,639 | 92.2 | 100.6 | 74.1 | 2,190 | 64.8 |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Big imperialist powers* and their colonies | 60.3 | 44.4 | 855 | 48.1 | 12.6 | 9.3 | 532.6 | 15.8 |
| Colonies and semi-colonies | 97.8 | 72.0 | 1,235 | 69.4 | 5.3 | 3.9 | 37.8 | 1.1 |
| Former colonies and semi-colonies independent since 1919 (exclusive of socialist states) | | | | | 78.9 | 58.2 | 1,529 | 45.2 |

*USA, Britain, FRG (In 1919—Germany, France, Japan, Italy).

Today the socialist system extends over almost 26 per cent of the world's territory and accounts for more than 35 per cent of the population.

Colonial empires have tumbled down. More than 70 sovereign states have emerged on their ruins. Over 1,500 million people have cast off the colonial yoke and won national independence.

# APPEAL* TO THE POPULATION BY THE SYRIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

An enlarged plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Syrian Communist Party last July heard a Political Bureau report (presented by Khaled Bagdash, General Secretary of the Party) on the policy of the SCP and its activity during and after the Israeli aggression.

The meeting unanimously approved the report and passed a decision on the Syrian Communists' current tasks. It adopted an Appeal to the population of Syria and messages of fraternal greetings to the CPSU and other Communist and Workers' parties supporting the Arab peoples against the Israeli aggression.

Following is that part of the Appeal formulating the immediate tasks of the Party.

The aggressor had to stop fighting. He is now weaker than before the aggression. The fact that Israel endangers the national liberation movement and world peace is being realized more and more all over the world.

Israel and its masters are in a predicament on the world scene. Nevertheless, they hope through new military ventures to make the Arab peoples submit to the will of the imperialists. They would like to give a fresh impetus to the reactionary forces which are operating covertly, having lost all sense of national dignity and being blinded by their narrow class interests. They want these forces to launch a movement against the national policies of our countries and to replace the systems now in power by regimes obedient to imperialism and Israel.

These plans of Israel and those who instigate her are doomed to failure.

Syria finds herself in a difficult position. The problems facing her are far from easy to solve. Nevertheless, we have every opportunity of transforming the temporary setback we have suffered into a source of new found strength so as to fight for our freedom. The peoples of the world fully side with us. It is objectively possible to foil every maneuver of the imperialists and Israel.

We must make an impartial analysis of the mistakes and short-

*Abridged from **Aus der Internationalen Arbeiterbewegung** (information bulletin of the SUPG, Berlin) No. 17, 1967.

comings which the enemy took advantage of. We must critically and constructively study all the factors that helped to create the present situation. We must at the earliest possible date ensure preparedness in every sphere if we are to repulse eventual new acts of aggression, expel those who have committed or incited the aggression, and free all enemy-occupied Arab territories.

To succeed in this—to muster the pick of the popular forces and release the people's immense energy—we need a change in the political climate at home that will convince our people and all our friends that Syria has learned the lessons of the struggle. Our national interests demand that the world be told the truth about the situation in Syria. It must be told that all our people—workers, peasants, servicemen, revolutionary intellectuals, all progressive and genuinely patriotic forces opposed to imperialism—are looking forward to the formation of a united front to defend every inch of our soil, clear our country of the armed forces of the aggressor and remove every vestige of the aggression. A changed political climate in Syria should make people more confident that Syria and the other Arab countries are resolved to use every opportunity to maintain their independence and national sovereignty and to continue on the path of progressive national development which Syria, too, has taken, incurring the anger and hatred of the imperialists and Israel.

The political climate in our country must be changed if we are to nip in the bud every attempt by imperialist agents and the reactionaries to profit by the situation resulting from the aggression, stop the progressive development of the nation and set up a regime subservient to the imperialist powers.

It is necessary:

1. To intensify the progressive development of our nation. The people should enjoy complete trust, which should express itself in all progressive and patriotic forces being granted democratic freedoms. This historic period calls for tremendous effort to organize concerted struggle by all patriotic forces on the basis of cooperation and mutual trust.

Besides, every opportunity should be used to raise the efficiency and organiaztion of the armed forces and restore their strength within the shortest possible time, so that they can defend the country.

This course of action will make for greater confidence and a higher morale. It will help to mobilize all forces and enhance the people's determination to continue their grim fight against an inexorable enemy.

This policy line should express itself in the activity of the government, the trade unions and other popular organizations.

2. All-embracing vigilance toward the intrigues of the imperialists and Zionists, who are trying to take advantage of every disagreement among the progressive forces in each country and the Arab world as a whole.

The solidarity and fraternity which the progressive Arab states displayed during the aggression must be resolutely built up. It is necessary to coordinate and combine the efforts of the progressive Arab states in every field—defense, politics and economy. An effort should be made to engage all Arab states in a determined fight for the withdrawal of the aggressors from the territories they occupy and for the elimination of the effects of the aggression.

3. Consolidating the common front of the Arab and the socialist countries against the common enemy, world imperialism, headed by the U.S. imperialists.

It is particularly important to continue strengthening the bonds of friendship and to promote cooperation between Syria and the mighty Soviet Union, as well as with the Arabs' other friends. A cardinal task is to make full use of the opportunities which the Soviet Union and other socialist countries afford to us to strengthen our defenses and promote our economy.

4. We must pursue a wise and far-sighted foreign policy and avoid publicity-mongering, adventurist and unrealistic slogans. This means that we must increasingly isolate Israel in the world and thus expose her aggressive nature. We must refute Israel's contention that she wants peace in the area and that she waged a war of aggression merely to survive. In reality the war was organized according to plans laid by the Anglo-American imperialists and the oil monopolies.

Such a foreign policy would bring about a favorable international situation in which the Arab peoples could make a determined effort toward eliminating the effects of the aggression and thwarting all imperialist plans of aggression.

5. We must follow an economic policy taking into account the conditions of the current struggle and the growing importance of agriculture, and continuing the implementation of development plans. Our economic policy should concentrate on tasks connected with strengthening our defenses, increasing the national income and raising the capacity of government enterprises producing capital and consumer goods. We must take appropriate measures to supply the people with food.

6. The people's gains—the economic and social changes that have been brought about—must be maintained and consolidated. This means above all conscientiously implementing the land reform, transferring the land to the poor peasants, managing the nationalized enterprises efficiently, organizing imports and exports according

to the need to adopt defense measures, increasing production and safeguarding the interests of the masses.

The actual implementation of this policy is a vast historic task to be accomplished by all progressive citizens, by all enemies of imperialism, irrespective of their party allegiance and of whether they are in power or not.

# ON THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION IN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

## RESOLUTION* OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY OF EAST PAKISTAN

The events that are taking place in the People's Republic of China in the name of the "cultural revolution" give cause for grave anxiety to the Communist movement and Marxist-Leninists of the whole world.

The task of accomplishing a cultural revolution, side by side with economic construction, is posed before the working class and the toiling masses of a country as an imperative duty when they devote themselves to the task of building a socialist society after the seizure of political power. For in a society ridden with class exploitation, the exploiting classes propagate and introduce doctrines, ideologies and ideas by which their class interests and class exploitation can be safeguarded.

Hence if socialism is to be built in a country, the working class and the toiling masses must be freed from the influence of age-long ignorance and prejudice and the ideology of the exploiting classes. A revolution must be brought about in the cultural field by imparting new knowledge and socialist ideas to the workers and the toiling masses. It is impossible to build socialism in any country without a revolution in the cultural field together with socialist economic reconstruction.

The main content of this cultural revolution is a struggle of proletarian education, culture and ideology against the prejudices, ignorance, wrong ideology, etc., introduced by the exploiting classes. It is also a form of class struggle.

But precisely because the task of this revolution is to abolish the prejudices, ignorance and perverted ideas accumulated in the minds of the working class and the toiling masses over decades and to replace them by new learning and new ideas, the revolution cannot be effected by sheer physical force or overnight. It is only by spreading new knowledge and new ideas amongst the people over a long period that the revolution can achieve success. According to Lenin's teachings, this revolution is far more difficult than the seizure of political power.

The activities now being carried on in the People's Republic of

*Abridged.

China in the name of the "cultural revolution" are in direct contradiction to Marxism-Leninism.

Firstly, the educational institutions, which are among the main vehicles of the real cultural revolution, have recently been closed in China for a period and hundreds of thousands of students have been turned into "Red Guards," said to be the vanguard of the "cultural revolution." This measure would have some meaning if the "Red Guards" had devoted themselves to the propagation of a new education amongst the workers and peasants. But instead the Red Guards have been changing the names of streets and shops in Peking and other cities, searching out "reactionaries" and "revisionists" and punishing them, and sometimes, rallying in a square, they hear the directives of their leaders. This is not just propaganda by the bourgeoisie or by the "revisionists." One can come across these facts by going through the weekly *Peking Review*. The leaders of the PRC today are leaning towards petty-bourgeois revolutionism.

Secondly, even assuming that a "great proletarian cultural revolution" is now going on in China as its leaders claim, a decision of the Congress of the CPC was necessary according to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism before launching this supremely important campaign and this revolution should have been carried on both nationally and locally—in the provinces, cities and villages—under the collective leadership of the Party committees concerned.

No CPC Congress has been held since 1956.

It can be gathered from the articles published in the *Peking Review* that Mao Tse-tung is the sole undisputed leader of the "cultural revolution," some top Party officials are his assistants, the "Red Guards" are the "vanguard" of this "revolution" and the army and security force are the mainstay of the "Red Guards."

The "Red Guards" are wrecking Party committees and capturing Party offices; in some places they arrest Party members who are opposed to Mao. The Party members who hold opinions contrary to Mao Tse-tung's are expelled en masse from the CPC.

Thirdly, as a means of establishing the Mao Tse-tung group's undisputed power over the Party and the state, Mao Tse-tung is being held up before the mass of the people of the PRC as a "superman."

It is alleged—by many leaders, the press, hundreds of thousands of leaflets, the radio—that "Mao Tse-tung stands far higher than Marx, Engels or Lenin" (Lin Piao), Mao Tse-tung's thought is the "acme of Marxism-Leninism" (*Peking Review*), "every sentence" uttered by Mao Tse-tung "is true" (*Peking Review*), etc.

Fourthly, Lenin taught us that we should take over the whole of the culture left by capitalism and build socialism with it. Marxist-

Leninists treat with respect the old classical literatures, which are not merely the creation of some bourgeois writers but are a contribution by the entire society.

In violation of Lenin's teachings, the old classical literatures of China and other countries are condemned as "vehicles of bourgeois culture."

Marxism-Leninism maintains that the main objective of the socialist revolution is to raise the standard of living of the working class under socialism. It also recognizes that it is impossible to raise the cultural level of the working class and build socialism without improving the material conditions of the workers.

But the leaders of the Chinese "cultural revolution" castigate wage increases as "economism" and "harmful to revolutionary consciousness," upholding "asceticism"— the philosophy of the exploiting classes—as a "new revolutionary ideology."

Fifthly, the struggle against "three enemies"—imperialism, all reactionaries and "modern revisionism"—was declared in the resolution of the Eleventh Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPC to be the main objective of the "cultural revolution." But in actual practice the struggle against "modern revisionism" has been given priority and the aim of the "cultural revolution" has been to conduct a political crusade against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

The consistent and abundant help of the Soviet Union to socialist North Vietnam, as well as to the liberation struggle of South Vietnam, against the piratical armed aggression of U.S. imperialism, has repeatedly been acknowledged and praised by the Vietnamese leaders. The fraternal help of the Soviet Union to various socialist countries and its economic and technical aid in the economic reconstruction of the newly independent countries are well known. The Soviet Union's moral and material help in the liberation struggle of various countries, and its firm opposition to the U.S. imperialists' conspiracy aimed at a world war are likewise universally known. Besides, the Soviet Union is already marching from socialism to communism.

No one can be a Communist revolutionary and yet oppose and slander the Soviet Union—the first socialist state of the world.

The Chinese leaders have rejejcted the proposals of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries for united action to defeat the piratical armed aggression of the U.S. imperialists against Vietnam and for joint help to Vietnam, on the plea that "there can be no united front with the revisionists."

Experience shows that the leaders of China abuse every Communist party as "revisionist" and adopt a hostile attitude to them unless it fully supports their policies and actions. Among recent

examples are the Chinese leaders' attacks on the Communist parties of Cuba, Japan and North Korea.

The "cultural revolution" of China and the great-power chauvinism of the leaders of this revolution are isolating the PRC from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, leading it onto a disastrous path and disrupting the socialist camp and the world Communist movement.

The basic deviations of the present leaders of China are petty-bourgeois revolutionism and great-power chauvinism. It is through these deviations and the "cultural revolution" that the leaders of China are causing disruption in the international Communist movement and lowering the world prestige of socialism, on the one hand, and endangering the achievements of the great revolutionary struggles of the people of China, on the other.

The Communist Party of East Pakistan is deeply concerned about the disastrous effects of the "cultural revolution" in China. It feels certain that any setback to the socialist revolution in China will seriously harm the world Communist movement, especially the Communist movement of Asia. The Party believes that the present hard days of China will be brought to an end through the efforts of the Communists and the people of China.

# PARTY PERIODICALS

## ITEMS IN CURRENT ISSUES

### TARSZADALMI SZEMLE, HSWP, Hungary, No. 8-9, 1967

Jozef Balint, "Our Party Organizations in Implementing the Economic Reform"; Istvan Friss, "The National Economic Plan and Regulation of the Process of Social Development"; Laszlo Ballai, "Our Reform and the Material Conditions of Cultural Development"; Endre Sik, "The Stockholm International Conference on Vietnam"; Marcell Forgacs, "The Struggle of the Communist Party of Israel for a Peaceful and Just Settlement of the Conflict in the Middle East."

### CAHIERS DU COMMUNISME, French CP, September 1967

René Piquet, "Affirm the Value of Our Policy" (editorial); Jean-Claude Poulain, "Vis-à-vis the Decrees of the Power of Monopoly"; Fernand Clavaud, "French Agriculture Tomorrow"; Jacques Roux, "Communists and the Problems of Medicine"; Jacques Denis, "Defense of Universal Peace—the Main Demand of Our Time"; Michel Sakka, "Chemical Warfare—a Barbaric Method of U.S. Escalation in Vietnam"; Jean Suret-Canale, "For a Policy of Assistance to and Cooperation with 'Third World' Countries"; Henri Martin, "A General Concept of Educational Work."

### WEG UND ZIEL, CP of Austria, No. 9, 1967

"The Middle East and Peaceful Coexistence" (editorial); K. Flanner, "The Function of Trade Unions"; O. Reinhold, "Centenary of Marx's CAPITAL"; F. Marek, "The Future of Marxism."

### KOMMUNIST, CPSU, No. 13, 1967

The issue carries the resolution of the CC CPSU "On Measures for the Further Development of Social Sciences and the Enhancement of Their Role in Communist Construction." Other items: Y. Zhukov, "The World Historical Process and the Leninist Theory of Socialist Revolution"; K. Ivanov, "The October Revolution and the Destinies of the Nations of the World"; D. Chesnokov, "Lenin's Teaching on the Socialist State"; A. Lukyanov, B. Lazarev, "The Soviets: Development and Consolidation of Democratic Foundations."

### PRINCIPIOS, CP of Chile, No. 120, 1967

Editorial: "Peace in Danger (Vietnam, the Middle East); Jorge

Texier, "The Communist Party and the Revolutionary Process"; Luis Valente Rossi, "The Situation in the Fishing Industry"; Jose Oyarce, "New Methods of Strike Struggle."

**WORLD MARXIST REVIEW, Theoretical and Information Organ of the Communist and Workers' Parties No. 10, 1967**

F. Fuenberg, "An Imperative for the Democratic Forces"; A. Salem, T. Babiker, "Consolidation of Anti-Imperialist Forces Is the Path to Progress of Arab Peoples"; M. Dienne, "Nigerian Patriots Want National Unity"; J. Prazsky, "Vietnam: The Free-Elections Farce and the Real Road to Freedom."

*The October Revolution: Its Impact on Culture*: J. Bernal, "The Role of 1917 in Scientific and Technical Progress"; D. Shostakovich, "Music and the Revolution"; P. Neruda, "The Intellectual and the Revolution"; N. Tikhonov, "The Dawn of New Humanity"; R. Kent, "The World Must Be Made Beautiful"; N. Semyonov, "Science and the Soviet Union"; A. Hoffmeister, "The October for Our Generation."

The issue carries some more contributions at the international symposium devoted to the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution: The October Revolution and the Struggle for World Peace—W. Jarosinski; October Revolution Lights the Way—B. Lhamsuren, K. Khristov, G. Unc; October and the West-European Labor Movement—J. Duclos, R. Ohman, P. Martinmaki; The October Revolution and the Fight for National and Social Emancipation—G. Savvides, K. Okan, E. Cintra, R. Dalton, A. Dansoko, L. Bukhali.

*Communications and Comment:* R. Otero, R. Castellanos, "The First OLAS Conference"; Suchahyo, "The 'New Order' in Indonesia."

# ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

**Sept. 4-7.** A delegation of the Communist Party of Israel consisting of Political Bureau members Wolf Ehrlich and Salib Khamis viisted Rome and met with Gian Carlo Pajetta, Carlo Galuzzi and other ICP leaders. It was put on record that the representatives of both parties stand for the immediate withdrawal of Israeli troops from occupied territories as a preliminary condition for any actions to preserve peace without infringing on the right of the peoples of that region to live freely on their land. The situation in Southeast Asia, where the United States' criminal aggression increasingly endangers world peace, was also discussed.

**Sept. 4-15.** A group of Bulgarian Party functionaries headed by Radenko Vidinsky, head of the building department of the CC BCP, visited the Soviet Union. The Bulgarian comrades were received by CC CPSU Secretary I. V. Kapitonov.

**Sept. 9.** B. N. Ponomaryov, Secretary of the CC CPSU, met with Tullio Vecchietti, General Secretary of the Italian Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity, and exchanged opinions with him on problems of the world working-class movement.

**Sept. 9.** V. Koucky, Secretary of the CC of the CP of Czechoslovakia, met with E. Olgeirsson, Chairman of the United Socialist Party of Iceland. Some problems of the international situation and the world Communist movement were discussed.

**Sept. 9-10.** An enlarged plenary meeting of the CC of the CP of Finland discussed V. Pessi's report on the political situation in the country and the present tasks of the Party, and the draft new program of the Party, which was presented by A. Saarinen. A statement on the situation in Greece was adopted.

**Sept. 10-14.** A national conference of the CP of Chile was held in Santiago. The main question was further organizational, ideological and political consolidation of the Party. The report of the Political Commission was presented by General Secretary Luis Corvalan, who analyzed the present political situation in the country and the prospects of the struggle of the Party for the consolidation of democracy and against the intentions of the Rightists to prevent deep-going economic and social changes, above all the agrarian, bank and other reforms.

Luis Corvalan pointed to the exceptional importance of the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution.

**Sept. 11.** A delegation of the CP of Israel consisting of Political Bureau Members Wolf Ehrlich and Saliba Khamis talked in Paris with Raymond Guyot, member of the Political Bureau of the FCP, and Roland Leroy, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC FCP. Both parties hold identical views on the struggle against the consequences of the Israeli aggression, for the immediate withdrawal of Israeli troops from occupied territories, for a peaceful political settlement of the problem.

**Sept. 11-15.** A. Novotny, First Secretary of the CC of the CP of Czechoslovakia, paid an unofficial visit to Yugoslavia.

**Sept. 12.** L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, received Le Thanh Nghi, member of the Political Bureau of the Party of Working people of Vietnam, who headed the DRV government economic delegation.

**Sept. 12.** L. I. Brezsnev had a talk with Y. Tsedenbal, First Secretary of the CC of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Mongolian People's Republic. Questions of mutual interest were discussed.

**Sept. 13.** Today the world situation has become much more acute, it is pointed out in a statement on discussions between the delegations of the CPSU (L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary, and B. N. Ponomaryov, Secretary) and the CP of Great Britain (John Gollan, General Secretary, and George Matthews, member of the Political Committee, editor-in-chief of *Morning Star*). American imperialism is waging a brutal, unjust and bloody war against the people of Vietnam. Despite the huge forces of the American aggressors, despite their use of the most barbarous devices of modern war, they cannot, and never will, bring the Vietnamese people to their knees. It is the first duty of every man and woman who wants peace, and especially of every Communist, to do everything possible to help the people of Vietnam in their just struggle, and to end the American aggression.

We support the worldwide demand for an immediate and unconditional end to the bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the withdrawal of American troops from South Vietnam, the recognition of the National Liberation Front and the implementation of the Geneva Agreements.

In the Middle East, where war has raged recently, the interests of all the peoples of the area demand urgent steps to rectify the consequences of Israeli aggression and achieve a just and lasting settlement.

That means, first and foremost, the immediate withdrawal of Israeli troops from the positions they have occupied. This would make it possible to establish a peace without annexation.

Peace in the Middle East should be founded on respect for the legitimate rights of the Arab peoples, especially those of Palestine, and be based on the recognition of the right of the states in this region to national independence and peace.

A special responsibility rests on the Communist Parties. No differences between them should be allowed to stand in the way of joint action against imperialist aggression.

It is therefore necessary to explore the possibilities of an international conference of Communist and Workers' parties to discuss the struggle against imperialist aggression and to rally the working class and all anti-imperialist forces for united action.

The aim should be to prepare such a conference thoroughly and collectively and to ensure that it is as representative as possible. Divisions in the ranks of the international Communist movement only aid the enemies of peace and national liberation.

This is why the actions of Mao Tse-tung and his group in China must be condemned.

They are not only preventing the full development of united action to help Vietnam, but, in the name of Communism, are carrying out a policy completely opposed to Communist principles.

The representatives of both parties expressed their confidence that despite the tragic period through which the people and the Communist Party of China are passing the cause of Socialism will triumph there, and that they will put their country and its Communist Party back on to the correct road.

**Sept. 13.** Le Thanh Nghi, Deputy Prime Minister of the DRV and member of the Political Bureau of the PWPV, arrived in Havana.

**Sept. 15.** Khaled Bagdash, General Secretary of the CC of the Syrian CP, arrived in Moscow.

**Sept. 15.** L. I. Brezhnev met in CC CPSU offices with T. Zhivkov, First Secretary of the CC of the Bulgarian CP and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

The two leaders exchanged opinions on a wide range of problems of the international situation and the world Communist movement and other questions of interest to both parties.

The exchange of opinions, which passed in an atmosphere of friendship and fraternal cordiality, reaffirmed the complete identity of views of both parties on all questions under discussion.

**Sept. 16.** L. I. Brezhnev received Dang Quang Minh, head of the permanent mission of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam in the USSR. On instructions from the Presidium of the CC of the NLF, Dang Quang Minh handed to L. I. Brezhnev the text of the NLF program.*

*See Information Bulletin, No. 18, 1967. Prague, Peace and Socialism Publishers.

Receiving the program, L. I. Brezhnev said that the CC CPSU highly appreciated the fact that the NLF had adopted an important political document addressed to all strata of the population of the country. This document will certainly play a major role in the struggle for an independent, democratic, peaceful and neutral South Vietnam. The new program of the NLF will help further rally the population of the country against the American aggressors and their Saigon puppets.

The CPSU, the entire Soviet people, L. I. Brezhnev said, will go on rendering all-round assistance to the South Vietnamese patriots, just as to the DRV, in their just struggle for the freedom and independence of their country.

CC CPSU Secretary B. N. Ponomaryov took part in the talk.

**Sept. 16-17.** The CC of the CP of Belgium held a plenary meeting in Brussels to hear and discuss the report of Party Chairman E. Burnelle devoted to problems facing the labor and democratic front.

**Sept. 16-18.** A plenary meeting of the CC of the CP of Canada discussed the international situation and the tasks of the Party. A new Central Executive Committee was elected.

**Sept. 21-22.** The political situation in the country and questions of Party work were discussed at a plenary meeting of the CC of the CP of Austria.

**Sept. 22.** L. I. Brezhnev, A. N. Kosygin and N. V. Podgorny met in CC CPSU offices with W. Gomulka and Y. Cyrankiewicz. The Soviet and Polish leaders discussed problems of the international situation and the world Communist movement, as well as questions of relations between the CPSU and the PUWP and between the Soviet Union and Poland.

Complete identity of views on all questions, as well as the invariable striving to go on developing all-round contacts and close cooperation between the two parties and between the two countries were reaffirmed.

**Sept. 23.** Agreements were signed on gratuitous Soviet assistance, new credits and trade between the USSR and the DRV.

As requested by the DRV government, in 1968 the Soviet Union will deliver to the DRV aircraft, anti-aircraft missiles, artillery and infantry weapons, ammunition and other materiel, as well as industrial plant, vehicles, oil products, ferrous and non-ferrous metals, foodstuffs, chemical fertilizers, medicines and other materials necessary for building up the defense potential and developing the economy of the DRV.

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On the invitation of the National Political Bureau of the Democratic Party of Guinea a CPSU delegation headed by S. P. Rashidov, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the CC CPSU and First Secretary of the CC of the CP of Uzbekistan, attended the 8th Congress of the DPG.

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**Sept. 23-24.** The Board of the Swedish Left Party—Communists held a plenary meeting in Stockholm to discuss the draft election program of the Party for the 1968 general election. The CC adopted a statement on the housing problem in which it pointed out, among other things, that the government's bill on lifting rent controls will send rents sky-rocketing. The Communists propose that housing construction and distribution be supervised by society, not by private persons.

**Sept. 26-27.** A plenary meeting of the CC of the CP of Czechoslovakia was held in Prague.

CC Secretary L. Strouhal reported on economic development and the growth of the living standards of the population in 1967. S. Sadowski, alternate member of the CC Presidium and Secretary of the CC, spoke on the preparation for elections to the national committees (local organs of power), the Slovak National Committee and the National Assembly of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. CC Secretary V. Koucky reported on topical international problems and the activity of the CPC in the field of foreign policy.

**Sept. 26.** Invited by the CC BCP, a delegation of the CP of Finland headed by General Secretary Ville Pessi arrived in Sofia.

**Sept. 11-26.** A delegation of the CP of Chile headed by Orlando Millas, member of the CC Political Commission, familiarized itself with the experience of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the republic's successes in all fields.

Representatives of both parties stressed, ADN reports, that the duty of all Communists is to fight actively for the unity of the world Communist movement. Both parties are of the opinion that conditions are ripe for preparing an international conference of Communist and Workers' parties.

**Sept. 28.** T. Zhivkov, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, arrived in Bucharest on the invitation of N. Ceausescu.

**Sept. 28.** The 9th plenary meeting of the CC of the Polish United Workers' Party discussed questions of further development of agriculture.

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## contents

**ON INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS**
V. Pessi, General Secretary, CP of Finland 5

**FOR A NEW POLICY IN LUXEMBOURG**
D. Urbany, CP of Luxembourg 12

**IMMEDIATE PROGRAM OF SWISS PARTY OF LABOR** 17

**THE NATIONAL ECONOMY AND THE STANDARD OF LIVING IN 1967**
L. Strougal, CP of Czechoslovakia 19

**SOME IDEOLOGICAL PROBLEMS AND CONCLUSIONS CONCERNING THE WRITERS' CONGRESS**
J. Hendrych, CP of Czechoslovakia 25

**SOCIALIST ECONOMIC GUIDANCE**
W. Ulbricht, SUPG, GDR 32

**THE CPSU IN FIGURES** 34

**UNITY FOR A JUST SOLUTION IN MIDDLE EAST**
Statement by CC, Communist Party of Canada 40

**COMMUNISTS SUPPORT QUEBEC CONSTITUTION**
National Committee, CP of Quebec 42

**NEW PROGRAM OF IRAQI COMMUNISTS** 44

**50th ANNIVERSARY OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION**
Statements by CPs of Spain, Colombia, Canada, and United Socialist Party of Catalonia 46

**PARTY PERIODICALS** 54

**ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES** 60

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# CC MEETING, CP OF FINLAND

## VILLE PESSI, GENERAL SECRETARY, ON INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS*

While serious problems confront Finland at home, an exceptionally difficult situation obtains in the international arena, with the forces of imperialism working all-out to change the correlation of world forces and creating new seedbeds of tension. The situation makes international Communist unity particularly imperative, but the attitude of China stands in the way.

When the situation will clear up and how, cannot be predicted, of course. The socialist countries have displayed exceptional patience even in the face of violent attacks on their citizens and legations. As things stand now, still greater difficulties and complete isolation are in store for the Chinese people. There is hope that in the near future the Marxist forces in the CPC will find a way out of the present situation. This is not an easy matter, but they will certainly do that.

The imperialist forces are doing everything to check or at least slow down the development of the national-liberation movement and historical progress. This poses a grave threat to the cause of peace and democracy. In the summer of 1967 the Vietnam war entered a new phase highly dangerous to international development. But the United States has failed to achieve its aim, despite 50,000 million dollars spent on the war. The National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, with its 521,000 members, has proceeded still more boldly, carrying out well-planned large-scale operations. Nor have the three years of bombing of North Vietnam yielded the results the U.S. expected, although they have undeniably caused terrible suffering to the people of Vietnam. Instead, the U.S. has to reckon with a marked decline in its international prestige. Discontent with the war is growing rapidly in the United States itself, for the losses are mounting while no end to the war is seen. The prestige of the U.S. government has been seriously undermined also by the Negro disturbances last summer, which showed to the whole world the abject poverty of the Negro population and the injustices done to it, and revealed the existence of a grave crisis in the mightiest of the capitalist states.

Even the Israeli aggression, actively supported by the U.S. and British reactionaries, has not brought about the realization of the imperialists' hopes. It was successful militarily and certainly inflict-

*Abridged from **Kansan Uutiset**, September 12-13, 1967.

ed great damage upon Arab countries, above all the UAR and Jordan, which is aggravated by economic disruption, the discontinuation of currency receipts from the operation of the Suez Canal, and the suffering of the refugees. But the anti-imperialist struggle has not abated and the United Arab Republic's progressive development, which the aggressors strove hard to stop, continues apace.

Indeed, Arab unity and solidarity have grown in scope, which, coupled with the new experience, intensifies the anti-imperialist struggle in the region.

The reactionaries' striving to stop or slow down progressive development is evident not only in military activity. A recent example is Chile, where the approval of the land reform was followed by the emergence of the danger of a reactionary coup against which the Communist Party of Chile is urging the masses to unite.

Growing signs of economic depression and crisis in the capitalist world have led to further curtailment of the rights of the working class and other sections of the population. Last August Britain had 550,000 unemployed, a record for the month in any year since 1940, while in West Germany the unemployed figure stands at 700,000. This again proves the unevenness of development of capitalist production and the impossibility of permanent economic stability under capitalism.

The situation demands that all peace forces and especially Communists display greater vigilance and intensify their fight for peace and greater democracy. The possibilities for this have not diminished, although the situation has become more complicated in many respects.

The international situation (with few exceptions) shows that the forces fighting for peace, socialism and the freedom of the peoples can decisively influence the trend of events, and that the imperialist countries cannot determine it. The process started by the Great October Revolution fifty years ago is going on and gaining momentum.

The significance of the October Revolution cannot be overestimated. How greatly it has influenced the course of development and changed the correlation of forces, the views of people and the possibilities of the working class in the struggle for socialism! Lenin stressed that Russia's advance along the road of far-reaching changes represented an indispensable experience which could not be disregarded, no matter how hard the destinies of the Russian revolution or the international socialist movement might be.

The working-class movement in Finland and especially our Party have been able to follow the major transformations accomplished by the peoples of the socialist Soviet Union under the leadership of the CPSU. We have often been anguished by the difficulties and

destruction suffered by the Soviet state during the civil and world wars, but we have also had many occasions to rejoice over its great achievements and victories. It is probably hard for many young Party members to see why we who have followed the development of the Soviet state for a long time are so pained by its setbacks and so sincerely rejoice over its successes.

Today, when a socialist world system exists, when national-liberation movements are developing successfully, and when bourgeois democracy affords certain rights also to participants in the working-class movement, the exceptional importance of that historic day in October is perhaps not so obvious as at the time when the Soviet state was alone and was threatened by counter-revolution and imperialist aggression.

Assuming that the Soviet Union did not exist, we can imagine the tremendous difficulties with which Communists and other progressives in all countries would be confronted today. Already at the concluding stage of the Second World War which signified victory over fascism and reaction, victory which would have been unthinkable without the Soviet Union, entirely new possibilities opened up before the Finnish working class and the whole people, before the democratic forces, the Communist Party included.

The building of the Soviet state was not free from mistakes. Such things happen wherever something is being done. But the main course of the Soviet state has always been correct. There have been no deviations from the path along which the Soviet peoples have been following the Bolshevik Party since 1917. The power of the working people has grown stronger, and the entire tremendous construction effort in the Soviet Union, its great technological and cultural achievements and active anti-imperialist policy constitute, as before, the main force in the struggle for progress, peace and socialism.

The 50th anniversary of the October Revolution is a holiday not only for the peoples of the Soviet Union, but for the entire world working-class movement, for all progressive mankind. It is also our holiday.

* * *

## AARNE SAARINEN, CHAIRMAN OF THE PARTY, ON THE PARTY PROGRAM

The first socialist state came into being fifty years ago in a comparatively underdeveloped country. The socialist or proletarian revolution was accomplished at a moment when factory and office workers made up less than 20 per cent of the population (17 per cent in 1913). Two years ago, factory and office workers accounted

for 70 per cent of the population of Finland, but we do not yet have the political prerequisites for a socialist revolution. Despite this tremendous difference, we tend to think only in terms of the pattern of the October Socialist Revolution. That is an ideological tradition which is preserved in the thoughts and sentiments of Communists by virtue of strong solidarity and of the situation that obtained in the working-class movement for a long time.

For many decades, the international and internal position of the Soviet Union, and the situation in the working-class movement in other countries were such that Social Democrats regarded Communists as their chief enemy. On the other hand, Communists were very careful not to adopt a Social Democratic view on practically any issue. It was considered vitally necessary to draw clear-cut demarcation lines. This state of things ruled out any fruitful discussion between the main trends of the working-class movement and schematized Marxist thought also within the Communist movement.

As a result, one Social Democratic party after another departed from socialist objectives or abandoned them for good. Gradually they became citadels of anti-communism, champions of bourgeois policy, and their leaders turned into loyal managers of capitalist affairs. They departed from socialism so far that we Communists would be prepared to hail even the re-emergence of Kautskian ideas in the Social Democratic movement.

The impression now is that the time of the "major discord" in the Finnish working-class movement is past, we hope for good. But we must also overcome the "minor discord." Naturally, the after-effects of that period are still strongly felt on both sides. Distrust, fear and caution still hamper fruitful cooperation and prevent the victory of socialist ideas. We must strive to overcome them precisely because the return of the Social Democratic Party to a socialist policy is essential for a socialist Finland.

An indispensable condition for winning over the majority of the working class and Social Democrats for socialism is that no one should have any doubts left as to the desire of the Communist Party to achieve socialism in a peaceful and democratic way.

The natural exception are the extreme rightists, whose political existence directly presupposes their disbelief in this.

The proposition that our program should envisage two alternatives —peaceful and non-peaceful—is inconsistent and is not substantiated by concrete arguments. Our program must indicate all the *prerequisites* which we think are necessary for the peaceful transition to socialism. If we fail to indicate them, we must work out a program of non-peaceful transition. But we should not appear as double-faced, with two programs, for no one would know by what means we actually intend to achieve socialism. The matter concerns the program of *our* Party, the *will* of our Party and its view of the

*conditions* in which we would think it possible to accomplish a peaceful and democratic transition to socialism. All "ifs" and "buts" are harmful and reflect on our will and our views. This is not the way to win new supporters of socialism.

Some may say that the exclusion of the second alternative could incapacitate our Party if the situation changed, and that it would be dangerous to lull Party members with the belief in the possibility of a peaceful transition only. Reference is readily made to Greece. But here again the history of Greece, its economic, social and political conditions are mechanistically applied to Finland. There are many essential differences between Greece and Finland. If we are to prepare for a situation such as obtains, for instance, in Greece today, we should set about creating illegal organizations side by side with legal ones, setting up armed groups, etc.

We are drafting our program with due regard to the present-day conditions—Finnish conditions and not those existing in Greece or any other country and considerably differing from ours. At the same time we proceed from the possibility of averting a third world war.

Programs grow obsolete quite soon. Therefore we should bear in mind that this program, too, is not being worked out for a very long period. Should radical changes occur, the program must be revised.

Of vital importance are definition and characterization of the transitional period, the question of gradual development and development by leaps, the question of transition from quantity to quality. We find ourselves in a difficult position as soon as we begin searching for an answer to the question when feudal society became capitalist, or whether "capitalist reforms" were effected within feudal society, when the nobility and the clergy still held political power.

The transition from capitalism to socialism is undeniably a more profound process than the transition from feudalism to capitalism. It is a fact, however, that the beginning of this last transitional stage was particularly violent and bloody, as the history of Britain and France shows.

In Finland, where the transition from semi-feudal to capitalist society took place much later, the transitional period was comparatively long and peaceful. Capitalist development started in our country at the beginning of the 19th century, and the capitalist "break-through" did not occur until the end of the century. But the changes in the political superstructure which accorded with these economic changes were first effected in 1906, when our parliamentary institutions were reformed. Before that, political power was wielded, in addition to the tsar, by the nobility, the clergy, the peasantry and the nascent bourgeoisie. Thus, political power was exercised by forces representing an outgoing society.

As you know, the reform of parliamentary institutions went further than envisaged by capitalism and the bourgeois power. But that was because the working class had strengthened its positions and organized to an extent enabling it to make a major contribution to the reform.

It appears that the question of what socialist and non-socialist reforms are holds pride of place in theoretical debates. We must take a realistic, practical-policy view of this. In any case, it is a fact that Big Business and its political spokesmen are very uneasy about the increasing independent and direct participation of the state in investment, production and foreign trade. I do not think they are sounding the alarm over "contraband socialism" for no reason at all.

We can in any case speak of creating prerequisites for socialism. It is an essential condition for building a socialist society that the socialist forces should hold political power. There is hardly any disagreement on this point. But before this becomes possible there can already be a considerable number of "socialist elements" in the material basis of society and in the organizations adjoining it.

Indisputably, the discussion of the program and its final adoption will play a very important role in the life and development of our Party. Our opponents and enemies, as well as shady individuals and anti-Communists in the working-class movement look forward to serious controversies during the discussion. Whether their hopes come true or not will be a test of our maturity.

* * *

## STATEMENT IN DEFENSE OF THE PEOPLE OF GREECE

The junta which seized power in Greece has established a regular military dictatorship. It has deprived the people of democratic rights, abolished parliamentary institutions and banned parties. Violence and terror are raging in forms comparable only to fascist methods. Democrats of every political affiliation are being persecuted. Outstanding working-class leaders and persons prominent in culture, science and the arts are among the victims. Brutal repressions have been launched against leftists, Communists and Socialists, who are imprisoned and put into concentration camps en masse. Many prominent leaders of the Left and democratic movements are threatened with death sentences.

In the present strained international situation the military dictatorship in Greece constitutes a particularly grave danger to the peace and security of all Europe. The reactionary circles of NATO and especially the United States are prepared to increase military aid to Greece, seeking to turn it into an even stronger

military base of NATO. Nor can any sense of responsibility be expected from the ruling junta in foreign policy. It can at any moment launch activities jeopardizing peace, specifically in the Balkans.

The people of Greece await support from world public opinion. Only vigorous international activity based on the fundamental human rights proclaimed by the UN can appreciably influence developments in Greece.

The CC, CPF demands the immediate release of labor and democratic leaders and expects that Finland, together with the other Nordic countries and other states, will come to the aid of the forces striving to overthrow the military dictatorship and restore democratic rights to the people.

The Central Committee calls upon the Communists to give still greater support to the movement of solidarity with the people of Greece, in cooperation with other democratic circles which respect basic human rights and stand for peace and security.

*Central Committee, Communist Party of Finland*

*September 1967*

# FOR A NEW POLICY IN LUXEMBOURG

## REPORT* TO THE CC, CP OF LUXEMBOURG, BY D. URBANY

It is well known—even though public opinion comes to know few details—that cooperation between the Christian Social and the Labor Parties is not free from friction and difficulties. Needless to say, this is due in part to the rivalries between the two parties, and still more to the personal rivalries inside them. Their leaders have long since substituted ordinary place-hunting for both religion and Marxism. The malaise of the government and its majority, and the conflict in the Labor Party between its Right Socialist leadership and the "left-wing" opposition are a result of critical developments in the economic and political fields, which compels the political spokesmen of the bourgeoisie to adopt "unpopular" measures.

The Christian Socialists and the pro-NATO Socialists argue that the workers are no longer far removed from the capitalists, that they have become part of the petty bourgeoisie and the class struggle has become pointless. These allegations have nothing to do with reality. Toilers in the steel, mining and building industries can by no means be compared to shareholders. Indeed, the differences between the incomes of ordinary people and the enormous profits of the monopoly capitalists and other big money makers is becoming ever more pronounced.

One way of showing how "well off" our workers are is recourse to statistics. Figures are expected to reveal that average pay in Luxembourg is higher than in other capitalist countries. That is a lie. The standard of living in individual countries is ignored and the result is a distorted picture, especially when the socialist countries are cited. Figures based on false data from Bonn conceal the fact that the Soviet worker pays no social fees and hardly any taxes, and so gets his pay almost in full, and that he spends far less on rent, electricity, heating and so on because the fees are so much lower.

Many people in Luxembourg say it is fortunate that there are Communists. An active Christian said: "We aren't getting much from the capitalists but we wouldn't be getting anything at all if it weren't for the Communists." Now, we are not trying to say—for we are realistic-minded champions of the working class who think in concrete terms—that it is only their fear of the Communist party that makes the employers and the reactionaries resort to various stratagems and maneuvers. In reality it is their fear of the

*Abridged from **Zeitung vum Letzeburger Vollek,** September 27 and 28, 1967.

growth of the Communist parties and the rapid spread of Communist ideas in all capitalist countries. It is also, in increasing measure, their fear of the impact of progress in the socialist countries, above all in the Soviet Union.

The fast-growing standard of living in the socialist countries, the social improvements afforded by the socialist system, produce an explosive effect among the working classes of all countries. This is why the capitalists in our countries no longer find it easy to impose restrictions on the people, and are compelled to maneuver.

We must realize that our gains in the trade union movement and in other fields are temporary, that they are disputed and nullified again and again. Hence the danger of overrating these gains.

Why is it that social gains are always so temporary and uncertain? Obviously, because the working people in general and the factory workers in particular are virtually debarred from all decision-making by the government and the employers, and because they exercise no control at all. The result is that our gains cannot be consolidated. Co-management by the workers in industry and in the national economy as a whole is an important demand of the trade unions. How do matters stand in this respect? A bill on so-called mixed committees in the enterprises was introduced into the Chamber of Deputies. Its only advantage is that it establishes a principle. Otherwise it is quite harmless and gives the worker no real share in management.

It is noteworthy and indicative that in the trade unions, too, a trend has gained ascendancy under which election of workers' representatives by the workers themselves is ruled out when composing committees and councils involving labor organizations (e.g., in the case of the economic and social council).

In Luxembourg as in other capitalist countries, monopoly capital is striving to undermine, curtail or abolish parliamentary democracy, won by the people through hard struggle. This effort is accompanied by a campaign against the Chamber of Deputies, the allegedly excessive salaries paid to deputies, and so on. The government makes all the decisions on the index system, on minimum wages and railway fares, on matters deeply affecting the economy.

The intertwining of the interests of our bourgeoisie, our big capitalists, our government and its parties, on the one hand, and U.S. finance capital, on the other, is one reason why Luxembourg is tied to NATO more closely than other countries, why our government clings to the reactionary and militarist policy line of NATO and to friendship with the Bonn revanchists, those European go-betweens of the Yankees.

NATO is in crisis now. France has virtually broken away, at least as far as its military commitments are concerned. Other governments are disgruntled and are talking about "reform."

We Communists are more correct than ever in insisting that our government declare its intention of dissociating itself from the North Atlantic Treaty in 1969, renounce its present military policy, keep out of military alignments and advocate a policy of peace and neutrality, of a peaceful solution to the problem of collective security in Europe. This implies recognition of the status quo and the European state frontiers resulting from the defeat of Hitler fascism, and rejection of both the U.S. policy of war and West German revanchism.

There are two important things making it difficult for the Socialist opposition in Luxembourg to find the right way to cooperation with other democratic forces. Their primary weakness is the lack of confidence in the working class. Secondly, they cannot shed their distrust of the Communists.

We cannot, of course, accept that. We need a new and better policy. And we have no use for shifts on the political scene.

Communists are striving, by words and by deeds, for the unity of all those in Luxembourg who want to break with reactionary policies. It is for this that they are working openly and honestly, urging the working people to cooperate. They are convinced that this is the only way to provide a real basis for success.

We Communists are fighting for social advancement and democratic progress, for independence and peace, for socialism. We do not allow ourselves to be misled by our opponents or by the vacillations and errors of our friends, who subjectively wish us good but objectively complicate our effort through their wrong stand.

Our Party dissociated itself at once from the sectarian, chauvinist and un-Marxist theories of the Chinese Party leaders, and expelled both of their principal agents in Luxembourg from its ranks. In so doing we stressed that Communists who engage in anti-Soviet activities are no Communists and are doing harm to their Party. Developments have proved us right. Mao Tse-tung's crazy ideas, his fight against the Communists of the Soviet Union and those of other countries have gravely prejudiced the international working-class movement and brought the Chinese people to the brink of catastrophe. Those comrades and friends who at first were misled by the ultra-left phrasemongering of the Chinese Party leaders are back to realistic positions. Four members of the China Committee in Luxembourg resigned on the grounds that they refuse to share in the fraud any longer. All that is left is a handfull of hopelessly isolated adventurers.

A meeting of the Communist parties should completely clear up the issue.

Our Party carries on its struggle in strict accordance with Marxist-Leninist principles. It has therefore been, and is, linked by bonds of solidarity with the great Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The CPSU represents and realizes the teachings of

Marx and Lenin on the strength of its vast historical experience. It has shown that, being the leader of a great power, it is the decisive guarantee of the worldwide fight for socialism and communism. The Soviet Union this year celebrates its fiftieth anniversary, and we join enthusiastically in these celebrations. In the past fifty years we have seen the Soviet people, who had to cope with difficulties and make tremendous sacrifices, transform their country into a world power and turn socialism into the decisive factor in the world. The achievements and the consistent policy of the Soviet Union are to us an earnest of progress and new victories all over the world in the struggle against oppression and the warmongers. Today we trust the Soviet Union and the CPSU more than ever before.

## THE TASKS OF OUR PARTY

The decisive thing is, in the long run, how active the Communist Party is on the political scene, how many people we succeed in enlisting for our ideas and our program, how many seats we will win at the next elections. The same is true of trade union and political unity. There is no substitute for our Party.

If we represent and defend all the interests of our working people, doing it frankly, clearly, courageously and consistently, our Party will be stronger and we will win new friends. Our struggle should be reflected in our newspaper. *Zeitung* is our best and sharpest, and often our only, weapon. It is the mouthpiece of our Party, with which many actually identify it. It is important for our groups and our membership to promote the paper and seek cooperation with it.

We must fight and carry on explanatory work in every form, particularly through our newspaper, linking together big objectives and everyday problems, both national and international.

Systematic studies by our membership are very important. The course of study set up last year on the initiative of our young comrades should be extended. We know, however, that our opportunities are limited. In our conditions, reading our newspaper is the best form of study.

Contact between our membership and other people is important. The contact that takes place at meetings and conferences, at which, incidentally, we should increase and improve our work which we should organize more effectively from the political point of view. But that is no longer sufficient. We should meet our people in the enterprises or, if possible, in their homes, should call on our present subscribers and those who for various reasons have stopped reading our paper.

A swing to the left is in the making among the Socialist workers and intellectuals. Cooperation between progressive organizations

has improved. This is a valuable development. But we must under no circumstances forget that what matters in the final analysis is the number of votes and seats won by our Party, and our strength today and tomorrow.

That will depend solely on our activity, and awareness of this should guide all of us in the months to come.

# IMMEDIATE PROGRAM* OF THE SWISS PARTY OF LABOR

1. *Against the growing cost of living, for the maintenance and improvement of the people's standard of life.*

Price and profit control. Restricting interest rates on the housing market, the handicrafts, retail trade and agriculture. Reforming the Statute of the National Bank, which should be rid of the influence of big capital. Workers' co-management of public and private enterprises. Higher wages and salaries, shorter working hours, longer paid holidays.

2. *A fair, progressive financial and tax policy.*

Massive and progressive taxation of the trusts, monopolies and big joint-stock companies, large incomes and fortunes, easing the burden of the small and medium taxpayers. Unifying tax rates to prevent tax dodging. Measures against dodgers.

3. *Lower military spending.*

Lower military spending. A new concept for the defense of Switzerland: a solely defensive system independent of military blocs and based on a militia force.

4. *Adequate, really popular pensions.*

Revising the pension system as from January 1, 1968, raising pensions and cantonal and city increases by 40 per cent. Really popular pension of at least 60 per cent of the income. Special pensions for the disabled according to degree of disability and loss of income. Guaranteeing the disabled and their families a subsistence minimum during readjustment, payment covering medical expenses for medicines out of insurance funds.

5. *Protecting tenants and combating housing shortage.*

Enforcing the principles set forth in the proposal for housing legislation. Houses to be built by the public on the broadest possible basis, with rents acceptable to all. Rent control. Protecting tenants from excessive rents and unwarranted eviction.

6. *Improving social insurance as a whole.*

Introducing general and unified social insurance on the basis of the present system. Improving insurance in case of illness or accident. Allowances for expectant mothers and higher family allowances. Public health services guaranteeing medical aid to all.

7. *An effective infrastructure.*

Drafting and carrying out a national development plan, with special regard to the infrastructure—hospitals, sewage disposal, road building, greater aid to the universities, the training of per-

*Vorwaerts, September 14, 1967.

sonnel, the power industry, planned use of land, land legislation, protection of the natural resources and the future of agriculture.

8. *Women's rights.*

Equal pay for equal labor. Full suffrage and the right to be elected. Access to every trade or profession, and easier terms for occupational training. More nurseries and kindergartens. Protection for unmarried mothers. Reforming family legislation.

9. *The future of youth.*

Democratizing teaching at all levels. Improving occupational training and protecting apprentices (wages, working hours, holidays). Sustained aid to physically and mentally handicapped children. Recreational facilities—youth clubs, libraries, hobby workshops, playgrounds. Promoting non-commercialized sports.

10. *Maintaining peace.*

An imaginative foreign policy for peace and international détente. Supporting every measure designed to bring about general disarmament, a ban on nuclear weapons, the establishment of denuclearized zones, and European security. A strict policy of neutrality and good offices by Switzerland to maintain peace.

# PLENARY MEETING OF THE CC, CP OF CZECHOSLOVADIA

## September 1967

### THE NATIONAL ECONOMY AND THE STANDARD OF LIVING IN 1967

REPORT* BY L. STROUGAL, SECRETARY OF THE CC

This year we have been introducing a new, integrated system of economic management, carrying out entirely new tasks as far as forms and methods of management are concerned. We maintain that in Czechoslovak conditions the most effective method of managing the national economy is to combine the mechanisms of planning and market through a centrally controlled price mechanism with a whole range of economic levers.

Centralized allocation of materials and funds is to give way to economic levers, and production is to be regulated through the market mechanism. However, economic levers are highly sensitive to market fluctuations. In view of the current structural imbalance, we come up against complex processes hitherto unknown under socialism.

The measures we are adopting will provide the requisites for economic progress but will not yet add up to an integrated system of management. We still lack two fundamental requisites—we have so far been unable to build up adequate economic pressure on inefficient industries (through the market mechanism) in favor of the development of progressive industries and with a view to greater economy. We still lack a precise pricing system to provide more effective incentives and bring about the desired changes throughout the production sphere.

The complex process of development today calls, on the one hand, for patient and sustained effort enabling us to detect important aspects and the very nature of economic phenomena in time so as to proceed accordingly. And we must not estimate development according to old patterns. On the other hand, we must take steps to change the economic situation since the process of economic reform is necessarily made up of a series of particular measures. These measures must at this stage be specified in all their

*Abridged from **Rudo Pravo**, September 28, 1967.

complexity. We must decide on the order in which they should be carried out and see that they are consistently put into practice.

Many problems of the present stage arise from the fact that we are at the very beginning of new economic processes. The economic levers we need have yet to be properly elaborated. In making decisions, we still lack adequate economic information enabling us to react promptly and correctly to developments, to new trends in the enterprises, in investment, the circulation of stocks and raw materials and the earnings of the enterprises and the population.

The economic system puts higher demands to specialists — it requires greater ability, political awareness and a whole set of managerial qualifications.

We are now drafting the plan for 1968 and bringing the fourth five-year plan into line with the new economic situation. Economic problems, experience in introducing the new system of management, and the role of the Party organizations in carrying out the decisions of the 13th Party Congress are under discussion by regional and district committees and primary organizations of the Party.

Economic development shows certain positive features. First of all there is a drop in industrial consumption. The lesser expenditure of raw and other materials indicates that managers and workers alike are seeking a more effective investment-profit ratio. Obvious shortcomings in material stimulation, which under the previous system of management made for excessive spending, have been removed. Besides, important changes are taking place in the structure of production, and the lines of goods produced, and stable expenditures are being cut.

Increase in employment this year is lower than over a number of earlier years. But this is due to structural changes (cuts in fuel extraction) and to last year's big increase in labor power rather than to economic levers proper.

Industrial output grew 5.8% in eight months, and by the end of 1967 we expect the increase for the year to approximate six per cent. The rate of increase is higher in the engineering, chemical, light industries, and building materals industries, which corresponds, at least in part and in terms of overall proportions, to the structural changes envisaged.

In agriculture the trend is favorable in animal husbandry, in both quantity and quality. There are some signs of improvement in grain production this year. However, quantity targets in plant-growing, and even last year's level, will not be reached because of the lower harvests of sugar beets, potatoes and fodder grasses.

Growing output in the principal industries and a favorable trend in industrial consumption make for a more rapid growth of the national income, whose utilization, however, is held up considerably by increasing stocks and the ineffective construction of a large number of enterprises simultaneously.

We are faced with the most serious problems, and in some respects with a growing imbalance, in foreign trade and on the home market, which is under-supplied with consumer goods. Furthermore, there is a great strain in capital construction. The main contradiction lies in the fact that the appreciable growth of gross income, which provides the enterprises with ample funds and the population with substantial earnings, is not matched by a corresponding increase in the amount of goods on the market. In spite of the 5.6 per cent increase in industrial output in the first half of the year, ultimate realization of output increased only two per cent (against 5.4 per cent planned for the year). The main reason is that economic pressure is not strong enough to make the producers adjust output to market requirements.

The structure, technical standard and quality of output do not meet consumer requirements. As a result, there are excessive quantities of unsold goods and greater output cannot be effectively used for increasing consumption, any more than for foreign trade or for investment.

Export deliveries outpace overall sales, but producers and foreign trade agencies plainly tend to look for less exacting markets, according to structure and to opportunities for barter rather than in keeping with import requirements.

One reason for the increased imbalance on the home and foreign markets and in investment is the "freezing" of sources of income in the form of inert stocks. Between January 1 and September 1 stocks in the centrally managed industries and construction increased by roughly 6,500 million korunas and their growth exceeded that of output.

The structure of stocks changed in such a way that stocks of raw and other materials in the first half of the year grew 4.2 per cent, the amount of uncompleted construction 6.2 per cent and stocks of finished products as much as 14.2 per cent.

A cardinal issue on which most of our economic problems hinge is price formation.

Our experience and that of other countries, including those with a market economy, shows that at the present stage, under a developed economy, a rational price system cannot be brought into being automatically, and still less under the influence of the market alone. We have to do with manifold interventions by government and other bodies, which regulate price trends both in long-range terms and on a daily basis. In ourcase it is all the more necessary to ensure the fundamental proportions in the sphere of prices through planned public regulation of price trends, that is, through well-considered, highly competent government intervention wherever it is inevitable. In pricing we cannot discount the actual state of the economy, which at this stage is characterized by inadequate

market pressure on our strongly monopolized production. Hence a pressing task in regulating prices is to ensure that the changes in economic levers planned for 1968 are not "translated" by the enterprises into mere price changes, and that price alterations do not add up to a general price increase leading to the accumulation of new undesirable incomes in the profit-based industries.

This calls not only for tighter central controls on prices but for a coordination of pricing with other measures bearing on incomes policy and its various aspects, such as credit policy, regulation of capital construction, introduction of new technology, or regulation of wage trends. We have so far done comparatively little in this respect.

Economic regulation of the earnings of the enterprises, which influences the provision of sources and their allocation, is the principal method of public regulation of wage trends under the new system. However, economic levers, financial, credit and price systerms and on a daily basis. In our case it is all the more necessary policy on wages, we must also use other levers of central regulation. However, these should be designed, not to limit, or set a ceiling on, wage rises, but to keep growing wages, and hence purchasing capacity, more in harmony with the growth of labor productivity and final output, to ensure that they have a corresponding counter-value on the market.

We are not satisfied with the state of affairs in other spheres of material stimulation.

To begin with, the basic idea of material stimulation, that is, a more precise differentiation between "good" and "bad" enterprises and between their various shops and units, is not being realized consistently enough. The enterprises are implementing the principles of the new system very slowly, nor are they doing it comprehensively enough. Work on resuming cost accounting in the enterprises and on carrying it deeper has hardly made any headway. The methodological assistance offered by general managements and departments is inadequate.

In these circumstances economic levers fail to produce a proper effect and material inducements are not concrete enough to really stimulate the personnel of the various units and the enterprise as a whole. Conscientious and highly efficient workers feel dissatisfied and insist with good reason on reversing a situation in which good results bring rewards to everyone irrespective of his contribution to the general effort.

The more rapid growth of wages and money incomes of the population is in contrast with trends on the home market. Whereas money incomes in the first half of 1967 increased 6.8 percent, retail trade grew by only 5.7 per cent. This trend is due, first of all, to

inadequate market supply, meaning both home-made and imported items.

The structure of consumption by the population is changing because the number of low-income families is steadily diminishing while that of families with higher per capita incomes is increasing.

This development is due to the growing number of working persons per family, increasing employment, and the decline in the number of dependents—primarily children, because of the general drop in the birth rate.

Policy on retail prices should be combined with measures for regulating the money incomes of the population so that people in the so-called inactive age groups may have a share in a higher standard of living. In drafting a general social security program we must take into account changes in retail prices and effect changes corresponding to our conception of the social policies of a socialist state. We must do this gradually, with due regard to economic opportunities.

In step with granting the enterprises greater decision-making autonomy we should reorganize our economic management so as to enable it to cope with its tasks in the new conditions.

The focal problem of coordinating our economic policy under the new system is comprehensive and harmonious combination of concrete decisions and economic levers, so that the interests of the working people as consumers should be met in preference to departmental interests and monopolistic trends.

The Party regards it as a healthy development that in this process demands supported by the majority of the people are increasingly coming to the fore. People insist on tightening labor discipline, exercising greater economy, implementing rationalization measures in the enterprises, improving organization of labor, and raising the efficiency of management.

A decisive task of the Party bodies and organizations is to support all that is new and progressive, and that under the new systems stems from a positive attitude by people to their enterprise, a desire on their part to improve quality and raise the technical and economic standards of production.

The effects of arduous economic reorganization, insufficient courage, inconsistency, lack of discernment, and errors in the activity of executives and managing bodies, all of which marked the past period, are making for two trends in public thinking. On the one hand, there are signs of impatience and radicalism, and criticism of the slow introduction of the new system. On the other hand, a section of public opinion believes that the only way to eliminate shortcomings is to fall back on the old forms of management.

We have always stressed that introduction of the new system

of management and its efficiency depend on the activity of people. The important thing is for the leading bodies at all levels, working people's collectives, Party organizations and each Communist to act in conformity with the purpose and logic of the new system to the best of their ability, and develop it further.

Party functionaries and active members in the enterprises are linked with the latter morally and economically. They often find it difficult to detect contradictions between the interests of the enterprise and those of society in time and to take decisions that will benefit both the enterprise and society. All this makes it the duty of local Party organizations to search for new, more differentiated forms of Party work. A bluntly administrative approach to important economic tasks has done particularly great harm in the recent period. People did not really know why this or that decision had to be taken, because it was not properly explained to them with all its implications. In short, they were not adequately prepared for it. District Party committees should pay greater attention to planning for next year in terms of participation in this work by the personnels concerned. We hear from many parts that shop personnels do not discuss these matters.

To enable the Central Committee of our Party to assess our immediate steps in terms of the long-range outlook, we think it would be advisable to inform the December meeting of the CC on progress in drafting the long-term economic development plan, which extends to 1980, all the more since this work is entering its third and decisive stage.

# SOME IDEOLOGICAL PROBLEMS AND CONCLUSIONS CONCERNING THE WRITERS' CONGRESS

## REPORT* TO THE CC, CP OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA BY J. HENDRYCH, MEMBER OF THE PRESIDIUM AND SECRETARY OF THE CC

The Congress of the Union of Czechoslovak Writers, or, to be precise, the speeches made by certain delegates and subsequent developments, caused a certain stir in Czechoslovakia and abroad. The Congress gave food for anti-Communist propaganda and, naturally, aroused legitimate dissatisfaction in our Party and among the general public.

The course and results of the Congress should be considered in the light of what conditioned its deliberations and in connection with political, philosophical and economic problems of other than literary significance. The Congress served notice of the likely effects of any slackening of the Party's leading role in this sphere, of any inconsistency in implementing the policy of the Party.

The years separating the Third and Fourth congresses of the Writers' Union saw a deep-going differentiation of style and artistic devices in our literature. This differentiation was made possible by the Communist Party's effort to promote socialist democracy. The pick of every class, stratum and group of society joined on a growing scale in the all-round development of socialist society. This universal development led to the creation of genuine aesthetic values in literature and the arts. It produced a series of outstanding works which, together with the new exponents of the younger generation of writers, showed that Czechoslovak letters were making progress. This was the object of the Party and it was on this object that the Party focussed its attention, particularly after its 13th Congress.

Under the guise of discussions calling into question the guidance of cultural policy which in some cases took the form of direct resistance to Party policy, as the Fourth Congress of the Union of Czechoslovak Writers revealed—there gradually emerged un-Marxist trends which were not openly combated in the Writers' Union bar a few exceptions. Creative activity ideologically foreign to socialism began to develop under cover of experiments and

*Abridged from **Rude Pravo,** September 30, 1967.

aesthetic quests. The advocacy of ideas alien to socialism, the casting of doubts on the past period of Czechoslovakia's development, and an irreverent attitude to reality became a program in the case of certain publications of the Writers' Union, particularly of *Literarni Noviny*, but also of *Kulturni Zivot* and *Host do Domu*.

The fundamental problems of development of our arts and letters, and problems bearing on the activity of the Writers' Union were dealt with in the resolution of the 13th Congress of the Communist Party on the further development of socialist culture, and in the decisions adopted by the Central Committee last February. The Party Presidium called the membership's attention to an increasing trends toward political adventurism, to their connection with the growing activity of the anti-Communist forces of imperialism, to the deterioration of the international situation and the difficulty of our struggle at the present stage. Nevertheless, the Congress allowed scope for concepts and influences alien to the Party. Several members of the Union took advantage of this situation to formulate from the Congress rostrum political concepts of an oppositional nature. The principled stand of the Party delegation, backed by most of the writers and by resolute statements on the part of individual Communists, made it possible to uphold the Party point of view.

The fact that the Congress was misused was borne out by the speeches of some writers, the statement of 21 and the decision of some writers to walk out of the Congress.

We must put on record that the leadership of the Writers' Union did not draw proper conclusions from the relevant Party documents, did not try to elaborate and apply them in its own field of activity.

After the Congress the Party Presidium came to the conclusion that it could not be reconciled to these developments and must take steps with regard to those Party members who for a long time had formulated their own political and cultural platform and had, over the head of their Party group, presented their particular points of view from the Congress rostrum. However, as well as emphatically condemning these practices, it stressed the need to continue scrupulously to take cognizance of the constructive approach of the bulk of the writers to problems of our literature and the development of our society. This is indispensable also because discrediting the writer's name in the eyes of public opinion is a result of the activity of only a small segment of the writers' community. We must state in no uncertain terms that literary productions and the value of literature are not identical with the Writers' Union. To be sure, the speeches made by some writers at the Congress, and the atmosphere created there reflected on the literary community as a whole, and we must clear our entire cultural front of that slur. This means helping all the constructive cultural forces to step up their effort.

We will continue, in line with the Party's concept and practice, to regard the writers' community as an entity, a body of active people who are close to us and play a prominent part in the cognitive activities of the Party and of society, in moulding socialist human relations and in developing socialist ethics and moral principles. We must reject attempts to construe criticism by the Party and the firm political stand of the Central Committee as indications of an intention to isolate writers and literature from politics. We consider the slackening of links between many writers and other working people, and the decline in their social and political activity to be harmful to the common interest. What we mean in this case is political activity to promote the development of socialist sociey, activity connected with the work of the Party. It is absolutely impossible to accept the interpretation of political activity and socialist commitment as an effort to establish, on the basis of this or that public organization, a political platform running counter to the fundamental interests of our society and its further progress.

On the strength of this approach we cannot accept the explanation of certain statements which the Congress offers to the Central Committee in its letter, describing those statements as an expression of the growing inner strength of socialist democracy. Our socialist democracy is inseparable from scientific elaboration of the basic concepts of social development. It has a socialist and, in effect, a class content. It cannot be replaced by either liberalism or anarchy. It is limited to the principles of our socialist social system and has nothing to do with the bourgeois democratic concept of freedom.

Some of the views presented to the Congress were voiced earlier, too. We came across many of them in certain periodicals and scientific articles shortly before the Congress. At the Congress, however, these views crystallized into what goes far beyond permissible bounds and even elementary moral principles.

The main reason for the wrong approach to the issues under discussion was, as we see it, that most of the speakers at the Congress not only underestimated but completely ignored the class point of view. Many Congress speeches, like many contributions to *Literarni Noviny*, deliberately avoided or denied the existence of the very problem of the main class contradiction in the world of today and its effect primarily on ideology. It is on this concept that various theories of integration, of one world and one culture, are based. The main contradiction is said to be that between humanism and anti-humanism, there is theorizing on the meaning of national and European culture, and so on. These are obvious instances of a misunderstanding of the historical situation and its present stage.

There is an aggravation of the international situation, an intensi-

fication of anti-Communist propaganda and, indeed, direct imperialist aggression in various parts of the globe. This is why the Party stresses, in contrast to diverse demobilizing views, that our policy of peaceful coexistence necessarily involves principled political and ideological struggle against capitalism. The present stage in the development of our society should be viewed in the light of the unity of its international and domestic aspects. From this point of view, internationalism and responsibility for the trend of world development determine the class character of our entire activity. The Party has invariably adhered to the principles of proletarian internationalism. We therefore regard it as our duty to combat theories misrepresenting the class reality of the modern world and obscuring, or even denying, the polarity of worldwide class interests. These theories are an obstacle to proper assessment of the international situation, and breed dangerous illusions about today's world.

The contradiction between socialism and capitalism is undoubtedly reflected in the internal life of socialist society. It calls for various solutions in the economic, political, ideological and cultural spheres and in the sphere of national defense. We must not underrate the direct penetration of class influences into our country from without. We should also remember that in our country we still come across remnants of class forces foreign to us or across certain attitudes sympathetic to hostile influences. We think we are making our chief contribution to the class struggle in the world primarily by promoting our socialist economy, our society, our science and culture. In our view, it is in this area that the main battlefront lies and the conditions for the final triumph of peace, progress and socialism are being created first and foremost.

I have dealt with these issues at some length to make clear how slogans of freedom, democracy and humanism, when devoid of a socialist class content, undermine the great and systematic effort of our society. When these slogans, stripped of a class content, are treated in abstract fashion freedom of creative endeavor can easily give way to anarchy, democracy to liberalism, and socialist democracy to bourgeois democratic notions. All this is inevitably accompanied by the demand for freedom to disseminate concepts of any kind, that is, hostile and frankly anti-Communist concepts, including idealization of the bourgeois republic, and complete negation of the socialist revolution and the revolutionary struggle of our people.

This ideological position is in fundamental contradiction to the policy of our Party, with its program and practice. It is from this position that the cultural policy of our Party is criticized from the right and that the resolution of the 13th Party Congress on socialist in Czechoslovak culture in recent years minimized. This whole set

of views boils down to the demand for rejecting the role of the Party in the cultural field, to negation of the social function of literature, to discrediting socialist literature and its exponents, and asserting a contemptuous, high-brow attitude to the reader.

An important component of these views is the tendency to deduce the significance of our culture and its program from the negation of so-called Stalinism.There is no need to remind you of the Party's attitude to the distortions of the so-called period of the personality cult.

We must recall in this connection that the critics we have mentioned earlier, as well as trying to define the stages of development of our society from 1918 onwards by means of the slogans of democracy, fascism, Stalinism and socialism, and to uncritically extol the so-called democracy of the bourgeois republic, forget the origins of the great literature and art of that period. Literature and the arts at that time had nothing to do with the ruling strata or their "democracy," which meant, among other things, unemployment, poverty, hunger, persecution and the shooting of workers. The great art of that period took an active stand against the reality of the day, and was closely linked with social progress, with the people, the workers, the Communist Party. It fought for socialism, anticipating our present day, our present effort and struggle.

Reluctance to remember the past is the only possible explanation for attempts to represent the twenty years since the liberation of the republic in 1945 as a period of darkness, a period in which our culture was kept out of its European context. It is the only explanation for attempts to compare these years with the period of fascist occupation, alleging that culture in this period has never risen above mere propaganda and that our people find themselves on the cultural periphery of Europe.

A powerful anti-Communist campaign has been launched of late to combat the movement for socialism. It is expected, on the one hand, to back the growing aggressiveness of imperialism and, on the other hand, to discredit the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution in the eyes of world opinion. This campaign accuses the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia of arbitrary practies toward the intellectuals, of lack of culture, of anti-Semitism, and even of fascism.

As the anniversary of October draws near anti-Communist propaganda is becoming more hysterical. Mnacko with his attacks on the CSSR has become a very handy weapon of anti-Communism. The *Sunday Times* carried a so-called manifesto of Czechoslovak writers, fabricated in all haste. The fierce campaign started in Austria is being carried forward in Britain and echoed in Italy, to say nothing of the United States.

The application of the press law was sharply attacked at the

Congress by some writers. As a rule, they did not concern themselves with only the actual enforcement of this law, but attacked the law itself, the very right of society to control mass media.

When we go into the various statements about the law we see that they reflect, in fact, a misconception of freedom and deny the right of the Party to play its leading role in society.

Our Party takes into account the peculiarities of art, the laws governing its development, and the freedom of men of culture. It appreciates genuine art as its ally which helps the Party to mould members of socialist society, those who produce this culture. But the Party insists that at the present stage of development men of culture should stand squarely on the platform of our socialist society, on the political positions of the Party—that they should do this as citizens of their country through their public activity, their writings, and the ideological trend of their creative work.

There is no dictatorship whatever of policy over culture and literature. Both these spheres of human endeavor are linked in our society by a single ideology and a single goal, and this determines their unity. But precisely because we have two different spheres of human activity they are connected by dialectical unity and cooperation implying, among other things, discussion, debate and confrontation. Those who carry on this discussion should always be aware of the unity of the goal, and should know the meaning of Marxist ideology in keeping with which the road to this goal is being paved. Otherwise it would not be a case of discussion within the framework of socialism, but of ideological struggle against its opponents and enemies. Such is the inexorable logic which no amount of fine talk about freedom of speech, freedom of the press, etc., can refute. There is no artistic freedom outside the people, outside the working class. There is no abstract freedom. Freedom is concrete—always and everywhere.

We, however, will always apply the following principle: if after patient discussion and debate, after a democratic majority has passed a decision, some individuals persist in false views and refuse, contrary to discipline, to fulfil the tasks set by the majority, we must ask them what makes them do that. We cannot bypass the question of who benefits by such behavior or what purposes it serves. We cannot dismiss it as harmless or well-intentioned philosophizing or prophesying.

We do not at all wish to minimize the significance and level, or at least the advisability and usefulness, of those Congress speeches which were prompted by a sincere desire to contribute to the progress of socialist literature and the whole of our society. But, I repeat, it is not a question of literature here but of politics and, moreover, not of the evolution of the policy of our Party, but of attempts by some individuals to assail this policy, to descredit it.

The CC Presidium has discusssed the work of the Fourth Congress of the Union and arrived at certain conclusions. We proceed from the assumption that the fundamental problems of the literary community, which have been taking shape over a number of years and which came out in some Congress speeches, cannot be solved overnight. The effort to bring all the sound forces of our literature on to the platform of the cultural policy of the Party must be carried on by both the Party and the government bodies, but above all by Communist writers. Its long-term plans and a general positive program, which should replace the improvisation and waste of energy on the solution of critical situations, which was often the case in the past.

We must strive to ensure that henceforth the contradictions that arise are dealt with on ideological lines, and that administrative sanctions are applied only in those extreme cases when they are inevitable. The right to apply them should be exercised by government agencies as in the past. But now, after the Congress, there is no avoiding the adoption of certain decisions of this kind, because things have gone so far as to require drastic action. These measures will help change the present situation and to disprove the allegation that the Party is unable to take action against the so-called "democratic" opposition of several writers.

The Party Presidium considers it necessary to put *Literarni Noviny* under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Culture and Information.

To increase Party influence on the Writers' Union, the Party Presidium has approved the principle which makes it a task of the Party bodies and organizations at all levels to carry on individual and group work among writers outside the agencies of the Writers' Union. It is necessary, therefore, to extend the powers of the territorial bodies of the Party and to re-establish regular personal contacts between Party functionaries and statesmen, on the one hand, and writers, on the other. The Ideological Department of the Central Committee has been instructed to form an active group of writers who will take part in discussing and drafting important documents in this sphere, and in the realization of Party measures in the regions and districts. It is first of all necessary to establish close links with young writers and provide conditions for the best of them to be admitted into the Party. The Party Presidium has entrusted the Minister of Culture and Information with seeing to it that writers are systematically acquainted with progress in socialist construction at the local level, and to afford opportunities for regular unofficial meetings between writers and spokesmen of the Party and the government.

It has been recommended to the chair of the cultural policy of the CPC in the Higher Party School to draw up a comprehensive

program for studying the effectiveness of cultural policies and to prepare a series of post-graduate papers on various subjects relating to work in this particular field.

The Party Presidium has instructed the Communists on the board of the Writers' Union to begin preparations for the elaboration of the concept of the all-round development of socialist creative endeavor and for the clarification of the general status of the Union today.

The Presidium recommends setting up autonomous branches of the Union in Prague and Bratislava to create a base of the Union, so that the interests of all members may be taken into account in these cultural centers. In collaboration with the Party bodies in Usti and Labem and in Plzen, preparations should be made for the establishment of writers' branch organizations.

# WALTER ULBRICHT ON SOCIALIST ECONOMIC GUIDANCE

## CONCLUDING REMARKS* AT THE CC SUPG AND GDR GOVERNMENT SEMINAR FOR LEADING PARTY AND GOVERNMENT FUNCTIONARIES AND ECONOMIC EXECUTIVES

In these concluding remarks I shall concentrate on questions of socialist economic guidance. *Socialist economic guidance engages in the study of the laws of guiding social reproduction and its various sectors, as well as the inter-connection between them.* We are therefore dealing with control, regulation and development of the socialist economic system and its various sectors, particularly factories, complexes, cooperatives, amalgamations of socialized enterprises, etc. Our attention should be centered on the education and training of managers and executives. They have to be trained to produce rational, scientifically grounded solutions, designed to achieve the optimum results at the least expenditure.

We have to master the theory and practice of economic planning and the scientific and technical revolution, which includes the building of a rational structure of our economy.

*In fulfilling our tasks, we proceed from forecasts,* which enable us to pursue a correct structural and research policy, and to define with precision our social tasks. If we compare the economic discussion now under way in the two German states, we shall see that the points of departure and the guidelines, as well as the methods, are different. We follow the socialist program adopted by the 7th Congress of the SUPG. West Germany follows its conception of a concentrated economy aimed at salvaging monopoly capitalism.

### Why are Scientific and Technological Progress and the Introduction of the Results of Research in Mass Production So Slow?

1. *Science and technology are not sufficiently concentrated on the main trends determining the economic structure.* Scientific research is still too scattered. Attention should be systematically concentrated on investigations that determine the structure, for which purpose scientists, technicians and researchers of different institutes should work together.

*Abridged from **Neues Deutschland**, October 6, 1967.

2. *Rapid introduction of the results of research in mass production* requires that the pertinent problem should be tackled while research is still under way. It is therefore essential that mass production techniques are worked out well in advance and the essential plant, including plant for supplier factories, is built beforehand.

3. *Factory directors should be taught modern methods of organization and management.*

4. *It is essential to expand university-level training in microelectronics,* processing of electronically computed data, and scientific management. Engineer-economists who have acquitted themselves well in scientific factory management should be given exhaustive training in these fields, in order to speed up the growth of the number of managers and executives.

5. *We must expand the output of automated plant.*

6. *We must have the courage to adopt comprehensive rationalization and automation.* At most enterprises, the conception of rationalization amounts so far to the sum of separate technical measures. We are not opposed to such separate measures. But if we carry on in the same way, we shall fall behind by ten or more years. What we must do is work out, *with the help of operations research,* a plan of modern production organization not just for sections or workshops, but for whole factories. This is the basis on which we should define the conception of comprehensive mechanization and automation. *Thus, I associate operations research with measures for comprehensive rationalization and mechanization.*

7. *Our foreign trade agencies and the Foreign Trade Bank should promote modernization of enterprises,* so that the latter should produce in lines determining the structure and meet the foreign trade agencies, and the Foreign Trade Bank must ensure the acquisition of modern equipment and licenses.

8. *Concentration of production and introduction of modern techniques in all systems of cooperation.* Cooperation in production is essential in entire branches in order to increase output and improve quality.

9. *We must promote scientific and technical cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist states* in the form of agreements on effecting specific joint production assignments and joint research, and on purchase of licenses.

The point at issue is to determine how and where such cooperation is essential for the development of the GDR.

10. In carrying out all these tasks we must actively promote the dissemination of *information and hold talks* with the personnel of enterprises. To begin with, it is essential that the production committees of enterprises are drawn into this work. *An atmosphere of universal learning and purposeful work has to be created.*

# THE CPSU IN FIGURES*

For half a century now the CPSU has been the ruling party, heading the people's effort to build a new social system. Under its leadership the working people of the Soviet Union have safeguarded and consolidated the gains of the October Revolution and built the world's first socialist state. Today the CPSU heads the effort to build a communist society, to carry out the historic tasks of creating the material and technological basis of communism and forming communist social relations.

Severely persecuted in tsarist Russia, the Bolshevik Party had only about 24,000 members when it became legal after the February revolution of 1917. Pursuing a flexible and consistently revolutionary policy, it quickly won the support of the working people and towards October 1917 became a mass party, the recognized leader of the proletariat. It had 100,000 members at the time of the 7th All-Russia (April) Conference, 240,000 during its 6th Congress and 350,000—almost 15 times the figure during its emergence from underground—in October.

After the victory of the October Revolution the Party's growth continued rapidly. It had 390,000 members in March 1918, 611,978 in 1920, 801,804 on January 1, 1925, 1,677,910 in 1930, 2,358,714 in 1935, 3,399,975 in 1940, 5,760,369 in 1945, 6,340,183 in 1950, 6,657,105 in 1955, 8,708,667 in 1960, and 11,758,169 in 1965.

As of July 1, 1967, its membership stood at 12,964,926 — an impressive proof of its authority and of the people's support of its internal and foreign policy.

The influx of the best sons and daughters of the people into the Party has been greatest in times of trial for the country, which were also times of the highest patriotic upsurge.

In the autumn of 1919, when the young Soviet Republic was in mortal danger, the Party appealed to the most advanced from among the workers and peasants to join its ranks. A Party Week was announced. The Party acquired 200,000 new members in the 38 central regions (not counting people who were admitted at the front, in the Ukraine, Turkestan and Siberia).

In 1924 the Soviet people lost Vladimir Lenin. They responded to the death of their leader by rallying still closer round the Party. Acting upon the wishes of workers, the CC announced the Lenin Enrolment. Within a short space of time the Party was joined by support of the Party and government were strikingly demonstrated

*Pravda, Kommunist.

more than 240,000 factory workers, and total enrolment in 1924 exceeded 316,000.

During the First Five-Year Plan period (1928-32) 2,993,290 people were admitted as candidate members and 1,511,352 as full members.

The strength of the Party's links with the people, their unreserved support of the Party and government were strikingly demonstrated during the Great Patriotic War. Characteristically, the biggest influx of new members coincided with periods when the situation at the fronts was particularly hard. Between July 1, 1941 and July 1, 1945 a total of 5,095,848 people joined the Party as candidate members and 3,304,237 as full members.

A new upsurge of production and political activity was evoked by the decisions of the 20th, 22nd and 23rd congresses of the CPSU. In the period between the 20th and 22nd congresses the Party admitted 3,063,000 new candidate members and 2,539,000 full members, and between the 22nd and 23rd congresses, 3,390,000 and 3,325,00 respectively.

The 23rd Congress reaffirmed the principle that in its social composition the CPSU should be predominantly a workers' party.

Following up the decisions of the 23rd Congress, Party organizations have been paying more attention to the qualitative composition of the membership.

**Social Composition of Candidate Members**
**(in %% of total)**

| | Wage workers | Peasants (collective farmers) | Salary workers and others |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1952-55 | 27.2 | 16.4 | 56.4 |
| 1956-61 | 40.6 | 19.4 | 40.0 |
| 1962-66 | 47.6 | 14.0 | 38.4 |

In the first half of 1967 the Party admitted 339,371 candidate members; 51.4 per cent of them were wage workers. Wage workers made up more than 60 per cent of those who were admitted as candidate members by the Party organizations of the biggest industrial regions.

The decline in the share of collective farmers is largely due to the transformation of a part of collective farms into state farms.

The Leninist Young Communist League is a reliable assistant and reserve of the Party. Many new Party members come from among the best YCL'ers. The number of YCL'ers admitted as candidate members grew from 605,164 in 1952-55 to 1,694,023 in 1956-61 and to 1,670,546 in 1962-66.

* * *

**Changes in CPSU Social Composition in Recent Years (in %% of total)**

| | January 1, 1957 | January 1, 1967 |
|---|---|---|
| Wage workers | 32.0 | 38.1 |
| Peasants (collective farmers) | 17.3 | 16.0 |
| Salary workers and others | 50.7 | 45.9 |

Between 1957 and 1967 the number of wage workers among CPSU members has grown by 2,438,000. Although the relative share of collective farmers in the Party has somewhat decreased, their absolute number has reached 738,000.

The intelligentsia constitutes an important contingent of CPSU members. In 1927 Communists with a higher education accounted for 0.8 per cent of Party membership. Today they make up 16.5 per cent. The percentage of Communists with a secondary education has increased from 8.6 to 31.5 per cent.

The number of persons with a higher, incomplete higher or secondary education exceeds 50 per cent of the present Party membership, as against 10 per cent in 1927.

There is a steady increase in the number of specialists with a higher or secondary education in the Party. In 1957-67 it has grown by more than 2.5 million.

Communists constitute a considerable part of the Soviet scientific community. On January 1, 1967 the Party had 76,640 candidate and full members with Master's degrees and 8,407 with Doctor's degrees.

**CPSU National Composition (As of January 1, 1967)**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Russians | 7,846,252 | Moldavians | 46,562 |
| Ukrainians | 1,983,090 | Latvians | 49,559 |
| Byelorussians | 424,360 | Kirghiz | 39,053 |
| Uzbeks | 219,381 | Tajiks | 46,593 |
| Kazakhs | 199,196 | Armenians | 200,605 |
| Georgians | 209,196 | Turkmenians | 35,781 |
| Azerbaijanians | 162,181 | Estonians | 37,705 |
| Lithuanians | 71,316 | other nationalities | 1,113,263 |

**Number of Women in the CPSU (1927-1967)**

| | Number | %% |
|---|---|---|
| 1927 | 148,306 | 12.2 |
| 1937 | 293,059 | 14.8 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1947 | 1,102,424 | 18.2 |
| 1957 | 1,477,678 | 19.7 |
| 1967 | 2,647,074 | 20.9 |

**CPSU Composition According to Length of Party Membership (in %% of total)**

| | January 1, 1957 | January 1, 1967 |
|---|---|---|
| Up to 10 years | 44.2 | 48.3 |
| 11-20 years | 45.0 | 20.8 |
| 21-30 years | 6.9 | 25.9 |
| More than 30 years | 3.9 | 5.0 |

Recent years have witnessed a considerable increase in the number of young Communists and in the share of Communists with a long record of Party membership. Persons younger than 40 make up more than 50 per cent of all Party members. The combination of old and young Communists reflects the close links between revolutionary generations, the continuity of Party traditions.

**CPSU Composition According to Age (As of January 1, 1967, in %% of total)**

| | |
|---|---|
| Up to 25 years | 5.0 |
| 26-40 years | 46.5 |
| 41-50 years | 25.6 |
| Older than 50 years | 22.9 |

At all stages in the life of the country Communists have been in the most difficult and important sectors of political, economic and cultural development and the defense of the country.

In the years of the Great Patriotic War of 1941-45 the Party sent to the battle against the Nazi invaders about 60 per cent of its membership. More than 52 per cent of all Party members—1,678,000 Communists—were called up for service in the Soviet Army. Ours was a truly fighting party.

In the postwar period the Party concentrated on economic development, on building the material and technical foundation of communism. Almost 70 per cent of all Communists were engaged in the sphere of material production at the beginning of 1947, 71.7 per cent in 1957 and 73.3 per cent in 1967.

* * *

The Party has invariably concerned itself with strengthening its primary organizations and stimulating their activity. In the first Soviet years the number of Party cells was comparatively small. Today primary organizations exist in almost all bodies of working people.

**Number of Primary Party Organizations**
**(as of January 1 of the respective year)**

| | |
|---|---|
| 1927 | 38,978 |
| 1937 | 102,475 |
| 1947 | 296,568 |
| 1957 | 344,325 |
| 1967 | 337,915 |
| 1967 (July 1) | 344,504 |

Primary Party organizations are growing as CPSU membership increases, new enterprises are built and put into operation and state and collective farms are amalgamated. The number of primary organizations with more than 100 members has increased from 1.6 per cent of the total to 5.9 per cent in 1967.

The CPSU attaches great importance to improving the structure and enhancing the role of local leading Party organs. The network of these organs is constantly brought into conformity with the administrative-territorial division of the country and local conditions. As of July 1, 1967 the Party had 14 central committees of the Communist Parties of the Union republics, six territorial Party committees, 133 regional committees, ten area committees, 747 city committees, 417 committees of city districts and 2,746 rural committees.

The Party organizations of cities and districts are growing bigger. There were, on the average, 450 Communists per rural district on January 1, 1947. The present number is 1,750.

The last annual general membership meetings and Party conferences elected:

—2,650 people as committee and bureau members, secretaries of primary and shop Party organizations and Party group leaders;

—325,000 people as full and alternative members of district, city and area committees and members of their auditing boards;

—25,000 people as full and alternate members of regional and territorial committees and central committees of the Communist parties of the Union republics, and members of the auditing boards.

Of the full and alternate members of area, city and district committees, workers and peasants make up 34.3 per cent, engineers, technicians and agricultural specialists, 8.8 per cent, workers in science, education, culture and public health 8.8 per cent, heads of enterprises in industry, transport, building and agriculture 13 per cent, functionaries of Party and Soviet organs 26 per cent, and workers of other categories 9.1 per cent. Women account for 22 per cent of the members of district, city and area committees.

In all, 3,000,000 Communists hold elective posts in the Party. In addition, millions of Communists take an active part in Party work

as members of various commissions, lecturers, etc. The Leninist principle that "all Party affairs are run, directly or through their representatives, by all Party members on an equal footing and without any exceptions" is implemented today more fully than ever before.

The qualitative composition of the Party cadre has improved substantially in recent years, one evidence of which is growth of the educational level of Party functionaries. In 1947, 12.7 per cent of secretaries of district, city and area committees had a higher education. In 1967 the figure stood at 91.1 per cent. The percentage of secretaries of regional and territorial committees and central committees of the Union republics having a higher education has grown from 41.3 to 97.6 respectively.

Much attention is paid to the political education of Communists. The political education system in the Party has been considerably modified in recent years. In the 1966-67 academic year 3,750,000 Communists attended initial-level courses, more than 2,280,000 studied at the middle level of the political education system and 2,285,000 at the higher level. A total of 1,319,000 Communists worked, in their spare time, as propagandists, lecturers and heads of political education groups.

The CC CPSU runs an Academy of Social Sciences, a Higher Party School and an Extramural Higher Party School. There are 11 higher Party schools in the republics, territories and regions and 20 schools for Soviet and Party functionaries.

Between 1946 and 1966 about 3,000 people graduated from the Academy of Social Sciences, more than 40,000 from the two higher Party schools of the CC CPSU, about 25,000 from the higher Party schools of the regions, territories and republics, more than 60,000 from the regional and republican Party schools (with a two- or three-year term of instruction), and over 31,000 from schools for Party and Soviet functionaries.

In keeping with the decisions of the 23rd Party Congress, the CC CPSU has set up a network of permanent courses for advanced professional, ideological and theoretical training of Party and Soviet functionaries.

# UNITY FOR A JUST SOLUTION IN THE MIDDLE EAST*

The crisis in the Middle East has gravely endangered world peace and continues to do so. Canadians who are concerned for peace need to unite to further a just and constructive solution in that area.

The confrontation in the Middle East is basically between Western imperialism and the national liberation movement, supported by the socialist world and the international working class movement. The situation in the area is enormously complicated by its strategic location, its rich oil resources with huge investments by U.S., British and other monopolies. It was in these conditions that the state of Israel was established in the aftermath of World War II, with all its associations arising from the experience of Hitlerism, and the strivings for social emancipation and independence of the Arab peoples.

The Middle East crisis grew out of an imperialist global strategy aimed at reversing the trend to national liberation and far-reaching social change in countries emerging from colonialism. This is essentially the same strategy as is in operation in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

The June 5 war launched by the government of Israel was a continuation by military means of its long-standing commitment to the interests and aims of Western imperialism, particularly that of the United States. On the strength of its close ties with big business in the U.S., Britain and elsewhere, the Israeli ruling class exploited to the full the national feelings and fears of the people in order to perpetrate a war of aggression against the Arab countries. This operation was greatly facilitated by the irresponsible, chauvinist threats by Arab leaders to "destroy the state of Israel." The world cannot permit any country to retain the fruits of its aggression and Israel must be compelled to give up the conquered territory.

The war and its outcome, far from assuring the security of Israel and its people has deepened the crisis and heightened its insecurity. The insistence of the Israeli government on holding on to the territories seized from three Arab states is not only an obstacle to any just settlement, but intensifies the dangers to peace in the Middle East and on a world scale.

The Communist Party of Canada takes its stand on the side of

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*The Canadian Tribune, September 25, 1967.

the forces that are fighting against imperialism, for national and social emancipation. We support fully the sovereign integrity of the Arab states and we have always stood for the recognition of the State of Israel.

We appeal to all Canadians who desire lasting peace, whatever their views on the character and causes of the war, to support the demands for the withdrawal by Israel from all seized Arab territory to the pre-war borders and for ending the state of belligerency and for recognition by the Arab states of the State of Israel.

These are essential steps opening the way for a democratic restructuring of relationships in the Middle East, including the Arab refugee problem, security of all state borders, and for the United Nations to play its full and designated role in bringing about peace in this crucial area.

*Central Committee, Communist Party of Canada,*
*September 18, 1967.*

# COMMUNISTS SUPPORT QUEBEC CONSTITUTION

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Canada endorses the statement of the Communist Party of Quebec favoring a Quebec Constitution as follows:

The Communist Party of Quebec believes that the adoption of a Quebec Constitution can be the first vital step to solve the crisis of Confederation, which is at bottom a crisis in the relationships between the French-Canadian and English-Canadian nations.

Such a Quebec Constitution must assert the control of the people of Quebec over their own state in all political, social, economic and cultural questions necessary for the free development of the French-Canadian nation. It must reject the limited concept of a *provincial* constitution proposed by the French-Canadian bourgeoisie.

Such a Constitution must contain a Bill of Rights which protects the rights of the English-speaking minority to schools and to free development of their culture in their own language. It must assure autonomous self-government to Indian and Eskimo peoples in communities where they are concentrated. It must protect all the democratic rights including the use of language and culture of all ethnic groups. It must assure to the working people full freedom to organize, strike and picket, abolishing all anti-labor legislation, including that enacted by the present Johnson government. It must guarantee to all the right of gainful employment.

It must provide for the right to nationalize all monopolies in industry, transport, finance, especially those that are foreign-owned, which are essential to the development of the economy free from outside domination.

Such a Constitution would make it possible for Quebec to enter into negotiations on a free and equal basis with English Canada to create a new Confederal pact based on the right of both Canadian nations to self-determination up to and including separation. In such a new pact the representatives of both Quebec and English Canada could decide which aspects of their sovereignty they wished to pool in a confederal government to their mutual advantage.

The "concessions" reluctantly granted by the federal government and some of the English-speaking provinces only emphasize the actual inequality which exists.

The Communist Party of Quebec urges particularly the labor movement and all other democratic forces in Quebec to proclaim its unequivocal support for the right of self-determination for the French-Canadian nation and to put forward its demands to be

incorporated in a Constitution for Quebec. It should further demand that the Quebec government assure that the labor movement and other democratic forces are free to put forward their demands in public hearings.

*National Committee, Communist Party of Quebec.*

# NEW PROGRAM OF IRAQI COMMUNISTS

Under the title, "The Glorious Historical March of the Iraqi Revolution Towards a Revolutionary Democratic Republic under the Leadership of the Working-Class to Achieve the National Democratic Revolution and Embark upon the Socialist Revolution," the Iraqi Communist Party has published the first part of a "primary draft for general discussion" of its new program.

On the basis of the modifications and proposals on this first draft, which is now under discussion by the Party members and sympathizers, the Party leadership will work out a second draft to be submitted for final approval to the forthcoming congress of the Party.

The published document deals with: the first stage of the Iraqi Revolution; the July 1958 Revolution, a revolution of millions; the February 8 counter-revolution as high national treason that put the power in the hands of the reactionary pro-imperialist bourgeoisie; the character, strategic aims and motive forces of the new revolutionary stage; the immediate goal: a national democratic political coalition.

Under the latter the Iraqi Communists call upon the other national political forces to "overthrow the military dictatorship and to form a provisional (transitional) national democratic coalition government comprising the representatives of all the political forces which commit themselves to the program of action." The mission of this government will be over immediately after the establishment of the elected constituent assembly which should promulgate a permanent Constitution for the country and elect a constitutional democratic government.

As for the program of action of the proposed national democratic political coalition, it is as follows:

1. To guarantee democratic freedoms, above all the right to organize political parties, and to eliminate the consequences and vestiges of the military dictatorships and state of emergency, especially to liberate the patriotic prisoners and arrested people and to reinstate all dismissed persons.

2. To liberate the Palestinian Arab people and to enable them to decide their own destiny and on the territory of their homeland.

3. To solve the Kurdish problem by acknowledging the national rights of the Kurdish people, including autonomy.

4. To pursue a national oil policy and wrest Iraq's rights from the oil monopoly.

5. To take speedy measures against unemployment and the high

cost of living, to raise the standard of living of the masses, to establish a progressive tax system, to execute the Land Reform Law after cancelling all the reactionary modifications introduced into it and safeguard the rights of the workers and improve their living conditions.

6. To follow a progressive Arab policy and a consistent independent foreign policy.

7. To organize general elections for a constituent assembly on the basis of a democratic electoral law.

*(IB Release)*

# FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

## SPAIN*

When the news of the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' deputies having assumed power in Russia and proclaimed socialism reached Spain it raised a wave of enthusiasm and solidarity.

Sympathy for the Russian revolution was widespread. When Alfonso XIII tried to involve Spain in the military intervention of fourteen imperialist powers against the Soviet state the masses held powerful demonstrations of solidarity with Russia and made the monarchy give up its plans.

The Spanish proletariat saw in the road taken by the Bolsheviks, in Leninist policy, genuine Marxism of the twentieth century and solutions they needed for their own struggle. The influence of the October Revolution was a decisive factor in the founding of the Communist Party of Spain in April 1920. A "chip off the old block" of Spanish socialism, the CPS was, nevertheless, a party of a new type, determined to overcome the errors of Social Democracy and anarchism and follow a revolutionary policy in line with the times. In short, it was a party determined to be a Marxist-Leninist party.

In recalling what the socialist revolution of 1917 was, we must necessarily ask who was right. Was it the vociferous bourgeois propaganda which was echoed by some even in the labor movement and which made out the Russian Soviets to be an ephemeral outgrowth of history, or was it the unshakable faith of the Communists and the masses of the people, who regarded the Russian revolution as the beginning of a world revolution, the beginning of the emancipation of all the exploited and oppressed?

There is no appealing against the verdict of history.

The Soviet people achieved far-reaching victories in extremely harsh conditions—they had to advance all by themselves, along unexplored paths, being encircled by the imperialists, who harassed and attacked them. Besides, they had to start from a very backward economy.

The progress made by the Soviet Union in five decades of socialist construction has far exceeded the hopes and aspirations of the Spanish working people. It is a powerful spur to the spread of socialist ideas in our country.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has always been

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*Abridged from **Mundo Obrero**.

loyal to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. All the fifty years of Soviet reality have been marked by an internationalist policy.

We Spanish revolutionaries are exceptional witnesses to that. When, in 1936, the Spanish Republic, attacked by home and foreign fascism, was left in the lurch by the so-called democratic powers and the leaders of the Second International, the Soviet Union was the only country which helped us with arms, flyers, tankmen and officers.

In a different situation, in a world in which socialism carried much greater weight than before, the Soviet Union continues its consistently internationalist policy of assisting the peoples fighting for their freedom. It helped Algeria to win freedom. Its support is decisive to the defense of Cuba. As they fight courageously against the U.S. imperialists' criminal aggression the people of Vietnam are receiving generous assistance from the Soviet Union in every field.

To maintain their defense potential at an adequate level, the peoples of the Soviet Union must make considerable sacrifices. And they make these sacrifices consciously, well knowing that they are thus strengthening their own defenses and are, furthermore, helping all other peoples and contributing in vast measure to the preservation of peace.

Now that the imperialists have become so aggressive the policy of the Mao group, the split this group has caused in the world Communist movement and in the anti-imperialist front, and its anti-Soviet stance are playing into the hands of the class enemy, imperialism, doing serious harm to the revolutionary and progressive movements, as many facts indicate.

The CPSU, loyal to its Leninist policy, has always worked for the unity of the world Communist and working-class movement.

On this, the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution, the Communist Party of Spain reaffirms its support of the Soviet policy of promoting peace and peaceful coexistence, combating imperialist aggression and assisting the national liberation struggle. The Party is resolved to work unremittingly for world Communist unity.

As a result of hard battles and untold sacrifices on the part of the Soviet peoples, the international situation today is more favorable to our struggle than before. Easier and more diverse paths are opening up for us. This, however, in no way reduces the responsibility resting on us, Spanish Communists, for the revolution in Spain is *our* cause, the cause of the Spanish people. Revolution cannot be exported or imitated. Being a thoroughly national party, we must with due regard to the conditions prevailing in our country, develop an independent, a Spanish policy capable of mobilizing the masses for democracy today and for socialism tomorrow.

As we elaborate our policy so as to use the new opportunities which the world of today—so different from the world of 1917—affords for our advance to socialism, we must first of all seek guidance in Leninist ideas. A fundamental idea of Leninism is that revolution is accomplished not by a small minority but by the working and exploited people. Hence a decisive task of the Communist Party is to guide, unite and organize the people, to help them realize their strength and their aims, and lead their struggle to the winning of power by the working class and its allies, to the triumph of the revolution.

Hence the importance—so often stressed by Lenin in the months preceding the October Revolution—of pursuing, in accordance with the actual conditions, a broad and daring policy of alliance making it possible to extend the revolutionary front to the utmost.

Hence also the necessity, inevitable for a revolutionary party, of taking into account all contradictions in the camp of the ruling classes, and of using eventual convergences — even if brief and transient — of the interests of various segments of the ruling classes and the labor and democratic forces of society.

Leninism teaches us through the living experience of the October Revolution that the Communist party must be able to advance, showing flexibility and intelligence, both by means of armed revolution and, when possible, through non-violent revolutionary change.

The workers and other progressives of Spain have been waging a grim fight in the fifty years since the first socialist revolution triumphed.

For all its efforts, reaction has never been able to suppress the love and sympathy for the Soviet Union which took deep root in the hearts of the people when first word came of the October Revolution. These sentiments were particularly strong during the war of 1936-39.

The situation has changed by now. Spain is experiencing a powerful upsurge of the democratic movement expressing itself in workers' committees and student unions, in action by the peasants, intellectuals and middle classes, and other developments.

We are in the presence of the political and ideological disintegration of the reactionary, fascist regime. The retreat of this regime, and the failure of its anti-Sovietism, is obvious to every impartial observer.

In the world of today, appreciation of the role of the Soviet Union as a factor for world peace and progress, and recognition of its achievements and victories are a logical and necessary component of a democratic policy, of an objective and progressive approach to present and future problems. Large sections of the Spanish population, particularly the youth, show great admiration for the Soviet Union and a strong desire to know Soviet reality.

The scope of the sympathy and respect for the Soviet Union is an important political factor.

In these conditions the Communist Party believes that it is not only for us Communists to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution. These celebrations could assume a vast scale and take the most diverse and flexible forms—in the factories and universities, in town and country, in cultural centers, etc. They could be attended, along with us, by large social groups desirous of expressing their sympathy and respect for the first country which accomplished a socialist revolution.

*October 1967.* *Central Committee, CP of Spain.*

## COLOMBIA*

The jubilee of the Great October Socialist Revolution is being celebrated in many parts of Colombia.

This anniversary is being commemorated by the peoples of the world, who are daily becoming more keenly aware of the significance of 1917 in Russia as the year ushering in a new era in man's history, the period of transition from capitalist exploitation to socialist society, which knows no exploiters or exploited.

The Soviet Union is the bulwark of the socialist system and the world revolutionary movement. The vast experience gained by it is an invaluable patrimony of every people.

In the fifty years since its rise the Soviet Union has shown the path for the workers and peasants to take power. It has shown how the cultural and living standards of the working people can be raised at a steady rate and how a backward country can become a leader in scientific progress and economic planning.

The mighty federation of the Soviet socialist republics is a result of the activity of the Communist Party founded by Lenin. The CPSU is the most seasoned revolutionary contingent, one steeled in battle and in labor. It is also a party capable of courageously admitting its mistakes.

The Soviet Union today is building a communist society by steadily increasing its productive forces and raising labor productivity. Its aim is continuously to augment public wealth, for communist society does not propose to make everyone equally poor but to provide plenty for all.

The Soviet Union is creating more and more favorable material and cultural conditions for the hard-working Soviet people, who at certain stages in their history had to keep down their standard

*Abridged from **Voz Proletaria**, September 14, 1967.

of living so as to industrialize their country without foreign aid. The fact that education and medical aid in the Soviet Union are paid out of public funds, or that a five-day working week is being introduced, is part of the immense effort of building communism. Every achievement of the Soviet people and every improvement in their standard of living sets an example and gives a stimulus to the working people of all countries.

In the turbulent and complex world of today, the Soviet Union is the most formidable obstacle to the criminals—meaning above all the U.S. imperialists—who are planning a third world war. The Soviet Union, which in the past has defeated all invaders of its soil, has invariably opposed imperialist provocations and those who would export counter-revolution.

The Soviet Union's Leninist policy for peace, which often thwarts the warmongers, is a principled policy expressing the vital interests of all the peoples of the world.

At the same time, the Soviet Union's example and numerous manifestations of solidarity inspire the world proletariat in its fight against capitalist exploitation, just as they inspire the oppressed peoples in their struggle to free themselves from the tyranny of the imperialist monopolies. The Soviet Union does not export its great revolution nor attempt to solve the liberation problems of other peoples for them. But it renders effective assistance to every people whose patriotic forces rally together, take the road of independent development and fight against imperialist aggressors, as is the case with heroic Vietnam and indomitable Cuba.

The jubilee of the October Revolution is being celebrated in Colombia at a time of growing interest in and sympathy for the Soviet Union. This is evident from the widespread advocacy of normal relations with the great country of victorious socialism.

While marking the anniversary of October, it is essential to step up the campaign for trade and for cultural and diplomatic relations between Colombia and the Soviet Union. This campaign accords with the needs of the nation and the aspirations of our people, and is beneficial to world peace.

*September 1967. Central Committee, Communist Party of Colombia.*

## CANADA*

The history of every country, of every people is inseparably bound up with that revolution and the course of the heroic struggle of the Soviet people to win socialism, to preserve peace and advance to communism.

*Abridged.

Canada is no exception. It must never be forgotten that our working class in modest measure was part of that great movement of international solidarity that swept around the world to prevent Winston Churchill from "strangling Bolshevism at its birth."

When Arthur Meighen, who broke the Winnipeg General Strike, sent Canadians to join 13 other capitalist countries in the invasion of the young socialist republic, there was a storm of protest from the labor and farm movements, and other democratic circles in our country. The Canadian expeditionary force was delayed, was never involved in action and was soon withdrawn.

The Soviet people have never forgotten the help they received from the workers of the world.

They have repaid that help in full and more.

Under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union they have borne out finally, and for all men to see, the truth of Lincoln Steffens' prophecy: "I have seen the future and it works."

They have shown that socialism works so well that it can build the economy of a country and raise the standard of living of its people at a pace far more rapid than capitalism.

It was the Soviet Union which first put forward the noble idea of peaceful coexistence.

More and more as the lies of the cold war are exposed, this simple but profound idea seizes the minds of Canadians and causes them to demand a policy of peace from their government.

The Soviet Union has set standards of life which the monopoly interests who still rule Canada can ignore only at their great peril.

Every struggle for reform in our country—for complete health services, for universal accessibility to university education, for the democratic rights of workers on the job—is reinforced by the living example of the Soviet Union.

It is the conviction of the Communist Party that the Canadian people in their majority will in their own good time and in accordance with Canadian historical development and traditions decide to establish socialism in Canada.

We have no doubt that their decision will come as a result both of their own experience and of the example of the ever more apparent successes of socialism in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

*Central Committee, Communist Party of Canada.*

## UNITED SOCIALIST PARTY OF CATALONIA*

The CC, USPC notes the impact of the October Revolution on the destinies of the world, and the Soviet people's struggles and victories over the past fifty years. It stresses that the working class and the peoples of Spain have from the first sided with the Russian revolution, whose example has always been the most powerful stimulus to their own struggle.

The October Revolution and fifty years of development of the Soviet Union, the Statement says, have shown that only socialism can provide proper solutions to the big problems facing mankind. The experience of the Soviet people and that of the other peoples building socialism has revealed that Marxism-Leninism is the only theory capable of leading the masses and the peoples to a better society. . . . Alongside the might of the socialist camp and alongside the peoples' fight for peace, the military might of the Soviet Union is an important obstacle to the U.S. rulers' insensate plans for gaining world dominion and for turning back the wheel of history. . . . Soviet assistance to the other socialist countries, the peoples fighting for their liberation, and all popular and democratic movements is inseparable from the struggle for peace and the invariable foreign policy of the Soviet Union. This is best illustrated by the Soviet Union's decisive contribution to the struggle of the heroic people of Vietnam.

The Soviet Union, that vanguard of the socialist world, is selflessly doing its proletarian internationalist duty. The role of the socialist camp in this sense would have been still greater but for the situation created in the world Communist movement by the Mao Tse-tung group. The position and activity of Mao and his followers have led in China to the destruction of the organizations of the Communist Party, the trade unions and mass organizations, which have been replaced by the aberration known as "Mao Tse-tung's thought."

In foreign policy, the present leaders of the Communist Party of China have discarded the principles of proletarian internationalism. . . . Mao's policies, cloaked in ultra-revolutionary phrases, are characterized by the most rabid anti-Sovietism. Anti-Sovietism plays into the hands of imperialism and reaction no matter where it originates.

In marking the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution, the Communists of Spain set great store by the achievement of the Bolsheviks and their decisive contribution to the world revolutionary movement, and hence to the revolutionary cause of the peoples of Spain. We also wish to express our thanks to the Soviet state

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*Abridged from **Treball**, July-August 1967.

and its citizens for the vast and disinterested assistance they gave us during our national revolutionary war and later, in our struggle against the Franco regime.

The Soviet Union's correct policy for peace, peaceful coexistence, and defense of the peoples fighting for their liberation, and its advances in socialist and communist construction are, and will be, an example inspiring us in our struggle against the Franco dictatorship, for political and social democracy enabling all the peoples of Spain to advance to socialism.

On the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution we Communists of Catalonia declare that we fully identify ourselves with the ideological and political principles of Marxism-Leninism guiding the activity of the CPSU.

Speaking on its own behalf and on behalf of the USPC membership, who are confident that they express the sentiments of the working masses and of large segments of our whole people, the Central Committee greets the great Communist Party, the Government and the people of the Soviet Union, on this 50th anniversary of the glorious October Revolution, and wishes them complete success in realizing the plans that will ensure the building of communism.

*Central Committee, United Socialist Party of Catalonia.*

# PARTY PERIODICALS

## ITEMS IN CURRENT ISSUES

### NOVA MYSL, No. 20, October 1967, CP of Czechoslovakia

F. Havlicek, "The Character of the Present Stage of Socialist Construction in Czechoslovakia"; A. Gedo, "Alienated Marx"! M. Mika, "Arab-Israeli Conflict"; J. Kasan, "Centralized Reserves and New Methods of Economic Management"; R. Kosanda, "Implementation of the Economic Reform in the GDR."

### WISSEN UND TAT, No. 9-10, 1967, CP of Germany

W. Heim, "Karl Marx's *Capital* and Our Time"; J. Angenfort, "Good Relations with the USSR are in the National Interest of the FRG Population"; E. Glueckauf, "Israel and German Imperialists"; K. Richter, "The Kiesinger-Strauss Government's Law on Emergecy Recession"; W. Mueller, "Socio-Political Problems During Economic Recession"; R. Rode, "New Conditions for Cooperation with Catholic Workers"; R. Rinke, "The Economic Factor of the GDR and Its Economic Achievements." The issue also carries the Theses of the CC CPSU on the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution.

### PRINCIPIOS, No. 121, Sept.-Oct. 1967, CP of Chile

"The Mother of Modern Revolution" (editorial); R. Rojas, "Half a Century of Soviet Power"; C. Jarquera, "The USSR Today and Tomorrow"; S. Munos, "The Chilean Students' Federation"; J. Oyarce, "The Importance of Mass Action in the Peasants' Struggle"; S. Olivarez, "Our Party and Revolution"; C. Godoy, "Pages from the Nation's History"; other editorial items; "Recabarren and Nascent Socialism," "Celebrations in Chile," "New Methods of Work Among Women."

### KOMMUNIST, No. 14, September 1967, CPSU

Resolutions of the September Plenary Meeting of the CC CPSU "On Measures for Further Raising the Well-Being of the Soviet People" and "On Draft State Plan for Economic Development in 1968, Economic Development Plans for 1969 and 19670, and State Budget for 1968"; resolutions of the CC CPSU and the USSR Council of Ministers "On Measures for Further Raising the Well-being of the Soviet People."

*50th Anniversary of October*: "Through the Length and Breadth of the Country" (editorial); S. Konenkov, "The Hope of the World,

the Beacon for Mankind"; V. Uvachan, "October and the Destinies of the National Minorities of the North"; Z. Nuriyev, "Offspring of October"; I. Korytkov, "Communists and the Economy"; V. Afanasyev, "Communist Construction—a Scientifically Regulated Process"; A. Rumyantsev, "A Triumph of Creative Marxism"; Max Reimann, "Behind the Scenes of the 'Grand Coalition' "; B. Likhachov, "The Liberation Struggle of American Negroes."

## NOVE DROGI, No. 10, Polish United Workers' Party

The issue carries the report of the Political Bureau of the CC at a CC meeting, "On Further Development of Agriculture."

S. Jendrychowski, "Centennial of 'Capital' "; K. Secomski, "Economic Development and Social Progress"; E. Halicz, "The 150th Anniversary of the Death of Thaddeus Kosciusko"; M. Gdanski, "The People's Response to the Vietnam War"; Z. Lewandowicz, "Soviet Five-Year Plans."

## HOC TAP, No. 8, Party of Working People of Vietnam

"Intensify Implementation of the CC Decision on Enhancing the Leading Role of District Party Committees" (editorial); To Huu, "Improve Quality of Leadership by District Party Committees."

The issue also carries items devoted to the experience of work of the Party committees of the Donganh, Quynhluu,, Trangdinh, Thanhoai and other districts.

## ZENEI, No. 270, October 1967, CP of Japan

Osamu Kawabata, "A New Ruse of U.S.-Japanese Reaction—the Theory of 'Return of Okinawa with the Nuclear Base' "; articles on problems of agriculture and agrarian policy and on the need for urban renovation. Also in the issue: "The Crisis of the Socialist Party of Japan," "The Grass-Roots Movement in the Struggle of the American Negroes," and items on the revival of militarism.

## WORLD MARXIST REVIEW, Theoretical and Information Journal of Communist and Workers' Parties, No. 11, 1967

"Towards New Victories for Communism", an address by L. Brezhnev; *interviews:* W. Ulbricht, "The October Revolution and the Transition to Socialism in Germany"; Y. Tsedenbal, "The October Revolution Helped Overcome Mongolia's Backwardness"; N. Ceausescu, "The October Revolution and Socialist Industrialization"; S. Todorov, "The October Revolution and the Struggle of Bulgarian Communists for Socialism"; B. Biszku, "The October Revolution and Social Progress in Hungary"; Z. Kliszko, "The Fiftieth Anniversary of October"; J. Hendrych, "Embodiment of the Ideas of the October Revolution in Socialist Czechoslovakia."

*Articles:* W. Rochet, "The October Revolution and the Struggle of the French Communists"; V. Pessi, "The October Revolution and Finland"; R. Radmanesh, "An Inspiring Example for the People of Iran"; A. Tortorella, "October and the Italian Workers' Movement"; S. Ryerson. "Impact of the Idea of October."

*Papers Read at the International Seminar on the 50th Anniversary of the October Revolution:* B. Ponomaryov, "The October Revolution—Beginning of the Epoch of Socialism and Communism"; R. Palme Dutt, "Fifty Years of the General Crisis of Capitalism"; Ib Norlund, "The Path of Developed Countries to Socialism"; N. Balaram, "A Powerful Stimulus to Liberation Struggle in India"; M. Mendis, "The October Revolution and the Communist Movement in Ceylon"; F. Mieres, "The Lessons of October and the Contemporary Revolutionary Movement in Latin America"; W. Atias, "Anti-Imperialist Struggle in Latin America After October"; B. Kombo, "October and the Struggle of the People of the Congo (Brazzaville)."

*Talks with African Leaders:* M. Keita, "The Greatest Event of Our Time"; A. Cabral, "Mankind's Way to Progress."

*Heroes of the Sruggle for Communism:* A. Shields, " 'Ten Days' Is Still a Living Thing"; "In Memory of an Ardent Revolutionary" (Ernesto Guevara).

# ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

**September 25-October 10.** A Democratic Republic of Vietnam party and government delegation visited the Soviet Union.

**September 2.** The Bulgarian and Finnish Communist parties ended a round of talks in Sofia, culminating in a communique stressing that in the view of both parties preparations for a world conference of Communist and Workers' Parties should begin forthwith. Both parties registered identical views on the current international situation.

**September 2.** Jean Terfve, Politbureau Member of the Belgian CP, on a visit to Yugoslavia was received by Petar Stambolic, Member of the Presidium, CC LCY, Chairman of the International Relations and Labor Movement Committee.

* * *

A Central Committee meeting of the Nicaragua Socialist Party adopted a message of greetings to the Soviet people, the Soviet Government and the CPSU on the fiftieth anniversary of the October Revolution.

**September 5.** A seminar on the centennial of Karl Marx's *Capital* opened in Havana under the auspices of Cuban revolutionary training party schools.

**September 5-6.** A Central Committee meeting of the Rumanian Communist Party in Bucharest approved directives designed to improve economic management and planning, bringing them abreast of the new stage in Rumania's socialist development. The matter will be dealt with again at the national conference of the RCP opening on December 6, 1967.

The meeting also looked into the question of improving the wage system and of expanding housing development.

Nicolae Ceausescu, General Secretary of the CC, spoke at the meeting.

**September 7-8.** Congress of the CP of Northern Ireland in Belfast heard and discussed the political report of the Executive Committee delivered by Comrade Hugh Moore, General Secretary. It noted that the Northern Ireland government had fallen totally under the influence of British and other monopolies and called on it to take urgent steps to combat unemployment. It urged nationalizing a number of industries and suggested a democratic reform of the election law.

Also, Congress heard reports and adopted resolutions on the Party program, the situation in the world Communist movement, etc.

**September 7-8.** A CC meeting of the CP of Belgium in Brussels discussed the draft of the CC report to the Party Congress scheduled this December and draft Congress resolutions. It also approved the draft of a resolution on the fiftieth anniversary of the October Revolution.

**September 8-11.** A CC meeting of the Communist Party of Chile in Santiago discussed the grave economic and political situation in the country, calling for radical reconstruction and for agrarian, bank, tax and other reforms.

**September 9.** The CC of the Party of the Cypriot Working People (AKEL) published a communique on the fiftieth anniversary of the October Revolution, saying, among other things, that "the people of Cyprus are deeply grateful to the Soviet Union for supporting them in their national struggle for independence . . . Soviet military and economic aid, especially in the past four years, has buttressed the Republic's defenses and economy."

**September 9.** *L'Unita* reported that Zenon Kliszko, Member of the Politbureau and Secretary of the CC, Polish United Workers' Party, visiting Rome, saw Luigi Longo, General Secretary of the Italian CP. The discussion centered on greater cooperation between the two parties, the international situation, and vital problems of the international working-class movement.

**September 9-11.** A meeting of the CC, ICP in Rome discussed the report of Pietro Ingrao, member of the Political Bureau, on the activity of the present parliament and the prospects of struggle in the parliament and the country.

**September 10.** Walter Ulbricht, First Secretary, CC, SUPG, received a delegation of the National Council of the CP of India, headed by Chairman S. A. Dange. An exchange of opinion took place on issues related to the world Communist movement and on closer relations between the SUPG and the CPI.

**September 10-14.** At the invitation of the CC, CP of Czechoslovakia, and the government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, a party and government delegation of the Hungarian People' Republic, headed by Janos Kadar, visited Czechoslovakia. A joint Czechoslovak-Hungarian statement noted the complete identity of views of the two parties on all basic problems of the world Communist and working-class movement.

The statement pointed out that the divisive adventurist policy of the Chinese Communist Party and government leadership is gravely undermining the unity of the world Communist and working-class movement and the unity of the socialist countries, and weakening the common anti-imperialist front.

**September 11.** A CC, CPSU delegation consisting of L. I Brezh-

nev, M. A. Suslov and B. N. Ponomaryov met a delegation of the CP of Denmark consisting of Knud Jespersen, Chairman of the Party, Ib Norlund and Paul Emanuel, Members of the Political Bureau, and Gelius Lund, Member of the CC.

The two delegations denounced the U.S. imperialist aggression in Vietnam and reaffirmed their support for the universal demand for an end to the bombing of the DRV, withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Vietnam, and settlement of the Vietnam question on the basis of the proposals of the DRV and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam in accordance with the Geneva agreements.

The delegations fully supported the demand to eliminate the consequences of the Israeli aggression against the Arab countries, to withdraw Israeli troops unconditionally from occupied territories behind the pre-aggression lines, and to establish peace in the Middle East based on respect for the sovereign rights of the Arab peoples and for the right to national independence of all states in that region.

The two delegations also condemned the fascist military coup in Greece.

The CPD and CPSU representatives stressed the importance of the program drawn up by the Karlovy Vary Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties to ensure peace and security in Europe.

They noted that West German revanchism and militarism, the main NATO shock force, are a grave danger to the security of European countries, including Denmark.

The representatives of the CPD said that their Party is working jointly with other Danish progressive forces for Denmark's withdrawal from NATO and for establishing with other Nordic countries a neutral atom-free zone whose security could be ensured by a system of collective guarantees.

After an exchange of opinions on the situation in the world Communist movement, the delegations arrived at the conclusion that the deterioration of the international situation and the divisive activities of the Mao Tse-tung group made it compellingly necessary to consolidate all anti-imperialist forces, above all the unity of the Marxist-Leninist parties, in the struggle for peace and the national independence of peoples, for democracy and socialism. Such unity could be served by a new international conference of Communist and Workers' parties, which must be thoroughly and exhaustively prepared.

**September 11.** *BTA* released a communique signed by Comrades Todor Zhivkov and Santiago Carrillo on negotiations between delegations of the Bulgarian and Spanish Communist parties, saying that the two parties consider it a compelling need to hold an interna-

tional conference of Communist and Workers' parties and pledged to work wholeheartedly in preparing for it.

The divisive policy of the Mao Tse-tung group obstructs broader and more effective aid to Vietnam and facilitates the aggressive policy of the U.S. imperialists.

**September 16.** A delegation of the French CP headed by Paul Laurent, Member of the Political Bureau, which arrived in Rome on the invitation of the CC ICP, was received by Luigi Longo, General Secretary of the ICP.

**September 17.** *CTK* Agency reported that Santiago Carrillo, General Secretary of the CP of Spain, visiting Prague, had a meeting with V. Koucky, Secretary of the CC CPC.

They briefed each other on the stand of their respective parties in relation to various international issues and the situation in the world Communist movement. Their talk reaffirmed the solidarity and identity of views of the two fraternal parties.

**September 17-18.** A meeting of the CC FCP dealt with the results and lessons of the cantonal elections (report by Gaston Plissonnier); the political tasks of the Party, its consolidation and exchange of Party tickets in 1968 (report by G. Marchais), and was briefed on the international activities of the Party by Waldeck Rochet.

A special resolution was passed on the fiftieth anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

**September 18.** *Pravda* reported that L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary, CC CPSU, received a team of workers from Karl Zeiss Jena, of the German Democratic Republic. The team was the initiator of a socialist emulation movement in the GDR in tribute to the fiftieth anniversary of the October Revolution.

During the talk, Comrade Brezhnev dwelled on various aspects of communist construction in the Soviet Union, measures to improve the living standard of the Soviet people, and on preparations for the fiftieth anniversary of October. He stressed the importance attached by the CPSU to cementing fraternal relations between the Soviet Union and the GDR and the traditional friendship of the workers of the two countries.

* * *

A plenary meeting of the CC CP of Norway, held in Oslo, discussed the report by R. Larsen, Chairman of the CPN, on the outcome of the latest municipal elections and the vital tasks of the Party.

The meeting decided to convene the next Party congress in March 1968.

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**FIFTY YEARS OF GREAT ACHIEVEMENTS OF SOCIALISM**

**Commemorative report by L. I. Brezhnev to joint meeting of the CC of the CPSU, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation**

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*contents*

**FIFTY YEARS OF GREAT ACHIEVEMENTS OF SOCIALISM**
**Commemorative report by L. I. Brezhnev to joint meeting of the CC of the CPSU, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation** 5

1. The Great October Socialist Revolution—triumph of Marxism-Leninism
2. The building of Socialism in the USSR—a great feat of the Soviet people
3. For new achievements in the work for Communism
4. The Great October Socialist Revolution and the world revolutionary movement
5. The Leninist foreign policy of the Soviet Union
6. The Communist Party—militant vanguard of the Soviet people, the inspirer and organizer of all our victories

**FOREIGN GUESTS AT OCTOBER CELEBRATIONS** 59

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# Fifty Years of Great Achievements of Socialism

*Report by L. I. BREZHNEV, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, at the joint meeting of the Central Committee of the CPSU, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR in Commemoration of the 50th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.*
*November 3, 1967*

Comrade members of the Central Committee,
Comrade deputies,
Our esteemed foreign guests,
Dear friends,

An epoch-making event took place fifty years ago, when the workers and peasants of Russia, led by the Communist Party, took state power into their own hands.

Lenin's words: "The workers' and peasants' revolution, about the necessity of which the Bolsheviks have always spoken has been accomplished," resounded throughout Russia and the whole world.

The assault on the Winter Palace was still in progress when the Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies opened at Smolny. This Congress formed the Soviet Government with Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, founder of our Party and leader of the Revolution, at its head. This marked the birth of the world's first state of workers and peasants, and the Great October Revolution began its invincible march across the boundless expanses of Russia.

November 7 ushered in a new era in the history of mankind, beginning a new, socialist chronicle. On that day the cornerstone was laid in the foundation of the new, socialist society.

The victory of the October Revolution paved the way for the realization of the ideals of socialism. Within a short span of time our country surmounted its age-old backwardness and became a powerful, highly developed state. Led by the Communist Party the working people of our country were the first to build socialism and the first to begin the building of communism.

The October Socialist Revolution gave a mighty impetus to worldwide social development and accelerated the revolutionary and liberation struggle. The ideas of Marxism-Leninism, under whose banner the October Revolution triumphed, have today captured the minds and hearts of millions of people and become a great constructive force.

The historical result of the past half century is that the world

balance of forces has changed radically in favor of the working class, in favor of all the forces of progress, democracy and socialism.

On the occasion of this momentous anniversary the Central Committee of the Communist Party, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics warmly congratulate our dear compatriots—workers, collective farmers, intellectuals, men of the Soviet Army and Navy, all Soviet people.

Throughout the world millions of working people are commemorating this jubilee of the October Revolution as their own. On this anniversary the Party of Lenin and the whole Soviet people send cordial revolutionary greetings to their friends, comrades-in-arms and brothers abroad.

Centuries will go by, mankind will achieve heights surpassing even the most daring fantasy of our contemporaries and many events may be forgotten. But November 7, 1917, the day when the first victorious socialist revolution was accomplished, will always live in the memory of generations to come.

The cause of the Great October Revolution will live through the ages.

## 1. THE GREAT OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION—TRIUMPH OF MARXISM-LENINISM

Comrades, in the history of mankind there have been many revolutions that swayed the destiny of peoples and social development. Among them the October Revolution occupies a special place because of its nature and historical consequences. It put an end to exploitation of man by man and started the reorganization of society in the interests of the working people themselves. It ushered in the era of the deliverance of the working class and all working people from the calamities, suffering and humiliation stemming from the millennia-long rule of oppressors.

Past developments evoke different feelings. However important and instructive, some are seen only as pages of history. Others, even after decades, remain part, as it were, of our present, kindling the interest of historians and of all the people active in the political struggle of our days. The October Revolution was precisely such an event.

During the 50 years that have passed since the October Revolution the world revolutionary movement has accumulated an ex-

tensive and many-sided experience which has broadened out the notions of the ways and means of revolutionary struggle and shown how important it is to take into account the entire range of conditions under which revolutions of the working class mature and are accomplished. At the same time, in the light of this experience the significance of the general laws of the socialist revolution looms larger than ever before. Owing to the fact that the October Revolution brought these laws to light with such fullness and clarity, the powerful impact that it made on the world revolutionary process has not relaxed over the past half century.

The road that brought Russia to socialism is the highroad of world history and of the whole of human civilization. Despite the purely Russian conditions under which it was accomplished the October Revolution mirrored the basic, principal trends of a whole epoch, the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism, a transition that had been prepared by the entire course of world socio-economic development.

The replacement of capitalism by socialism became necessary and inevitable when private ownership of the means of production became an obstacle to the development of the productive forces. Capitalism created its own grave-digger—the working class. The long and persevering struggle waged by the international proletariat gave birth to battle experience which became labor's formidable weapon in the class clashes with capitalism.

The development of advanced social thinking prepared the ground for the Great October Socialist Revolution. This development reached its peak in Marxism. By their truly heroic creative feat which turned socialism from a utopia into a science, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, the great thinkers and revolutionaries, showed all oppressed and downtrodden people the road to freedom and happiness.

The socialist revolution matured in the womb of the old world. And it broke out in its weakest link—in Russia, which was the storm-center of all the basic contradictions of imperialism at the beginning of the 20th century.

In Russia the rapid development of capitalism gave rise to numerous insoluble problems and increasingly aggravated class antagonisms. Under the semi-feudal system the working people suffered not only from capitalist exploitation but also from landowner tyranny, ruthless political coercion and national oppression. In no other country at that time were the social and political contradictions of the epoch so acute and inflamed.

The First World War speeded up developments. It brought the privations and sufferings of the working masses to bursting point and laid bare the rottenness and impotence of the tsarist autocracy and then of the Provisional Government. Lenin wrote that in those

days the old machine of state was sitting on a volcano; great rumblings were beginning to rise from the depth of the people's consciousness and the air was becoming charged with electricity which unavoidably had to burst forth in a cleansing thunder-storm.

The experience of October thus demonstrated that a revolution triumphs only when the objective conditions for it have taken shape. Nobody can repeal this immutable law. At the same time, the October Revolution showed that besides the favorable objective conditions needed for the overthrow of the old system, the working masses must be properly prepared and organized for decisive battles with the class enemy.

The working class of Russia successfully coped with that task. It took shape as the most revolutionary contingent of the world proletariat. Its political role in the country's life was immeasurably greater than its numerical strength. It proved to be a worthy successor to the finest revolutionary traditions of the peoples of our country and it creatively assimilated the revolutionary experience of the world proletariat. It formed its own militant vanguard, the Bolshevik Party, which integrated the working-class movement and the spontaneous indignation of the masses with socialism. The teaching of Marx and Engels became the world outlook of the foremost workers in Russia. Bolshevik-Leninists upheld the purity of this teaching and developed it in conformity with the new historical conditions, the conditions engendered by imperialism, with the specific tasks of their revolutionary struggle.

Bolsheviks have always taken as their point of departure the fact that far from being a coup at the top or a conspiracy by a group of heroes, a socialist revolution is a movement of the broadest masses of working people. By constantly being in the very thick of the masses and leading their struggle, the Party united millions of workers, peasants and soldiers into a single army of revolution. Bolsheviks tirelessly worked to mould the alliance between the working class and the working peasants, and this alliance became the bulwark of the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country. In the Soviets, brought to life by the masses as far back as 1905, the Party of Lenin found a new form of political power of the working people.

In the course of many years of class struggle and in the battles fought during two bourgeois-democratic revolutions, Lenin and the Leninists steadily improved revolutionary strategy and tactics. While preparing for the October uprising the Party gained vast experience of all forms of struggle—legal and illegal, peaceful and non-peaceful, underground and open. It was prepared for a swift change from one form of struggle to another and had the skill to lead the working class in a most complex and tangled situation through all obstacles and all twists and turns of history. And when the decisive moment came the workers and peasants of Russia,

having seen for themselves that the policy of the Bolsheviks was correct, followed the Bolshevik Party, accepted its slogans, and emerged triumphant.

The October armed uprising was prepared and accomplished with such consummate skill and understanding of the sentiments of the worker, peasant and soldier masses that it has rightly gone down in history as a model of revolutionary strategy and tactics. The flame of revolution, kindled in Red Petrograd, enveloped the entire country, spreading to its remotest regions.

The triumph of the October Revolution was the result of the persevering and painstaking work and the heroic struggle carried on by the Bolshevik-Leninists over many years. The lesson of the October Revolution is that even when the conditions are favorable the working class can accomplish a socialist revolution only if it is led by its vanguard, the Marxist Party, which has close links with the masses and has mastered all forms of revolutionary struggle. That is another immutable law of revolution.

It will be recalled that at the close of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century opportunism, whose chief exponents were leaders of the Second International, sank deep roots in the world working-class movement. There was a great debate on how to move towards socialism: through revolution or through reformism reducing the tasks of the working-class movement to a struggle for partial demands not affecting the foundation of the capitalist system. It was up to historical practice to decide this debate, to say the last word in it. This word was said by the October Revolution. It showed that the working class could achieve victory only through revolution, no matter in what form it was accomplished.

The October Revolution signified more than a change of political power. It signified a most profound socio-economic upheaval that virtually ploughed its way through the life of the nation and affected all aspects of Russian reality. By bringing the working class to power the October Revolution delivered the working people from exploitation, turned the factories, banks and railways over to them, gave land to the peasants, abolished national oppression that weighed heavily on half of Russia's population and took the country out of the imperialist war.

In face of incredible difficulties caused by the resistance of class enemies and by economic dislocation, the young Soviet state, as soon as it came into being, began to reorganize society. It began with abolishing private ownership of the means of production, abrogating all estate privileges, introducing an eight-hour working day, granting equality to women, effecting a democratic reform of public education, organizing a public health service for the people, and promoting science and the arts.

All this was of fundamental significance. The peoples of the world, who witnessed the epic of socialist construction, could from

the very outset see that the proletarian revolution was not confined to the destruction of the old. Its underlying purport and grandeur was the building of a new life.

Marxist-Leninists have always based themselves on the fact that the key issue of any revolution is that of power. But for them the conquest of power has never been an end in itself. They have always regarded the dictatorship of the proletariat as the basic vehicle for building the new, socialist society, for promoting the well-being and happiness of the working people.

The entire experience of the class struggle teaches us that a revolution is worth something only when it can defend itself. The Great October Revolution has demonstrated how important this truth is for a socialist revolution against which all the forces of the old world take up arms. During the grim time when counter-revolutionary and interventionist hordes attacked the young Soviet Republic, when she found herself up against blockades, wrecking and kulak revolts, revolutionary Russia had to face the hardest test. She passed this test and won the right to live. She passed it because in the Civil War, in the food requisitioning teams and on the labor front the workers and peasants fought for a cause that was dear to them, for a cause on which depended their own destinies, their freedom and their future.

The Red Army, born in the flames of the October Revolution, won unfading glory in those days. The heroism and devotion of the soldiers of the Revolution, their willingness to sacrifice themselves and endure any privation for the sake of victory to this day command the admiration of the world. The battles at Perekop, Kakhovka and Volochayevka, the heroes of the Chapayev division and of the Cavalry Army are lauded in song. The feat performed by them is an example on which all the new generations of Soviet people are brought up. For us, heirs of the October Revolution, the traditions of self-sacrificing struggle for the socialist Motherland built up during the Civil War will always be an inexhaustible source of courage, staunchness and will to victory.

A noteworthy feature of the October Revolution was its proletarian internationalism, which formed unbreakable ties between the workers of Russia and their class brothers throughout the world. There is every justification for stating that the victory of the October Revolution was a triumph of the internationalist fraternity of working people, a triumph of proletarian internationalism. Fighting in the Red Army side by side with the sons of the peoples of our country were Hungarians, Poles, Serbs, Croations, Czechs, Slovaks, Bulgarians, Austrians, Germans, Finns, Rumanians, Mongolians, Koreans, Chinese and men of many other nationalities. This was a fighting international of revolutionaries.

The Revolution was upheld not only by those who fought for it in the Civil War. The whole of Europe learned of the noble action

of French sailors who forced the interventionists to withdraw their naval squadron from Odessa, and of the actions of English workers who issued the "Hands Off Russia" call. Europe seethed. There was wave after wave of uprisings, strikes and demonstrations. This powerful upsurge of the working-class movement fettered the forces of the international counter-revolution and weakened the pressure of the imperialist interventionists.

On behalf of Soviet Communists and all Soviet people, allow me to express profound respect and warm gratitude to our foreign comrades, to everybody who in those glorious years deeply appreciated the significance of the October Revolution and helped our people defend their revolutionary gains.

Comrades, the triumph of October was a triumph of Leninism. All the preparations for the socialist revolution in Russia, the founding and the history of our Communist Party and Soviet state, our victories on the military fronts and our achievements in peaceful construction are indissolubly associated with the name and work of the immortal Lenin.

Vladimir Lenin has entered history as the founder of the Bolshevik Party, as the greatest leader and organizer of the working masses and as a scientist of genius. He was a revolutionary in the loftiest sense of the word. His whole life was one of unremitting struggle for the happiness and interests of the working people.

Moreover, the leader of the October Revolution is incomparable as a strategist of revolution and unsurpassed in political tactics. He intuitively sensed the slightest changes in the alignment of political forces and in the mood of the masses, and knew how to correctly translate this mood into the language of high-level politics, to put forward the most effective mass slogan in the given situation and chart the surest way to the objective.

He was irreconcilable when it came to questions of principle in ideology and politics. But this never hindered him from displaying maximum flexibility in the approach to specific problems. An ardent revolutionary, he mercilessly ridiculed pseudo-revolutionary phrasemongering. A born fighter he could when necessary agree to compromise and retreat in order to muster forces and then take the offensive more successfully.

By his nature he could not tolerate anything smacking of bigotry or dogmatism. His creative approach to theory and politics enabled him comprehensively to develop and enrich the Marxist teaching of revolution and the science of building socialism. Despite being immersed in day-to-day work, in a host of urgent affairs, he mapped out the general line for socialist construction in Russia and laid down the principles underlying Soviet domestic and foreign policy.

Both as a statesman and as a person Lenin was an extraordinarily modest man. The leader of the world proletariat, the man whom the Revolution placed at the helm of the world's first state of

workers and peasants was exceedingly exacting of himself, with absolutely no play-acting or vanity.

Lenin was 47 when from the rostrum of the Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets he proclaimed the triumph of the socialist revolution. He was 54 when his heart stopped beating. But death was helpless before the greatness of Lenin's genius. He was with us during the stirring period of the first five-year plans. He was with us on the battlefields of the Great Patriotic War. He is with us today when the peoples of the Soviet Union have entered a new stretch of history, implementing the tasks of communist construction.

The cause of Lenin was continued by the Party created by him. To its lot fell the difficult but honorable task of translating into reality Lenin's immortal ideas, the ever-living legacy of his thoughts. And our Party, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, is coping with this task with flying colors.

The 50th anniversary of the October Revolution is a triumph of Leninism, a triumph of the ideals and practical deeds of the Leninist Party.

Our Party and the Soviet people feel that the best way to express boundless respect for the memory of Lenin is always and steadfastly to follow the course charted by him.

## 2. THE BUILDING OF SOCIALISM IN THE USSR A GREAT FEAT OF THE SOVIET PEOPLE

Comrades, after having upheld the Revolution with guns in their hands, the working people of Soviet Russia led by the Leninist Party began the ascent to the summits of socialism. This was a great and difficult road, a great and unforgettable feat of the Soviet people.

Soviet power inherited from tsarism a country with a low level of economic and cultural development, while seven years of war—at first the imperialist war and then the Civil War—flung the economy far back even compared with the pre-war level. We were encircled by hostile capitalist states. The class enemies, defeated on the battlefield, did not cease their resistance; they sought to utilize the slightest possibility, the slightest loophole in order to weaken and undermine the young state of workers and peasants. Right and "Left" opportunists endeavored to divert the Party from the Leninist general line.

Another reason why the building of socialism was a complicated business for us was that we were pioneering it. There was nobody

from whom we could learn. Armed with Marxist-Leninist theory the Communist Party knew the general road towards socialism. But it neither knew nor could know all the problems that would face it on each section of that road, much less did it have ready-made solutions to these problems. To use a figurative expression of Lenin's, while the bourgeoisie, when it came to power, received "a well-designed and tested vehicle, a well-prepared road and previously tested appliances" the proletariat which had seized power had "no vehicle, no road, absolutely nothing that had been tested previously" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 205). It was our Communist Party that had to blaze the trail to socialism, to build and test the "appliances" of the new society in practice.

Such was the situation in which the building of socialism was started. From our present heights it is not difficult to see the miscalculations and mistakes of the past. Some things could unquestionably have been accomplished faster, better and with less cost. But in order to arrive at an objective assessment of the road that has been covered it should always be remembered that for us every step was a quest and every advance was achieved in unceasing struggle against enemies within the country and in the world arena.

When the Party embarked upon the socialist transformation of our country it appreciated that in order to build socialism it was necessary to create a large-scale modern industry. This had to be done within the shortest possible period or there would be defeat—we had no other choice. For that reason the country's industrialization became our prime target.

In those days the Soviet state was short of funds, of machinery and of trained personnel for the building of the industrial basis of socialism. We could not count on help from abroad. But we had the most advanced social system in the world. There was a tremendous charge of revolutionary enthusiasm among the masses and this enabled the Soviet people to accomplish the impossible.

Our country's and the world's first state plan of economic development—the State Plan for the Electrification of Russia known as GOELRO—was approved on Lenin's initiative back in 1920, when the Civil War was at its height. The history of the scientific, planned comprehensive development of the economy began with that plan.

The main targets of Soviet economic policy in the transitional period were formulated by Lenin and endorsed by the 10th Congress of the RCP(B) in 1921. They are known as the New Economic Policy, whose purpose was to defend the Revolution, deliver the country from ruin and famine, build the foundations of socialist economy and gradually oust and abolish capitalist elements. In many ways this policy was dictated by the situation obtaining at the time.

At the same time, Lenin looked far ahead. Already then he worked out principles of socialist economic management that have fully retained their significance to this day. The Leninist principles of combining centralized planning with the promoton of popular initiative, of utilizing commodity-monetary relations, cost accounting and material incentives, of integrating the interests of society as a whole with the interests of every worker individually, continue to underlie the Party's economic policy.

By utilizing the vast advantages of the socialist system the Party was able in less than three five-year periods to resolve the key problems of the country's industrialization as formulated in the decisions of the 14th Party Congress. By the 1940s the country already had a versatile socialist industry. For the total volume of industrial output and technical equipment of industry the Soviet Union reached the level of the leading capitalist countries in Europe.

The farther the years of the first five-year plans recede into the past the more majestic becomes that difficult yet stirring period. Had the Soviet people not displayed great political consciousness, organization and courage our country would never have become socialist and a leading industrial power. Let us recall, comrades, how people lived in those years: there were bread ration cards, a shortage of clothes and footwear, an acute housing problem and a host of other difficulties. Yet, despite all the difficulties and privations, the country virtually seethed with the labor enthusiasm of the masses, and volunteers streamed to the building projects—the Dnieper Hydropower Station, the Magnitogorsk Iron and Steel Combine, the Turkestan-Siberian Railway, Komsomolsk-on-Amur, the Berezniki Plant, the giant Kharkov, Chelyabinsk and Stalingrad Tractor Works, and the Gorky and Moscow Auto Works—to where the foreposts of socialist industry were being created.

Our first five-year plans were real battles for socialism, and like any other battle they produced talented commanders and selfless heroes. The Party embarked on extensive work and moved to the fore a galaxy of outstanding organizers of industry, managers of the national economy. The enthusiasm engendered by the great projects and the nationwide scale of the socialist emulation movement gave rise to thousands upon thousands of foremost workers—shock workers, Stakhanovites, the finest representatives of the working class—whose labor achievements gave a mighty impetus to the entire work of building the industrial basis of socialism. The staunchness and courage of these people and their unswerving devotion to the Party's cause, to the cause of socialism, are to this day an inspiring example that lives on in the valorous deeds of the working class, of the entire Soviet people, who are building new factories and power stations, developing the expanses of Siberia and the Soviet Far East, making epoch-making scientific discoveries,

and, by their labor, continuing the glorious traditions of the first five-year plans.

In order to build socialism not only had a large-scale industry to be created but the countryside had to be reorganized on socialist lines. That was an extraordinarily difficult task, which entailed overcoming the petty proprietor's age-old force of habit and the narrowness of his interests and views on life, and changing his psychology. The individualistic peasant had to be turned into an active participant in collective labor and social life.

The way to solving this gigantic social problem was indicated by Lenin in his famous co-operative plan, which the Party used as its guide in its work in the countryside. In addition to the organization of state farms, the Party set the task of uniting the peasants in collective farms. In 1927 the 15th Party Congress set the course towards the collectivization of agriculture.

Collectivization was one of the key components of the socialist revolution. As any other revolutionary undertaking, it was attended by a sharp struggle to overcome the resistance of the last and numerically largest exploiter class, the kulaks. The complexity of the social situation in the countryside, the shortage of machinery, and the necessity for temporarily sacrificing many requirements of the countryside for the sake of industrialization created many difficulties. But the purposefulness of the Party's work and the active efforts of the laboring peasants and the working class made it possible to surmount these difficulties.

When we speak of the socialist reorganization of the countryside we cannot but recall those who devoted their labor, willpower and energy to the solution of this colossal problem. In response to the Party's call workers of Moscow and Leningrad, the Urals and the Donbas went to the countryside to help organize new, collective farming. They are known to history as The Twenty-Five Thousand, but there were many more of them. They brought to the peasants the ideas of the Communist Party, faith in the ideals of socialism, and the experience of class struggle. The names of the Communists who headed the new collective farms, of the selfless workers of the machine-and-tractor stations and state farms, the organizers and veterans of collective- and state-farm production are forever inscribed in the annals of collective-farm glory.

The triumph of the Leninist policy of industrialization of the country and collectivization of agriculture was of enormous sociopolitical significance. The economic foundation of socialism was built in town and country. The nature of the working class and peasantry changed and the alliance between them was consolidated. A lasting foundation was laid for the development of socialist social relations, for enhancing the country's defense capacity and for strengthening the moral and political unity of the Soviet people.

Comrades, the socialist remaking of our country would have

been inconceivable if in the very first days after the October Revolution the Party had not energetically and purposefully launched a cultural revolution. This was a task of the greatest importance. It will be remembered that when the Revolution was accomplished three-quarters of the population of Russia were illiterate. Four years before the Revolution Lenin bitterly wrote: "There is no other country so barbarous and in which the masses are *robbed* to such an extent of education, light and knowledge—no other such country has remained in Europe; Russia is the exception" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 19, p. 139).

Lenin called upon the people to "study, study and study!" And the whole country got down to study. After a hard day's work millions of workers and peasants learned to read and write and mastered the rudiments of culture, science and Marxist philosophy in order to have the knowledge for building the new life.

We do not fortuitously call the process of bringing culture to the masses revolutionary. The task was not only to teach people to read and write; the new, socialist ideology had to be established in all spheres of the spiritual life of society. We had to train our own, Soviet skilled cadres. We had to create a socialist culture that would absorb all the best and advanced achievements of thousands of years of civilization and take a new step forward in the spiritual development of all mankind.

In those years we had to save on everything. But for the promotion of education, science and culture the Party and the Government allocated funds with a generosity that even the richest capitalist countries could envy. And if today the Soviet Union amazes the world with its scientific and cultural achievements it is due to the fact that the foundations of these achievements were laid back in those days when the Land of Soviets began to build a ramified network of schools, libraries, workers' faculties, technical schools, institutions of higher learning and research establishments.

The socialist revolution opened the road to the solution of the nationalities problem. By tearing down the "prison of nations" which tsarist Russia was, the October Revolution brought complete emancipation to all the nationalities inhabiting our country. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, a voluntary federation of nations welded together by a common struggle for a common objective, was formed in 1922. The formation of the USSR was a triumph of internationalism, a manifestation of the political wisdoim of the Communist Party, the working class and all working people of the Union Republics, who regarded the pooling of their energies as the decisive condition for attaining the objectives of the Revolution and defending its gains.

The abolition of the exploiter classes, industrialization, collectivization and the cultural revolution were links of a single revolutionary process which led to fundamental changes in the relations be-

tween classes and nations. Years of hard dedicated work yielded fruit. The titanic efforts of the Party and the people were crowned with success. Social and national antagonisms departed forever from the life of our society. A new social system resting on friendship and alliance between the working class, the collective farm peasantry and the people's intelligentsia was created. Socialist principles became firmly rooted in all spheres of social life.

Communists and all Soviet people knew that the building of socialism was only the first step towards communism. Already in 1939 at its 18th Congress the Party began to chart the first steps of the transition to the next stage, to the building of communism. But before these steps were taken our country, our people had to withstand the sternest test in their history.

The great successes achieved by the Soviet people, who in less than a quarter of a century turned their country into a flourishing socialist state, evoked fury in the imperialist camp. Those who had failed to strangle our Revolution at its birth never ceased to plan the military defeat of the Land of Soviets.

We did not need war. The Soviet Government did everything in its power to avert it. But this proved to be impossible to do. In 1941 the perfidious attack by nazi Germany cut short the peaceful labor of the Soviet people. A battle on a scale unprecedented in history broke out between the assault forces of imperialism and the first socialist power. Our Party had foreseen the possibility of a military clash with the forces of imperialism and had been preparing the country and the people for defense. The socio-economic achievements gained during the prewar five-year plans and the ideological and political unity of Soviet society welded in the building of socialism predetermined our people's victory in the Great Patriotic War.

The guiding role of the Communist Party, under whose leadership victory was forged, strikingly manifested itself during the war years. The armed forces of our country covered themselves with unfading glory in the titanic battle against nazism. The mass heroism displayed by officers and men and the selflessness of the partisans and the underground fighters demonstrated that socialist patriotism is a tremendous invincible force. By smashing the nazis Soviet people upheld the cause of the October Revolution, the cause of socialism, their homeland.

The front and rear formed a single mighty fist. The country became a single military camp. It was difficult for everybody. People were undernourished and did not get enough sleep. Women took the place of their husbands in the factories and children took over machine-tools from their fathers. But the industrial heart of the Motherland never missed a beat. Our factories gave the Soviet Army the weapons to crush the military machine of Hitlerism which had behind it the industrial might of almost the whole of Europe. Despite the acute shortage of manpower and farm machines and

despite the drastic reduction of the crop area our collective and state farms gave the country the food it needed for victory. It was a civic, patriotic feat of the people. It was a feat performed by people who saw the meaning of their life in labor for the sake of victory. And they did everything to ensure victory.

This feat, which knows no precedent, lasted for four long years. The great battles at the Brest Fortress, near Odessa and Sevastopol, at the approaches to Moscow, at the walls of Leningrad, Stalingrad and Novorossiisk, in the Orel-Kursk Bulge and on the Dnieper and the Vistula entered the history of wars as models of warcraft, of the valor of the armed forces, and remarkable staunchness and courage of the population. The Soviet people marched towards their great victory through the grimmest tests such as nobody had experienced and through the fire and blood of unparalleled battles. Under the leadership of their Communist Party they upheld the gains of the October Revolution, defeated the aggressors and cleared their country of invaders. They crushed nazism, that most sinister creation of imperialism.

We have forgotten nothing of the chronicle of that heroic epic. We remember the contribution that was made to the victory over the common enemy by the peoples of Poland, Yugoslavia, Britain, France, Czechoslovakia, the USA and other members of the anti-Hitler coalition. We remember the courage and valor of the resistance fighters in enemy-occupied countries. We pay tribute to those leaders of the Allied countries of the West who in face of the threat of nazi enslavement took, in spite of the differences in social systems, the road of effective co-operation with the Soviet Union in the struggle against the aggressor.

The defeat of nazi Germany and her allies in Europe and Asia, a defeat in which our country played the decisive role, was of historic significance, for it opened for many nations and countries the road to freedom, independence and social progress.

The heroic feat of the Soviet people gave the world fresh proof that no force exists which can defeat a people liberated from capitalist oppression, which can crush the socialist social system, created and loved by this people. The red banner hoisted by Soviet soldiers over the Reichstag was more than the banner of our military victory. Comrades, it was the immortal banner of the October Revolution; it was the great banner of Lenin; it was the invincible banner of socialism, the bright symbol of hope, freedom and happiness of all nations.

The losses and destruction inflicted on us by the war are beyond compare. The war brought the people grief which to this day wrings the hearts of millions of mothers, widows and orphans. For a man no loss is more painful than the death of relatives, comrades and friends. No sight is more heart-rending than that of destroyed fruits of labor into which he has put his strength, talent and

love for his country. No smell is more acrid than that of smouldering ruins. The Soviet soldier returning home to his beloved land, saw it lacerated by fire and metal and lying in piles of rubble.

But nothing could break the will of Soviet people or stop the triumphant onward march of socialism. The bitterness of loss was hard to bear. But side by side with it in the heart of every Soviet person there was the jubilant feeling of victory. The feat of those who fell inspired the living. The heroic people who had won everlasting military glory rallied closely round the Party and during the years of post-war rehabilitation once again demonstrated remarkable qualities such as staunchness, dedication and industry. The history of those years, I would say, still remains to be properly written. But we clearly remember the chief thing, which was that in the main the pre-war level of output was reached by industry in 1948 and by agriculture in 1950. In the years that followed the Soviet people completely healed the war wounds and created realistic prerequisites for further progress on a much higher scale than before the war and for the transition to the full-scale building of communism.

Today, when we mark the 50th anniversary of the Socialist Revolution, we can with satisfaction and pride sum up the majestic results of what has been achieved.

The developed socialist society built in our country is a society ruled by the principle: "From each according to his abilities, to each according to his work." Socialist relations of production ensure the planned, steady development of the entire economy at the modern technical level. Our industry is expanding at a rapid rate. This year its output will be 73 times greater than in 1913. Agricultural output has increased almost threefold in that period, although the number of people engaged in farming has diminished by more than half.

Behind these indices stands a powerful industry embracing practically all branches of modern production. The Soviet Union has the world's biggest power stations using unique equipment. Suffice it to say that the capacity of only one of the turbines to be installed at the Krasnoyarsk Hydropower Station is almost equal to the capacity of the pre-war Dnieper Hydropower Station. The Soviet engineering industry is manufacturing annually nearly 200,000 metal-cutting lathes and more than half a million tractors and combine harvesters. The output of our steel industry has topped the 100 million ton mark. The chemical, radio engineering, electronics and atomic industries are growing swiftly.

The high level of development attained by our industry, technology and science is strikingly illustrated by Soviet achievements in the exploration of outer space. A short time ago the successful flight of an automatic station to Venus won the admiration of the world. It is hard to picture the technical skill and the precision

that was required to make the space vehicle created by Soviet people touch down on Venus after a journey of hundreds of millions of kilometres and transmit over that tremendous distance data which have considerably broadened scientific knowledge.

Some days ago the world witnessed yet another outstanding achievement of Soviet scientists, designers and engineers. The highly intricate scientific and technological problem of accomplishing an automatic link-up of space vehicles in orbit was solved with marvellous brilliance. This has opened the road to the creation of large orbiting space stations.

These new triumphs in outer space are a splendid gift for the 50th anniversary of the Great October Revolution.

In addition to remaking the entire economic system, socialism has radically transformed the class composition of our society.

In socialist society the leading role is played by the working class. The Soviet worker has inherited the finest qualities of the revolutionary proletariat. Profoundly devoted to the ideals of the Party, he is a politically-conscious fighter for the people's cause and the creator of the traditions in labor and life which bring us closer to communism. The workers building communism today are worthy successors of the proletarians who fought at the barricades in Moscow's Krasnaya Presnya district and stormed the Winter Palace, and of the heroes of the first five-year plans from whom the present working class has taken over the baton of revolution.

Socialism, collective ownership of the means of production and collective labor have moulded a new people of the Soviet countryside—our collective farm peasants. In the Soviet Union the words "collective farmer" are pronounced with deep respect. Solidly united with the working class, the collective farmers are a considerable political force in our society. Therein lies one of the great gains of the October Revolution.

Important creative tasks are being resolved by the people's intelligentsia, which is indissolubly linked with the working class and the peasantry. The higher the cultural level of our society and the greater the progress in science and technology, the more appreciable will be the growth of the role played by intellectuals in carrying out the tremendous tasks confronting the Soviet people.

Welded together by a community of interests, objectives and ideals, all the contingents of the great army of builders of communism are moving forward in inviolable fraternal unity towards a bright future, towards the classless communist society .

Socialism brought women genuine emancipation. It gave them broad scope for creative activity, the development of talent and abilities, and the mastering of many professions which had formerly been closed to them. They are actively participating in the administration of the state. There are 425 women in the USSR Supreme Soviet alone, which is considerably more than in the parliaments

of the entire capitalist West. Our Soviet woman, who is a worker, mother and heroine, is worthy of the most profound respect.

The whole world knows of the success of the Leninist nationalities policy. All the nations and peoples of the Soviet Union are flourishing and have achieved colossal progress in the promotion of industry, agriculture, science and culture. Socialism has set in motion a mighty driving force of our development—friendship among nations. The unity of the multinational Soviet people is as solid as a diamond. In the same way as a diamond sparkles with multi-colored facets so does the unity of our people scintillate with the diversity of nations each of which lives a rich, full-blooded, free and happy life.

The 50th anniversary of the October Revolution is an occasion for genuine rejoicing by the fraternal family of all the peoples and all the republics forming the great Soviet Union. The Russian Federation, the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Lithuania, Moldovia, Latvia, Kirghizia, Tajikistan, Armenia, Turkmenia and Estonia all live with the same thoughts and the same aspirations. They were together during the years of socialist construction. They were together during the grim years of war. And together they are building communism, working with dedication and promoting by joint effort the economy, science and culture of the Land of Soviets.

May the fraternal friendship of all the nations and nationalities of our country flourish. May the unity of the multinational Soviet people grow stronger.

Comrades, the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, created by the October Revolution, was the principal vehicle enabling our people to demolish the old world, crush the resistance of the exploiting classes and fundamentally change the destiny of their country. Experience shows that the dictatorship of the proletariat can—and does—exist in various forms. But whatever its form, the political power of the working class led by its vanguard, the Communist Party, is indispensable for the building of socialism. This is convincingly demonstrated by the experience of our Revolution and it is confirmed by the experience of socialist revolutions in other countries.

Today, when exploiting classes are a thing of the distant past, when the triumph of socialism has brought about the unbreakable ideological and political unity of our society, the Soviet state, which originally was a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, has become a state of the whole people, a political organization of the whole people with the working class playing the leading role.

The Party has done much to improve socialist democracy and create firm guarantees of socialist legality. A noteworthy part was played in this by the 20th Party Congress, which passed important

decisions aimed at steadfastly and consistently implementing Leninist standards and principles in all spheres of our life and at further promoting the political activity of the people.

The Soviets of Working People's Deputies, which are the political backbone of our society, continue to be strengthened. The deputies to the Soviets and the *aktiv* giving them day-to-day assistance in their work total more than 25 million, i.e., almost a quarter of the country's able-bodied population. The work of the Soviets directly mirrors the power of the people, who manage social and state affairs themselves.

The trade unions, which have more than 80 million members, actively help to draw the masses into various forms of administration of state affairs. Under the guidance of the Party they have become a school of administration and economic management, a school of communism. The Leninist Komsomol, which has 23 million members, actively helps the Party to educate young people in a communist spirit and enlist their participation in the fulfilment of specific tasks of communist construction.

In these and many other mass organizations, which are dependable assistants to the Party, Soviet people learn to adopt a state approach to affairs and to show concern for the interests of society as a whole, for the interests of the nation.

Comrades, the proletarian revolution is accomplished for the sake of the vital interests of the people, for the sake of the well-being and happiness of the working people, for the sake of freedom and social justice. That is why improvement of the Soviet people's standard of living continues to be, as it always has been, a prime concern of the Party and the Soviet Government.

Socialism has given our people what the working people of even the richest capitalist countries lack, namely, freedom from capitalist oppression and confidence in the morrow. Soviet people neither know nor will ever know the meaning of exploitation and unemployment.

The Party and the Government show unflagging concern for improving working conditions and shortening the working day. During the Soviet years the average working week in industry has been shortened by 18 hours. This year the country is switching over to a five-day working week with two days off.

Under Soviet power the real incomes of workers have risen six and a half times and the incomes of the collective farmers, eight and a half times. During the past few years alone wage increases have been granted to some 25 million workers and office employees, guaranteed remuneration for work and pensions have been introduced for collective farmers and disability pensions have been increased. Today more than 34 million people are drawing pensions either from the State or collective farm funds.

It will be recalled that last September a Plenary Meeting of the CC CPSU and a session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR adopted new important decisions to raise the standard of living. These decisions affect more than 50 million people. We can say with deep satisfaction that never before in the history of our state have such large sums been allocated in a lump for raising the standard of living.

There has been a considerable increase in the consumption of basic foods and manufactured goods. Urban housing accommodation has increased more than sevenfold; we are building more housing than any other country in the world. The number of health and holiday homes, holiday hotels, tourist camps and sports stadiums is steadily growing.

The USSR is the first country in which the government has shouldered concern for the health of the people, ensuring free medical assistance for all citizens. One-quarter of the doctors in the world are in the Soviet Union.

The conditions of a nation's life may be assessed by many indices. One of the most important of these is the expectancy of life. It is a summary, as it were, of all that is being done for man: the conditions of work and life, health protection and social security. In this respect, too, the Soviet Union has made colossal progress. In old Russia the average life span was only 32 years. Today it is 70 years, which is among the highest in the world.

Socialism is a society that has no privileged classes or estates. However, ever since the first day of Soviet power a certain part of the population has been privileged. It is our children, our youth. Every new citizen of the USSR begins to feel society's concern for the health and upbringing of the rising generation virtually from his very birth. We have secured outstanding results: child mortality has dropped to less than one-tenth of the rate in old Russia. We have a large (but still not large enough) network of kindergartens and nursery schools catering for more than nine million young citizens in the USSR.

Public education is promoted on a grand scale. The number of students in general-education schools, secondary specialized schools, institutions of higher learning and vocational schools is now drawing close to 60 million. That is one of the main achievements of the socialist system.

The future of the Land of Soviets will be shaped by today's Little Octobrists, Young Pioneers and YCLers. The Party is quite sure that this will be a wonderful future, that our children and grandchildren will carry forward with honor the great banner of the October Revolution.

Comrades, to fathom the depth of the changes brought about by socialism would require the painstaking work of a scientist and the

inspired song of a poet. In the course of the past 50 years absolutely everything has changed in the life of the people. We have built a totally new world, a world of new, socialist relations, a world of the new, Soviet man. The spiritual horizon of Soviet people has broadened out immensely; their morals and their attitude to work, society and each other have changed. Renewed and remade by socialism, our country stands before all mankind in all its might and grandeur, in all the brilliance of the talent of its remarkable people.

The majestic edifice of socialism built in our country is a fitting reward for the efforts and feats of the Soviet people, for the half century of dedicated work and heroic battles for the triumph of the ideals in whose name the Great October Socialist Revolution was accomplished.

History is people and it is they who make it. Tens of millions of workers and peasants built socialism, tens of millions made the history of our epoch. The work performed by generations of revolutionaries and builders of socialism, by the statesmen moved to the forefront by the Revolution, by military leaders, scientists, captains of industry, shock workers and innovators will always be part of the history of our country and of world socialism.

Today, when we mark the 50th anniversary of the Great October Revolution, we pay heartfelt tribute to those who are no longer with us, to those who fell at the hands of the class enemy while defending the Revolution and the cause of socialism. We pay tribute to those who died at their posts, giving all their strength to the service of the people. Soviet people are continuing and will continue their cause, the cause of communism.

Comrades, today our society combines the wisdom of maturity and the energy of youth. In our ranks there are veterans of the Revolution and the Civil War, heroes of the first five-year plans and those who defended Soviet power in mortal combat with nazism. Also in our ranks are fine, talented and educated young people, who are worthily furthering the glory of their fathers.

Our present society is an alloy of the intelligence and talents of all generations, of all nations and nationalities, of all working people in the country. There is no task or accomplishment that is beyond the strength of such a society, of such a people.

The feat performed by our people, their victories in labor and on the field of battle will never be forgotten by coming generations.

Glory to the Soviet people! Glory to Soviet man, the real hero of our times!

## 3. FOR NEW ACHIEVEMENTS IN THE WORK FOR COMMUNISM

Comrades, Soviet people regard the results they achieved not only as a measure of the work already accomplished. This, at the same time, is the point of advance from which we look into the future, determining our tasks and prospects.

Life marches on, and each stage in our society's development poses its own problems. There was a time when the main task was to hold out in face of the onslaught of the class enemy, to eliminate the backwardness inherited from the past and to introduce in life the basic principles of socialism. These problems have been solved, this stage has already been passed.

Today we are faced with new tasks, new not only in magnitude but also in character. The thing is to utilize to the full the possibilities created by our developed socialist society. We must learn to employ with maximum effect both our social gains and the tremendous productive forces our country possesses, the achievements of science and technology and the rising level of the Soviet people's culture and education. Only on this basis can we successfully build communism and advance along the path charted by the Party Program. The scale and complexity of the tasks we have to accomplish make ever greater demands on everything we do, on the style and methods of our work.

The economy, the creation of communism's material and technical foundation, is the main field of the Soviet people's struggle for the victory of communism. Soviet society's rate of advance, the course of the competition between the two world systems and our contribution to the development of the world revolutionary process will depend to a decisive degree on how we develop the economy.

The economy of the Soviet Union has entered a stage when the raising of the efficiency of social production and improvement of qualitative indicators in all sectors, based on the latest scientific and technological achievements, are increasingly becoming the main source of economic growth.

This means that production must be increased not only by commissioning new capacity and developing new lands but more and more by making better use of each enterprise, each machine, each hectare of land. This implies the allocation and use of capital investments so that each invested ruble will yield a maximum return. This implies a reduction in per unit outlays of raw and other materials and fuel.

An important prerequisite for successful advance is to achieve a balanced social production and set proportions and rates which

would optimally meet the requirements of both production and consumption.

We shall continue to devote primary attention to heavy industry. At the same time agriculture, the industries producing consumer goods and the public services will be developed at accelerated rates. This is necessary for further raising the country's economic potential, for ensuring scientific and technological progress, for further enhancing the living standard of the Soviet people.

Life has set impotant tasks in improving the methods of managing the economy, improving the system of planning and economic stimulation. To cope with these tasks the Party and the Government have launched a broad economic reform the main aim of which is to raise the efficiency of social production and to ensure a further rise in the productivity of labor. To achieve this it is necessary, first of all, to make wider use of economic levers and ably to combine planning centralized guidance, with the initiative of the personnel of industrial enterprises, of state and collective farms.

The guidelines of economic policy conforming to the present stage of the country's development were mapped out in the decisions of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU and the plenary meetings of the Central Committee held from 1965 to 1967. Not much time has passed since the implementation of these decisions began, but the very first results show that we are on the right road. In the last three years the growth rates of industrial and agricultural production have noticeably risen. Key sectors of the national economy have begun to operate more profitably. All this has made it possible to carry out new measures for improving the people's well-being.

Our Party will continue to devote unflagging attention to the elaboration of scientifically-based economic solutions aimed at further advancing the country's productive forces.

We have everything to build up an industry that will be the most powerful and advanced in the world as regards total output, scientific and technical level, quality of the goods produced and the main economic indicators. Our social system enables us to utilize all the advantages of planned economy. We have at our disposal modern, well-equipped production and technical facilities. We possess one-third of all the oil-bearing areas in the world, more than one-quarter of all the natural gas resources, huge hydropower resources and coal deposits and exceedingly rich reserves of metal ores and timber. Remarkable personnel capable of coping with any problem have grown up in our country.

A fresh advance of Soviet industry will make it possible further

to strengthen our defenses and the positions of socialism in the world.

The interests of the Soviet people, the interests of communist construction require that we have not only a powerful industry but also a highly developed agriculture capable of fully meeting the growing needs of the population in food-stuffs and industry in raw materials.

Since time immemorial agriculture has depended on the climate, on the whims of nature. Man has always sought to get rid of this dependence or, at least, lessen it. This is particularly important for our Motherland, which extends from the Baltic plains to the Pacific, from the mountain ranges of the Caucasus and the Pamirs to the Arctic tundra. Only in this way can we achieve high and stable growth rates in crop raising and animal husbandry.

That is why we attach prime significance to fulfilling the long-term program of land improvement, to the use of chemicals in agriculture and to efficiency of farming. Our country is now able to allocate more resources for the development of agriculture. We want agriculture to achieve the same level as socialist industry as regards labor productivity, technical facilities and the use of scientific achievements. This is a fully feasible task at the present stage of scientific and technological progress.

Mankind has entered an age of a sweeping revolution in science and technology. The Soviet Union is proud of the splendid achievements of its scientists. The great successes of physics and chemistry open up new sources of energy, make it possible to create new materials and extend the horizons of all key industries. Discoveries in biology create new possibilities in agriculture and medicine. The achievements of cybernetics help to raise the productivity of mental labor and to blaze trails in automating various types of business activity and management. Science is becoming a direct productive force in the real meaning of the word. This role of science will go on rising.

Scientists are faced with tremendously important tasks of penetrating the finest structure of matter, probing the secrets of life, transforming some kinds of energy into others, controlling thermonuclear reactions, further exploring space, influencing processes in the atmosphere and studying the depths of the earth and the sea. Much is to be done in the social sciences both in elaborating problems of communist construction in our country and studying questions of world development.

Paying due tribute to the achievements of scientists, the Soviet people expect of them ever greater achievements. Socialism develops, drawing on the most advanced, progressive creations of human genius. We associate our future with science and are confident

that Soviet science, our scientists will be in the forefront of progress.

The rapid progress of science and technology makes the eternal problem of relationship between man and nature especially topical. Even the first socialists held that the bringing of man and nature closer toegther would be a characteristic of the future society. Centuries have passed since then. Having built a new society, we translated into reality many of the things which the predecessors of scientific socialism could only dream of. But nature has not lost for us its tremendous value both as the primary source of material wealth and as an inexhaustible well-spring of health, happiness, love of life and the spiritual wealth of every man.

All this should be recalled to stress how important it is to treasure nature, to protect and augment its wealth. Economical, sparing use of natural resources, concern for the land, forests, rivers and pure air, for the flora and fauna—all this is our vital, communist cause. We must preserve and beautify our land for the present and future generations of Soviet people.

The more rationally we utilize nature's riches, the greater the successes of industry, agriculture and science and the higher the productivity of social labor, the richer, finer and more cultured the life of the Soviet people will become.

We have every right to speak of our successes, but we see that we also have unsolved problems. We know that not all Soviet people, not all families live today as well as we all would want them to. That is why in all its work, in all its plans the Party pays particular attention to raising the people's living standard. As our national income grows, wages will steadily rise and the production of consumer goods expand. We will continue to build houses and cultural and service establishments on a large scale so as to ensure an improvement of the housing and living conditions of every Soviet family.

Observing the glorious 50th anniversary of the October Revolution, our Party, fully aware of its responsibility, declares: with each passing year the might of the Soviet Union will grow and the life of the Soviet people will improve. The Soviet citizen will ever more fully enjoy the fruits yielded by our gains, feel ever more tangibly the advantages of the socialist way of life.

Comrades, Marxists have always acted on the principle that the development of social production underlies social progress. This, however, does not at all mean that it is possible to relegate to the background the solution of other important social and political problems. All aspects of communist construction are closely interconnected. It is well known that the solution of socio-political problems depends on economic achievements. And conversely, eco-

nomic development is in large measure determined by the extent to which socio-political problems are resolved. Improvement of social relations, development of socialist democracy and statehood, ideological educational work—all this is a matter of paramount importance.

Essential distinctions between the working class, collective farm peasantry and intelligentsia of our country are being obliterated at the present stage. Today we see more clearly how these problems will be solved. We know better what has to be done for this purpose.

The nature of agricultural labor is increasingly changing. Today the peasant has to deal with intricate machines, electricity, chemical products, with the sciences related to farming and livestock raising. Here you have the process of agricultural labor being converted into a variety of industrial labor.

In recent years no little has been done to accelerate the drawing together of town and country as regards well-being and culture. Now that major successes have been registered in consolidating the economy of the collective and state farms, the basis for transforming the village, its outlook and way of life is becoming ever more substantial. It is a matter of large-scale building of houses and cultural and service establishments, of completing rural electrification and road construction. These are immense undertakings and much time will be needed to achieve them on the scale of a country like ours. But we consider this a matter of state importance and are tackling it in earnest.

The present-day level of production and scientific and technological progress are increasingly bringing closer together the labor of the worker and peasant with that of the engineer, technician and agronomist. The swift cultural advance of the entire population is playing an important part in this respect. The Party strives to have all workers, all peasants become intellectuals in the broadest sense of the word, to have them apply to the full their creative abilities and actively participate in society's spiritual life.

All this, of course, will not come of itself. Here the purposeful activity of the Party and the state is needed. Our plans provide for the further development of all spheres of cultural life, for the improvement of the entire system of education—general, higher and vocational. Formulating economic plans for the future, we deliberately build into them elements which lead to automation and mechanization of production processes and a curtailment of the field of unskilled labor. The latter is very important because, in addition to the economic effect, it will also ease the conditions and change the nature of the work performed by millions of Soviet people.

The Party attaches great significance to creating the most favor-

able conditions for the all-round development of the personality. Big possibilities in this respect are opened up by the increase in the free time the working people have. Free time means not only rest and leisure, but, as Marx stressed, it provides a kind of "room" for the development of the personality. Everything should be done so that with the extension of this "room" all members of society should be given greater opportunities to enjoy the benefits of culture, to study, to engage in their favorite occupation in various fields of scientific, technical and artistic endeavor.

As our society advances, the role of literature and the arts will rise still further. Today the treasure-house of world culture is available to the broad masses of working people. This elevates the social mission of art and thereby the responsibility of writers, composers, workers in the theatre, cinema and pictorial arts. The Party and the people highly value their creative efforts. Men of letters and the arts are called upon to create works which would ideologically enrich the builders of the new society, spread communist morality among the masses and satisfy the rising aesthetical requirements of our people.

Improvement of socialist social relations presupposes further consolidation of the Soviet state, enhancement of its organizational role in the economy and culture. It concerns the development of socialist democracy. It concerns ensuring precision, coordination and high efficiency in the work of all units of the state apparatus, consolidation of law and order and state discipline, elimination of the elements of red tape and a formal attitude we still encounter in our life. All this is of prime significance for communist construction.

By its nature communism is a society created by the masses themselves and in the interests of the entire people. To advance to communism means to draw the people more widely into the practical work of administering state, economic and social affairs. Utmost enhancement of the role of the Soviets of Working People's Deputies and public organizations will make for greater participation of the people in handling state and public affairs, and stimulate the people's initiative and their constructive activity. Our Party is regularly doing much work along all these lines.

The Soviet system has brought up the working people in the spirit of devotion to the cause of socialism, of collectivism, and developed in them the feeling of being masters of their country. But to be master means to have, alongside great rights, also great duties. It means to bear high responsibility not only for one's own personal work and behavior, but also for the affairs of the collective, the enterprise, the entire country. The development of these qualities, which must be inherent in every Soviet citizen, is one

of the most important tasks of the Party in communist construction.

Comrades, great are the deeds and the exploits accomplished by the Soviet people in the past fifty years. Sweeping vistas are opening up before them at the present half-century milestone. We are convinced that the years of the second half century of our country, too, will be marked with new accomplishments of epochal significance. The revolutionary flame kindled in the hearts of the people by the October Revolution illumines our path forward, towards the triumph of communism!

## 4. THE GREAT OCTOBER REVOLUTION AND THE WORLD REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

Comrades, the October whirlwind fanned the sparks of the revolution into a mighty flame. The half century which has passed since the October Revolution has convincingly demonstrated its tremendous international significance. During these years the entire face of the world has changed, in large measure under the impact of the October Revolution and its ideas, under the influence of socialism's victories.

With the birth of the Soviet state the struggle between the working class and the imperialist bourgeoisie has acquired a new character, focussing on the struggle between the two opposing socio-economic systems. There appeared a clear-cut dividing line, with all the forces of the old world, of reaction, of social and national oppression, on one side and the forces of socialism, democracy and progress on the other.

At that time, the old world dominated five-sixths of our planet's territory; it was incomparably stronger economically and possessed great military superiority. But a revolutionary epoch, as well as demolishing obsolete regimes, blasts traditional notions of strength. The new world had on its side the laws of social development, the revolutionary energy of the masses and the most advanced ideas of our age. And even in the days when socialism was represented by only one country this gave it the strength to hold out and then go over to a history-making offensive.

In the course of the half-century struggle the correlation of forces in the world has fundamentally changed. One-third of mankind has embarked on the socialist path. The break-up of the system of colonial slavery is being completed: more than 70 new states have arisen on the debris of former colonial empires. The organized working-class movement in the capitalist countries has become a

tremendous force. Its influence is an important factor in the political life of these countries. Democratic movements, in which broad sections of the population take part, have grown tremendously. As a result of all these changes, it is no longer imperialism but socialism and the anti-imperialist forces that determine the main content and the main trend of social development.

The peoples of the world see for themselves that socialism has abolished the exploitation of man by man and national oppression and has provided ample opportunities for the elimination of backwardness, for the advance of the productive forces, for progress. They have become convinced that socialism blazes the path to genuine democracy and freedom of the individual, to a lasting peace, to the banishing of wars from society's life.

Against the background of socialism's successes it has become even more obvious that capitalism is incapable of solving the fundamental issues facing mankind. It is the source of immeasurable calamities and suffering for the masses. Imperialism breeds aggressive wars and today the threat of a world thermonuclear conflict emanates from it. It is imperialism that caused the death of tens of millions of people in the two world wars. It is through it that immense resources are wasted on the arms race, on the manufacture of weapons of mass destruction. Imperialism is the obstacle which prevents the greatest potentialities discovered by science and technology from being utilized already now to wipe out starvation, poverty and disease. Imperialism is responsible for the fact that the countries which were held in colonial bondage are many decades behind in their development. Imperialism is a system which brutally oppresses the working people and stifles democracy, a system which has begotten fascism, the most extreme embodiment of reaction, obscurantism and terror.

The half century separating us from the October Revolution has been a period in which capitalism's general crisis has deepened, in which imperialism has been exposed in the eyes of the peoples and its influence undermined. But imperialism is not laying down arms. It is a strong and treacherous enemy. It has learned a great deal and is trying to draw lessons from its defeats, to adapt itself to the new situation.

Under the pressure of the class struggle imperialism is maneuvering, making partial concessions and widely employing social demagogy. The exacerbation of internal contradictions and the successes of socialism in the competition with capitalism are compelling the bourgeoisie increasingly to resort to state-monopoly regulation of the economy in order to mitigate crisis phenomena and to maintain production growth rates. As it loses its colonies, imperialism is going over to more crafty and refined methods of exploiting other peoples. Imperialism spares no effort or resources in the battle for the minds of people. The growing influence of

socialism compels the imperialists constantly to adapt their ideological weapons, their propaganda to the changing situation.

All politically conscious participants in the revolutionary movement take into consideration these changes in the enemy camp and the great complexity of the situation in which the class and liberation struggle develops today. They devise the most effective ways of carrying out this struggle, and work to rally all the forces in a united anti-imperialist front.

In recent decades, the revolutionary process has gained truly worldwide scope. There is no area in the world where the struggle for social and national liberation has not spread in one or another form. Imperialism is attacked from different sides. Even its positions which but recently seemed invulnerable have been shaken. Lenin's prediction that in the struggle against capitalism the most diverse forces and movements will merge in a single stream is coming true.

We Communists are well aware of the scale and complexity of the tasks facing the revolutionary forces. Many tense battles will have to be fought and much effort exerted on the road to the triumph of the ideas of socialism and progress throughout the world. But we are confident that the present stage signifies a tremendous step forward on this road and it will occupy a worthy place in the annals of mankind's struggle for progress and freedom, for socialism.

Successful development of the world socialist system is the most striking and important feature of this stage. The world working class and all revolutionary forces rightly regard it as their greatest gain, their remarkable achievement. The emergence of socialism beyond the bounds of one country and the establishment of a system of socialist states marked a sharp turn in world development. This victory weakened the forces of imperialism still more. It instilled in the hearts of the masses greater confidence in the rightness of socialism and the invincibility of its great ideals. New conditions for a further upswing of the revolutionary and liberation struggle, for all democratic movements arose in the world under the influence of a living and developing socialism and the magnetic force of its example.

In the past 20 years most socialist countries have registered big achievements in the economy and culture, in the development of new social relations and socialist democracy. A fundamental achievement of world socialism which should be stressed is the creation of a new type of relations between states in which the socialist system has triumphed. Fraternal relations between socialist countries rest on growing mutual trust and respect of the peoples and are based on socialist internationalism. Life shows that within the framework of the socialist community each country has the most favorable opportunities for strengthening its sovereignty

and independence and at the same time enjoys all the advantages afforded by mutual assistance and comradely support.

The entire experience of the world socialist system with its great gains and its difficulties shows that with the victory of socialist revolutions in a number of countries relations of a new type do not come of themselves. Socialist countries encounter new, intricate problems and have to overcome the hard legacy of a capitalist past, to resist the intrigues of imperialism, which seeks to split our ranks.

By their common efforts the fraternal Parties have considerably strengthened the socialist community. Each nation contributes its own specific features to the common cause of building the new life. We value the contribution of each people, of each Marxist-Leninist Party to the international treasure-house of socialism. The common constructive efforts expressing all the multiformity of reality produce the great experience of world socialism which is the possession of all mankind.

Speaking of the socialist system and problems of its development, we cannot ignore the events which deeply agitate all of us. It is the situation in the Chinese People's Republic. The victory of the revolution in China was of great importance. It exerted a deep impact on the development of the national liberation and revolutionary movement in all countries of Asia and Africa.

Unfortunately, the chauvinist and great-power policy pursued by Mao Tse-tung's group in recent years greatly harms the cause of socialism in China. This policy, aimed at undermining the unity of the world socialist community and the international communist movement, runs counter to the interests of the peoples' revolutionary struggle.

The events in China have fully laid bare the ideological and political degradation of some leaders of the Communist Party of China. At the same time they have shown that socialism in that country, even in a brief period and in the most intricate conditions, has succeeded in striking roots, in winning over the masses to its side. It is this that explains the stubborn struggle waged by the finest sons of the Communist Party of China, by the progressive forces of the Chinese people, to preserve the gains of socialism.

The Chinese Communists have something to defend and something to fight for. The general line of the Chinese Communists is that of building socialism, the line charted by the 8th Congress of the Communist Party of China in 1956. It is a line of steady economic development and "maximum satisfaction of the people's material and cultural requirements." It is the line of "developing a democratic life." It is the line of "eternal and unbreakable fraternal friendship with the great Soviet Union and all the People's Democracies," as the Congress decisions stressed.

We believe that the present events in China are a historically

transient stage of her development. We believe that despite all difficulties the cause of socialism will triumph in the Chinese People's Republic.

Comrades, the path followed by the socialist countries involves intensive labor and vigorous struggle. We know that ahead of us is much work, great tasks, whose accomplishment requires joint efforts by the fraternal Parties and peoples. In their turn, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the entire Soviet people will spare no effort for the strengthening of the world socialist community and for the winning of fresh victories.

Allow me today on behalf of all the Soviet people cordially to greet the fraternal peoples who are building the new life.

We address our first words of greetings to the courageous people of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam who, arms in hand, are defending their freedom and independence, their socialist gains.

We warmly greet the peoples of Bulgaria, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, the Korean People's Democratic Republic, Mongolia, Poland, Rumania and Yugoslavia who are confidently marching forward under the banner of socialism.

We greet the Chinese and Albanian peoples who are fighting for the preservation of the socialist gains in their countries.

We wish the peoples of all the socialist states the greatest success in their noble endeavors.

Comrades, an important place among the forces opposing imperialism is held by the working class in the developed capitalist states which is waging a struggle in the citadels of world imperialism. We know how difficult this struggle is. It demands not only great effort and courage but also the ability to pit a high degree of organization and high political skill against the imperialist bourgeoisie and all its maneuvers and artifices.

Despite all difficulties the working-class movement in the developed capitalist countries is steadily gaining in strength and accumulating new experience. The activity, perseverance and growing organization of the working people in the struggle for their vital interests are characteristic of the present stage of the class struggle in the capitalist world. At times strikes involve entire countries. The working class more and more succeeds in getting its demands satisfied. These demands go ever further and become more and more radical, developing into a program of struggle against the economic and political omnipotence of the monopolies.

For the working class, division of its ranks has been, and remains, the main stumbling block on the road to victory. But the experience accumulated by the working-class movement shows that unity is a vital necessity. This experience proves that differences in views between Socialists and Communists must not be an obstacle to uniting the ranks of the working class against the monopolies,

against the war danger, and in the struggle for socialism. Despite the policy of the Right-wing Social-Democratic leaders who cling to their hidebound anti-communist positions, the striving for unity is growing, and definite successes along these lines have already been registered in a number of countries.

Since the October Revolution the role of the working class in the capitalist states has grown substantially, and not only because it comprises a majority of the population in these countries and is the decisive force in material production. The working class most consistently expresses the interests of the entire nation, rallying around itself the mass of the working people, all the anti-monopoly forces. It is beyond doubt that the proletariat in the capitalist world will ultimately score decisive successes in the struggle for its ideals.

A major feature of the 50-year period since the October Revolution is the merging of the national liberation movement and the struggle of the working class into one revolutionary stream. The 1,500 million people living in the former colonies and semi-colonies have gained independence and emerged as an active force on the political scene. This has extended the bounds of the world revolutionary movement and accelerated social progress.

The winning of political independence, however, has not solved all the important issues confronting the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Considerable effort will be required to uphold and consolidate this sovereignty, to achieve economic independence and eliminate backwardness. The progressive forces of these countries are energetically demanding an anti-imperialist policy. The success of such a policy is guaranteed by the alliance of the national liberation movement of states which have cast off the colonial yoke, and world socialism, and by the strengthening of their co-operation with the socialist countries.

Deep social processes are under way in the newly-free countries. The struggle over the fundamental question—the ways of further development—is growing sharper. Influenced by the victories of world socialism, the Asian and African peoples are increasingly striving for progressive forms of social organization. That a number of young states has embarked on the road of non-capitalist development is an event of great importance.

History shows that the elimination of backwardness and the advance to socialism, by-passing capitalism, presuppose the solution of many intricate social problems and require the creation of modern productive forces. The peoples of the countries which have chosen socialism as their guiding star still have to solve these problems and this at a time when the heritage of colonialism has not been eradicated and conservative elements still enjoy considerable influence. Selfless defense of the revolutionary gains, unity of all the democratic forces of the people, hard work and persistent effort to advance the economy and culture—in all this the progres-

sive representatives of the young developing states see a guarantee of their forward movement.

The Soviet people extend warm greetings to all the fighters of the working class and the national liberation movement. We wish you, dear comrades, fresh great successes in the struggle for the vital interests and rights of the peoples, for peace and democracy, for national liberation and socialism. We are convinced that our militant alliance will continue to grow and gain in strength.

The experience of the past 50 years has conclusively demonstrated that the efficacy of the efforts of the Revolutionary movement largely depends on the cohesion and cooperation of all its contingents.

The unity of revolutionary forces rests on a reliable foundation. Each of these forces accomplishes its own tasks, but they have a common enemy, imperialism, they have common aims—the struggle for the interests of the working people, for peace, democracy and freedom. All this makes it imperative to unite the efforts of the world socialist system, the working-class and the national liberation movement in a common offensive against imperialism.

The international communist movement is the vanguard of the revolutionary forces, the standard-bearer of the idea of the unity of the revolutionary process. The contemporary communist movement, heir and continuer of the First International founded by Marx, arose on the crest of the mighty revolutionary wave set off by the victory of Russia's workers and peasants. The Communist International played a historic role in creating and consolidating the militant Marxist-Leninist Parties.

The communist movement has traversed a long path in the past 50 years. While in 1917 there were only several hundred thousand Communists in the world, at present there are 50 million fighters united in 88 Communist and Workers' parties. Among them are parties which are directing the building of the new society in the socialist states. Among them are Marxist-Leninist parties which are leading the struggle of workers in developed capitalist countries. In Western Europe, where more than 100 million factory and office workers are concentrated, Communist parties have grown into a national political force, which is a development of great importance. The Communist parties of Latin America are waging a tense struggle against the sworn enemy of the peoples, U.S. imperialism, and internal reactionary regimes at home. The Communist parties of Asian and African countries are rallying broad democratic sections and are increasingly winning the confidence of the masses.

We know of the courage and selflessness Communists need in the capitalist countries. Imperialism does everything in its power to undermine the Communist parties, to compel the Communists to renounce their ideals. In nearly 40 capitalist countries working-class parties are outlawed. For loyalty to the ideas of communism people

are thrown out of work and deprived of their livelihood, imprisoned or executed.

During the jubilee celebrations of the October Revolution we say to all Communists, to all revolutionaries who languish in dungeons and are persecuted: our hearts are with you, dear brothers and friends! We are confident that no trials can break the spirit of Communists, no barriers can stop the development of the communist movement.

Communism has become a mighty force and its ideas are triumphantly marching over our planet. Their deeds have made the Communists the vanguard of social progress and the most consistent fighters for the interests of the working class, of all the working people. Communists have proved their ability to lead the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism and the building of socialism. They have proved that they are the staunchest defenders of the working masses in the capitalist countries. They have proved that they are selfless fighters for the national freedom and social progress of the peoples in the colonies. They uphold peace, freedom and democracy for all the peoples.

Favorable conditions have arisen for a new powerful advance of the communist movement, for new victories. But we must never forget that the mission entrusted to Communists is the immense and formidable mission of remaking society's entire life in a revolutionary way. Mankind's transition from capitalism to socialism is an involved and multifarious process. In the course of it certain setbacks, temporary retreats and even defeats in some sectors are possible. The communist movement draws lessons from this.

Experience shows that such a strong and treacherous enemy as imperialism can be defeated only if it is opposed, alongside determination and selfless readiness for struggle, by sober political analysis, coolheadedness and tenacity. The Communists put up against this enemy a strategy which rests on a scientific analysis of the relation of forces within a given country and in the world. They counterpose to it tactics and forms and methods of struggle which most fully take into consideration the concrete conditions. Naturally, it is not easy to find at once correct solutions for the problems that arise. The world is changing and the ranks of fighters against imperialism are extending. All this requires constant study and generalizations, creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory, and promotion of its influence in the ranks of the revolutionary movement.

Utmost extension of the struggle against the policy and ideology of imperialism acquires particular importance in present-day conditions. In an attempt to raise a barrier to the liberation movement, imperialism steps up its activity, launches new reckless ventures and provocations. To successfully resist imperialism, to repulse its

attacks and inflict new defeats on it, the Communists, all revolutionaries, must exert tremendous efforts and mobilize the forces in all the main sectors of the battle.

The Communist parties are stepping up the offensive against the ideological positions of the bourgeoisie and are exposing the policy and ideology of anti-communism. Widely popularizing socialism's successes, they blast the slander and falsification, the anti-Communist fables and myths circulated by imperialist propaganda. The Communist parties reveal the groundlessness of the various new cunning "theories" which are devised to whitewash capitalism. The parties see in ideological work a requisite for winning the masses to their side and strengthening the anti-imperialist front. Our Party, for its part, will exert still greater effort in repulsing anti-communism and exposing imperialism's entire policy and ideology.

The Communists of all countries draw from the experience of the class struggle the conclusion that strengthening militant cooperation, cohesion and active coordination of effort by all the fraternal parties of the world is a prime requisite for solving the difficult and varied problems confronting them. Only by acting as a united international movement will world communism be able to attain its great goals. The feeling of comradely support and constant coordination of action on an international scale is important to all of us today.

The building of socialism and communism in the countries of the socialist community, rebuff to the aggressive actions of imperialism, defense of universal peace and the security of the nations; the rallying of the masses under the banner of democracy, national liberation and socialism; further improvement of the strategy and tactics of the revolutionary struggle against capitalism—such are the main problems for the solution of which the world communist movement is closing its ranks. "Workers of all countries, unite!"—this slogan, which resounded like a tocsin at the dawn of the revolutionary struggle of the working class, today too calls for the unity of all the anti-imperialist forces.

We are convinced that further consolidation of our movement is dictated by the vital interests of each fraternal Party. It goes without saying that each party has its own tasks and applies in each situation the appropriate forms and methods of struggle. All parties are doing it on the basis of complete independence. But the force and efficacy of a Party's struggle depend not only on its achievements in its own country but also on the achievements of other fraternal parties, on extensive and deep cooperation among all the contingents of the Communist movement. Experience shows that deviation from the principles of internationalism, attempts to put the interests of particular contingents of our movement in contrast to the general tasks of he revolutionary struggle, and manifestations of national seclusion inevitably weaken

the positions of the Communists in face of the class enemy.

We note with great satisfaction that the position of the CPSU fully coincides with the positions held by the overwhelming majority of the fraternal parties, which resolutely call for the consolidation of our ranks on the principles of Marxism-Leninism. A big role in working out the common ideological and political positions of the Communist movement was played by the meetings of the fraternal parties in 1957 and 1960. The growing desire to strengthen unity is evidenced by such indicative recent developments as the Karlovy Vary Conference of European Communist Parties, the regional and bilateral meetings of representatives of other fraternal parties and the movement of solidarity with heroic Vietnam and the peoples of Arab countries who became victims of aggression.

Today it is perfectly clear that the majority of the fraternal parties favor the convening of another international conference. Our Party fully supports this idea and is ready to do everything for the success of another world meeting of Communists.

Comrades, today the entire Communist movement, together with us, is celebrating the jubilee of the Great October Revolution. Observing it, Marxist-Leninists sum up the results scored until now and outline the prospects of further struggle for the triumph of our common communist ideals.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has always considered its activity and its experience an integral part of the activity and experience of the world Communist movement. The CPSU has always derived strength and inspiration for its struggle and endeavors in unbreakable friendship and militant alliance with fraternal parties.

Allow me, comrades, on behalf of our Party to voice the most sincere gratitude to all fraternal parties, to all Communists, for their friendship, for their sincere support of the Soviet people in their effort to build Communism.

Allow me to convey to all Marxist-Leninist parties heartfelt greetings and best wishes of fresh great successes. Glory to the world Communist movement, the leading political force of our epoch!

## 5. THE LENINIST FOREIGN POLICY OF THE SOVIET UNION

Comrades, our foreign policy plays a big role in our great constructive work, in ensuring favorable conditions for the building of socialism and communism.

The victory of the Great October Revolution initiated truly revolutionary changes in international relations. For the first time in the world there appeared a state which opposed the imperialist policy of oppressing and enslaving the peoples, the policy of colonial exploitation, violence and predatory wars, with a policy of upholding the freedom and independence of the peoples, of safeguarding the peace and rebuffing the imperialist aggressors. The struggle of these two opposite policies has continued for half a century now.

The nature of the Soviet Union's Leninist foreign policy and its most important distinctive features stem from the very essence of the socialist social system.

What are its most important features?

Our foreign policy was born in the crucible of the socialist revolution. It has been, and remains, an instrument serving the revolutionary transformation of society in our country. Defense of the revolution's gains—this is the task Lenin set before Soviet foreign policy immediately after the victory of the October Revolution. Addressing leading Party functionaries in January 1918, he urged them to solve questions of foreign policy "from the point of view of the conditions which best make for the development and consolidation of the socialist revolution which has already begun" *(Collected Works,* Vol. 26, p. 445). The foreign policy of the Soviet state is invariably based on this Leninist directive. Its main task is to defend the gains of the October Revolution, to frustrate imperialist intrigues against the homeland of socialism and to ensure the necessary external conditions for building communist society. It was this that Lenin regarded also as the supreme internationalist duty of the Soviet state to the world revolutionary movement.

Our foreign policy is internationalist because the interests of the Soviet people coincide with those of the working masses in all countries. It is infused with the spirit of solidarity with the revolutionary, progressive forces throughout the world and represents an active factor of the class struggle in the international arena.

Many splendid examples of revolutionary internationalism are inscribed in the half-century long annals of our state. We find there striking manifestations of solidarity of young Soviet Russia with the insurgent proletarians of Germany and Hungary, numerous instances of support over many years of the struggle the Chinese people waged against the forces of imperialism and reaction. The glorious epic of the brotherhood-in-arms with revolutionary Spain is unforgettable. Our country went to the aid of the Spanish people with everything it could—from diplomatic support and economic help to the personal contribution of thousands of Soviet volunteers who to the last day, together with Spaniards, fought at the Barcelona barricades and in the Madrid sky. Throughout the ages there will shine the liberatory exploit of our people in the Great Patriotic War when the victory won at the cost of millions of Soviet lives

delivered many countries from fascist enslavement. It is difficult to overestimate the significance of the persistent struggle the Soviet Union has been waging in the post-war period for a just democratic peace and, above all, in defense of the independence of the new, people's democratic states.

The spirit of revolutionary internationalism permeates all the activities of the homeland of the October Revolution in the world arena and we Soviet people will always be loyal to this lofty principle.

Profound and genuine democracy is one of the primary features of the Soviet Union's foreign policy.

Having resolutely broken with the traditional foreign policy of the exploiting classes, with the methods of secret diplomacy and the policy of collusion behind the backs of nations, the Soviet state abrogated all secret treaties concluded by tsarist Russia. On major questions affecting the destinies of mankind our country began to address itself not only to the governments of other states, but also directly to the peoples.

In our relations with all countries we follow the unshakable democratic principle: recognition in practice of the equality of all nations, big and small, and recognition of the equality of all races and nationalities.

On Lenin's initiative the Soviet state solemnly proclaimed a "complete break with the barbarous policy of the bourgeois civilization which has built the prosperity of the exploiters belonging to a few chosen nations on the enslavement of hundreds of millions of the working people in Asia, in the colonies in general and in the small countries" *(Collected Works,* Vol. 26, p. 424).

The Soviet Republic unhesitatingly recognized the right of all peoples, including those of the former Russian Empire, to self-determination, that is, their right to decide their fate for themselves. It was the first power which approached such countries as Iran, Afghanistan, Turkey and China with an unprecedented proposal to conclude agreements based on genuinely equal rights and to establish relations resting on friendship and mutual support.

Adhering to Lenin's behests, the Soviet Union has always been, and will continue to be, a staunch champion of democratic rights, freedom and independence for all peoples, a faithful ally of those who are for eradicating all forms of colonial or national oppression and for genuine equality of all nations.

Finally, still another fundamental characteristic of the Soviet Union's foreign policy is its consistent line of promoting peace, security and friendship of the peoples. Socialism knows no goal other than concern for the interests of the people, which above all presupposes the fight against war, that greatest scourge of the working man, as Lenin put it.

One of the slogans which the Party advanced to rouse the people

to revolutionary action was the peace slogan. For us the fight for peace is still a task with a profound class and revolutionary meaning, because to work for peace means to isolate the more bellicose, aggressive circles of the imperialist bourgeoisie, to turn public opinion against them and to thwart their anti-popular designs.

The record of our state's existence is one of persistent, unceasing struggle against the aggressive policy of the imperialists and for safeguarding the peoples against the calamities of war. A few hours after the victory of the Revolution the new workers' and peasants' government issued the Lenin Decree on Peace in which it proposed to the governments and peoples of all countries the conclusion of a just peace without annexations or indemnities. In 1919, a Congress of Soviets adopted Lenin's resolution which proclaimed that the "Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic wishes to live in peace with all peoples and devote all its forces to internal development" *(Collected Works,* Vol. 30, p. 231). In 1922 in Genoa, at the first international conference to which Soviet Russia received access, our country tabled a comprehensive program of peaceful cooperation and disarmament.

During the years when the threat of fascist aggression loomed over the world, the Soviet Union persistently worked for a system of collective security to curb the aggressors and prevent a second world war. When the appearance of nuclear weapons and rockets had made the prevention of a new world war a particularly urgent issue, the USSR proposed a concrete plan for general and complete disarmament under strict international control.

The banner of peace and friendship between peoples raised aloft by the Soviet Union is winning for socialism the sympathy and support of millions on all continents. People throughout the world see that in its foreign policy the Soviet Union consistently implements the new principles proclaimed by our great Revolution.

Comrades, such are the principal features of our foreign-policy line. It was shaped under the leadership of Lenin and further developed by the Party in its subsequent decisions. This Leninist line forms the permanent principled foundation of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union.

The Party considers it of tremendous significance that the foreign policy of the USSR should be consistent and resolute, that it should be firm in defending the interests of the Soviet people and the great communist cause and irreconcilable towards aggressors while remaining flexible and realistic. Alongside major issues of the country's development, foreign-policy issues are always in the focus of attention of the Politbureau of the CC CPSU and the Soviet Government. They are regularly disclosed at Central Committee plenums, at Party congresses and at sessions of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The 23rd Congress of the CPSU charted the main directions and

tasks of our foreign policy for the next few years, and we undeviatingly adhere to the Congress decisions in our practical activity in the international arena.

Taking into account the enormous historical role played by the world system of socialism in the destiny of mankind, our Party and Government deem it their duty to do everything to strengthen the might and unity of the great community of socialist states.

We are firmly steering the course aimed at furthering political cooperation with the fraternal socialist countries, maintaining ever closer and more systematic contacts with the leaders of the Communist parties and the governments of fraternal countries, coordinating our policies and developing diverse forms of ties and exchanges between our peoples.

In recent years the Soviet Union has concluded new treaties of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance with the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Mongolia, Bulgaria and Hungary. We treasure these charters of fraternal friendship whose rich content mirrors the new, higher stage which we have reached in our relations.

Jointly with the leadership of fraternal parties and countries, the Central Committee of our Party and the Soviet Government work steadfastly to further the fruitful economic cooperation of the socialist states on a bilateral and multilateral basis, taking into consideration the great significance of long-term division of labor and attainment of scientific and technical progress.

The cooperation of the socialist countries in strengthening their defenses is extremely important in present-day conditions, and we devote unremitting attention to this matter. This applies, above all, to relations with the countries of the Warsaw Treaty Organization which is a powerful instrument of the political and defense cooperation of the socialist countries.

Our friendship with fraternal socialist countries is strengthening and flourishing. It is becoming still more profound and varied and is turning into an indispensable requirement for the peoples of our countries. Permit me to assure you, comrades, that the Central Committee of the Party and the Soviet Government will continue to do everything in their power to consolidate, develop and defend the gains of world socialism.

The fight of the Soviet Government for the democratic rights of the peoples, for the complete eradication of all forms of colonial and national oppression is also acquiring new forms in present-day conditions. On the initiative of the Soviet Union and with the active support of other socialist states, the overwhelming majority of the UN adopted the Declaration on Granting Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and then the Declaration on the Impermissibility of Interference in the Internal Affairs of States, and on Protecting Their Independence and Sovereignty.

Today, too, our militant alliance with peoples who still have to carry on an armed struggle against the colonialists constitutes an important element of our line in international affairs. Now that the colonial system of imperialism has practically disintegrated a new task has come to the fore, that of developing cooperation with states that have already cast off the colonial yoke and are fighting to strengthen their independence and for social progress.

Today we have good relations based on mutual trust and respect with the young national states. The extent and the concrete forms of these friendly relations depend on the general political course which a particular state pursues. We have particularly close economic and political ties, particularly close relations, with countries which in their development are heading towards socialism.

The countries that have freed themselves from colonialism regard the Soviet Union as their sincere and disinterested friend. They are well aware that the policy of the USSR and the very existence of our socialist power is an important factor helping to safeguard their independence from imperialist encroachments.

The Soviet Union renders the newly-free countries extensive friendly assistance in developing their independent national economy. Factories and mills, power dams, hospitals and institutes built with Soviet assistance and cooperation have risen in the jungles and arid deserts of many Asian and African countries. Each of these projects is a monument of friendship and cooperation between the Soviet Union and the countries that have discarded the colonial yoke.

An important source of our strength in the international arena is the alliance with the national liberation movement and with the anti-imperialist forces throughout the world. By marching in step and supporting each other, we can all the more easily find solutions to many international problems, including the problem of consolidating peace.

Comrades, in its struggle to thwart the threat of a new world war our Party and the Soviet Government take into account the specific features of the present-day international situation.

The war in Vietnam, the U.S. intervention in Laos, the Middle East developments, the reactionary coups engineered by the imperialists in some Asian, African, European and Latin American countries, the demands for revising European frontiers and for access to nuclear weapons stubbornly made by the West German revanchists, and their absurd insolent claim to speak for the "whole of Germany," as they say, show that imperialism has not changed its aggressive nature. It remains the embodiment of the worst reaction, bloody violence and aggression, and presents a serious threat to the peace and security of all people, and we cannot forget this, nor do we have the right to.

It is all the more necessary to be vigilant with regard to imperial-

ist provocations and gambles because in present-day conditions a world nuclear and rocket war could kill hundreds of millions of people, destroy whole countries and contaminate the earth's surface and its atmosphere. The Communists cannot but draw the most serious political conclusions from this. The struggle to prevent a new world war has now become an important condition for solving problems of the construction of socialism and communism and the development of the entire world revolutionary process.

Those who want to save mankind from a world nuclear and rocket war must struggle against the aggressive intrigues and sorties of the imperialists with redoubled energy. It is necessary to counter the imperialist actions with a united front of anti-imperialist forces.

The imperialists fail to achieve their goals wherever the aggressors are firmly rebuffed by the freedom fighters. This is exemplified by the events in Vietnam.

Hoping to suppress the national liberation struggle of the South Vietnamese population, to prevent a democratic unification of the country, to hinder the construction of socialism in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and to intimidate the fighters for national emancipation and progress in other countries, the American imperialists have thrown their armed forces against the South Vietnamese patriots and then directly attacked the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

The crimes of the U.S. military in Vietnam bring back to memory the atrocities of the fascist brutes. The killing of tens of thousands of peaceful inhabitants, the methodical destruction of towns and villages, the reduction of schools and hospitals to ruins and the destruction of crops all mark the disgraceful record of the U.S. interventionists on Vietnamese soil. Bu tthe beasts and murderers posing as defenders of the so-called free world have been unable and never will be able to force the Vietnamese people to their knees nor to intimidate the fighters for freedom and independence. The peoples of the whole world, including millions of Americans, pillory the bloody aggression against Vietnam. The intervention in Vietnam is increasingly undermining the international prestige of the United States.

Neither the half million American soldiers in the jungles of Southeast Asia, nor the powerful navy, nor heavy bombers, nor the army of the Saigon puppets, nor the regiments dispatched by the obedient satellites of the USA can win the day for the aggressors.

Displaying heroism which evokes the admiration of the whole world and overcoming tremendous difficulties, the Vietnamese people are repulsing the hordes of the interventionists and dealing them blow after blow. In doing so they have the support of the progressive, peace-loving forces throughout the world, and primarily the constant extensive assistance of the Soviet Union and other

socialist states. Weapons, ammunition, food, clothes, transport facilities and equipment are all concrete manifestations of the solidarity of the socialist countries which are helping the Vietnamese people in their heroic struggle.

The military successes of the Vietnamese people could have been still more significant but for the stand of Mao Tse-tung's group which hampers co-ordinated assistance to Vietnam from all socialist countries, including China. We regret that the Peking leaders have taken this line. For its part, the Soviet Union is resolved to render every assistance and support to the fraternal Vietnamese people who are fighting for a just cause. This assistance will continue until the American imperialists stop their shameful and criminal venture and get out of Vietnam.

The people of Vietnam are fighting for a just cause, and they will win. There can be no doubt about it.

The actions of the USA, Britain and the FRG which encouraged the aggression of their puppets, the Israeli rulers, against the neighboring Arab states, have once again disclosed the treacherous nature of imperialist policy and have aroused the indignation of all progressive forces in the world and the just anger of millions upon millions of Arabs. At the same time the Arab people had one more occasion to see for themselves that the Soviet Union and other socialist states are their true friends and a reliable bulwark of their independence.

The Soviet Union loyally fulfils its duty by doing a great deal to bridle the aggressive imperialist forces and to strengthen peace. There is no doubt that the vigilance of peoples with regard to imperialist intrigues and the joint efforts of all peace-loving states will reliably safeguard the cause of peace.

We have helped and will help, those who are fighting against imperialist interference in the affairs of the peoples, and those who have become victims of imperialist aggression. This assistance may have the most diverse forms: political, diplomatic, economic or military, depending on circumstances, but its content will always be the same—to rebuff the aggressors, defend the peoples' right to independent development, defend the peace and security of the peoples and in this way to defend the interests of socialism.

Comrades, being well aware of the aggressive nature of imperialism, our Party considers it essential that the peaceful policy of the Soviet Union should be supported by an invincible defense potential. This is made imperative by the interests of universal peace.

Therefore, the strengthening of our glorious Armed Forces is a constant concern of the Central Committee, the Soviet Government and the whole people.

We realize that the might of the Soviet socialist state has been, and remains, the chief bulwark of peace in the world, the principal

obstacle standing in the way of the imperialist warmongers. Lenin pointed out that the creation of a socialist army inspired by the ideas of struggle for the emancipation of the working people would make the Soviet land invincible. Today, looking back on the road we have covered, we can say with pride that we have accomplished the task set by Lenin. Our glorious army is fulfilling its duty to the people and the Revolution with honor.

The Soviet Army is a mighty, formidable and invincible force. It has the best weaponry in the world. Its men, from soldiers to marshals, from sailors to admirals, have an excellent knowledge of military science and of the superb military equipment entrusted to them, they are people boundlessly devoted to our Party and to the communist cause.

We take into account the lessons of the past and are doing everything so that no one should catch us unawares. And the Soviet people will not flinch if someone is mad enough to try to encroach on the security of the Soviet Union and of our allies. This attempt, wherever it may come from—the north or the south, the west or the east—will encounter the all-conquering might of our Armed Forces. There are no shields against this might, and no distances are too great for it. Let it be known to all that in a clash with any aggressor the Soviet Union will win a victory worthy of our great people, of the land of the October Revolution.

On our great holiday we send warm greetings to the defenders of our homeland, of its sky and seas, and to the talented designers and makers of the formidable weapons with which our soldiers are armed. Honor and glory to the heroic Armed Forces of the Soviet Union—the reliable guard of the gains of the Great October Socialist Revolution, of our socialist gains!

Our might is great, but we never use it to attain selfish ends. The colossal might of the world's first state building communism serves the just cause of struggle against aggression and oppression, for freedom, democracy and peace. The growth of this might and the increasing influence of the USSR on world developments accord with the vital interests of the masses in all countries.

Our foreign policy is socialist and consistently revolutionary in its entire content. But Marxist-Leninists have always understood that socialism cannot be transplanted from one country into another by military force but is a product of the internal development of a given society. They firmly believe in the righteousness of their cause, in the advantages of the socialist system and are convinced that there is no need to resort to wars between states for it to be victorious.

Lenin said that in foreign policy it is necessary to take into account both the plans of imperialist adventurers and the stand of the sober-minded sections of the bourgeoisie. We remember that and

today, when the Soviet Union has attained unprecedented might, it continues to advocate renunciation of attempts to settle issues in relations between the two socialist systems by means of war. We call upon the government of bourgeois countries to heed the voice of the peoples who want peace and stable security.

The Soviet Union deems it its duty to do everything in its power to translate these aspirations into life. That is why it is fighting, and will continue to fight, with unabated energy for general and complete disarmament. We also consider useful such partial steps in this direction as the agreements on banning nuclear tests, on nuclear non-proliferation or on banning the use of nuclear weapons.

We attach great importance to the United Nations, and together with other freedom-loving and peaceable states we will work to turn it into an efficient agency of international cooperation in the interests of defending peace and the rights of peoples. Jointly with its allies the USSR will continue to work persistently for a stable peace in Europe, and to struggle against everything that threatens the security of the European peoples, and will support mutually advantageous cooperation of states with different social systems on the well-known principles of peaceful coexistence.

The fight of the Soviet Union for peace and friendship between peoples has completely dispelled the false legend about "the aggressiveness of Moscow" and "the communist threat" with whose help international reaction headed by the U.S. imperialists had misled the peoples and knocked together NATO, SEATO and other aggressive military blocs. By creating these blocs they intended to encircle us and to prevent the consolidation of the world socialist system and the development of the national liberation revolution of the oppressed peoples.

But things turned out not as Washington and other capitals of the capitalist countries had calculated. The positions of socialism and its allies are becoming stronger from day to day. The aggressive imperialist forces find themselves in growing isolation and their blocs are showing signs of cracking up. The peoples and even some bourgeois governments are more and more overtly evincing their desire to cast off the fetters imposed on them, and to dissociate themselves from the dangerous, adventuristic policy of the organizers and leaders of the imperialist blocs. A factor contributing to this is, undoubtedly, the influence of the principled and consistent peaceful foreign policy of the Soviet Union.

Comrades, looking back on the 50 years covered by the Soviet socialist power we say with confidence that our Leninist foreign policy has successfully solved, and solves, all problems before it.

In the first years after the October Revolution our correct course in international affairs helped us to frustrate the plans of our enemies, who strove to crush the young and then still weak Soviet

state. It helped the Soviet people to build socialism in conditions of a hostile capitalist encirclement. It enabled us to foil attempts to establish against us a united front of world imperialism in the Second World War, and in this way helped the Soviet people to achieve their historic victory. The fact that for the third decade now the Soviet people have been living in peace, dedicating their efforts to the construction of communism means that our country's defenses are reliable and that the Communist Party and the Soviet Government are as successful as ever.

Our foreign policy is approved and supported by all Soviet people, by all champions of freedom, progress and peace. This policy will continue to follow the path it has followed for 50 years, the path bequeathed by Lenin, charted by the Party and tested throughout our history. The Soviet Union is fighting for the happiness of all peoples in alliance with all that is progressive, fairminded and sensible in the world. We are therefore confident that the cause for which the land of the October Revolution is fighting in the international arena will be victorious.

## 6. THE COMMUNIST PARTY—THE MILITANT VANGUARD OF THE SOVIET PEOPLE, THE INSPIRER AND ORGANIZER OF ALL OUR VICTORIES

Comrades, the victory of the October Revolution, the victory of socialism in our country, is a victory of the ideas of the Communist Party and a great triumph of its Leninist general line. Since the beginning of the 20th century the history of our country has been indissolubly bound up with the activity of the Communist Party.

In the past 50 years the Party has carried out work unprecedented for its content and scale. It solved major theoretical problems of socialism and communism and carried on day-to-day practical organizational work; it guided the country's economy in towns and villages and elaborated the most complicated problems of foreign policy; it unceasingly worked for the ideological education of the people and the promotion of culture and took measures to strengthen the Soviet state, to ensure the impregnable defense of the country; it devoted constant attention to the consolidation of the alliance of the working class and the peasantry and to the cementing of the fraternal friendship of all the peoples of our great country. In a word, there was not a single major problem to the

solution of which the Party did not apply its wisdom, will and inexhaustible energy.

Throughout these years the CPSU advanced under the unceasing fire of the opponents of communism. The forces of the old world fiercely attacked both our Party and the country, for whose destiny it had assumed responsibility. But the Party of Lenin was like an unshakable fortress against which the onslaught of the enemies and the numberless attacks of political and ideological opponents came to grief.

The Party has travelled a long road from scattered Marxist groups and circles to an organization many millions strong which has become the leading and guiding force of Soviet society. In 1903, when the Second Congress of the RSDLP adopted the first Party Program, a program of struggle against the tsarist autocracy and capitalism, its ranks numbered only a few thousand members.

The Bolsheviks were shot, left to die in penal servitude or tortured in prisons. But whenever a fighter of the revolution fell dozens of new fighters came to take his place. They were real heroes, people of indomitable will and fortitude, endowed with high principles, crystal honesty, and extraordinary staunchness and determination. They were inspired by unshakable faith in the righteousness of their cause and in the inevitable victory of the Revolution. The cause of the Party, the cause of the Revolution, was sacred to them and they dedicated themselves to it.

In February 1917, when the Party emerged from the underground, it had about 24,000 members. By October 1917, there were 350,000 Bolsheviks, and that was all in Russia with her population of 160,000,000. What incredible energy these people must have had and how irresistible the truth they championed must have been for them to be able to lead tens of millions of workers and peasants.

The Party came up to the October Revolution as a militant organization fused by iron discipline and supported by workers' and soldiers' masses, progressive intellectuals and a considerable section of the peasantry. It came up to the October Revolution armed with the Leninist theory of proletarian revolution, the theory which showed our people the road to socialism.

The victory of the October Revolution and the formation of the Soviet state meant the first Program of the Party had been fulfilled. In 1919, the Eight Congress of the RCP(B) adopted its second Program, which envisaged the building of socialism.

To change over from demolishing the old social system to building a new one, the Party and the working class had to effect a thorough reorientation—political, organizational and even psychological. We, history's first ruling party of the working class, had to work out a policy line capable of showing the way for solving problems which not a single society had ever encountered. It was necessary to

elaborate new methods and forms of guiding the masses that would correspond to the requirements of peaceful construction. Lastly, it was necessary to achieve such a change in the sentiments of the Communists themselves that would help them to go over from the heroic atmosphere of the armed uprising and the Civil War to ordinary everyday labor.

As the Party solved these tasks it waged a relentless struggle against the Trotskyites. Right opportunists and other opposition groups whose views mirrored the pressure of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois sections. The opposition, repudiating the possibility of building socialism first in only our country and not believing in the strength of the working class nor in the stability of its alliance with the peasantry, tried to lead the Party away from the Leninist road. The Party defeated the opposition ideologically and politically, upheld the purity of Marxism-Leninism, the Leninist general line, and consolidated the unity of its ranks.

The Party's vast theoretical, political and organizational work produced its historical results. The building of socialism in the USSR meant that the Second Program had been fulfilled, too.

Towards the beginning of the 'sixties the Soviet Union reached a new stage, it launched the full-scale construction of communism. The principal content and the problems of this period found their expression in the Third Program of the CPSU adopted at the 22nd Congress. The main trend of development and the basic tasks indicated in this Program are extremely important guidelines for our activity in the next decades.

The 23rd Congress generalized the experience accumulated by the Party in recent years and charted concrete paths for the further development of our society. The road covered by our country in the course of half a century shows that the Party's words are never at variance with its deeds. The Third Program of the Party, a program for the building of the foundations of communist society will likewise be fulfilled. The Soviet Union, the birthplace of socialism, shall become the birthplace of communism on our planet.

Comrades, the life-giving source of our Party's invincible strength is its inviolable links with the people.

Lenin repeatedly underlined that the vanguard alone, the Party alone cannot build socialism. The vanguard, he said, "fulfils its task as a vanguard only when it is able to avoid being isolated from the mass it leads and is able really to lead the whole mass forward" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 227). Throughout the past fifty years our Party has viewed the consolidation of its links with the people as one of its most important tasks.

The great Lenin, describing the content of the Party's work among the masses, said that the main thing is to mould in them the will, readiness and ability to build communism. To all appearances, it is

a simple idea. But in order to translate it into practice, truly gigantic work embracing all spheres of human activity, all sections of our society has to be carried out.

To mould the will and readiness of the masses and make them prepared to build a new society it was necessary first and foremost to arm the people ideologically and to work out ways, forms and methods of building socialism. And today we must pay tribute to the wisdom and courage of our Party which captained the search for ways and means of building a new society and, unafraid of sharp turns, effected extremely deep-going social changes.

The Soviet working class and all the working people of our country have firmly identified themselves with the Party. Proof of the boundless trust of the working people in the Party can be seen in the fact that the influx of working people into the Party was greatest during the most difficult and crucial stages in the history of the Soviet Union. Tens of thousands of people joined the Party during the hard period of the Civil War when the enemy was approaching Tula and Moscow. In 1924, during the Lenin enrolment, 240,000 workers became Communists. More than 5,000,000 people joined the Party in the years of the Great Patriotic War.

The ideas of building communist society advanced by the Party have gripped the hearts and minds of Soviet people and become a matter of vital concern for all of them; they inspire them to remarkable feats of labor, to new achievements. In the current year, in which we are marking the great anniversary of the emergence of a new world, half a million people have joined the Leninist Party, and more than 50 per cent of them are workers.

The Party greatly appreciates the trust the people have in it and regards it as an earnest of success in the building of communism.

Tens of thousands of Party organizations, from the Central Committee down to the smallest Party cell, had to perform gigantic organizational work in order to endow the masses with the ability to build socialism. Today the task is to help each member of society better to determine his place and role in the process of communist construction, so that his talent and ability will yield the best results.

The revolutionary creativity of the people has produced an extensive and smooth-working system through which the Party maintains its daily links with the masses and leads them. This system, made up of Soviets, trade unions, the Komsomol and the voluntary societies of working people, has stood the test of time over the past fifty years and has shown its undoubted advantages.

The purpose of Party leadership is to ensure the indestructible ideological and political unity of the whole society, and the effective and coordinated development of all the components of the social organism. We do not have and cannot have any political organization other than the CPSU which would take into account the

interests and the specific features of our classes and social groups, of all nations and nationalities, and of all generations, and would combine these interests in its policy. The Party takes care that even the smallest streams of everyday activity harmoniously merge into a single mighty stream.

Solution of all these complex political and organizational problems requires constant improvement of the forms and methods of Party work. Today we have 13 million Communists. To embody in a single policy the thoughts and will of all Party members it is essential always to combine a correct policy line with competent organizational work. Only observance of this condition will enable the Party to fulfil its role as the leading and guiding force in the country's development.

Bearing this in mind, we shall continue steadily to consolidate our Party and improve the activity of all Party organizations from top to bottom. We shall continue to perfect inner-Party democracy, consolidate the principles of collective leadership, promote the initiative of Party members, see to it that all Communists actively participate in discussing, working out and implementing the Party line, and strengthen Party discipline. We have a reliable foundation for this work, namely the Leninist principle of democratic centralism and the Leninist norms of Party life. For us, observance of these norms is an immutable law.

The strength of the Party consists in the fact that at every historical stage it is self-critical of its activity and uses this approach as a basis for rectifying errors. The Party will continue to be more and more exacting of all Communists and to promote criticism and self-criticism. We are sure that whatever difficulties or problems may stand in our way they will be successfully overcome.

The Party is fully conscious of the fact that its role and its responsibility for the destiny of the people and the country increase as the scope of communist construction grows. This accounts for the heightening role of Party congresses and of plenary meetings of the Central Committee at which major foreign and home policy problems are discussed. The Party is consistently perfecting its work by combining the priceless wealth of Marxist-Leninist theory with the experience accumulated by our people.

The name of Communist imposes many duties. Communists have no privileges except the privilege of devoting more effort to the common cause and to fight and work better than others for its triumph. Communists have no special rights except the right always to be in the forefront where difficulties are the greatest.

Today, when the land of the October Revolution is at the threshold of the second half century of its existence, we Communists declare with a full sense of responsibility that we shall continue to devote all our knowledge, strength and ability to the

people and to the struggle for their interests and happiness.

Our Party has a great and eventful record, and the fact that we have successfully travelled a long and difficult road and withstood all trials with honor is above all due to our having always used our most reliable weapon, Marxist-Leninist theory, undeviatingly adhered to it and creatively carried it forward. And the fact that today our Party, the big tightly-knit family of Soviet Communists, successfully copes with all problems, and that the Communists honorably fulfil their vanguard role in all matters, whether big or small, is due to our Party having been reared in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism and imbued with the ideas of this great doctrine. For us Leninism has become in the true sense of the word the science of how to win, and such it will remain for ever.

We Communists often hear arguments to the effect that Marxism-Leninism has become obsolete and lost its significance. Bourgeois ideologists, reformists and revisionists, and petty-bourgeois muddlers keep on asking: how is it possible to be guided in practical activity today by a theory created many decades ago? And we tell such critics that it all depends on what kind of theory it is.

Yes, history knows of dozens and even hundreds of examples of theories, concepts and whole philosophic systems which claimed they would renew the world not passing the test of time, falling to dust and perishing ignominiously upon coming into contact with life. This is the common lot of all who tried or try to replace Marxism-Leninism will all sorts of cunningly devised falsifications adapted to the interests of the bourgeoisie, or with half-baked, unrealistic, pseudo-revolutionary theories.

Theories which are based on dogmas and cannot march in step with social development do become obsolete. But the historical fate of the theory of scientific communism has been, and will be, different. Marxism-Leninism is strong because it rests on revolutionary, materialistic dialectics, which always requires a concrete analysis of the concrete situation. The living spirit of Marxism-Leninism lies in its close and permanent contact with practice, with life itself, and in its strictly scientific approach to reality. This is the secret of its everlasting youth.

We preserve as a great achievement of social thinking all the knowledge about society and the class struggle, about the laws of historical development, about the socialist revolution and ways of building socialism which Marx, Engels and Lenin have given us. We preserve it not as an archivist keeps old documents, but in a way befitting the heirs of this great theory, boldly employing this priceless capital treasure of knowledge in political practice, and constantly developing and multiplying the great theoretical wealth that has been handed down to us. We cannot advance unless we carry forward Marxism-Leninism.

Marxism-Leninism has become the ideological banner of the Soviet people. It is the greatest gain of our revolution and the key to the victory of communism. The Party wants every Soviet person to see in Marxism-Leninism a trustworthy compass and a reliable guide to action.

The strength, influence and prestige of our Party make up one of the great gains of the dedicated struggle and colossal effort of generations of revolutionaries who devoted themselves body and soul to the service of the people.

The Party glories and takes pride in its Leninist guard of Bolsheviks who took part in the underground activity and fought in the Revolution and the Civil War. Together with Lenin they waged the first battles against the enemies for the happiness and freedom of the people, and laid the foundations of socialism. Their lives are an exploit and a great example of dedicated service to the cause of the Party and the Revolution. On the eve of the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution more than 128,000 persons who took an active part in the Revolution and the Civil War have been decorated with Soviet Orders and Medals. We extend our heartfelt greetings to the Party veterans who still continue in the ranks.

Working fruitfully in the Party are generations of Communists who built up the economic might of the Soviet state and in the grim years of the Great Patriotic War defended the gains of the October Revolution arms in hand. The younger generation of Communists is marching shoulder to shoulder with their elder comrades. They are devoted to the ideas of communism and are confidently following the road charted by the fathers. Profound faith in the triumph of our cause, boundless devotion to the interests of the working class and of the people, and staunchness in struggle, all these magnificent traits are handed down by one generation of Communists to another.

There is no loftier duty for all Communists and for all Soviet people than to safeguard the prestige of the Party, to consolidate its bonds with the people and to multiply its strength.

Glory to the Party of Lenin, the militant vanguard of the Soviet working people! May the indestructible unity of the Party and the people, the key earnest of all our victories, go from strength to strength!

* * *

Comrades, commemorating the anniversary of the October Revolution, all Soviet people take legitimate pride in their gains. A vast socialist emulation movement in honor of the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution has unfolded in the country. News of the pre-schedule commissioning of new factories and mills and of the wonderful achievements of industrial and agricultural workers and

men of science and culture are flowing in from all areas.

All that is said in these reports is most gratifying to us. In ten months of the current year, industrial output increased 10.4 per cent. Today we note with particular satisfaction that the plan for this period has been exceeded by all industrial ministries and by all the Union Republics.

Our farmers have also registered important achievements in the anniversary year. They are marking the great holiday in a befitting manner. Despite this year's adverse weather conditions, the collective farmers and state farm workers raised a good harvest and exceeded the grain sales plan. The state has received about 3,500 million poods of grain. Plans for the purchase of animal products, potatoes, sunflower seeds, sugar beet and tea leaves have also been topped. Purchases of cotton, vegetables, fruits and other agricultural products are proceeding successfully.

As you know, the personnel of hundreds of enterprises, organizations and collective and state farms recognized as winners of the socialist emulation movement in honor of the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution have been awarded memento banners of the CC CPSU, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the Council of Ministers of the USSR and the Central Council of Trade Unions. Permit me to extend hearty congratulations to the glorious winners of the jubilee competition and sincere thanks to all the working people for their dedicated labor and for the new successes in economy, science and culture which they have achieved this year.

The 50th anniversary of the October Revolution is not only a holiday for the Soviet people. It is also a holiday for the peoples of the fraternal socialist countries, for the Communists of all countries, for the international working-class movement and for all the working people. On behalf of our Party and the whole people we express heartfelt gratitude to our friends in other countries for their participation in the great holiday of the Soviet land. Your friendship and solidarity, your victories, dear friends and brothers, have always been, and will continue to be, a source of inspiration for the Soviet people in their effort to build communism. We greatly appreciate the contribution of the fraternal parties to the common cause of struggle for human progress.

On these anniversary days we cannot omit mentioning our enemies. Of course, they too tried, after their own fashion, to contribute their so-called bit to the celebrations of the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution. The enemies of communism toiled by the sweat of their brows, as the saying goes. The huge imperialist propaganda machinery went into action and a hullabaloo was raised by apostates and renegades, the paid agents of imperialism and its accomplices in different countries. But we live at a time

when no one can detract from the greatness of the progress made by the land of Soviets, or misrepresent the true meaning of our deeds and the gains of socialism. The efforts of our foes, their slander and lies will boomerang. As for the country of the October Revolution, the land of victorious socialism, it has been, is, and will continue to be the hope and the mainstay of all the oppressed, the mainstay of all who are fighting for the peace, freedom and happiness of the peoples.

Comrades, the banner of socialism raised by the October Revolution waves in the world today as a symbol of the future of the whole of humanity.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the whole Soviet people are firmly convinced that the gains scored by the Soviet state in the first 50 years of its existence and the achievements which all the contingents of the world revolutionary movement have won in this period are a prologue to a still more magnificent future of both our country and the peoples of other countries. Communism is mankind's tomorrow.

Before the working people of the world the Leninist Party solemnly declares: the Communists of the Soviet Union, the great Soviet people will fulfil their historic mission and will build the world's first communist society.

LONG LIVE THE GREAT OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION WHICH HAS USHERED IN A NEW ERA IN THE HISTORY OF MANKIND!

LONG LIVE THE HEROIC SOVIET PEOPLE — BUILDER OF COMMUNISM!

LONG LIVE THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS, STRONGHOLD OF THE FRIENDSHIP AND HAPPINESS OF THE PEOPLES OF OUR COUNTRY AND A RELIABLE BULWARK OF PEACE AND PROGRESS!

LONG LIVE THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION, THE PARTY OF THE GREAT LENIN, WHICH INSPIRES AND ORGANIZES ALL OUR VICTORIES!

LONG LIVE MARXISM-LENINISM, THE ALL-CONQUERING REVOLUTIONARY DOCTRINE OF OUR EPOCH!

MAY THE UNITY OF THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES, THE COMMUNIST PARTIES, THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING CLASS, AND ALL REVOLUTIONARY AND PROGRESSIVE FORCES GROW STRONGER IN THE FIGHT AGAINST IMPERIALISM, FOR PEACE, DEMOCRACY, SOCIALISM, NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE, AND THE SECURITY AND FREEDOM OF THE PEOPLES!

FORWARD TO THE VICTORY OF COMMUNISM!

*PRAVDA, November 4, 1967.*

# FOREIGN GUESTS AT OCTOBER CELEBRATIONS

The celebrations of the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Moscow were attended by Party and government delegations of socialist countries and delegations of Communist and Workers' parties:

the Party and Government delegation of Bulgaria headed by Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the CC BCP and Chairman of the Council of Ministers;

the Party and Government delegation of Hungary headed by Janos Kadar, First Secretary of the CC HSWP;

the delegation of the Party of Working People of Vietnam, the National Assembly and Government of the DRV headed by Le Duan, First Secretary of the CC;

the Party and Government delegation of the GDR headed by Walter Ulbricht, First Secretary of the CC SUPG and Chairman of the State Council;

the Party and Government delegation of the Korean People's Democratic Republic headed by Tsoi En Gen, member of the Political Bureau and Presidium of the Political Bureau of the CC of the Korean Party of Labor, Secretary of the CC and President of the Presidium of the Supreme National Assembly;

the Party and Government delegation of the Republic of Cuba headed by Jose Ramon Machado Ventura, member of the CC CPC and Minister of Public Health;

the Party and Government delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic headed by Yumzhagiin Tsedenbal, First Secretary of the CC of the People's Revolutionary Party and Chairman of the Council of Ministers;

the Party and Government delegation of Poland headed by Wladyslaw Gomulka, First Secretary of the CC of the PUWP, and Josef Cyrankiewicz, member of the Political Bureau of the CC PUWP and Chairman of the Council of Ministers;

the Party and Government delegation of Rumania headed by Nicolae Ceausecu, General Secretary of the CC RCP;

the Party and Government delegation of Czechoslovakia headed by Antonin Novotny, First Secretary of the CC CPC and President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic;

the State and Party delegation of Yugoslavia headed by Josip Broz Tito, President of the SFRY and Chairman of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia;

the delegations of the following parties:

the CP of Australia headed by the National Secretary Laurie Aarons;

the CP of Austria headed by Party Chairman Franz Muhri;

the Communist Party of Argentina headed by Party Chairman Victorio Codovilla;

the CP of Belgium headed by Party Chairman Ernest Burnelle;

the CP of Great Britain headed by General Secretary John Gollan;

the CP of Venezuela headed by General Secretary Jesus Faria;

the CP of Guadeloupe headed by General Secretary Evremon Jen;

the CP of Germany headed by CC First Secretary Max Reimann;

the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-West Berlin headed by Party Chairman Gerhard Danelius;

the CP of Greece headed by CC First Secretary Kostas Koliyannis;

the CP of Denmark headed by Party Chairman Knud Jespersen;

the CP of Israel headed by Meir Vilner, Secretary of the Political Bureau of the CC;

the CP of India headed by S. A. Dange, Chairman of the National Council, and R. Rao, General Secretary of the National Council;

the Jordanian CP headed by CC First Secretary Fuad Nassar;

the Iraqi CP headed by CC First Secretary Nazim Ali;

the People's Party of Iran headed by Reza Radmanesh, Chairman of the Bureau of the CC;

the Irish Workers' Party headed by Michael O'Riordan, Secretary of the Executive;

the CP of Northern Ireland headed by Andrew Barr, Chairman of the Executive;

the United Socialist Party of Iceland headed by Party Chairman Einar Olgeirsson;

the CP of Spain headed by Party Chairman Dolores Ibarruri;

the Italian CP headed by General Secretary Luigi Longo;

the CP of Canada headed by General Secretary William Kashtan;

the Progressive Party of the Cypriot Working People headed by General Secretary Ezekias Papaioannou;

the CP of Colombia headed by CC General Secretary Gilberto Vieira;

the Party of the People's Vanguard of Costa Rica headed by CC General Secretary Manuel Mora;

the Lebanese CP headed by CC General Secretary N. Chaoui;

the CP of Luxembourg headed by Party Chairman Dominique Urbany;

the Moroccan CP headed by General Secretary Ali Yata;

the CP of Martinique headed by General Secretary Armand Nicolas;

the Mexican CP headed by CC First Secretary Arnoldo Martinez Verdugo;

the CP of Norway headed by Party Chairman Reidar Larsen;

the People's Party of Panama headed by General Secretary Ruben Dario Sousa;

the Peruvian CP headed by CC General Secretary George Del Prado;

the Portugese CP headed by General Secretary Alvaro Cunhal;

the CP of Réunion headed by General Secretary Paul Vergés;

the CP of San Marino headed by General Secretary Ermenegildo Gasperoni;

the Syrian CP headed by CC General Secretary Khaled Bagdash;

the CP USA headed by General Secretary Gus Hall;

the Tunisian CP headed by Political Bureau Member and CC Secretary Mohammed Harmel;

the CP of Turkey headed by CC First Secretary Jakub Demir;

the CP of Uruguay headed by CC First Secretary Rodney Arismendi;

the CP of Finland headed by General Secretary Ville Pessi and Party Chairman Aarne Saarinen;

the French CP headed by General Secretary Waldeck Rochet;

the CP of Ceylon headed by CC Chairman S. Wickremasinghe;

the CP of Chile headed by CC General Secretary Luis Corvalan;

the Swiss Party of Labor headed by General Secretary Edgar Woog;

the Left Party-Communists of Sweden headed by Party Secretary Urban Karlsson;

the CC of Ecuador headed by CC General Secretary Pedro Saad;

the South-African CP headed by Party Chairman John Marks;

the delegations of the Communist and Workers' parties of Bolivia, Brazil, Haiti, Guatemala, Honduras, the Dominican Republic, Lesotho, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Puerto Rico, Salvador and Sudan, representatives of the Algerian Communists and other comrades;

the delegation of the Socialist Unity Party of New Zealand headed by Party First Secretary George Jackson.

The celebrations were also attended by the delegations of the World Federation of Trade Unions, the World Council of Peace, the Women's International Democratic Federation, the World Federation of Democratic Youth, the Organization of Afro-Asian Solidarity, international democratic movements uniting scientists, writers, artists, journalists and progressive students of all continents;

the delegation of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam headed by Dang Than Thi, member of the Presidium of the CC;

the Party and Government delegation of the following independent national states that have embarked upon the road of social progress:

the Algerian People's Democratic Republic headed by Ahmed Kaid, member of the Revolutionary Council; the Republic of Guinea headed by Saifulaye Diallo, member of the National Political Bureau

of the Democratic Party; the Congo Republic (Brazzaville) headed by Claude Da Costa, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Congo National Revolutionary Movement; the Mali Republic headed by Mamadou Madeira Keita, member of the National Committee for the Defense of the Revolution; the United Arab Republic headed by Ali Sabri, Vice-President of the Republic and member of the Supreme Executive Committee of the Arab Socialist Union; the Syrian Arab Republic headed by Ibrahim Makhus, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs, member of the Syrian Leadership of the Party of Arab Socialist Revival;

the delegations of the People s Movement for the Liberation of Angola headed by Party Chairman Agostinho Neto; the People's Progressive Party of Guyana headed by Cheddi Jagan; the African Party of Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands headed by General Secretary Amilcar Cabral; the Zimbabwe African People's Union headed by General Secretary George N'Andoro; the Liberation Front of Mozambique headed by Party President Eduardo Mondlen; the Somali Democratic Union headed by CC Secretary Yusuf Samantar;

the delegations of the Italian Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity headed by General Secretary Tullio Vecchietti; the Autonomous Socialist Movement of Italy headed by Coordinating Committee member Luigi Anderlini; the Socialist People's Party of Norway headed by Central Board member Finn Gustavsen; the Social-Democratic Union of Workers and Smallholders of Finland headed by Union Chairman Aaarre Simonen; the People's Democratic Union of Finland headed by Union Chairman Ele Alenius; the Socialist Party of Chile headed by Salvador Allende; the Socialist Party of Japan headed by Koichi Yamamoto, General Secretary of the Central Executive Committee, and also Jose Vicente Rangel, General Secretary of the Revolutionary Party of National Unity of Venezuela; S. M. Joshi, Chairman of the United Socialist Party of India, and Madhu Leemay, leader of the parliamentary group of that Party; M. Senanayake, Vice-President of the Freedom Party of Ceylon; C. de Silva, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the Socialist Party of Ceylon;

the delegation of *Problems of Peace and Socialism*, theoretical and information journal of the Communist and Workers' parties, consisting of Executive Secretary Pavel Auersperg and Editorial Board members Waldo Atias and Pierre Hentges.

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INFORMATION

# bulletin

110
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**DATE SET FOR MEETING OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES**

**ARTICLE BY L. CORVALAN (CHILE)**

**DOCUMENTS OF PHILIPPINE CP**

FILE COPY

*Issued by*
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*contents*


**DATE SET FOR CONSULTATIVE MEETING OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES** 5

**A STRONG COMMUNIST PARTY— A GUARANTEE FOR THE PEOPLE**
Report by Luis Corvalan (Chile) 6

**WHAT BEING A REVOLUTIONARY MEANS IN FRANCE TODAY**
Paper presented by Waldeck Rochet 18

**STRENGTHEN THE INTERNATIONAL UNITY OF COMMUNISTS** 29

**DOCUMENTS OF THE CP OF THE PHILIPPINES** 36

**STATEMENT ON THE 50th ANNIVERSARY OF THE GREAT OCTOBER REVOLUTION**
Communist Party of Lesotho 39

**PARTY PERIODICALS**
Items in Current Issues 41

**ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES** 43



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# DATE SET FOR CONSULTATIVE MEETING OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES*

In the decisions of their congresses and leading bodies and in the course of mutual consultations, a large number of Communist and Workers' Parties have expressed themselves in favor of convening an international meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties with the purpose of strengthening the unity of the Communist movement and rallying all Socialist and other democratic forces in the struggle against imperialism, for the national and social liberation of peoples and for world peace.

The Communist and Workers' parties of Australia, Argentina, Bulgaria, Brazil, Great Britain, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, the Federal Republic of Germany, India, Italy, Mongolia, Poland, Syria, the Soviet Union, the United States of America, Finland, France and Czechoslovakia, which participated in the consultative meeting held in Moscow in March 1965, have had bilateral consultations among themselves on the question of preparing the ground for another international meeting.

On the basis of these consultations and in conformity with the views and desires expressed at the March 1965 meeting, the abovementioned parties have found it expedient to convene a consultative meeting in February 1968 with the purpose of collectively exchanging views on the question of convening an international meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties.

We call upon all fraternal parties to support the initiative aimed at convening a consultative meeting and to participate in such a meeting.

Our parties have requested the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party to make it possible to hold the consultative meeting in Budapest. The Central Committee of the Hungarian Party has given its consent and will send the appropriate invitations to the fraternal parties.

*Morning Star, November 25, 1967.

# A STRONG COMMUNIST PARTY— A GUARANTEE FOR THE PEOPLE

## LUIS CORVALAN'S REPORT* AT THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHILE IN SEPTEMBER 1967

The Central Committee has convened this Conference to discuss only one question, namely, that of the Party's organizational, ideological and political consolidation.

Factors breeding backwardness and misery continue to operate in the country. The enemies of well-being and progress keep their economic positions virtually intact. Even latifundism lives on and fares well, although 90 per cent of the Chileans have condemned it to death. A greater part of the population lives in poverty and destitution. The scourge of inflation and high cost of living, the low wages, the shortage and unhealthful condition of housing make life a never-ending tragedy. Unemployment brings desperation to thousands of families.

The factory and office workers are stepping up their class battles. The struggle is being joined and strikes are launched by groups of working people who have never done so before. Peasants are rising in struggle throughout the central zone, where big landowners hold sway. The agricultural workers led by the National Federation of Peasants and Indians and the working people who support Demochristian-inspired organizations are acting simultaneously against the employers and fighting for their demands. The influx of agricultural workers into trade unions and their joining in the strike struggle strengthen the positions and intensify the struggle of the entire proletariat, broadening and deepening the anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchy movement of the people.

We are witnessing a re-awakening of the youth. Catholic students have for the first time gone on strike to demand the rejuvenation of their university. The student movement is growing and joint actions are being undertaken by all its federations in the struggle for university allocations, for students' say in the university councils, for more scholarships and better premises. Young Communists, Socialists, Radicals, Demochristians, atheists and believers alike are rallying in acts of solidarity with the glorious people of Vietnam. The march from Valparaiso to Santiago was an eloquent demonstration of the unity and anti-imperialist spirit of our young people.

*Abridged from a CPC booklet.

A Left-inclined leadership has been elected at a conference of the Radical Party. Forces discontented with President Frei's government and intent on attacking the positions of the oligarchy have come out on top at a recent meeting of the Executive of the Christian-Democratic Party and at the congress of that party's youth organization. These facts show what the people want, how profound is their striving for change.

The clans of the oligarchy, which live off the sweat and blood of the people and enjoy the government's protection, are out to bar the country's way to freedom and progress. They are fighting back, sowing anxiety and apprehension among the weak-hearted, intriguing, splitting the popular forces, conspiring and entering into collusion with foreign reactionaries.

U.S. imperialism reiterates its claims to intervene in any Latin American country. With its aid military juntas are concluding regional military agreements. Imperialism and the juntas, aided by a handful of traitors, have organized a campaign against Chile.

The Communist Party appeals to the country: Chile can and must effect the changes it needs, preserve and extend democracy and proceed along its own, independent road in Latin America.

The Communist Party declares to the government of President Frei that the situation demands an end to any procrastination in effecting the reforms which are supported by a considerable majority in and outside parliament, such as the reform of the banking system. The situation demands reconstruction of the countryside, jobs for the unemployed, better conditions for wage earners, including servicemen, and no more explanations to the U.S. State Department and the "gorillas" regarding the establishment of the Chilean committee of the Organization of Latin American Solidarity, because that was a lawful act and no foreign government has the right to interfere. Explanations will not calm down the imperialists and "gorillas," but only make them more insolent.

The Communist Party stands in firm opposition to the government, whose policy is essentially continuist and anti-labor. At the same time the Party considers itself responsible for the development of the country.

There are problems whose solution is in the vital interests of the working class and the entire people. We have in mind above all the need to preserve and develop the democratic system, prevent reactionary seditious activities in Chile and foil the imperialists' plans to push Chile onto the road of fascization. We also have in mind the danger stemming from the utilization by imperialism and the "gorillas" of old disputes with neighboring countries.

In view of this the Communist Party declares that it is doing and will do everything within its power in the interests of democracy, social progress, independent economic development and a

dignified, sovereign and realistic foreign policy which would blow up the international conspiracy and frustrate the provocations of the "gorillas." Acting accordingly, we unhesitatingly denounced the seditious activity of the Rightists. Their leaders have in fact remained in the dock, although the judicial authorities have set them free. They are plotting not only against the government but in the final count against the people, against the possibilities for the victorious development of the popular movement, against the agrarian reform and the strike movement of the rural working people, against the rights and gains of all working people. In this as in all similar cases, Communists stand in the way of those who want to reverse the country's development. We champion peaceful and friendly settlement of disputes between neighboring countries. We support any initiative or measure inspired by this principle. National defense must be based not only on effective armed forces. History shows that unity of the people is decisive, and that it can be achieved if the country enters upon the road of progress, if impediments to the development of the productive forces are removed and the well-being of the masses grows. All this, in turn, should be connected with a policy of fraternity among nations.

For the same reason we follow with interest the efforts of other political circles on behalf of the country's progress. We will support their every initiative aimed at satisfying the demands of the working people or implementing anti-imperialst and anti-oligarchy measures.

More active struggle and stronger unity are needed. Satisfaction of the most urgent demands of the masses depends primarily on their action. Popular unity and struggle will frustrate the conspiratorial maneuvers of the Rightists. Imperialism's direct or indirect interference can be prevented if the Chilean people unite in action. Given unity and struggle, it is possible and necessary to overcome the resistance of the reactionaries, effect already now certain anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchy reforms, and advance towards the establishment of a popular government. But words alone cannot isolate the reactionaries and unite the people. This calls for day-to-day persevering work among the masses which is often anonymous, lacking lustre and publicity. We must work with patience, firmness and wisdom to surmount the difficulties and relegate to the background the contradictions existing among the popular forces.

Hence the importance of the role which the Communist Party plays and is called upon to play.

One of the documents of the Political Commission points out: "The development of our Party, its conversion into a still bigger, more militant and ideologically and politically stronger contingent possessing a larger number of militants and broader and stronger

links with the masses is becoming a top-priority, decisive task in view of the present situation and its prospects, and in view of the need to foil the anti-democratic plans of imperialism and the oligarchy and to raise to a higher level the solidarity of our people with all the liberation movements in Latin America and the world over."

We wish success to the other forces fighting for the interests of the people and above all to our Socialist allies. Therefore, when giving priority to the development of our Party we are not guided by considerations of narrow proselytism but only strive to discharge in the best way our duty to the people.

We have a strong Party distinguished by internal cohesion, discipline, links with the masses, political seriousness and responsibility, a firm, militant and broad policy line, a high fighting spirit, day-to-day struggle for the interests of the people, comprehension of Chilean realities, an internationalist and at the same time profoundly national position, collective leadership, and rich experience. Our Party is an indestructible and indivisible force. It has been steeled in many class battles. Forged in the hard conditions of illegality, its nucleus has successfully withstood repressions, prisons, concentration camps and the hate campaign.

Our Party has become an important factor of national life. It is a political and moral force with which everybody must reckon. The Party exists, functions and fights all over the country, from Africa to Tierra del Fuego. It is the principal force in the trade union movement and among the intelligentsia, and second in importance in the student movement and among the youth in general. It is consolidating its positions in the countryside and broadening its links with women as well as with small tradesmen and other groups of the middle strata.

Great responsibility falls on the Party for the destiny of hundreds of thousands of working people and their families. In Ovalle, Valparaiso, San Clemente, Lota, Osorno and other cities it organizes the unemployed and heads the struggle for more new jobs. In the countryside the Party promotes the establishment of peasant trade unions and the intensification of the strike movement of agricultural workers. Communists head twenty-five and are represented on more than a hundred municipal councils. As of June 1967, the Party's composition was as follows: workers 44.6 per cent, peasants 16.1, office employees 4.1, college-educated specialists 2.2, teachers, 1.7, intellectuals 0.1, tradesmen 4, industrialists 0.2, housewives 20.9, pensioners 2.8 and others 3.3 per cent.

The composition of the Party is improving. Undeniably, most housewives and pensioners belong to the working class. The majority of those bracketed as "office employees" also belong to the

working class, for many workers are today officially listed as office employees.

Ours is fundamentally a workers' Party, from the rank and file to the leadership. In the last two years the Party has improved its positions in the countryside. The percentage of peasants in it has grown from 12.4 per cent in 1965 to 16.1. The share of housewives has also increased. Together with working women, they account for 26.5 per cent of the Party's membership.

The period since our 10th Congress* has been one of continuous growth of the Party. Between June 1965 and June 1967 its membership increased by 28.2 per cent.

The Party is closely rallied around its political line and its Central Committee. The attempts to impose on us an adventuristic orientation and nationalistic, one-sided and extremist concepts have been utterly unsuccessful. The doubts which one or other Communist may have, quite understandable in view of the magnitude and complexity of the problems, present isolated instances which in no way affect the health and line of the Party. The Party has once again demonstrated its proletarian firmness and its ability to emerge unharmed from the trials now confronting the world Communist movement.

Thus, the general situation of the Party is good. But we want it to be better still. We need a bigger and more efficient Party.

There is an inordinately large gap between the numerical strength and influence of the Party. In the last elections more than 350,000 Chileans voted Communist. Most of these are men and women, predominantly working people, who have been educated by the Party and who adhere to and support its policies. If we succeeded in organizing politically only one-third of the people under our influence, we would have an additional 100,000 Communists.

A similar gap exists between the number of Communists and the influence the Party wields at industrial and mining enterprises, in the public services and in building. There are enterprises employing hundreds of workers half of whom support our position. But many Party cells at these enterprises have not more than a dozen members each. In more serious cases, trade union leaders are the only Communists or there are no Party cells at all.

The bulk of the Chilean proletariat stands out for generally recognized class consciousness and political maturity acquired in the course of numerous battles since the times of the heroic Workers' Federation of Chile. Hence, ample opportunities exist for recruiting new Party members from among the proletariat. Indeed, it has been proved that where we tackle this job in earnest, especially in industry, big estates and residential communities, the Party grows fairly quickly. As we see, the possibilities for Party building

*Held in 1956.—Ed.

are exceptionally great. Why then do we not make full use of these possibilities? Why do we not recruit more new members? Why does the Party fail to assimilate many new members who fall behind and part ways with us? Why do we still wear short breeches and remain a small party in some central and southern provinces? Why have we not restored yet our positions in such important groups of working people as seamen, dockers, copper miners (although we have achieved noteworthy successes there), railwaymen and city transport workers  Why have we not made substantial progress among the middle strata?

These inadequacies, and generally the Party's weaknesses and shortcomings, are not due to a single cause, and therefore cannot be eliminated by a single measure. In different places these problems pose themselves with different degrees of acuteness and stem from different causes. Therefore the following propositions can be useful only as a general orientation for concrete consideration in each particular instance.

1. The Party grows primarily due to its activity, its struggle at the head of the masses. Hence the need for more active and extensive work among the masses. This is the reason for the existence of the Party, which is not an end in itself but a combat weapon of the proletariat, its vanguard contingent.

No other party is working and fighting as intensely as ours. But it remains a fact that some Party members are not active enough, that not the whole of the Party works with the masses. There are primary organizations which live a listless, more or less passive life, are absorbed in themselves and preoccupied exclusively—or almost exclusively—with domestic, internal tasks.

The responsibility for the weaknesses of the Party rests primarily with us, its leaders. Therefore it is necessary first of all to improve the work of the leadership, the methods of guidance.

We have achieved significant successes in this respect, especially as regards the collectivity of leadership. Besides, the Party has been able to train a considerable number of national, regional and local leaders distinguished by selflessness, tireless activity and fidelity to communism. But on the whole their efficiency is below their capacity because of the alarming spread of administrative methods of leadership in the Party and the limited number of people charged with Party assignments.

As a result, Party activists are in many cases overworked, leading their organizations from one task or campaign to another, having almost no respite, no time for study, for reflection and deep analysis, for planning, for more creative activity.

The leading organs of the Party must give priority to political work, to organization and orientation of mass movements on the basis of the general line of the Party, in conformity with the con-

crete situation and the problems of the given region. The line of the Party is struggle for the satisfaction of the most immediate demands of the masses and for structural changes. It is directed first and foremost against imperialism and the oligarchy. But holding forth on this general line is not enough. It is necessary to work constantly and everywhere on the basis of this general line. The entire Party must take to heart the permanent and current problems which concern or interest the population. The Party should head the struggle for those anti-imperialist and anti-feudal aims which are on the order of the day—for instance, for the agrarian reform, the bank reform, the nationalization of the Pacific Steel and Chilean Power companies, the coal mines and saltpeter deposits.

This is all the more necessary since there exist points of contact with other circles which make it possible to unite the people and isolate the reactionaries.

2. In some places there has arisen a contradiction between work among the masses and work in the Party. Some comrades are preoccupied solely with work among the masses and forget about Party work, while others busy themselves with Party work alone. A certain degree of division of labor is necessary, of course, but not to such an extent.

This contradiction can only be explained by malpractices which have to be corrected.

The district and local Party committees should always keep abreast of labor conflicts and problems of the mass movement, and discuss them with the participation of the leaders concerned.

3. The cell is the basis of the Party, its vital organ. All Communists without exception should be members of one or other Party cell. The cell is organized at the place of work or residence. In other words, there are industrial and residential cells, and no cells of other types.

However, concrete peculiarities must be taken into account during the establishment and functioning of cells.

For instance, our Rules provide for the formation of cells consisting exclusively of women. It is difficult for housewives to attend meetings in the evening, but they have free time in the afternoon. Besides, some women do not speak freely enough at meetings in the presence of men. Hence the provision for women's cells.

We must display an equally creative approach to problems connected with the organization and activities of primary organizations in industry.

Serious problems arise in large cities. People work in different shifts and different shops and sometimes have to travel scores of kilometres to and from work. Many work overtime. Not all comrades can be met at factory gates after the shift. Housing problems, especially where workers are their own builders, are

of more concern to them than trade union affairs (except at times of labor conflict). We must bear in mind this reality, which explains, in part, why 60 per cent of all Party cells are organized at places of residence and only 25 per cent at places of work (the rest are in the countryside), and also why factory cells do not, generally speaking, excel in their activities.

The Party acts primarily through the thousands upon thousands of Communists united in cells, and these cells must command our attention, for they are the chief vehicle for the pursuit of our policy. We must improve mass work in every cell, organizing and directing struggle in the economic, ideological and political fields.

4. There are tens of thousands of different organizations in Chile—workers' and peasants' trade unions, associations of office employees, shop-keepers, specialists, intellectuals, mothers and heads of family, house committees, mutual aid societies, sports clubs, art groups, etc. Communists should be found in all these organizations. Otherwise reformism may prevail in them, people will fall into the habit of limiting themselves to minor things, will strive for minor gains only, get absorbed with minor problems and lose the perspective, forgetting that in the final count the road to the real solution of all minor problems lies through revolution, through major changes.

On the other hand, it is necessary to organize the unorganized, above all the hundreds of thousands of urban and rural working people who do not yet have trade unions, to make more rapid progress in uniting factory and office workers in branches of industry and the services, to improve the coordination of the strike struggle and broaden trade union unity around the Trade Union Center. There is particularly urgent need to organize peasants' trade unions, bearing in mind that a relevant law has been adopted, that the overwhelming majority of the rural working people are not organized, that the ruling bourgeoisie is seeking to organize them under its own control, and that the character of the trade union movement in the countryside will in many respects depend on who will have applied greater efforts and gained the lead.

5. The Party's advance demands overcoming sectarian concepts and routine.

The methods of work which were useful yesterday are not applicable today.

This year, instead of changing Party cards we have been prolonging them, using special stamps.

We must apply new methods also in recruiting new members. We must rectify mistakes and improve the system which we introduced several years ago, when we admitted new members by tens and hundreds, asking every one who responded to the appeal of the Party and approached the recruiting table to sign the admis-

sion application. We shall continue the practice of mass admission, but today we can do this better, in a more organized way, not in lots. We have the names and addresses of almost 200,000 people who voted Communist in the municipal elections several months ago. We must work with these lists, analyze them, single out the best, the most active of these people, invite them to a meeting or visit them at home and help them organize a new cell or join the existing one at their place of work or residence.

6. We have been educated in the spirit of the principle that all Party members have equal rights and duties. Is this correct? Is this really so?

Every Party member can and must enjoy all his rights from the moment of entry, but he cannot start performing all his duties right away. He performs them in measure as he is being educated, as he matures politically, as his knowledge, abilities and devotion to the Party cause grow.

To be sure, it is not a matter of every one doing whatever he thinks fit, but of leading the Party in such a way that every one will do what he can. At the same time, everything must be done to raise the political level of Party members, develop their abilities and help them perform their duties more efficiently.

7. Increasing importance attaches to educational work in the Party. The realities of Chile and of the whole world pose before us all kinds of new and complicated problems demanding sober analysis and fuller mastery of theory. Also, the anti-Communist campaign does not pass entirely without effect, if only by sowing doubts regarding this or that matter. In addition, as the revolutionary movement develops some elements of different social origin and political convictions advocate positions which are not ours or are even anti-communist. There are people who pose as Left Leftists or greater Leftists than our Party and call us moderates, because we do not use high-flown language and measure our every step. We Communists are the chief enemies of imperialism, and one form of its struggle against us is to use precisely such labels. "Moderates" and "traditionalists" are terms widely employed by imperialist news agencies with regard to Communists. Hence the need to pay more attention to the political and ideological growth of the entire Party, to strengthen its unity and see to it that all its members comprehend ever more deeply its political line and fight for it. The consolidation and development of our positions and the growth of the Party itself largely depend on our efforts in this direction.

We must always remember that the educational level of a greater part of our Communists—not through a fault of their own, of course,—is fairly low. Most working people have had only two or three years of schooling.

It is clear that educational work should be conducted at other levels, too, at all levels. The establishment of the Marxist Research Institute is proof of our intentions in this respect. We should set up new regional schools for medium-level cadres. All leaders must continue individual and collective studies. No one can be satisfied with his knowledge. He who knows more must study more. There is always that which can be learned. Knowledge is inexhaustible. One does not have to be a monk or an abstinent to be admitted into the Party. What we want is not angels but men, women and youth of the people. It is therefore improper to pay more attention to people's shortcomings than to their merits. It is all the more improper since the Party itself is a school of education.

8. There are many localities where sectarian concepts and methods have taken deep root. The same applies to quite a few Party functionaries and rank-and-file members.

We regard the Party as a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary contingent, as a party of action, a party of firm unity, iron discipline and high consciousness, a party which has no caudillos, admits of no factions and does not tolerate conformism, passivity, frustration or time-serving.

Old methods and old ideas defend themselves. They do not surrender without a struggle. Therefore it is necessary to discuss all ideas and all problems in order to achieve clarity and make further advance.

9. We are conducting a party-building campaign dedicated to the memory of our remarkable comrade, José Gonzalez. We call it a campaign of directed recruitment, because we direct our efforts primarily to big industrial and service enterprises, estates and residential communities, especially those where we are weakest.

We want to stress that directed recruitment, i.e., the emphasis on the admission of workers and peasants, in no way signifies disregard for other strata of the population. The doors of the Party are wide open before the finest sons of our peeple. The Party can and must be joined by more representatives of the middle strata, more specialists and intellectuals. It is well known that the Party highly values intellectuals, and that it does not demand of them adherence to this or that esthetical school. We only want them to work in the interests of the proletariat, enter the Party and strive to be good Communists and ever better writers and artists.

Our Young Communist League is developing as a remarkable school of communism, as a youth organization deeply devoted to the Party. The Party should give greater support to the League. Where there is the Party, there should be the League. As we know, that is not the case everywhere, and the chief responsibility for this rests with us and not with the young people.

The methods and forms of the work of a Party depend on con-

crete historical conditions, but the fundamental principles of its organization, elaborated and substantiated by Lenin, remain immutable.

The Communist Party is the most patriotic of all political forces. It expresses and consistently defends the interests of the people, the interests of the country. The patriotism of Communists is harmoniously combined with their proletarian internationalism. Loyal to its internationalist duty, the Communist Party tirelessly strengthens friendship among nations. Communists are opposed to national hatred, national strife and national narrow-mindedness. We are internationalists and at the same time most consistent patriots.

The above-said does not mean that other popular parties, which are not genuine proletarian Marxist-Leninist parties or do not possess all their qualities, are outside the revolutionary process or cannot hold leading positions in this or that country or contingency. Nor does this mean that we regard the existence of a single working-class party indispensable for any revolution.

It is known what great importance we attach to Socialist-Communist mutual understanding as the basis of the unity of the working class and the entire people, as the cornerstone of the popular movement and the future government. Moreover, we consider that many aspects of the work of guiding the revolutionary process are, and should be, shared between Communists and Socialists; we allow for the eventuality of a multi-party popular government.

But history has shown that the proletariat is the only consistently revolutionary class and that the existence of a Marxist-Leninist proletarian party is the best guarantee of the success of the revolution and the building of socialism. Therefore we are strengthening our ranks, combating any disparagement of the role of the working-class party or the opinion that it can be replaced by a caudillo or an armed group .

The revolution in Chile cannot be the cause of one party, but the Communist Party must be present, and take part, in the revolutionary process. Its consolidation, its organizational, ideological and political development will bring nearer the day of victory and will be the decisive factor of firmness and consistency in the struggle for national liberation, democracy and socialism.

The debate on power and on the need for revolution is in the center of the political life of the country. Our advance to power will depend on our everyday struggle for the demands of the people and our efforts to isolate the chief enemy, imperialism and the oligarchy. This aim will be achieved if priority is given today to concrete tasks which will mobilize the masses in struggle and promote the growth and gathering of forces for the revolution. Foremost among these tasks is struggle for the further development of the agrarian reform, for the bank reform, for everything

that in one way or other restricts the power of imperialism and reaction.

The Communist Party takes a favorable view of the efforts of other political circles in this direction, and it reaffirms its support of the line of its 13th Congress* to ensure the unity of action of the broadest progressive forces. We are witnessing the development of this unity, which creates prerequisites for the unity of the whole people.

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*Held in 1965.—Ed.

# WHAT BEING A REVOLUTIONARY MEANS IN FRANCE TODAY

## PAPER* PRESENTED BY WALDECK ROCHET TO A SYMPOSIUM AT THE MAURICE THOREZ INSTITUTE

The immense merit of the October Socialist Revolution is that it opened the era of socialism. A bitter ideological and political struggle has been going on for fifty years now over the legacy of the October Revolution and its estimation.

The right-wing opportunists and revisionists question the fact that the experience of the first victorious socialist revolution is largely of universal value. They readily speak of a purely "Russian," or even an "oriental" development lacking in value as an example for the Western world and the industrially developed capitalist countries.

On the other hand, the left-wing revisionists, or dogmatists, would like the masses in the France of 1967 to be led to the socialist revolution along exactly the same road as the Russian Communists followed in 1917.

We French Communists consider that Marxism is not a dead dogma but a guide to action, and we fight both the Right opportunists and the Left opportunists, or dogmatists, for they all turn their backs on Marxism and the socialist revolution.

This is the point we want to make in answering the question: "A revolutionary: What does it mean in France today?"

Speaking of the revolution, Lenin always stressed the existence of universal laws of the socialist revolution and socialist construction, on the one hand, and the necessity for knowing how to apply these fundamental principles in the specific conditions of the country and period concerned, on the other.

"All nations will arrive at socialism," he wrote, "this is inevitable, but all will do so in not exactly the same way, each will contribute something of its own to some form of democracy, to some variety of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to the varying rate of socialist transformations in the different aspects of social life." (*Collected Works*, Vol. 23, p. 69)

Maurice Thorez was prompted by the same idea when, more than twenty years ago, in an interview given to *The Times*, he said that each people naturally chooses a different road and that the

*Abridged from l'Humanité, October 16, 1967.

French people, in particular, who possess an original tradition, would find their own road to socialism. In view of the new balance of forces in the world and in France, this road could be peaceful, as Thorez saw it.

These precepts now are rejected by the "leftist" groupings advocating "Maoism." In doing their disruptive job, these demagogues use and abuse that excellent word, *revolution.* As they lose all hope of gaining at least some little influence among the French workers, they are trying flattery to win over a small, politically inexperienced fraction of the student youth, as the Russian Trotskyists did at one time.

Lenin always stressed that the "leftists"' adventuristic vacillations reflect petty-bourgeois instability. In "The Revolutionary Phrase," an article he wrote in February 1918, he showed that there was not a whit of revolutionary common sense in the "leftists"' attitude.

"We must fight against the revolutionary phrase," he pointed out, "we have to fight it, we absolutely must fight it, so that at some future time people will not say of us the bitter truth that 'a revolutionary phrase about revolutionary war ruined the revolution'." (*Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 29)

Lenin traced the social origins of left-wing opportunism to the peculiar position of the petty bourgeoisie, which easily switches in words to extreme "revolutionism" but lacks firmness, organization, discipline and staunchness, all of which are qualities of the proletariat.

"By revolutionary phrase-making we mean the repetition of revolutionary slogans irrespective of objective circumstances at a given turn in events, in the given state of affairs obtaining at the given time." (*Ibid.*, p. 19)

In this way Lenin warned that tactics should be deduced not from general truths, but from an analysis of events as they present themselves.

The only genuinely scientific approach to problems is accurately to estimate the actual situation and the balance of class forces, to discern and foresee new trends in time, and to determine the right policy line on this basis.

When we try to apply these recommendations and to approach from a scientific standpoint the problem of the revolution, which is still the fundamental problem, now as in 1917, we are struck by the fact that the single revolutionary process has become diversified in fifty years.

New and original situations have developed, and the world has undergone deep changes. The formation of the socialist system has weakened imperialism, which, on the other hand, has lost its colonial empires.

Inside the imperialist countries the development and consolidation of state-monopoly capitalism are creating objective conditions for a very broad anti-monopoly unity encompassing every class and every stratum suffering from the domination of the financial oligarchy.

The obvious conclusion to be drawn is that the *forms* of the fundamental content of our epoch are changing and becoming diversified. The fundamental content of our epoch is the transition from capitalism to socialism, but the forms of this transition vary.

The October Revolution revealed the existence of universally valid general principles of the socialist revolution. It is a question, among other things, of the need for the working class to win political power in close alliance with other working people—victims of capitalism—of a temporary dictatorship of the proletariat, the promotion of socialist democracy, socialization of the major means of production, the building of a socialist economy serving the peoples, and the necessity for a party that really would be the revolutionary vanguard of the working class.

We know that from the outset the partisans of reformism and the adherents of Social Democratic parties in various countries took a stand against the October Revolution. By so doing they made a mistake, all the more so because subsequently they were unable to bring about socialist changes, or even to undertake such changes, anywhere, in any country.

In numerous countries the Right Social Democratic leaders, striving to adapt the working-class movement to the requirements of capitalism and to reconcile the working class and the bourgeoisie, have virtually renounced the idea of building socialism. Some of them, such as Harold Wilson, continue to play the role of spokesmen of the bourgeoisie among the working people.

By and large, Social Democratic governments have operated within the framework of capitalism, without ever setting themselves the task of abolishing this system in favor of socialism.

Now, while Communists and Socialists have been following different roads, the main problem today is whether the radical changes which have occurred in fifty years in favor of socialism can lead, proceeding from present-day reality, to rapprochement between Communists and Socialists and so to working-class unity, which is indispensable for the victory of socialism.

I mentioned a little earlier the universally valid lessons of the October Revolution. I must repeat, however, that the form of the socialist revolution is not linked to any one pattern.

Any Marxist-Leninist who would be worthy of the name should base his political activity on a concrete analysis of the given situation and not on conclusions drawn in the past from a different situation.

This means that while the model provided by the October Revolution is still valid in its general features, it cannot be copied in its every aspect, for a common goal and a common class position presuppose a multiplicity and diversity of forms and means, and not uniformity.

To be a Marxist and a revolutionary means, therefore, using different methods and different forms of struggle when the historical conditions for action are different.

The French Communist Party is operating in a country and at a time when the rallying of the middle classes in town and country behind a united working class can impose the establishment of genuine democracy capable of creating favorable conditions for the struggle for socialism.

It was with due regard to these circumstances that the latest congresses of our Party formulated theses which were widely echoed among the working class and all democrats, especially the Socialists.

Concerning the diversity of ways of transition to socialism, we stressed that it is inconsistent with our doctrine to present the Communists as people advocating at all costs the seizure of power by force, through an armed rising.

As a matter of fact, Communists have never regarded violence as an end in itself, for they consider, on the contrary, that the working class has every interest in accomplishing the socialist revolution by peaceful means.

The use of force has never been a result of preference by the working people. It depends on the forms of struggle which the exploiters and oppressors use against the people.

Lenin said in 1915 that it was wrong and absurd to oppose the democratic to the socialist program.

"The proletariat," he wrote, "cannot be victorious except through democracy, i.e., by giving full effect to democracy and by linking with each step of its struggle democratic demands formulated in the most absolute terms . . . We must *combine* the revolutionary struggle against capitalism with a revolutionary program and tactics on *all* democratic demands . . ." *(Collected Works,* Vol. 21, p. 408).

We think in a country like France, where the existence of several parties is part of the nation's democratic tradition, a peaceful transition to socialism can be effected despite the existence of many parties, provided Communist-Socialist cooperation firmly asserts itself in the struggle for democracy and socialism.

To insist on the possibility of a peaceful and democratic transition to socialism does not at all mean that socialism can be achieved without class struggle, without mobilizing the working

class and its allies, the working peasantry and the urban middle classes, for action.

Indeed, we should proceed from the Marxist idea that the big bourgeoisie will never relinquish power of its own free will. It follows that the transition to socialism can be effected peacefully only if a united working class rallies all democratic, progressive and national forces, that is, the majority of the people, behind it and on its side, that the big bourgeoisie, being isolated, cannot use arms against the people, cannot resort to civil war.

This means that the transition to socialism under a multi-party system does not depend on the options of the Communist Party alone. But it implies, first of all, that the Socialist Party must discard its policy of class cooperation with the bourgeoisie to pursue, alongside the Communists, a policy of effective struggle for democracy and socialism.

Naturally, the new political power of the working people must protect and defend the cause of socialist construction, which must be continued under socialist laws and democracy, against the resistance of one-time exploiting classes trying to restore capitalism and their own rule.

The Marxist concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat expresses this function, which is as necessary as it is temporary, since it must end with the disappearance of class antagonisms.

This is why the primary function of the new working people's power is steadily to extend socialist democracy, with working men and women and the people as a whole taking an increasingly effective part in the building of socialism and the management of public affairs in various forms.

In short, by striving today to bring about greater political and economic democracy, to curb monopoly power and to promote unity of action by all working-class and democratic forces, we are doing a revolutionary job.

It is through joint struggle by the working class and large sections of the population for increasingly far-reaching democratic reforms and for the overthrow of monopoly domination that the majority of the people can, as a result of increased political consciousness, be brought to realize that radical solution of the problems of our epoch can be achieved through a struggle for "democracy to the finish," that is, for a socialist transformation of society.

The 1960 Statement tells us that the main distinction between Communists and reformists is not that the reformists are the only ones to advocate reform, for they are not. The distinction lies in the fact that, to the reformists, reforms under capitalism are an end in itself, which makes them renounce the struggle to abolish capitalism, whereas the Communists fight resolutely for immediate

reforms attainable within the framework of capitalist society but, never give up the fight for the ultimate goal, socialism.

Having specified this, we say that those who think the revolution can be carried out in present-day France only through an armed uprising actually lack confidence in the working class, in its political intelligence and skill, in its ability to unite the majority of the people with a view to fighting for both their immediate and their future interests. Their solutions would be solutions suggested by despair had they not been purely verbal and fictitious. Their refusal to distinguish between opportunist reconciliation of the classes and the revolutionary theory of using peaceful forms to win power merely proves their incapacity for dialectical thinking and their intellectual sclerosis.

What is true is that the peaceful road is historically relative and conditioned by specific circumstances. The working class should therefore be prepared to change forms of action according to the situation. Marxism, said Lenin, differs from all primitive types of socialism in not linking the movement to a definte form of struggle. It recognizes the most diverse forms of struggle, nor does it invent these forms but borrows them from life—they are suggested to it by this or that relationship of class forces.

"Under no circumstances," wrote Lenin, "does Marxism confine itself to the forms of struggle possible and in existence at the given moment only, recognizing as it does that new forms of struggle, unknown to the participants of the given period, *inevitably* arise as the given social situation changes." *(Collected Works,* Vol. 11, p. 213.)

The "leftist" adventurers who advocate "Maoism" do not share this view. They would like to impose on the working class of all countries one and the same form of action—armed struggle.

Yet one must not give priority beforehand to one form of struggle to the detriment of others, since the situation varies from continent to continent and from country to country.

Obviously, the situation in Asia, Africa and Latin America is not the same as in various West European countries, and to resort to the same forms of struggle in all these continents and countries would mean heading inevitably to defeat.

The Vietnamese people, for instance, have no choice but to use arms in resisting the American invaders. Their liberation struggle has the unqualified support of the French Communist Party.

We realize that armed and guerrilla struggle, combined with the movement of the masses, is necessary to the revolution in this or that country of Latin America, where military fascist dictatorships subservient to U.S. imperialism are in power.

It is for the Communist parties and the revolutionary and progressive movements of the countries concerned to decide on the forms

of struggle to be used, taking into account national conditions, peculiarities and potentialities.

We have repeatedly and fully identified ourselves with the Cuban revolution, and we identify ourselves with all the Latin American peoples fighting against Yankee imperialism, with all revolutionary movements, whatever their form.

But the present Chinese leaders are no less wrong for claiming that only armed struggle can everywhere ensure the victory of socialism, and for ruling out every other form of struggle.

Unfortunately, the recent experience of Indonesia showed that the use of armed force is not in itself sufficient to guarantee success. Quite the contrary, to the extent that this form of struggle was out of keeping with conditions and circumstances, its application led the Indonesian revolutionary movement to failure and retreat.

This means that the revolutionary character of a struggle is not determined essentially by the form it takes but by its content, linked with the use of appropriate methods of action.

The fight against imperialism today is being carried on simultaneously by the socialist system, the national liberation movement and the working class of the capitalist countries.

The system of socialist countries and the international working class are at the head of the revolutionary process.

Undoubtedly, it is not the community of socialist states that accounts for the revolutionary movement in the capitalist countries, but the internal contradictions in these countries, which make the working class and the mass of the people fight against exploitation and oppression.

Nevertheless, the existence and development of the socialist countries plays the role of a great revolutionary force by showing, for example, that socialism is ultimately the only positive solution to which the working class is striving to fight its way.

At the same time, the economic, social and cultural achievements of the socialist countries are steadily changing the general balance of class forces in the world to the detriment of imperialism and in favor of socialism.

The growing might of the socialist system, coupled with the mounting national liberation movement, the struggle of the working class in the capitalist countries and the growth of other peace forces, is making it possible to prevent a new world war, provided all anti-imperialist and peace-loving forces rally against imperialism, above all against American imperialism.

Engels wrote to Kautsky on September 12, 1882, that the victorious proletariat in this or that country could not presume to bring happiness to another people against the latter's will, without thereby undermining its own victory. In the same letter, however, he

added that the force of example of victorious socialism would be tremendous.

Bearing that in mind, Lenin said that the working people of the Soviet Union must demonstrate in practice the superiority of the new social system over capitalism, its economic advantages.

There is no doubt any longer that the great economic achievements of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are enhancing the appeal of socialism in the eyes of the working people of the capitalist countries, stimulating their struggle.

No amount of imperialist slander can conceal the truth or prevent the example of victorious socialism revolutionizing the minds of the workers, peasants and intellectuals, contributing to the growth of socialist consciousness and inspiring the masses in their fight against big capital and imperialism.

The Mao Tse-tung group's attacks and false accusations against the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and other parties will prove just as futile.

One of the inventions of the present Chinese leaders is that the Soviet Union is restoring capitalism by raising the people's standard of living. This sounds as if the Communist Party of China had not signed the 1957 Declaration, which says in black and white that one of the general, universally valid laws of the socialist revolution is planned economic development aimed at improving the working people's standard of living, and as if the object of the revolution were egalitarianism and asceticism! Primitive egalitarianism, which Marx and Engels criticized so scathingly, has nothing to do with the ideology of the working class. It is a relapse of the ideology of the lumpen-proletariat and the declassed strata of paupers.

The present Chinese leaders also caricature communism by pushing the personality cult—rightly condemned by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union—to monstrous extremes.

The opponents of Marxism have alleged over and over again that communism is a big barracks flouting the diversity of tastes and aspirations and the wide range of human requirements.

In reality, however, Marxists do not propose to level tastes and material needs, put spiritual life on a barracks footing, or slavishly squeeze people's minds into the bounds of a collection of quotations from prominent individuals, such as the "little red book."

Communism in our view, has the historic mission of freeing everyone from social inequality, from every form of oppression and exploitation. Its object is to ensure "*full* well-being and free, *all-round* development for *all* the members of society." *(Lenin, Collected Works,* Vol. 6, p. 54.)

Mao Tse-tung and his followers would like to nullify the main lessons of October, the main precepts of Marxism.

In their own country, they are trying hard to weaken the posi-

tions of the working class, the mass organizations and the Party itself in favor of such fanatical groups as the "Red Guards," who were called into existence for the express purpose of fighting the Communists who refuse to toe the erroneous line of the Mao group.

The Mao group's efforts are also aimed at disrupting the alliance of the international working class and the national liberation movement by opposing them to each other.

That is why they have advanced the fallacious theory of the "town" being encircled by the "countryside" on a world scale, a theory designed to justify the present Chinese leaders' chauvinism and inordinate nationalist ambitions.

To be sure, the national liberation movement is a component of the world revolutionary process and one of the decisive factors in that process. This cannot, however, make us forget that the October Revolution awakened the East and brought the colonial peoples into the general stream of the world revolutionary movement.

Nor can there be any question that the forces of world socialism, primarily the Soviet Union, have rendered, and continue to render, decisive assistance to the liberation struggle of the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries.

It is a fact, for example, that the aid which Vietnam receives from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries is playing an increasing role.

According to recent U.S. estimates, the Soviet Union has supplied Vietnam with more than 10,000 guns and mortars. The ground-to-air rockets and the MIGs which are taking an increasing toll of raiding aircraft are of Soviet make.

According to General Wheeler, Chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Soviet Union last year shipped 1,500,000 tons of supplies to Vietnam, and this year deliveries will amount to 2,000,000 tons, or roughly 60 per cent of the total aid being rendered by the socialist countries.

In the light of these facts, one really cannot help being outraged by the crude calumnies of the present Chinese leaders, who claim without batting an eye that the Soviet Union sides with the American imperialists on the issue of Vietnam.

It is perfectly natural, of course, that the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are extending ever greater assistance to the courageous people of Vietnam, as well as increasing their support of all the peoples fighting for their independence.

To establish unity of action between the struggle of the working class for socialism and the national liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples is one of the important conclusions of the Leninist theory of the October Revolution that is as valid as ever. Hence every attempt to minimize the role of the international working

class and the socialist system runs counter to Marxism and, indeed, to the entire evidence of modern history.

Like it or not, the facts show that the working class is in the focus of the epoch marked by the October Revolution.

And since the French Communist Party is the party of the French working class inspired by the great principles of Marxism-Leninism, it is, in France, the only revolutionary party in the true sense of the term.

The French Communist Party has always openly declared itself to be the party fighting for the overthrow of capitalism and the transition to socialist society as a result of the winning of political power by the working class and its allies.

We have advocated these great ideas ever since 1920 and are happy that they have been gaining ground.

However, it is one thing to be convinced of the necessity of the socialist revolution and another to imagine that it will materialize in the same forms under any circumstances.

What is true is that the transition from capitalism to socialism invariably implies vigorous struggle by the people, militant unity of the working class, and unity of the middle class of town and country behind the working class and on its side.

To work for the advent of socialism does not mean uttering big words. It means striving with due regard to reality to win the majority of the people for socialism. And this is what being a revolutionary in France today implies.

The peoples are becoming more and more aware that the threat of a new world war cannot come from the Soviet Union, which steadfastly champions peace. That threat stems from the U.S. imperialists' aggressive policies.

Whether it is a question of the criminal war against the glorious Vietnamese people, of provocations against Cuba, foreign military intervention in the Dominican Republic, the coups in Greece, the Congo, Ghana and elsewhere, or of the war in the Middle East, we see U.S. interference behind every conflict. Again, it is the U.S. leaders who encourage the West German revanchists' claims, which is a major obstacle to organizing European security.

In these circumstances it is necessary to expose imperialist plans and mobilize all popular forces to safeguard and maintain world peace and the independence of the peoples.

The French Communist Party, which is aware of its responsibility to the French people and all other peoples, takes a clear stand. Prompted by solidarity with all the working people of the world, it has always supported, and supports without qualification, the democratic forces of every country and the liberation struggle of all the peoples oppressed by imperialism.

We consider that in the present international situation France

can make an active contribution to peace and international cooperation. We therefore think it is in the best interest of France to keep out of blocs borne of the cold war and to take an active part in elaborating a system of collective security and mutual assistance between all the countries of Eastern and Western Europe.

This being so, how could we fail to side with the Soviet Union, knowing as we do of its role in the great battle for world peace, for peaceful coexistence, in support of the peoples fighting for their independence, for European and world security?

Thus it is the vital interests of our country and the common interests of all the peoples concerned with heading off a new world war that prompt us to strengthen the bonds of friendship linking France, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

Indeed, more than ever before the fight for peace and the fight for socialism are inseparable; it is through the worldwide victory of socialism that the International will embrace the human race.

# STRENGTHEN THE INTERNATIONALIST UNITY OF COMMUNISTS*

The historical progress made by the world Communist and working-class movement shows that no class and no social system has ever wielded a weapon as strong as that given to the proletariat and to socialist society by Marxism-Leninism. A component of this weapon is the principle of proletarian internationalism—the basis on which Communists, workers and other working people are rallying closer together as they fight against capitalist tyranny, for the social and national emancipation of the peoples.

Communists and revolutionaries all over the planet demonstrated their internationalist unity when celebrating that unforgettable event of this century, the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. These celegrations showed that the October Revolution is the patrimony of every people of the world and that internationalism has become part of the mentality of every true revolutionary.

The arrival of party and government delegations from socialist and other friendly countries, and of delegations of Communist, revolutionary democratic and Socialist parties from the overwhelming majority of the countries of the world for the jubilee festivities in Moscow had deep political meaning. It marked a further step toward greater internationalist unity and mutual understanding between fighters for peace, democracy, national liberation, socialism and communism.

The importance of that event is particularly obvious now that Marxist-Leninists are observing the anniversary of the 1957 and 1960 meetings of brother parties.

Ten years have passed since the 1957 meeting expressed, in its unanimously adopted Declaration, "firm confidence that, by closing their ranks and thereby rallying the working class and the peoples of all countries, the Communist and Workers' parties will surmount all obstacles in their onward movement and accelerate further big victories for the cause of peace, democracy and socialism."

These past years have again proved the Communists historically correct. Developments confirm the accuracy and timeliness of the conclusions of international Marxist-Leninist thought on the fundamental problems of our time.

The last decade has revealed, more clearly than ever, the vast opportunities for the working class, its Communist vanguard and

*Pravda, November 23, 1967.

all the revolutionary forces of today to influence world development provided they consistently and firmly uphold peace, democracy, national independence and socialism. World development in recent years has been marked, above all else, by the growing strength of the socialist world system, the increasing scope of the national liberation revolutions and the winning of new important positions by the working class of the capitalist countries in the fight against imperialist reaction.

The socialist community, the chief gain of the international working class, has acquired still greater vitality, and has consolidated and multiplied its achievements. As a result of sustained effort by the peoples of the socialist countries, the ideas of scientific socialism and the theoretical proposition regarding the ways of building socialism and communism have acquired a specific new content. World socialism has been carried further forward through the creative cooperation of the Communist and Workers' parties and the peoples of the socialist countries.

During the past decade world imperialism, headed by the U.S. imperialists, repeatedly created a dangerous situation in the world. The Soviet Union and the commonwealth of socialist countries as a whole paralyzed imperialist acts of aggression again and again by resolutely stepping in, showing that world socialism is the decisive bulwark of the peoples fighting against imperialism and colonialism.

The fundamental revolutionary processes of today and the hopes and aspirations of hundreds of millions are linked with the development of the world socialist system. The socialist community is the beacon of the working people and an impregnable stronghold of universal peace and progress.

Marxist-Leninists logically see their internationalist duty in an all-out effort to promote the political, economic, military, scientific and technological might of the socialist community. The Communists of the socialist countries regard it as their primary task to bring out and make full use of the potentialities of the socialist system. They justly consider that this task must be carried out, first of all, through comprehensive cooperation and fraternal mutual assistance of the socialist countries. The Marxist-Leninist internationalist policy of the Communist and Workers' parties, education of the working people in the spirit of combining internationalism and patriotism, and uncompromising struggle against nationalism and chauvinism guarantee further advances in this field.

*"Solid unity of the Communist and Workers' parties and of the peoples of the socialist countries, and their loyalty to the Marxist-Leninist doctrine,"* the 1960 Statement stresses, *"are the main source of the strength and invincibility of each socialist country and the socialist camp as a whole."*

The Communist parties of the capitalist countries, following the principles of Marxism-Leninism, achieve progress in extending and strengthening their positions among the working class. The role of the working class in the political life of these countries is growing. It is typical of the present stage of the class struggle in the capitalist world that the working people are showing increasing activity, tenacity and organization as they fight for their vital interests. In face of all difficulties, the working-class movement in the industrially developed capitalist countries is mustering new forces to accomplish its historic task of abolishing the system of exploitation.

The disintegration of the disgraceful system of colonialism is drawing to a close, as Communists foresaw. The 1960 meeting hailed the rise of about 40 new sovereign states. Their number today exceeds 70. The last bastions of colonialism are falling under the blows of the national liberation movement.

Qualitatively new social processes are taking place in the newly-free countries. An outstanding development of our time is that a number of young national states have taken a non-capitalist road. The national liberation movement is merging and allying itself more and more closely with world socialism and the working-class movement in the capitalist countries, which gives addded strength to all revolutionary contingents. Links and contacts between Communist and revolutionary democratic parties today are becoming an important element of the world revolutionary process.

The Communist movement provides correct answers to the key problems of this century. Now as in the past, the issue of war and peace is particularly urgent.

Immense credit is due to the Communists, the states and peoples led by them, and all peace forces for curbing the imperialist maniacs who are trying to touch off a nuclear world war. More than any other party, the Communists are aware of their international responsibility for the present and future of the peoples, and for the shaping of new international relations meeting the exigencies of our time.

The Communists' realization of this duty of theirs found vivid expression at the Karlovy Vary Conference last April. The Conference earnestly called on all men of goodwill, irrespective of their political views, party allegiance, nationality or religion to do all in their power to secure peace, the common goal of all peoples. "By overcoming all that divides us," says the Conference Statement, "we shall be able to create a mighty force, capable of triumphing over war and uncertainty about the future, paving the way to lasting peace and prosperity for the peoples."

The efforts of the socialist countries, the Communist and Workers' parties and other forces seeking peace and security for Europe

are bearing fruit. The cause of peace on our continent is going from strength to strength, the aggressive NATO bloc is showing increasingly deep rifts, large sections of the people in Europe are stepping up their resistance to the U.S. imperialists and West German revanchists, and there is a growing desire for cooperation and contacts between countries with different social systems.

The predatory U.S. invasion of Vietnam emphasized anew the international commitment of Communists and other fighters against imperialism. Ever since that criminal intervention began Marxist-Leninists have adhered to an explicitly internationalist position in favor of helping and supporting the Vietnamese people in their just cause by every means. The American imperialists need not doubt for a moment that this assistance will go on until they stop their infamous venture and get out of Vietnam. The courageous people of Vietnam derive greater strength from this fraternal support to carry their sacred struggle through to a victorious end.

Recent years have thus demonstrated that imperialist counter-attacks here and there proved powerless to reverse the chief trend of our time. Socialism and the international working-class and national liberation movement remain the force which has the initiative on the world scene.

Fighters against imperialism have drawn yet another, equally important lesson from these grim battles, namely, that the cause of socialism, freedom, national independence and peace makes better progress where the revolutionary liberation forces opposing imperialism are more closely united. Revolutionaries know by experience that to inflict new reverses on the common enemy of mankind, they must mobilize and mass their forces on the decisive fronts.

Recent events have supplied new evidence that the Communist parties achieve success by following the tried and tested principles of Leninist strategy and tactics and by taking the actual situation into account. They have confirmed again and again that deviations from the Marxist-Leninist line to the right or the "left" are particularly dangerous when accompanied by manifestations of nationalism, great-power chauvinism and hegemonism.

In view of new imperialist acts of aggression, it is vitally important to strengthen the unity of the socialist commonwealth, the Communist movement and all progressive democratic forces. The aggressiveness of imperialism is an indication of anything but increased ability of the financial and industral oligarchy of the U.S. and other reactionary forces to turn the clock back. Indeed, it shows that the imperialists are making desperate attempts to regain positions they have irretrievably lost. These attempts can very well be thwarted. The effectiveness of the efforts of the revolutionary movement depends in very large measure on the cohesion and

cooperation of all its contingents. This is an indisputable lesson to be drawn from past progress.

"The Communists of all countries," said L. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC, CPSU, in his report on the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution, "draw from the experience of the class struggle the conclusion that strengthening militant cooperation, cohesion and active coordination of effort by all the fraternal parties of the world is a prime requisite for solving the difficult and varied problems confronting them. Only by acting as a united international movement will world communism be able to attain its great goals. The feeling of comradely support and constant coordination of action on an international scale is important to all of us today."

Internationalists never confine themselves to a mere statement of the principle of solidarity. They translate this principle into concrete deeds to further unity and solidarity with other revolutionary contingents. In keeping with the fundamental interests of their peoples and the whole of mankind, they step up their efforts to accomplish their common tasks in the fight against imperialism, their common enemy. Revolutionary practice has shown clearly enough that this approach in no way injures the national interests of any country. In fact, the policy of a ruling Communist party serves the interests of the nation it leads best of all when it is a really internationalist policy. In the case of a revolutionary party, genuine autonomy implies contributing to the fulfilment of common internationalist tasks in the anti-imperialist struggle by using every national opportunity.

Conversely, all history testifies that when elements of nationalism and great-power chauvinism win the upper hand in the policies of a Communist party, these policies cease to serve even national objectives. This is particularly evident from the present situation in the People's Republic of China.

The CPC delegation attended the 1957 and 1960 meetings and was among the signatories to the collective documents of the meetings. Nevertheless, it was not long before the Mao Tse-tung group went back on the positions laid down in those documents, and set out to split the world Communist movement and to undermine the unity of the socialist commonwealth and all anti-imperialist forces. All its attempts to make its own analysis of the alignment of world forces, and to elaborate a strategy and tactics for the world Commnuist movement proved futile. Reality refuted the policy put forward by the Mao group in opposition to the general line worked out by all the brother parties. The Mao group suffered a complete ideological and political defeat and found itself in isolation.

The Communists of all countries deeply sympathize with the Communists and working people of China in view of the serious

damage caused to the Chinese Party and people and to socialist construction in the PRC by the chauvinist, great-power policy line of the Mao Tse-tung group. The group's ideological and political degradation and its complete repudiation of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism are evident to all. So is the serious harm which the group's attitude is doing to the coordination of efforts in support of the just struggle of the Vietnamese people.

Departures from internationalist principles and manifestations of national aloofness prejudice both the common cause of the Communist movement and each of its contingents, dooming them to isolation and weakening them in the face of imperialism.

The 1960 Statement points out that internationalist solidarity of all the Marxist-Leninist parties is indispensable to the success of the working-class cause in any country. One of the prerequisites of solidarity action for common goals is to use every tried and tested method of uniting our movement and developing a common approach to the pressing problems of the day. The Communist movement has evolved effective methods of this kind—consultations, bilateral, multilateral and regional meetings, and world conferences of the brother parties.

Needless to say, each Communist party formulates its own policies, fully exercising its sense of responsibility. It is clear, however, that the experience of other parties is highly important to every party. The experience of our movement has shown that world Communist meetings are among the most effective forms of comparing notes and thoroughly examining problems of the entire movement.

During the past decade the brother parties have gained new comprehensive experience in struggle and activity in different conditions. Their desire to share their experience, to make a joint analysis of new world developments and to draw appropriate conclusions is only natural.

What Marxist-Leninists want today in calling for a new world Communist meeting is to make a joint search for the most effective forms and methods of consolidating the world revolutionary movement, devise proper ways of curbing imperialist aggressors and contribute to the advance of the entire anti-imperialist front. They are convinced that this is a sure guarantee of effectively implementing the principles of proletarian internationalism and consolidating the unity of the Communists and all revolutionaries. This is why all genuine supporters of Marxist-Leninist unity are orienting themselves toward a new meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties, to be carefully and jointly prepared by the brother parties.

The internationalist forces of our movement are gratified by the

fact that the desire to promote Marxist-Leninist unity is asserting itself with ever greater force .

The position of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on these issues, expressed in the decisions of the 23rd Congress and other documents of our Party, coincides with the positions of the vast majority of the brother parties, which urge closer unity on the principles of Marxism-Leninism. Most brother parties favor the idea of a new world meeting of Communists. Our Party full supports this idea and is willing to do its best for the success of the meeting.

Past years have seen the line of the 1957 and 1960 meetings—the general line of the world Communist movement—stand the test of time and prove its worth. Communists are firmly following this line, well knowing that it will bring new victories to their movement and to the revolutionaries of all countries.

# DOCUMENTS* OF THE CP OF THE PHILIPPINES

## STATEMENT OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES

The Communist Party of the Philippines (PKP) sends its warmest revolutionary greetings to all fraternal parties on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, which coincides with the 37th anniversary of its own founding.

Having recovered from a period of receiving the most vicious blows of the U.S. imperialists and their Filipino allies and puppets, the PKP is now rapidly gaining strength and consolidating its influence among the masses of workers and peasants, thus pursuing its historic task as the vanguard in the struggle against national and class oppression.

On account of particular conditions of struggle in the Philippines during the past years, the PKP was prevented from actively participating in international Communist conferences. But the PKP has always viewed the world proletarian revolution as an organic unity; it adheres to the principle of proletarian internationalism and considers itself an integral part of the international Communist movement.

The PKP also affirms the correctness of the general line of the 1957 and 1960 Moscow meetings.

The PKP believes that there is a need to explore possibilities of restoring world communist unity and to work out a common program of action on an international scale.

There is an even more urgent need—the need to maintain and strengthen communist solidarity in action against imperialism, in specific areas of the struggle for national liberation and socialism. The spirit of proletarian internationalism embodied in the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin should prevail over differences in strategic and tactical perspectives, no matter how important these differences may be and how zealously contending positions may be expounded and defended. It is utterly disturbing to find out that the assistance of socialist states to the raging wars of national liberation, such as that in Vietnam, is being hampered by the present dispute. The PKP calls on the major Communist parties to maintain solidarity in action against imperialism, even as they carry on struggles on the ideological level.

*Abridged.

Another necessity is for the continuing study and assessment of world realities. The war in Vietnam, the guerrilla struggles in other parts of the colonial and semi-colonial world, the phenomenal growth of the labor, civil rights and peace movements in the imperialist countries, the deepening contradictions among imperialist powers—all these developments demonstrate the need for an unceasing appraisal of the international situation from the standpoint of the international communist movement.

For these reasons and from this standpoint, the PKP publicly declares its support for the forthcoming international conference of communist and revolutionary workers' parties.

*Political Bureau, Communist Party of the Philippines*

## PHILIPPINE COMMUNIST PARTY EXPOSES A SPURIOUS STATEMENT IN NEW ZEALAND PAPER

A statement, purportedly released by the Communist Party of the Philippines, was published for general readership in the New Zealand *People's World* on May 10, 1967. This statement was not authorized by the PKP and does not reflect its true position.

As an illegal organization, the PKP recognizes the necessities in the Philippine situation and observes the organizational principles of an underground Marxist-Leninist revolutionary party. While it is true that its illegal status should not in any way hamper its leading role in the struggle for national liberation and socialism, the PKP never advertises its strategy and tactics. Thus the so-called statement printed in the New Zealand paper is not only spurious, but represents a serious breach of underground rules and therefore, constitutes an act of treason against the revolutionary movement.

Contrary to the impression which the spurious statement attempts to impart, the PKP refuses to indulge in sweeping charges couched in abusive language against fraternal parties as a means of conducting ideological struggles. Such practice violates the essence of proletarian brotherhood, serves to widen the present deplorable international rift and plays into the hands of U.S. imperialism. The PKP believes that there is a need to explore possibilities of restoring world communist unity and to work out a common program of action on an international scale.

The small but reckless anti-party group that issued the statement printed in the New Zealand paper, in the hope of gaining international recognition, waves the banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung in a vain attempt to achieve a semblance of authenticity. But revolutionary struggles are not won by mouthing revolutionary ideas and phrases. Marxism-Leninism and the varied contributions of revolutionary comrades all over the world must receive the most

serious and thorough study and the most effective application in the context of universal and particular situations.

The spurious statement asserts: "The outlawed situation of the party dictates clearly that there is no path to national and social liberation except armed struggle." By equating the necessity for armed struggle with the outlawed situation of the party, such a statement displays a very narrow and constricted view of the national situation in the Philippines, and it grossly ignores the ability of the PKP to lead the revolutionary masses in struggle despite its illegal character. Armed struggle is a necessity, as the final step in the overthrow of imperialism, not because of the illegal character of the party, but because of the nature of imperialism itself. Moreover, the spurious statement creates the impression of a "call to arms" at this very moment, again ignoring the present state of objective conditions and subjective forces in the Philippines. The correct position, which is the position of the PKP, is to combine dialectically parliamentary struggle and armed struggle, legal and illegal forms of action.

In the process of rebuilding itself after a prolonged period of suppression, the PKP wages a resolute struggle against left adventurism and infantilism, even as it guards against right opportunism. It likewise opposes dogmatism and the mechanical application of universal laws of Marxism-Leninism to the specific conditions in the Philippines. It condemns splittism, careerism, and intellectual dishonesty.

The PKP regrets that it cannot divulge its entire position to the revolutionary comrades of the world. But the PKP gives the assurance of its firm determination to carry on the struggle for national and class emancipation along the Marxist-Leninist road.

*Political Bureau, Communist Party of the Philippines*

# STATEMENT ON THE 50th ANNIVERSARY OF THE GREAT OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

## ISSUED BY THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY OF LESOTHO

For us Basotho Communists, still living in neo-colonial bondage, the greatest significance of the success of the Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917 lies not only in the fact of freeing for the first time in human history, the proletariat—the Russian proletariat—but that it heralded the gradual but certain decay of the cruel system of colonial exploitation and oppression and the creation of a new world had begun, a world in which we certainly hope to lead better lives than we have known under the hell-fire of colonial domination.

The tremendous impetus that the growth and development of the world's first Socialist state gave to the birth of the world's socialist system is a historical event of indeed very great magnitude.

Owing to the great power generated by the socialist system in the political and economic fields, the hands of aggressive imperialism are being tied, and we hope that the time is not far off when international imperialism will no more be able to engage in adventurous and barbaric acts of the type the world is presently watching in Vietnam and the Near East.

Directly as a result of the birth, growth and development of the world socialist system, our country Lesotho won its formal national independence (incidentally also) in October, 1966. The social class in power is the feudals, with a constitutional monarch as head of state. The former colonial state machinery is being gradually transformed by the recruiting of personnel who are loyal to the feudals in power and particularly by the inclusion of members of the hierarchy in the para-military and police units.

Imperialist strategy here is to support the reactionary feudal regime in the country to continue and to strengthen the old relations of colonial days by ensuring the continual outflow of labor-power from Lesotho to the fascist Republic of South Africa and maintaining capital development across the border. This is the essence and inhumanity of apartheid and its cruel methods of implementation. It now becomes needless to stress that the only way forward is to unite all the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist organizations and

people in a common front that would blast to oblivion the dream of keeping Lesotho a satellite state of apartheid. The advantage of going on with this now lies in the fact that the ruling class is deeply weakened amongst other things by the divisions in its ranks between supporters of the King who seeks to establish an absolute monarchy on the one hand, and those who seek parliamentary rule under the leadership of Premier Chief Leabua Jonathan, on the other.

We must now take this opportunity to wish the Soviet people greater successes in their effort to build the material basis of Communism as the only road that would ensure sufficient socialist military and economic power to prevent the imperialists and the South African fascists from putting through their plans of drowning the coming Lesotho revolution in blood in an annexationist venture that may prove genocidal.

This being the period in which to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, we Basotho Communists, who still live under the hell of neo-colonial slavery, can only celebrate this great occasion by rededicating ourselves to the necessary unity of all Marxist-Leninist parties in the world, and calling all parties to adhere strictly to Marxist teachings and to apply them concretely to their varying conditions whilst upholding the right of independence of fraternal parties and maintaining fraternal socialist relations between parties.

*John Motloheloa, Secretary-General,*
*Communist Party of Lesotho.*

# PARTY PERIODICALS

## ITEMS IN CURRENT ISSUES

### EINHEIT, No. 10-11, 1967, SUPG

Hermann Matern, "Fifty Years of the Great October Socialist Revolution"; Otto Reinhold, "Marxism-Leninism Is Triumphant"; Karl Boehm, "The Revolutionizing Power of the Ideas of the Great October"; Hans Schaul, "Lenin's 'The State and Revolution' and the Two German States"; Herbert Weiz, "Scientific-Technical Cooperation with the Soviet Union—Socialist Internationalism in Action"; Heinz Hoffmann, "The Soviet Union—a Military Power"; J. Kotkovski, "The Present Conditions of the Economic Competition between the USSR and the USA"; Peter Alfons Steiniger, "The October Revolution Created a New International Law"; Ernst Diehl, "The Influence of the Great October Socialist Revolution on the Development of the Revolutionary Working-Class Movement in Germany"; Gerhart Neuner, "The October Revolution and the Educational Science"; Gudrun Duewel, Anton Hiersche, "Relation of German Literature to the October Revolution and Soviet Literature."

### KOMMUNISTI, No. 10, 1967, CP of Finland

Inkeri Lehtinen, "The Five Decades"; Aarne Saarinen, "Experience of Friendship with a Neighbor"; Ville Pessi, "The October Socialist Revolution and Finland"; Erkki Kauppila, "Confident Strides of a Giant"; Pauli Martinmaki, "The Bolsheviks' Nationalities Policy and Finland's Striving for Independence"; Olavi Poikolainen, "New possibilities of the Policy of Friendship"; Erkki Rautee, "The Draft of a New Program of the Party."

### POLITICAL AFFAIRS, No. 9, 1967, CPUSA

Hyman Lumer, "The Economics of Rebellion"; Conrad Komorowski, "The Detroit Ghetto Uprisings"; Patricia Bell, "Mexican-Americans in the Southwest"; Herbert Aptheker, "Those Whom the Gods Would Destroy .. ."; Luis Corvalan, "Alliance of Anti-Imperialist Forces in Latin America" (reprinted from *World Marxist Review*).

### NOWE DROGI, No. 11, 1967, PUWP

"The October Revolution and Poland" (Excerpts from Wladyslaw Gomulka's articles and speeches). Editorial: "October—a Triumph of the Ideas of Marxism-Leninism"; Zenon Kliszko, "The Socialist State—an Instrument for the Realization of the Great Ideas of the

Revolution"; Marian Spychalski, "Defenders of the Proletarian Revolution"; Czeslaw Wycech, "Polish-Soviet Links"; Stanislaw Kulczinski, "Socialism and Peace"; Janusz Groszkowski, "The Importance of the October Revolution for the Development of Science."

## TARSADALMI SZEMLE, No. 11, 1967, HSWP

Zoltan Komocsin, "Half a Century"; "50 Years in Figures—Statistical Returns"; Antal Apro, "Hungarian-Soviet Economic Cooperation"; Laszlo Kardos, "Half a Century of Soviet Literature"; Documents of the Great October: Reminiscences by Lajos Gavro; Istvan Sarlos, "The Budapest City Council and the Economic Reform."

*Exchange of Views*: Janos Hoffer, "The New Economic Mechanism and Enterprise Management"; Jozsef Perczel, "Utilization of the Scientific Knowledge Concerning Man in Enterprise Management"; Jozsef Balazs, "The Atmosphere of Work Places in the New Economic Mechanism."

## LUPTA DE CLASA, No. 10, 1967, Rumanian CP

"The Dawn of a New Era" (editorial); Constantin Florea, "The Epoch of the Transition of the Peoples to Socialism"; Mihai Beniuc, "At the Service of Man"; Gheorghe Unc, "The Solidarity of the Rumanian Working-Class and Democratic Movement with the October Revolution"; Constantin Baloiu, Octavian Ciulea, "The Soviet Economy After Five Decades"; "Realism and the Creative Spirit in Socialist Construction" (editorial); Florin Burtan, "Labor Productivity and the Law of Value"; G. Gusti, "Concerning the Systematization of Rural Communities"; Aurel Negucioiu, "The Quality of Economic Education," and other items.

## AFRICAN COMMUNIST, No. 31, 1967, CP SAR

*Editorial Notes:* "Freedom Marches South (The Guerrilla War in Zimbabwe)"; "Karl Marx's 'Capital'. A Notable Anniversary."

1917-1967, *Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution:* J. B. Marks, "What the Revolution Meant for Africa and National Liberation"; Terence Africanus, "Shaking the World." Other items: Kathleen Welsh, "Oppression and Suppression—A New Consolidation in South Africa"; J. J. Jabulani, "Bonn-Pretoria Axis"; Samuel Ben Adam, "Zionism and the Future of Israel"; Ali Yata, "On the Moroccan Revolution."

## HORIZONS, No. 23, 1967, CP of Canada

Tim Buck, "Some Lessons of the Socialist Revolution in Russia"; Jean Gacon, "Octobre et la paix (October and Peace)"; Sam Walsh, "Two Paths to Self-Determination in Quebec"; Norman Freed,

"Imperialist World Strategy and the Middle East"; Laura Childs, "Monopoly Capital (a Review)."

### NOVA MYSL, No. 23, 1967, CP of Czechoslovakia

F. Srdinko, "The Meaning of Party Unity"; S. Sladkova, "Philosophical Aspects of Material and Moral Interests"; a group of authors, "Theoretical Foundations of the Party's Economic Policy"; V. Komarek, "The Economic Development of Cuba"; E. Ujvari, "Hungary After the 9th Congress of the HSWP."

### CAHIERS DU COMMUNISME, No. 10-11, 1967, FCP

*Editorials:* "The Great October Socialist Revolution"; "The Days That Changed the Face of the World." Waldeck Rochet, "Fifty Years After the Decisive Upheaval in October 1917"; Georges Cogniot, "The Soul of the World Revolutionary Movement"; Raymond Guyot, "October 1917 and the Struggle of the Peoples for Peace"; Jean Suret-Canale, "The October Revolution and the National Liberation Movement in the Colonies of French Imperialism"; Jeannette Thorez-Vermeersch, "Women and the 50th Anniversary of the First Socialist State"; Francis Cohen, "The USSR: the 50th Year. Economic and Cultural Progress"; Leo Figueres, "The Power of the Soviets and Socialist Democracy"; Victor Joannes, "From October 1917 to the Tours Congress"; Luce Langevin, "The October Revolution and French Intellectuals"; Jacques Duclos, "Constantly Growing Solidarity and Friendship", and other items.

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## ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

**Oct. 5.** A delegation of the CP of Spain led by Santiago Carrillo, General Secretary, stayed in Poland from September 27 to October 4, according to *Trybuna Ludu.* It was received by Wladyslaw Gomulka. During the interview the leaders of the two brother parties devoted much attention to European security. They stressed the significance and timeliness of the assessment of the situation and the program of activity in this field adopted by the Karlovy Vary Conference in April. The Polish United Workers' Party and the Communist Party of Spain, striving to contribute to the unity of the world Communist and working-class movement, consider that the Communist and Workers' parties should hold a new world meeting.

**Oct. 5 and 6.** The CC of the Rumanian CP, meeting in Bucharest discussed and adopted decisions on the following items: improving economic management and planning at the new stage in the socialist development of Rumania; improving the territorial and administrative organization of Rumania and the planning of rural communities; improving the labor remuneration system; expanding house building, improving housing management and maintenance, and introducing a new rent system; convening a national conference of the RCP.

**Oct. 8.** The 13th Congress of the CP of Northern Ireland closed in Belfast. It proposed a democratic reform of the suffrage. It heard reports and passed resolutions on the Party program, the situation in the world Communist movement and other matters.

**Oct. 10-14.** A Hungarian Party and government delegation led by Janos Kadar was on a visit to Czechoslovakia. The CSSR delegation was led by Antonin Novotny. The relevant communique says in part that the two delegations stressed the importance of the Karlovy Vary Conference, which had become an effective guide for the brother parties and progressive forces operating in different political and social conditions. The Conference had also gone some way toward creating favorable conditions for further Communist meetings.

The two delegations stated that the disruptive and adventuristic policies of the leadership of the CP of China and the CPR were seriously impairing the unity of the world Communist and working-class movement and the unity of the socialist countries, and were weakening the common anti-imperialist front. They expressed confidence that China's Communists, working class and other working people would overcome the present difficulties and resume their place in the anti-imperialist front.

The two delegations think it necessary to call an international meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties to discuss the principal problems of future joint action by the revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces.

**Oct. 12-14.** A delegation of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia led by K. Vasilyev, member of the CC Executive, stayed in France at the invitation of the CC, FCP and was received by Waldeck Rochet.

**Oct. 16-27.** A delegation of the French CP led by Francois Billoux, member of the PB, CC, was on stay in the GDR at the invitation of the CC, SUPG. According to the communique issued by the two parties, discussion revealed complete unity of views on all issues. The two parties put on record that their views on the situation in the world Communist movement fully coincided. In view of the increased aggressiveness of imperialism, they saw it as their duty

to persevere in the effort for the unity and cohesion of the world Communist movement. They favored the convening of an international meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties.

**Oct. 17 and 18.** The CC of the French CP met in plenary session. Waldeck Rochet, who addressed the meeting, said, according to a *Humanite* report, that the 18th Congress of the FCP had declared for a new world Communist meeting to examine jointly the new problems posed by reality and to join the efforts of all against imperialism, for peace and national independence, for democracy and socialism. Numerous Communist parties, concerned about the same problems, had during the same period pronounced themselves for the preparation and convening of such a meeting.

By resisting coordinated action by the socialist countries, and by trying to split the Communist parties and the anti-imperialist forces, the group of Chinese leaders, who styled themselves adherents of "Maoism," were making things easier for the imperialists, weakening the Communist movement and seriously prejudicing the cause of peace and socialism. In these circumstances the FCP considered it necessary to strengthen the alliance of the anti-imperialist forces, and above all to strengthen relations between Communist and Workers' parties. This was why the FCP declared for promoting bilateral and multilateral relations between Communist and Workers' parties (important work had lately been done in this direction) and, furthermore, for holding a new world meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties. Thus the Party was calling for a new meeting with a view to strengthening world Communist unity and intensifying the struggle against imperialism.

**Oct. 20.** The Eighth Congress of the CP of India will meet in Patna, Bihar, from February 7 to 15, 1968, according to *New Age*.

**Oct. 21.** Oswaldo Dorticos, member of the PB, CC of the Communist Party and President of Cuba, received a CPSU delegation led by V. Rodionov, alternate member of the CC, CPSU, Secretary of the CC, CP of Georgia.

**Oct. 20.** Antonin Novotny received F. Fuernberg and E. Scharf, members of the PB, CC, CP of Austria.

**Oct. 25.** A plenary meeting of the CC, AKEL heard a report by E. Papaioannu, General Secretary. It discussed international issues and, first of all, the situation in Europe.

**Oct. 26.** A FCP delegation led by P. Laurent, member of the PB, CC, left for Paris after a ten-day visit to Italy at the invitation of the CC, ICP, according to *l'Unita*. In conclusion of its visit the delegation met an ICP delegation led by Luigi Longo. The two delegations reaffirmed the usefulness of periodical meetings to exchange views and experiences in the fight for the unity of the working class and the democratic forces of the world, against the

imperialist aggression in Vietnam, for peace and security in Europe and the world.

**Oct. 27.** A meeting took place between a delegation of the CP of Colombia led by Gilberto Vieira and a delegation of the Bulgarian CP led by Todor Zhivkov, according to BTA. The communique of the meeting said that the situation was ripe for an international meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties and that it was time to begin actual preparations for it. The two parties would do their utmost to this end.

**Oct. 29.** A Soviet Party and government delegation led by I. Spiridonov, member of the CC, CPSU, Chairman of the Soviet of the Union, Supreme Soviet of the USSR, arrived in Algiers, as a guest of the government and the NLF for the celebration of the 13th anniversary of the Algerian revolution.

**Oct. 30 and 31.** A plenary meeting of the CC, CP of Czechoslovakia in Prague discussed the position and role of the Party at the present stage in the development of socialist society in Czechoslovakia. The CC approved relevant theses pointing out that the Communist Party is the leading political force, ideological center and leading body of socialist society, a body linking and leading all fundamental aspects of the life of society and organizing the working people to attain socialist and communist goals. The CC stressed the importance of the National Front, whose activity had proved its worth in socialist society. It paid much attention to the issue of the Party's leadership of the socialist state.

The meeting concerned itself at length with inner-Party issues. Strict execution of Party decisions, the theses underlined, is a necessary condition for the ideological unity and unity of action of the Party, for the Party's ability to exercise its leading role in society. An inconsistent approach to the tasks of the Party seriously impairs its unity. To stifle or ignore criticism, and to attempt placing oneself above the Party, is incompatible with the Leninist principle of Party life. Constructive criticism of shortcomings is an inalienable right of every member of the Party.

**Oct. 30.** In view of its success in the general election, specifically in Geneva Canton, the cantonal organization of the Swiss Party of Labor told the press that the Party had polled an additional 1,703 votes—an increase of roughly 30 per cent—and that the SPL therefore ranked first in the canton as a whole and in 11 districts of the city of Geneva. The Party group would be recognized as a parliamentary group entitled to assign its deputies to important commissions of parliament.

**Oct. 31.** A delegation of the CC, SUPG led by Hermann Matern, member of the PB, CC, returned to Berlin from a visit to the United Arab Republic, where it had exchanged experiences with the Arab Socialist League at the latter's invitation.

**Nov. 3 and 4.** A joint anniversary meeting of the CC, CPSU, Supreme Soviet of the USSR and Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR took place in Moscow. L. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC, CPSU, presented a report entitled "Fifty Years of Great Achievements of Socialism."*

In Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev and Minsk, jubilee celebrations were attended by representatives of Communist and Workers' parties, Left Socialist forces and international democratic organizations.

**Nov. 10.** L. Brezhnev received A. Sabri, Vice-President of the UAR, member of the Supreme Executive Committee of the Arab Socialist League, who told about the efforts of the people of the UAR for social progress and greater national independence. On behalf of the leadership and the people A. Sabri expressed deep gratitude to the Soviet Union for the vast and all-round assistance being rendered to the UAR to counter the aggressor and eliminate the damage caused by the aggression.

The interview was attended by B. Ponomaryov, secretary of the CC, CPSU.

**Nov. 10.** A. Kosygin, member of the PB, CC, CPSU, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, received in Moscow a delegation of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam led by Dang Tran Thi, member of the CC Presidium of the Front. He assured the spokesmen of the Front that the Soviet Union would continue fully to support the fight of the South Vietnamese people.

**Nov. 10.** A meeting took place in Moscow between Soviet writers and delegates of the Communist and Workers' parties to the celebrations of the fiftieth anniversary of October. The guests included Gus Hall, Meir Vilner, Gilberto Vieira, Alvaro Cunhal and Jesus Faria.

**Nov. 13.** A delegation of the Polish United Workers' Party led by R. Strzelecki, member of the PB and secretary of the CC, left for Rome, according to PAP.

**Nov. 13.** A delegation of the CP of Austria led by Franz Muhri, Chairman of the Party, arrived in Belgrade at the invitation of the League of Communists.

**Nov. 14.** L. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC, CPSU, received in Moscow Y. Tsedenbal, First Secretary of the CC, MPRP. The discussion was concerned, among other things, with international politics and the world Communist movement.

**Nov. 15.** A delegation of the CP of Spain was received at the CC, CPSU. The meeting was attended by L. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC, CPSU, and B. Ponomaryov, secretary of the CC, CPSU, and, on behalf of the CPS, by Dolores Ibarruri, Chairman

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*See Information Bulletin, No. 20, 1967, for the full text of the report.

of the Party, S. Carrillo, General Secretary, and F. Marin, G. Lopez and R. Mendezona, members of the CC Executive.

The exchange of views bore on the international situation and the world Communist movement. The spokesmen of the two parties stressed the great importance of implementing the program for maintaining peace and security in Europe formulated by the Karlovy Vary Conference.

It was pointed out that the international situation made it an imperative task to consolidate all ani-imperialist forces and, first and foremost, to strengthen the unity of the Communist and Workers' parties on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The two parties declared for the preparation and convening of a new world meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties to promote world Communist unity and rally all socialist and democratic forces against imperialism.

**Nov. 16.** L. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC, CPSU, M. Suslov, member of the PB and secretary of the CC, CPSU, and B. Ponomaryov, secretary of the CC, CPSU, met at the CC, CPSU a delegation of the Syrian CP consisting of Khaled Bagdash, General Secretary, and D. Naameh and Y. Faisal, members of the PB, according to a *Pravda* report.

During the interview the Syrian comrades spoke favorably of the establishment of party relations between the CPSU and the Arab Socialist Renascence Party of Syria. The spokesmen of the two parties exchanged views on the world Communist movement and voiced the conviction that cohesion of the Marxist-Leninist parties was particularly important at this stage. They condemned the splitting activity of the Mao Tse-tung group in the world Communist and working-class movement and the national liberation movement. They reaffirmed their resolve to further Communist unity and solidarity on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism, the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement. The two parties supported the proposal for calling a meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties after adequate preparations.

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*Included in this issue*

## ON THE BUDAPEST CONSULTATIVE MEETING

## CONTENTS BULLETINS 89-112 (1967)

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## contents

**ON THE BUDAPEST CONSULTATIVE MEETING**
Resolutions, statements and articles 5

**PROVISIONAL PROGRAM OF THE JORDANIAN COMMUNIST PARTY** 41

**REMAKING THE ECONOMIC MECHANISM**
Jeno Fock, Member of PB CC, HSWP 54

**CONTENTS NO'S 89-112 (1967)** 65

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# HEADING FOR A CONFERENCE OF THE BROTHER PARTIES*

ETIENNE FAJON, MEMBER, PB CC FCP

It was with deep satisfaction that French Communists read the communiqué about the coming consultative meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties.

The decision to call the meeting was taken on the initative of the eighteen parties, including our own, which had met in Moscow, in the spring of 1965. The meeting, to be held in Budapest next February, will be devoted to preparations for a new international conference of the brother parties. The two previous conferences took place in 1957 and 1960.

Thus the desire expressed by our Party in the political resolution unanimously approved by its 18th Congress is beginning to materialize. "Congress," said the resolution, "considering that the convening of an international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties to uphold and strengthen the unity of the international movement cannot be put off indefinitely, declares for holding such a conference at the most suitable date. The French Communist Party will work to ensure that the conditions for calling the conference, which have matured in the recent period, are acted upon as early as possible."

Throughout 1967 we have spared no effort to achieve the first result, now attained.

To be sure, preparations for the international conference will give cause for the usual comments by anti-communists at home and abroad.

Depending on circumstances, anti-communists will attribute to the parties in question the intention to excommunicate some parties and to reject others, or to undermine the independence of one or another in favor of a single leading center. No reactionary inventions can, however, obscure two obvious facts.

One such fact is that each Communist party is in a position to solve its problems and to shape its policy according to the particular conditions of its country and in the interest of its peoples. Except for the Mao-Tse-tung group, no one today claims the right to impose his views on the international movement or to put it under any control.

The other obvious fact is that the fight for peace and socialism

*L'Humanité, November 29, 1967.

is taking place on a world scale. To coordinate the efforts of the brother parties in this fight is the surest way of strengthening the solidarity of the working-class and national liberation movement throughout the globe. On the other hand, separate actions by the Communist parties would amount to promoting imperialist plans.

Hence the duty of these parties to strengthen the bonds linking them, especially at a time when the American imperialists are carrying on their brutal war against the Vietnamese people, multiplying aggressions and conspiracies all over the world and creating the gravest threats to world peace.

In short, the French Communist Party has worked hard for the convening and success of a conference of the brother parties, and will continue to do so, because it regards unification of the world Communist movement as an imperative task.

We, for our part, consider that the task of the Budapest consultative meeting should be to convene that conference, decide on its agenda and launch concrete preparations for it.

As for the date of the conference, we think it should be fixed with due regard to both the necessity for serious preparations and the urgency of the problem.

As for the agenda, we hold that it would be wise to limit it to the main issue of the moment, namely, unity against imperialism.

As for the preparations, we believe all Communist and Workers' parties, including those that may not go to Budapest, should be invited to attend the world conference and, immediately after the consultative meeting, to take part in the collective drafting of the documents which the meeting may decide on.

The ideas summed up above were approved by our Central Committee at its last meeting, on October 18. They will inspire the activity of our Party representatives during the international discussion that has now begun in the best interest of the labor movement and the peoples of the world.

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## L'UNITA INTERVIEWS LUIGI LONGO*

Q. What is the significance of the announcement regarding the convening, in Budapest at the end of next February, of a consultative meeting of Communist and Workers' parties?

A. The significance stems from the very text of the announcement. The meeting will be of a consultative character, and the subject it will deal with is the convocation, character and aims of

*L'Unita, November 25, 1967.

the international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties. The announcement makes clear the collegial, open character which the discussion of these problems is to have. Every party will have an opportunity to state its views on these problems. A comparison of different positions which will be thus made possible will help towards broad agreement on all aspects of the preparation for the conference. In this way, we believe, a new type of relations, a new type of unity of the Communist and Workers' parties can be achieved.

Important steps in this direction have already been made as a result of the Karlovy Vary Conference. We should proceed further along this road.

*Q.* What led up to the adoption of this decision?

*A.* A whole series of bilateral meetings and consultations. As far as we are concerned, we acted as instructed by the Leadership and later on by the Central Committee in the resolutions of February 1967, which stressed the need for a common discussion of the problems facing the Communist movement and declared our determination to contribute to these joint efforts, promoting "the consolidation of the unity of the world Communist movement in the struggle against imperialism and for peace." In the course of all these months we have worked hard and repeatedly taken the initiative along this line, to which, incidentally, our Party has always adhered.

*Q.* In what way does our Party intend to prepare for the Budapest meeting?

*A.* By means of further consolidating contacts with different Communist and Workers' parties and national-liberation movements as well as through a thorough discussion of various problems.

We will search for a solid basis for agreement to broaden relations based on cooperation and unity not only between Communist and Workers' parties but also between all forces fighting against imperialism and for peace, including those forces in Western Europe which believe the time has come to abolish mutually opposed blocs and to launch a policy of detente, collective security and peaceful coexistence.

*Q.* The Demochristian *Popolo,* commenting recently on your articles in *Rinascita,* wrote that the ICP evinces a resolve to defend, along with its independence, "its experience, its role, its 'Italian' mode of action, accommodating itself to the complicated political and social relations" of Italy. What do you think of this?

*A.* It is an interesting admission, although it should be pointed out right away that no one threatens our independence. I also want to note that our Party does not act in the international arena the way the Christian-Democratic and United Socialist parties do. Suffice it to recall the repeated statements of authoritative spokes-

men of the ISP on that party's commitment to agree, as regards the problems pertaining to the expiration of the term of the Atlantic alliance, with decisions to be taken by the "Socialist International," regardless of the character of these decisions and of whether or not they will accord with the needs of our country.

The Demochristian leaders are apparently heading in the same direction. Indeed, last week that party's weekly urged the Christion-Democratic parties to join into a "Christian-Democratic international" and to "pledge themselves to abide by its decisions." Our conception of international relations is entirely different, and it is this conception, which is the result of all our theoretical work prior to and after the Yalta Memorandum of Comrade Togliatti, that we have maintained—not without success—during the contacts established of late in connection with the forthcoming Budapest meeting. We will be developing this conception further at meetings with our participation. I think that neither the Christian-Democratic nor the United Socialist Party can teach us anything in the matter of international independence. Rather they can learn from our Party.

## FAVOR PREPARATIONS FOR INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE*

*At a session on December 10, the CC of the CP of Finland adopted a resolution in connection with the forthcoming international Communist conference.*

The Central Committee approved the initiative, taken by the Party's delegation together with representatives of seventeen other fraternal parties, in launching preparations for a new international conference. It also stressed the importance of the CPF's active participation in the preparations.

*Kansan Uutiset, December 11, 1967.

# STATEMENT* BY FRANZ MUHRI, CHAIRMAN, CP OF AUSTRIA

The Communist Party of Austria welcomes the proposal of the 18 fraternal parties for holding a consultative meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties in Budapest in February 1968. The proposal accords with the stands which the Central Committee of the CPA has repeatedly taken in discussing problems of the world Communist movement. The CPA will take part in the meeting.

The position adopted by the 18 parties indicates that the consultative meeting will concern itself with "collectively exchanging views on the question of convening an international meeting of Communist and Workers' parties." The meeting will therefore discuss the advisability and content of the international conference and the methods of preparing for it and carrying it out. The invitation to take part in the consultative meeting has been addressed to all parties, including those that still have reservations about the future conference of the Communist and Workers' parties.

*Volksstimme, November 26, 1967.

# SUPPORT INITIATIVE FOR NEW WORLD MEET*

*At the beginning of December 1967 Santiago Carrillo, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Spain, spoke before a large group of Party activists.*

Referring to the convocation of the consultative meeting in Budapest, Santiago Carrillo said: "We vigorously support this initiative, which we consider to be necessary and correct. Reactionary newspapers insist that the matter concerns only denunciation of the Maoist leaders. This is not, nor can it be, the cause or aim of the international conference. The central problem of the present moment is the imperialist threat or, more concretely, the threat presented by Yankee imperialism.

"The task of the international conference must be to denounce imperialism's policies and make a start on a search for ways of restoring the unity of the Communist and working-class movement.

*A UFI release, December 8, 1967.

This conference will not lead to a complete solution of all problems, but it can, and certainly will, become the first step in this direction."

Noting the need to reaffirm resolutely the internationalist character of the world Communist and working-class movement, Santiago Carrillo declared for "unity of parties and equality of parties, for the independence and autonomy of each party in shaping its own line leading to revolution, in keeping with the peculiarities of the concrete situation in its country."

The Communist Party of Spain will work hard to contribute to the success of every initiative aimed at preparing the international conference."

# COMMUNIQUE*
# ON THE GREEK PARTY DELEGATION'S VISIT TO BULGARIA

The delegation of the Communist Party of Greece and the Bulgarian Communist Party welcome the initiative of holding a consultative meeting to discuss practical preparations for an international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties, says the communiqué on the Bulgarian visit of a delegation of the Central Committee of the CC, CP of Greece, led by Apostolos Grozos.

The Greek Party delegation held talks with a delegation of the CC BCP led by Todor Zhikov. The two delegations exchanged information on the activity of their respective parties and discussed the international situation, in particular the situation in the Balkans since the Greek military coup. The BCP delegation, speaking on behalf of the Bulgarian Communists, expressed fraternal solidarity with the struggle of the Communist Party of Greece. The two delegations noted with satisfaction that the two parties are linked by friendly relations based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. They signified readiness to continue strengthening these relations.

The spokesmen of the two parties voiced identical views in estimating the international situation and the world Communist and labor movement.

The communiqué states that the military coup in Greece and the tense situation in Cyprus are a result of aggression by the United States and NATO and constitute a real threat to the peace and

*BTA release, November 25, 1967.

security of the peoples of the Balkans and the Eastern Mediterranean.

The two delegations emphatically condemned the barbarous war which the U.S. is waging in Vietnam, and expressed solidarity with the heroic people of Vietnam. They condemned the Israeli aggression against the Arab countries. In view of the situation in Europe, they pointed out the importance of the specific program for peace and security on the continent adopted at Karlovy Vary.

Noting the urgency of uniting all anti-imperialist, progressive, democratic and peace-loving forces, the two delegations condemned the Mao Tse-tung group, which is splitting the world Communist and labor movement and is creating difficulties for the liberation fight of the Vietnamese people and the liberation movement of the oppressed peoples, making it easier for the U.S. imperialists to pursue their policy of aggression in the international sphere.

## READY TO WORK FOR WORLD CONFERENCE*

*At the beginning of December 1967 a delegation of the CC of the Communist Party of Bulgaria headed by Political Bureau member and CC Secretary Stanko Todorov visited Denmark.*

The two parties expressed readiness to work for the success of the Budapest consultative meeting in 1968 on the preparation of the new international conference of the Communist parties.

The delegations of the BCP and CPD exchanged information about the activities of their parties. Complete identity of views of the BCP and the CPD on problems of the international situation and the world Communist and working-class movement was reaffirmed at the talks, which passed in an atmosphere of cordiality and friendship.

The Bulgarian delegation familiarized itself with the extensive activities of the CPD aimed at strengthening the unity of the working class and ensuring social progress, peace and socialism.

*A Bulgarian News Agency release, December 6, 1967.

# STATEMENT* BY GUS HALL, GENERAL SECRETARY, CP USA

"The initiative for a world consultative meeting of Communist and Marxist parties is a reflection of three central factors.

"(1) It is a responsible fighting response to the growing need for a more united struggle against world imperialism and the U.S. policies of imperialist aggression.

"(2) It is in response to, and a reflection of, the growing unity in the ranks of the world forces of anti-imperialism.

"(3) It is in response to, and a reflection of, the growing unity of the world Communist and Marxist movement.

"This initiative will be welcomed by all who place the struggle against imperialism and the overall interests of the working class above all other interests. It will be welcomed by all who understand that the roadblock to progress of civilization is the policies and forces of imperialism.

"This consultative meeting will further stimulate all of the positive aspects that result from greater unity. It will result in greater coordination of struggles, in an exchange of experiences and add to the confidence of the forces of progress.

"This process of unity is necessary for the most effective world-wide ideological and political offensive against imperialism. It will result in raising the concepts of proletarian internationalism to new heights. This process of unity will raise the struggle against imperialism and capitalist reaction to a new level—a level that accepts both the new challenge and the new possibilities and opportunities of victory.

"We heartily and enthusiastically welcome this initiative."

*The Worker, December 3, 1967.

# CANADIANS SUPPORT WORLD MEET*

"The decision to hold a consultative conference of all world Communist and Workers' parties is a welcome one indeed," said William Kashtan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Canada. "It arises after intense discussion by world parties that one should take place.

*The Canadian Tribune, December 11, 1967.

"The conference would be a consultative meeting to which all Communist and Workers' parties would be invited, and at which time there would be discussion of an international meeting, of its time, date, and agenda.

"We, in our party, take the position that such a conference is necessary and that its main purpose should be to unite all Communist and Workers' parties in common action against imperialism.

"There is no question that U.S. imperialism has taken advantage of the division of Communist and Workers' parties, to advance its aggressive aims."

Mr. Kashtan referred to Vietnam as a vivid example of U.S. imperialism taking advantage of the lack of coordination between China and the Soviet Union on the Vietnam war effort, due to ideological differences between the two countries. He said:

"This situation emphasizes how urgent it is to overcome these divisions and check and curb U.S. imperialism.

"Unfortunately not all Communist and Workers' parties are in agreement with the need for such a conference. These, however, are a minority. Sixty-seven parties have declared support for the conference. Some think the purpose of the conference would be to oust China from world Communist movement. This of course is totally wrong. The main purpose, as we see it, is to achieve cooperation among parties irrespective of differences on some ideological questions. There can be no talk of excluding anyone from a conference to which all parties are invited.

"The capitalist press has been doing everything in its power to misrepresent the purpose of this conference and infers that the Communist and Workers' parties will be unable to unite on common aims and objectives. Events, however, will prove them completely wrong.

"Now that the conference date has been set, we expect very shortly to get an invitation to attend. Our party will be discussing what we think would be the important issues for the agenda and other questions that should be discussed. We will do everything possible to help assure a successful conference."

# ON THE CONSULTATIVE MEETING OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

## DECISION* OF THE CC, CP OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, which met from December 19 to 21, 1967, heard a report by Vladimir Koucky on the preparations for an international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties. The CC welcomes the initiative of the 18 brother parties urging the widest possible participation in the consultative meeting to be held in Budapest in February 1968, which will provide an opportunity to discuss, collectively and on a broad democratic basis, all questions pertaining to the convening of the world meeting of Communists. Their call is a big step from preliminary discussions about the conference to preparations proper.

The present complicated international situation necessitates joint actions by all anti-imperialist forces, especially by the Communist and Workers' parties. The CC CPC is convinced that the conference will play an important part in the constructive effort to promote the unity and cohesion of the world socialist commonwealth, the international Communist movement and all revolutionary and democratic forces against imperialism, for peace, socialism, and the freedom of peoples.

The urgency of these tasks already calls for careful and quite concrete preparations for the international meeting, so that it may be held in the foreseeable future. In view of this, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia will fully cooperate in carrying out all preparatory measures. In accordance with the decision of its 13th Congress, it will continue to contribute in every way to measures to ensure the cohesion of the Communist forces of the world on Leninist lines.

*Rudé Právo, December 22, 1967.

# FOR GREATER UNITY OF WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT*

*A delegation of the Communist Party of Colombia led by Gilberto Vieira, Secretary General of the CC, stayed in the CSSR early in December 1967 at the invitation of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.*

During talks held in a cordial and friendly atmosphere, the two parties exchanged information on their respective activities and on the situation in their countries, according to the communiqué published here.

The Colombian delegation stressed the desire of its Party to promote the unity of all democratic and anti-imperialist forces against imperialism and home reaction. It was interested to familiarize itself with the experience of the host Party in solving economic and social problems, in building socialism.

The two parties discussed a wide range of questions bearing on the world Communist movement and emphasized their resolve to contribute to the unity of the movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The two parties regard the appeal of the 18 brother parties to hold a consultative meeting as an important step toward convening a world conference of the Communist and Workers' parties. They signify their determination to take an active part in the preparations for the conference and to contribute to its success.

The visit paid by the delegation of the CP of Colombia to Czechoslovakia, and the talks which it had with the representatives of the CP of Czechoslovakia and which revealed complete unity on all the issues under discussion, made for greater mutual understanding and closer fraternal cooperation of the two parties.

*Abridged from **Rudé Právo**, December 11, 1967.

# "RUDE PRAVO" ON THE CONSULTATIVE MEETING

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia sincerely welcomes the appeal of the eighteen Communist and Workers' parties to all brother parties to support the initiative of holding a consultative

*Summarized from **Rudé Právo**, November 26, 1967.

meeting and to take part in it. It has signed the appeal because it regards a world conference of the Communist and Workers' parties as a necessary step.

The eighteen brother parties have taken the initiative at a time when most of the Communist and Workers' parties have declared in one form or another for a world conference. Thus the first step has been taken toward clearing the ground for a meeting of the brother parties. Of course, this alone is not enough to attain the goal. The complicated situation in the world Communist movement will unquestionably necessitate flexibility and a high sense of responsibility in taking further preparatory measures for the conference.

Preparations for and the agenda of the planned world conference will be the concern of the February meeting in Budapest, which is expected to put forward specific proposals. This initiative is based entirely on strict application of the principles of democracy and the equality and independence of each party adopted earlier in the relations between the parties. Our Party is deeply convinced that the February meeting of the parties, whose fundamental positions are always determined both by national interests and by common Communist objectives and the principles of proletarian internationalism, will be successful.

In view of the present situation in the world Communist movement, some parties may stay away from the consultative meeting for various reasons. We must stress, however, that the appeal is addressed to all brother parties, because it is in the interest of our common cause to have as many parties as possible attend the meeting.

The method of preparing for the preliminary meeting allows scope for expressing different views, which in the international Communist movement today is regarded as a natural practice, as something which has long been part of the very concepts of negotiation and conference. The Karlovy Vary Conference last April was a forum for an open and sincere exchange of different points of view. Nevertheless, it proved useful and capable of adopting a common program for action on so important an issue as European security. Indeed, it was assessed as an advance and an example. The sense of responsibility we show in approaching the proposed preliminary meeting and the world conference, the groundwork for which is to be laid by the Budapest meeting, entitles us, even taking a very realistic view of these measures, to look ahead with hope.

The Communist and Workers' parties consider cohesion of their ranks the fundamental condition for progress, since it guarantees effective joint action. This is why they declare, whenever an opportunity presents itself, for closer unity, which to date has been impaired. In the present international situation it is absolutely indis-

pensable, not to wait for the advent of unity but to work for it steadily. We are therefore certain that Communist conferences can serve as an effective means of achieving unity, and see it as our duty to do all in our power for the convening and success of a world conference.

# THE BUDAPEST CONSULTATIVE MEETING— AN IMPORTANT STEP TO AFFIRM THE UNITY OF THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT*

The call to convene a consultative meeting of the Communist parties has been met with great interest in the Communist movement, as well as in the entire international revolutionary and liberation movement. The initiative of the eighteen Communist parties to convene this meeting comes at a time when the Communist parties and the progressive forces of the world are celebrating the two historical conferences of the Communist parties in 1957 and 1960.

Life has confirmed during the last years the correctness of the conclusions and analyses of these documents about the present fundamental problems of the international situation. It has proved also the correctness of the appreciation of the representatives of the fraternal parties who unanimously expressed in the declaration of 1957 that "by closing their ranks and thereby rallying the working class and the peoples of all countries, the Communist and Workers' Parties will surmount all obstacles in their onward movement and accelerate further big victories for the cause of peace, democracy and socialism."

In spite of the difficulties which arose in the international Communist movement in the last years as a result of the subversive and splitting attitudes of the Chinese leaders, the international Communist movement and the other revolutionary forces have achieved important victories, and exercised great influence on world development.

The past years have been characterized mainly by the strengthening and growth of the socialist camp, by the expansion and upsurge of the national-liberation revolutions and by great successes scored by the working class of the capitalist countries in the struggle against imperialist reaction.

*Al-Akhbar, December 3, 1967.

During these years the international Communist movement has accumulated rich experiences in its struggle under different conditions in the various countries. It is useful for all parties to review jointly this past period, to study together the experiences of the whole movement, analyze the new phenomena in the international situation and draw the necessary conclusions.

This has become more urgent and more necessary in the present period, when the Communist movement has encountered some difficulties. All the contingents of the international Communist movement should participate, in cooperation with the other contingents, in finding the most effective ways and means of consolidating the unity of the international revolutionary movement, and of strengthening its might, influence and prestige.

The international Communist movement is also sharply faced by the question of opposing and curbing the dangerous aggressive policy of the imperialist powers, first of all the USA, in different parts of the world, and especially the barbarous war of aggression of U.S. imperialism against the heroic Vietnamese people, the imperialist Israeli aggression against the Arab peoples, the repeated U.S. provocations against Cuba, the fascist coup in Greece and the recent plot against Cyprus.

To cope successfully with these tasks implies for the international Communist movement taking new steps to strengthen the unity of its ranks. It is precisely this that was at the root of the important initiative to convene a consultative meeting of the 18 Communist parties "with the purpose of strengthening the unity of the Communist movement and rallying all Socialist and other democratic forces in the struggle against imperialism, for the national and social liberation of peoples and for world peace."

What makes this meeting very important is that it represents a big step toward holding a new international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties. This initiative, showing the concern of the Communists to safeguard and promote their unity, proves that the Communist movement has surmounted many of the difficulties of the last period and that it has now entered the period of overcoming these difficulties. The forthcoming consultative meeting and the international conference will undoubtedly achieve big progress in this direction, especially since they will come as a result of consistent efforts and many consultations between the different fraternal parties.

While the overwhelming majority of the Communist parties has responded to this call and helped its realization, the big constructive role played by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in this respect should be mentioned particularly.

The calling of this meeting is an extremely important event not only for the Communist parties, but also for all the other progres-

sive and patriotic forces. This is due to the major and decisive role played by the international Communist movement and the socialist camp in the struggle of the peoples for national and social liberation, socialism and peace, against imperialism, on the one hand, and to the direct influence of the unity of the international Communist movement on the unification of all the revolutionary forces of the world in a single anti-imperialist front, on the other.

By their own experience, the peoples realize that imperialism takes advantage of the difficulties which have arisen in the international Communist movement as a result of the splitting attitude of the Mao Tse-tung group in order to act more insolently in its attempts to deal a blow to the national liberation movement, to prevent the peoples from taking the road of independent development, the road of deep social transformations, and to re-establish the domination of neocolonialism in the newly independent countries. This is evidenced by the U.S. aggression in Vietnam, the imperialist-Israeli aggression in the Middle East, etc.

The Chinese leaders' rejection of the Soviet proposals to organize joint actions so as to help Vietnam rebuff the aggression is a blow to the struggle of this heroic people and encourages the aggressors to go on in their aggression.

That is why all the revolutionary forces attach great importance to the question of the strengthening of the international Communist movement unity, considering it a decisive factor in their own struggle for national and social liberation, against imperalism, colonialism and neocolonialism.

The Lebanese Communists, who have repeatedly declared themselves in favor of an international conference of the Communist parties, today express their full support of and welcome this initiative, and reaffirm their resolve to participate in every action that may help strengthen the unity of the Communists and all the revolutionaries the world over.

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# FOR CONSOLIDATION OF UNITY*

*Walter Ulbricht receives F. Nassar, First Secretary of the CC of the Jordanian Communist Party*

Walter Uulbricht informed the Jordanian Communist leader about the policy of solidarity and maintenance of links with the Jordanian and all other Arab peoples pursued by the Socialist Unity Party of Germany.

*Abridged from **Neues Deutschland**, November 28, 1967.

F. Nassar highly appraised the fraternal solidarity of the SUPG and the German Democratic Republic with the just struggle of the Arab peoples, who regard the anti-imperialist German state as their natural ally.

The two parties fully agree on the need for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israel's aggressive troops beyond the borders of June 5, 1967, which is a prerequisite for the peaceful settlement of the problem in the interests of the peoples of the Middle East.

Both parties stress the need for the consolidation of the unity and cohesion of the international Communist movement and consider it timely and necessary that a new international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties be convened.

## ON THE BUDAPEST MEETING*

The Communist and Workers' parties of Argentina, Australia, the German Democratic Republic, the Federal Republic of Germany, Bulgaria, Brazil, Czechoslovakia, the USA, Finland, France, Great Britain, Hungary, India, Italy, Mongolia, Poland, Syria and the Soviet Union held bilateral consultations on preparations for a new international conference.

As a result of these consultations, and with due regard to the opinions and suggestions put forward at the March 1965 meeting in Moscow, it was found advisable to hold a consultative meeting in Budapest in February 1968. The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party was asked to provide facilities for the meeting and acceded to the request. It will send invitations to the brother parties.

All the brother parties were urged to support the initiative of holding the consultative meeting and to take part in it.

The meeting is being called for an exchange of views about convening a world conference of the Communist and Workers' parties.

The Communist Party of Ecuador attended the 1960 conference in Moscow and took part in the discussions, and has repeatedly declared itself in agreement with the decisions reflected in the conference documents. It therefore considers bilateral and multilateral consultations by the Communist and Workers' parties and the convening of conferences, to be advisable. The question is of expedient methods applied on the basis of complete equality of the parties, without interference in the tactics chosen by any party.

We have on more than one occasion come out for a new world

*Abridged from **Pueblo** (CP of Ecuador), first week of December 1967.

conference and expressed the view that the conditions for such a meeting have matured. This has been the tenor of relevant statements by the Central Committe of the Communist Party of Ecuador.

We consider that the seven years since the Moscow meeting of 81 parties have seen important changes on the world scene that should be studied. This is one of the fundamental reasons why the conference mentioned above should be convened.

The need to unify the working-class movement, strengthen the relations within the socialist camp, rally the forces fighting against imperialism and step up action for peace is an important reason for holding a new world Communist meeting in accordance with the immortal principles of Marxism-Leninism.

The imperialists and their accomplices set out to spread typical calumnies and malicious rumors as soon as they foresaw the possibility of the conference in question.

It should be clear, however, that the idea is not to punish anyone. The idea of the conference is in complete harmony with the theoretical propositions of the 1960 Statement.

This is why we think it necessary, in keeping with the decisions of the Central Committee of the CPE and with the Party's program and political resolution, to support the initiative of holding a consultative meeting taken by the fraternal Communist and Workers' parties, and favor participation in it. It is the reason why we welcome that initiative.

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# ON THE CONSULTATION OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

## STATEMENT* OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ISRAEL

At its session on December 3rd, 1967, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel discussed the announcement of the 18 fraternal Communist and Workers' parties, which was published at the end of November, containing the call for a consultation of the Communist and Workers' parties in Budapest during February 1968, in order "to exchange collective views concerning the convening of an international meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties."

The Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist

*CC, CP of Israel press release, December 12, 1967.

Party of Israel welcomes this announcement and states that it expressed in different ways during the last time the need of convening such an international consultative meeting.

The CP of Israel, therefore, supports the initiative taken by 18 fraternal Communist and Workers' parties to convene in Budapest during February 1968 an international consultative meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties, for a collective exchange of views towards an international convention of the Communist and Workers' parties with the aim of strengthening the unity of the Communist movement and of uniting all socialist and democratic forces in the struggle against imperialism, for the peoples' national and social liberation and for peace in the world.

The CP of Israel will participate in the consultative meeting, which will be held in Budapest in February next and will extend all help for its success.

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## COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA SUPPORTS WORLD COMMUNIST CONFERENCE*

The National Council of the Communist Party of India welcomes the recent statement issued by 18 Communist parties proposing the holding of a consultative meeting of brother parties at Budapest in February 1968.

Our Party has stressed the need for such a conference for a number of years. We pressed the view at the Consultative Conference held in Moscow in 1965. Since then, the convening of a world conference of Communist and Workers' parties has become far more urgent in the light of international developments during the last two years.

Imperialist aggression, most of all by the USA, is being escalated in various parts of the world and has assumed menacing proportions. The diehards of the Johnson Administration now threaten to physically destroy the whole of Vietnam. The danger of a major world confrontation of arms clearly looms ahead.

On the other hand, the disunity in the international Communist movement creates serious impediments in the path of a united international counter-offensive against the imperialist drive towards war.

The ideological and political unity of the international Communist movement has been, and remains, the key factor for uniting all democratic and anti-imperialist forces in the struggle against

*New Age, December 17, 1967.

imperialism, for peace, national independence and social liberation.

The consultative meeting at Budapest will consider various questions pertaining to the convening of a world conference such as its scope and agenda, the preparation of the necessary documents, procedural matters, venue, date, and so on.

The purpose of the Budapest meeting should be to unify and consolidate the efforts of all fraternal parties for united action by the international Communist movement in the struggle against imperialism, for peace, democracy, national liberation and socialism.

All efforts have to be made for strengthening the bonds between the world Communist movement and all other forces fighting for national independence, democracy and social progress. That is the vital and the most urgent need of the hour.

Our Party will strive its utmost to make such a conference a success.

Innumerable developments have taken place since the last world conference of fraternal parties in 1960.

The crisis of imperialism has deepened, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries have made great advances in industry, science and culture, and the national liberation movements have also risen to higher levels in a number of countries.

The experiences gained in the course of the further development of socialist democracy and economic cooperation between socialist countries, in the struggle of the oppressed peoples for advancing from national independence to socialism and the struggle of the working class and other democratic forces in advanced capitalist countries against state monopoly capitalism call for collective assessment in the interest of the entire Communist movement.

Above all stands the urgent task of uniting all the anti-imperialist and peace forces in the struggle to rebuff the growing aggressive activities of American imperialism and the threat of a new world war. This requires, first and foremost, the unity and joint action of all the Communist and Workers' parties of the world.

It is on this issue that the complications which have arisen in the unity of the world Communist movement have first to be resolved. Imperialism is taking full advantage of the differences in the world Communist movement.

The National Council of the Communist Party of India notes with satisfaction that an overwhelming majority of the Communist and Workers' parties are now in favor of convening a world Conference of Communist and Workers' parties and are supporting the initiative for the proposed consultative meeting of fraternal parties at Budapest.

We are confident that this meeting will pave the way for bringing together all the forces of the world revolutionary movement in the struggle against imperialism.

# PLENARY MEETING OF THE CC HSWP*

On November 23 and 24 the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party held an enlarged plenary meeting under the chairmanship of CC First Secretary Janos Kadar to hear reports on international matters, topical problems of home policy, and current politico-economic tasks, presented by Political Bureau members and CC secretaries Zoltan Komocsin, Bela Biszku and Rezso Nyers. The resolutions on the matters discussed were approved unanimously.

The CC approved the report of the Hungarian Party and government delegation, headed by Janos Kadar, which had attended the celebrations of the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Moscow. It took note of the fact that the delegation had conveyed the Hungarian people's good wishes and warm fraternal feelings for the Soviet Union, and helped emphasize the internationalist character of the celebrations and deepen the sincerity of Hungarian-Soviet relations.

The CC joins the delegation in gladly noting that the celebrations were marked by calm confidence, the unity of the Party and the people, and unshakeable belief in the future, as well as by loyalty to the spirit of the October Revolution and sympathy and solidarity with the Soviet Union which were vigorously manifested by the world Communist movement.

Appraising the international situation, the CC stated that although the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, our country included, are working hard for a detente, the U.S. imperialists are escalating the war in Vietnam, dragging out, in company with the Israeli rulers, the settlement of the Middle East crisis, and engineering other provocations. Hence the continued need for redoubled vigilance and greater unity of the socialist countries, the international revolutionary working-class movement and the forces fighting for national independence and peace.

The Hungarian people express admiration for the Vietnamese people, who are scoring great victories in the fight against U.S. imperialism. The CC was pleased to take note of the signing, last October, of the Hungarian-Vietnamese agreement for 1968. Its realization will mean increasing assistance to the embattled fraternal people of Vietnam.

The CC hails the joint concerted efforts which the seven socialist countries, participants in the Moscow and Budapest conferences, have undertaken in the interests of a settlement in the Middle East.

*Abridged from **Népszabadság**, November 25, 1967.

The CC assures the Arab forces opposed to the imperialist aggression of continued support for and solidarity with their struggle for their just aims.

In keeping with this stand, representatives of the HSWP have this year as well, more recently during the celebrations in Moscow, continued their efforts, within the framework of bilateral and multilateral talks, for greater international Communist unity. Considering this to be its lofty internationalist duty, our Party will go on contributing in every way to the work in behalf of the unity of the world Communist movement.

# ON A WORLD MEETING OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

## RESOLUTION* OF THE THIRD PLENARY MEETING OF THE CC SUPG

In line with the decisions of the Seventh Party Congress, the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany declares for convening an international meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties. It sees the object of the meeting in strengthening the unity of the world Communist movement, and in rallying the socialist and democratic forces of all countries against imperialism, for the national and social emancipation of the peoples, and for world peace.

The worldwide conflict between the forces of socialism, national liberation and democracy and the imperialist forces makes it imperative to strengthen the unity of the world Communist movement and to increase its capacity for international action. New important problems of development have arisen in the socialist countries, the chief revolutionary force of the world. The Communist and Workers' parties in the industrially developed capitalist countries are fighting against the state-monopoly domination of capitalism in difficult conditions. In Asia, Africa and Latin America, many peoples are coming up against complicated and all but unexplored problems as they seek national independence and social progress.

The scientific and technological revolution is putting greater and more varied demands on the content and form of the struggle of the Communist and Workers' parties. It has a tangible impact on the struggle and competition between socialism and capitalism.

The class struggle in the world arena is gaining in bitterness. The

*Neues Deutschland, November 24, 1967.

U.S. imperialists are trying by means of their notorious global strategy to launch a campaign against the forces of peace, national liberation, democracy and socialism all over the world. In Vietnam they have kindled the flames of a war which threatens to spread throughout Southeast Asia. In the Middle East, Arab states and peoples have become victims of imperialist aggression. The monarchist-fascist coup in Greece, and the plots of NATO and the U.S. Sixth Fleet gravely endanger the Balkans and the Mediterranean area as a whole. The U.S. imperialists, backed by the West German militarists, are turning Franco Spain into an important base of their global strategy by building up their nuclear naval and air forces in that country. Provocations against socialist Cuba are intensifying.

The consultations which Chancellor Kiesinger of West Germany and his Foreign Minister, Brandt, had with President Johnson have led to a further involvement of the FRG in the global stategy of the United States. Bonn is becoming more and more persistent in its revanchist claim to exclusive spokesmanship for Germany and in its hegemonistic pretensions in Western Europe. Its policy of aggression is the greatest obstacle to European peace and security.

This trend imperatively demands new active efforts to restore the unity of all anti-imperialist forces against the U.S. monopolists' global strategy, the West German and Japanese imperialists' plan for expansion, and all imperialist encroachments on world peace.

A prerequisite of the broadest possible unity of all peace-loving and democratic forces is to promote the unity and cohesion of the international Communist movement, the decisive force in the struggle against imperialism.

In view of this, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany regards early collective discussions, a collective exchange of experiences and views between the Communist and Workers' parties, and agreement on the conclusions to be drawn and the joint actions to be taken as a compelling demand of our time.

Now that the brother parties have exchanged views through numerous bilateral and multilateral meetings and consultations, and that the Karlovy Vary conference and other international meetings have produced positive practical results and experiences, the CC SUPG considers that it is timely and necessary to hold an international meeting of Communist and Workers' parties in 1968.

The Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany is, therefore, in favor of direct practical preparations for a new world meeting of the Communist movement.

# ANTI-IMPERIALIST UNITY*

The communique on the forthcoming consultative meeting of Communist and Workers' parties explains that the meeting is being convened "with the purpose of strengthening the unity of the Communist movement and rallying all Socialist and other democratic forces in the struggle against imperialism, for the national and social liberation of peoples and for world peace."

The idea of the need to exchange opinions on international matters, to have consultations and elaborate a line of joint action has been taking root in many parties for a long time. This has found expression in pronouncements by many leaders of Communist and Workers' parties of all continents in the period prior to the celebrations of the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution and at the jubilee session of the CC CPSU and the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The stand of our Party, which favors convening a conference of the Communist and Workers' parties was set forth in Comrade Gomulka's speech at that session.

More than seven years have passed since the last international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties which worked out a common platform of action of all forces of socialism.

The international situation has changed greatly. The forces of socialism have grown considerably; the socialist countries have become economically and politically stronger; we have witnessed further intensification of the working-class movement in the capitalist countries and growth of national-liberation movements. At the same time the aggressiveness of imperialism, U.S. imperialism in particular, has increased.

Unable to mount a frontal attack against the unity of the socialist countries, whose might—above all the Soviet Union's might—is an insurmountable obstacle to the imperialist forces, Washington has taken resort to the tactics of local wars designed to crush the revolution and national-liberation movement wherever it threatens the positions of the old world.

This new tactic is most starkly, genocidally manifested in the U.S. imperialists' aggression against the people of Vietnam.

The U.S. imperialists are seeking to suppress the national-liberation movement in South Vietnam, saddle the people with an ultra-reactionary puppet regime and block the reunification of Vietnam along democratic lines. They thus want to set up a permanent military strategic base spearheaded against the socialist countries and the progressive and national-liberation movements in Asia.

*Trybuna Ludu," November 26, 1967.

The menace of U.S. aggression hangs over other states of Indochina, such as Laos and Cambodia.

U.S. imperialism exerts particularly strong pressure on the Latin American countries. The blockade and the constant threat to the independence of Cuba, the intervention in the Dominican Republic, the support given to the reactionary "gorilla" regimes and the implantation of such regimes in South American countries, the economic and political pressure brought to bear on them—the purpose of all this is to reduce the continent to the position of a kind of U.S. colony.

Out to impose its domination upon the newly-free countries of Africa, U.S. imperialism organizes reactionary coups and opposes any progressive trends there.

The U.S.-supported Israeli aggression against Arab countries, another example of this new local-war tactics, was designed to depose progressive governments, undermine the Arab national-liberation movement, fortify the positions of imperialism on strategically important communications and strengthen its grip on that large oil-bearing region.

The military coup in Greece was also inspired and supported by the United States. The striving to abolish the democratic regime and independence of Cyprus and turn the island into a NATO military base has created a new seat of tension in the Mediterranean.

The Western European countries are objects of intense penetration of American capital, coupled with the U.S. imperialists' attempts to exercise political rule over Western Europe in close cooperation with the FRG. With U.S. aid West Germany is aggravating tension on our continent, advancing dangerous territorial demands and laying absurd claim to sole representation of the whole German nation, carrying out rearmament and attempting to gain, in some form or other, access to thermonuclear weapons.

With the help of this tactic imperialism wants to check and reverse the irresistible march of history, to change the correlation of forces in its favor.

At the same time, the economy, science and technology of the socialist countries are developing rapidly and their defense potential is growing. These countries pursue a consistent policy of peace, support for the national-liberation movements all over the world, and aid to the victims of aggression.

Strong Communist parties are active in a number of West European countries, where the striving for unity of action with the Communists, for an alternative to the capitalist governments is gaining ground in the Socialist and Democratic parties despite vacillations and counteracting trends.

In the third-world countries, despite the stubborn resistance of imperialism, the national-liberation movement is developing in dif-

ferent forms. In the face of tremendous difficulties and certain setbacks, the forces of national liberation are fighting tirelessly to free their peoples from the neo-colonialist shackles and inhuman conditions forced upon them and maintained by imperialism.

In this situation the principal task of the Communist movement and all the anti-imperialist, anti-war and national-liberation forces today is to rally against imperialism's aggressive designs. More urgent than ever is the need to combat the nationalistic and divisive trends in the world Communist movement, to consolidate its unity.

Such are the reasons which have impelled the parties whose representatives had taken part in the March 1965 consultative meeting to call for a new international conference.

The splittism of the Chinese leaders has failed to weaken the striving of the world Communist movement for unity. Characteristically, some parties, especially in Asia, which adhered to a position close to that of the CPC, declare today—despite continued divergences on some issues—for the unity of action of the international revolutionary movement in the struggle against imperialist aggression and especially in the matter of rendering aid to the valiant people of Vietnam.

In spite of the divisive policies of the Chinese leaders and the trend of some parties to devote themselves exclusively to the affairs of their own country, avoiding any commitment in the matter of restoring Communist unity of action, the international conference will take place.

As the communique says, the consultative meeting of Communist and Workers' parties will be held in Budapest next February.

All Communist parties that may wish to take part have been invited to the meeting, at which every party will be able to contribute to the discussion of the agenda of the future conference and the preliminary drafts of documents offering solutions to the cardinal problems of our time, which demand the unity and cooperation of the Communist parties and the democratic and anti-imperialist movements.

Proletarian internationalism based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism will be the platform of the conference.

"The struggle against imperialism unites all our parties," Comrade Gomulka said in his speech at the jubilee meeting in the Moscow Palace of Congresses on November 3. "The Polish United Workers' Party declares for a new conference of the Communist and Workers' parties which, we are convinced, will help unite all anti-imperialist forces in the fight for the freedom of the peoples, for democracy, peace and socialism."

The convening of the conference is becoming the subject of concrete preparatory measures. The conference will be an important event in the development of the international Communist movement.

# THE ROAD TO UNITY*

The decision to hold a consultative meeting in Budapest next February on the convening of a world conference of the Communist and Workers' parties is welcomed by Mongolia's Communists and people as an important measure meeting the interests of unity and cohesion of the world Communist movement.

The present international situation calls for unity of all the revolutionary and progressive forces of the world against the common enemy, imperialism.

The consultative meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties held in March 1965 pointed out the importance and possibility for the brother parties to coordinate their actions for peace, national freedom and independence, democracy and socialism, against imperialism. The overwhelming majority of brother parties supported the line worked out at that meeting and have done much to strengthen their unity.

A vivid indication of the unity of the Marxist-Leninist parties was the participation of more than 70 brother parties in the celebration of the jubilee of the Great October Revolution. They expressed their internationalist solidarity with Lenin's great party, the Soviet Union—homeland of the socialist revolution—and the heroic Soviet people.

The Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party has always stood firmly for unity of action with the other brother parties, and has steadily furthered and strengthened its links with them.

"The Party," says the MPRP Program, "sees one of its important tasks in promoting in every way its fraternal relations of friendship and cooperation, mutual assistance and support with other Communist and Workers' parties, and in coordinating its actions with them and with other revolutionary forces in joint struggle against imperialism, for the interests of the working people, for peace, democracy and socialism."

Like other brother parties, the MPRP considers that the Budapest meeting, at which questions relating to the convening of a new international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties are to be discussed collectively, will contribute to the unity and cohesion of all the progressive forces of today.

The MPRP, which sincerely wants closer unity of the world Communist and working-class movement on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, readily supported the initiative of calling the consultative meeting and will take a most active part in it.

*Unen, December 1, 1967.

# FOR INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST UNITY*

On November 25 *Pravda* carried a communique containing the call of the Communist and Workers' parties of Australia, Argentina, Bulgaria, Brazil, Great Britain, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, the Federal Republic of Germany, India, Italy, Mongolia, Poland, Syria, the Soviet Union, the United States of America, Finland, France and Czechoslovakia to convene a consultative meeting to discuss collectively matters related to the preparation of an international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties.

It was only natural for the CPSU to have been among the parties which displayed this initiative. Educated by the great Lenin in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, our Party is workng actively and consistently for the consolidation of the world Communist movement in the struggle against imperialism, for the national and social emancipation of the peoples, for world peace. Everything that conforms to these supreme interests of the international working class has been invariably supported by the CPSU.

The absolute majority of fraternal parties have declared for a new international conference in the decisions of their congresses and leading organs as well as in the course of inter-party consultations. The proposal on convening the consultative meeting lends a practical aspect to the matter and advances an organizational form that provides, from the very beginning, a broad democratic basis for the entire preparatory work. The consultative meeting will make it possible to have a collective discussion of the aims and procedure of the forthcoming conference and reach an agreement on practical measures to ensure the successful work of the world Communist forum.

The idea of holding an international conference of representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties is in full accord with the principles of proletarian internationalism. The great importance of this form for strengthening the militant unity of the fraternal parties was stressed in the documents of the Moscow meetings of 1957 and 1960, which laid down the general line of the world Communist movement. As the 1960 Statement pointed out, international meetings of Communist and Workers' parties are "an effective form of exchanging views and experience, enriching Marxist-Leninist theory by collective effort and elaborating a common attitude in the struggle for common objectives." The participants in the Moscow consultative meeting in March 1965 noted in their joint com-

*Pravda, editorial, November 28, 1967.

munique that "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."

In 1965-67 regional meetings and numerous bilateral consultations of fraternal parties took place at which, among others, the question of preparing a new international conference was discussed. As a result of such broad exchanges the principles and methods of preparing the conference were determined. These principles underlie also the joint initiative of the eighteen Communist and Workers' parties, which hold that the meeting ensures the equal participation of fraternal parties in deciding all political and organizational questions related to the preparation of the conference, and enables every party to take an active part in this work at all its stages. The consultative meeting will help undertake the necessary steps for rallying all the fraternal parties and strengthening the entire anti-imperialist front.

Seven years have passed since the 1960 Conference. This is a considerable space of time, especially if measured by the scale of our revolutionary age. Consolidation of the socialist world system, growth of the working-class and Communist movement in the capitalist countries and development of the national-liberation movement have confirmed the correctness of the political line worked out at the international meetings of Communist and Workers' parties in 1957 and 1960. This line remains fully valid in our days.

At the same time, new phenomena are to be observed in world social development. Communist parties have already done a great deal to assess the peculiarities of the progressive development of the world revolutionary process. The fraternal parties are waging a stubborn struggle against imperialism, for the interests of the working class and all working people, for peace. They possess considerable theoretical and political experience in solving new problems: the Communist parties of the socialist countries in promoting the development of the socialist world system, in elaborating forms and methods of building and improving socialist society and in organizing the construction of communism; the Communist parties of the capitalist countries in the struggle against modern state-monopoly capitalism and in the elaboration of ways of effecting socialist changes in the new conditions; the Communist parties of the area of the national-liberation movement in the fight against imperialism and neo-colonialism and in charting ways of social progress at the present stage.

The time has now come to continue and deepen the Marxist-Leninist analysis of all the new processes in the international situation, to offer solutions to the new problems arsing before the

Communist movement. And there is no doubt that the consultative meeting will enable Communist and Workers' parties to find, by common effort, the most expedient organizational forms of such collective work, to prepare the international conference well.

The consultative meeting is certain to become a forum at which the character and aims of the new international conference will be thoroughly discussed. Coordination of actions of the revolutionary forces, consolidation of the single anti-imperialist front is a pressing necessity at the present stage of world development. Greater cohesion of the Marxist-Leninist parties is indispensable for attaining this lofty goal.

The international situation today is highly complicated.

On the one hand, it is evident that the Soviet Union and other socialist countries led by Marxist-Leninist parties are making great economic progress, extending their economic, military and political cooperation and strengthening the positions of the world socialist system. The Communist parties of the capitalist countries, for their part, have scored noteworthy successes in recent years by winning new important bridgeheads against state-monopoly capitalism. The national-liberation movement as a whole has likewise made headway, a number of new national states taking the non-capitalist road.

On the other hand, the world situation has certain negative aspects. In some sectors of the anti-imperialist front, imperialism is counter-attacking, going as far as to use its armed forces. In Southeast Asia the U.S. imperialists are waging a piratical war against the heroic people of Vietnam. A dangerous crisis has developed in the Middle East, where the aggressive forces of Israel, directed by world imperialism, committed aggression against several Arab countries and continue to this day to occupy the Arab territories they have overrun. The military-fascist coup in Greece has seriously aggravated the situation in the Mediterranean. Tensions over Cyprus are assuming dangerous proportions. The American imperialists interfere in various forms in Latin American affairs, nor have they stopped plotting against socialist Cuba.

It must also be remembered that reaction succeeded in delivering a severe blow to the Communist Party of Indonesia and carrying out reactionary coups in Ghana and elsewhere. Neo-fascism is rearing its ugly head on West German soil, in the heart of Europe, where bellicose, revanchist calls are being voiced once again.

The world Communist movement draws proper conclusions from these developments.

The situation makes it imperative to mobilize and unite all anti-imperialist forces. Communists are aware that imperialism today counts on using both its forces, which are considerable, and the differences in the world revolutionary movement. Under these circumstances, it is a sacred duty of Marxist-Leninists to counter

imperialist activities by strengthening Communist unity through joint struggle against imperialism, for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism.

Everyone knows that the balance of world forces hinges on the military and economic potential of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, as well as on the unity of all revolutionary movements and on their activity in the fight against imperialism. This means that to repulse imperialism and to alter the balance of world forces still further in favor of socialism, all Communist parties, the labor movement and all revolutionary forces must step up their activity. And this is the purpose which the preparations for a world conference and the conference itself are to serve. Obviously, Communists are the ones who can draw up a scientific balance of the present stage in world development and chart the further course of the revolutionary movement.

To be sure, the convening of a world conference will come up against a number of challenging problems. It would be wrong to expect that the difficulties which have arisen in the Communist movement will disappear of themselves. Indeed, the brother parties must work hard to overcome them. The very preparations for the conference, involving numerous contacts and discussions, and the desire to work out agreed positions will make for a better climate in the world Communist movement. Unquestionably, the very convening of the consultative meeting will provide a new stimulus for a profound analysis of current problems by Communists, lead to constructive exchanges of views on pressing tasks of the movement, and most important of all, go a long way toward uniting the movement on Marxist-Leninist principles.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union declares, in common with other fraternal parties, for holding the consultative meeting, and is willing to do all in its power for its success. Loyalty to the international solidarity of the revolutionary vanguard of the working class of the world is a Leninist tradition of our Party, faithfully followed by Soviet Communists.

The CPSU is in favor of the preparations for the conference and the conference itself concentrating on positive tasks of the movement, on rallying it and promoting the unity of all socialist and democratic forces against imperialism. The conference could not possibly aim at interfering in the affairs of any brother party, let alone at "excommunicating" anyone from the movement. Its chief motto is to unite the movement against imperialism and the war danger, in defense of the working people's interests.

The news of the coming consultative meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties has evoked worldwide response. The Marxist-Leninist parties, in welcoming the appeal of the 18 parties, stress that this appeal meets the interests of all Communists. The forces

of progress comment that the collective initiative of the 18 parties is paving the way for the unity of the Communist parties, the chief contingent of the revolutionary movement. It is only natural that the reactionary bourgeois press should be annoyed by the news of the consultative meeting. For the nth time, its forecasts of the "decline" of the Communist movement are falling to the ground. The movement stands as firmly as ever in the van of the struggle against imperialism and colonialism, for the triumph of the cause of the working class and other working people.

The proposal for holding the consultative meeting is an important initiative toward uniting the world Communist movement. There can be no doubt that its principal result will be closer unity of the Communist movement and a new victory for the immortal doctrine of Marxism-Leninism.

## HAIL INTERNATIONAL MEETING

*In the Middle of December a Party and Government Delegation of the German Democratic Republic led by W. Ulbricht visited Moscow and had talks with Soviet Party and Government Leaders.*

The communique* on the visit reads, in part:

The CPSU and the SUPG will go on working to strengthen the unity and cohesion of the countries of the socialist community and the world Communist and working-class movement on the creative basis of Marxism-Leninism, the principles of socialist internationalism and the documents jointly worked out by the Communist and Workers' parties. Both parties hail the convening of the consultative meeting of Communist and Workers' parties. They declare for preparing an international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties.

"Agreement was reached that in 1968, in accordance with the invitation which the CC SUPG, the State Council and the Council of Ministers of the GDR had extended earlier, a Party and government delegation of the Soviet Union will pay an official visit of friendship to the German Democratic Republic. The concrete date of the visit is to be agreed upon later on."

*Abridged from **Neues Deutschland**, December 13, 1967.

# ON A WORLD MEETING OF THE PARTIES

FRIGYES PUJA, MEMBER, CC HSWP

The idea of convening an international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties was taken up again over a year ago. Since then most Communist parties have come to the conclusion that the conditions for a world meeting are there and careful and thorough preparations for it should be started. On November 25, 1967, the 18 parties which had attended the Moscow consultative meeting in 1965 published an appeal for a consultative meeting to pave the way for a new world conference of the parties.

The position of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party on the world conference of the parties is perfectly clear. The Ninth Congress of our Party and many Central Committee decisions declared for the conference. Janos Kadar, speaking to the Hungarian-Czechoslovak friendship meeting in Prague on October 12 last, said on behalf of our Party: "We are of the opinion that it would be opportune to set about preparing for an international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties." Our Party is among the intiators of a world conference, and regards it as a privilege that a group of brother parties has asked it to convene the preliminary consultative meeting.

We think there is no need to argue in detail the advisability of a world meeting of the parties. The new problems that have cropped up in the world, the increased aggressiveness of U.S. imperialism and the present situation in the Communist movement make it imperative for the parties to meet, discuss current problems, work out a common position and coordinate their fight against imperialism.

Much as this may be obvious, statements by the leaders of some Communist parties and articles published in some Communist papers show that even among Communists there are those who question the usefulness of a world meeting.

We believe there is no point in dealing with the spate of abuse flooding the Chinese and Albanian press over the world meeting. The Chinese and Albanian leaders reject beforehand all proposals for closer unity and stigmatize all that is proposed by the parties adhering to a correct line. We should not, however, withhold comment on the assertions which we consider wrong although they are presumably prompted by good intentions, by the desire to help.

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*Partelet, No. 12, 1967.

Some Communist leaders, who agree with us on many important issues, dispute our affirmation that the conditions for a world conference have matured and that it is time to convene it. To buttress their stand, they point out that some parties hold views diverging from those of the majority on important strategic and tactical questions of the movement and that it is necessary to wait until the parties reach agreement on at least the more important controversial issues. As they see it, the parties should work in this direction and the most suitable method for this is bilateral consultations. These comrades are overlooking the fact that one of the paramount objectives of the conferences of the parties has always been, and will be, to enable the attending parties to collectively discuss and clarify, among others, those issues of common interest on which they differ. This cannot be done through bilateral consultations, since they cannot replace the collective wisdom of the parties.

However, there is at present no absolute need to discuss the strategic issues of the world movement, since the most important conclusions drawn in 1957 and 1960 stand. We believe a new meeting could set itself a more modest task, namely, *to achieve unity of action on the tactical issues of the fight against imperialism and to take a stand on those new fundamental problems whose clarification brooks no delay.*

Others believe that the proposed conference would not involve all the parties and that that would reveal the split in the movement, aggravating contraditcions rather than eliminating them. The conference, they argue, might even incite the parties which had chosen to stay away to call a conference of their own.

As regards participation, we think all the Communist and Workers' parties should be invited, irrespective of the position they maintain on the Communist movement or the international situation. No preliminary conditions should be set for sending an invitation, and each party should decide freely and independently whether or not it wants to attend. But this principle should also apply to those parties which intend to stay away, in the sense that they should not try to impose their opinion on the parties willing to attend. It would be well if all the parties took part in the conference, but we must reckon with the eventuality of some parties refusing to do so. This, however, need not be an obstacle to holding the conference, which must not be conditional on the participation of all the parties. Incidentally, not all the conferences of this nature held in the past were attended by all the parties.

As for the disruption of the unity of the Communist movement, it is, regrettably, a historical fact and, we believe, an open secret. We need a world meeting precisely in order to take a step toward restoring unity. We are convinced that it would be useful because

it would reduce contradictions and help improve cooperation among the parties. In recent years the movement has shown a growing desire to re-establish unity, and the meeting would give a new powerful impetus to this.

An eventual separate conference of the parties which had refused to attend should not be seen as a real danger. Judging by the party documents published so far, few parties will stay away. On the other hand, we think there would be no reason for the dissenting parties to call a separate conference because all the Communist parties could go to the proposed general meeting irrespective of their views, and could present their case at it. Besides, from the positions to which the parties opposing the idea of a world conference have adhered to date, it would appear that these parties could hardly find a common platform on which to meet. They take a diametrically opposed stand on most of the international issues and problems of the Communist movement, and the only point they agree on is that, for various reasons, they doubt the advisability of a general meeting.

There are also comrades who contend that the differences existing between Communist parties are due to differences in the objective situation and are an expression of distinct interests. They ask whether it is worth trying at all to abolish differences of opinion between the parties—whether it is not a futile effort. Of course, each party is free to tackle this or that problem in its own way depending on its position, and its views may reflect particular interests. But we must not forget that both the objective positions of the parties and their interests are more similar than dissimilar. This being so, differences can certainly be overcome and interests can be brought into harmony. The record of discussions between Communist parties shows that it is subjective causes and not objective circumstances that are playing an ever greater role in the spread of differences. This is the only reason why, for example, parties in identical or similar objective conditions often give an opposing estimation of one and the same issue and draw diametrically opposed conclusions.

*The Communist parties have a right to discuss and to do away, as far as possible, with their differences. Indeed, it is their duty, which they can and must fulfil.*

Some comrades object to convening a new conference on the ground that it, in their opinion, will tend to lead to the establishment of a new leading center in the Communist movement. Certain parties are alleged to have such aspirations, and the example of the Comintern is mentioned as a warning.

We shall not deal in detail with the role and importance of the Comintern. The history of the Communist movement has long ago confirmed the Comintern's right to existence and its positive role

in the development of the parties, even those of them whose leaders so readily write today about its imaginary grave errors.

The Comintern ceased to exist in 1943, for the simple reason that it had fulfilled its historical mission. Among other things, it waged a struggle, on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, against influences alien to Marxism, fostered proletarian internationalism among the masses, and played the decisive role in the establishment and consolidation of parties of a new type, Communist parties. What logic is there in exposing the alleged attempts to establish a new Comintern when it was declared back in 1943 to have had completed its mission? It goes without saying that there are no Communist parties wishing to set up a new center, for there is no need for it.

It is even more ridiculous to contend that the decisions or statements to be adopted by the conference will be binding upon the Communist parties and by dint of this will play the role of a new leading center. It is common knowledge that any party will accept the decisions or other documents of such a conference as binding only if its leadership accepts them as such. Not a single Communist party could be forced in the past, or can be forced now, to abide by decisions of an international conference which are not approved by its leadership. If, however, parties undertake to do so of their own free will, why should their loyalty to jointly adopted decisions or statements be regarded as something lamentable? To follow this train of thought, the farther the parties are from the common denominator, the stronger the Communist movement is.

As we see, the arguments regarding a new leading center are feebly founded and hardly comprehensible. But things get clearer as we go deeper into the substantiation of these arguments. Special emphasis is laid on the independence and autonomy of the Communist parties, as if the international conference could infringe on these principles. It is perfectly obvious that the conference does not threaten the independence and autonomy of any party, for it will be up to that party to decide whether to participate in the conference and accept its statements as binding, or not. Consequently, this is not the point at issue; the leaders of certain parties are seeking to avoid a definite, open stand, to sidestep the inevitable debate. But that is not a proper road for Communist parties. *Communist parties are in their essence internationalist parties, and in the struggle against imperialism, in face of the pivotal issues of the current discussion in the Communist movement, they cannot shut themselves up in their national quarters and bide their time. National aloofness, national narrow-mindedness are in our time becoming an anachronism in general, and all the more does this apply to Communist parties.*

Pronouncements can also be heard to the effect that the striving

for a conference of the Communist and Workers' parties is indicative of a trend towards sectarian seclusion, that it isolates the Communist and Workers' parties from the other progressive forces, from the liberation movements and the democratic and socialist parties.

What the isolation or non-isolation of the Communist parties depends on is not whether or not the conference is held, but *whether or not correct tactics are worked out by them at the conference and correctly applied in practice.*

That much flows from the objections considered above: some comrades forget that the world Communist movement has already evolved good forms and methods of inter-party contacts. In our view, the experience of the Karlovy Vary conference of European Communist and Workers' parties (although it was only a continental conference) can be fruitfully used in preparing the world conference and will facilitate a flexible approach to convening a major conference.

The methods by which the Karlovy Vary conference was convened were correct and expedient. All European Communist and Workers' parties were invited to attend. Those who wished to take part in it, did so. The supporters of the conference did not shower those undecided with countless invitations to endure representation. The conference was attended by both plenipotentiary delegations and observer delegations. The Swedish Communist Party, for instance, was represented by an observer.

The official statement and documents of the Karlovy Vary conference contain no discussion of the internal affairs of individual parties or criticism of parties.

That conference drew the important conclusion that in the present situation the conference of the Communist and Workers' parties will be successful only if such well selected problems are discussed at it whose solution will help strengthen unity of action in the struggle against imperialism.

The parties represented at Karlovy Vary unanimously approved the documents of the conference, but that did not make the documents binding upon all parties. That happened only when the parties themselves, our Party included, basing themselves on the decision of their leading organs, expressed readiness to regard the signed documents as guiding in their political activity.

The experience of Karlovy Vary is also positive in that the parties that did not attend it (with the exception of the Chinese and Albanian leadership) did not come out against the conference, although they objected to its convocation. Moreover, the representatives of the parties that attended the conference (among them the representative of our Party) declared: the fact that some parties did not take part in the Karlovy Vary conference is no obstacle to bilateral contacts with them.

Such are the principles and methods which were worked out during the preparation, convocation and work of the Karlovy Vary conference. In our opinion, these principles and methods, somewhat developed further, can be used in organizing the international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties.

# PROVISIONAL PROGRAM OF THE JORDANIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

## AUGUST 1967

The main struggle in the Arab world continues to be, in its totality, that between the Arab national liberation movement, on the one hand, and colonialism, imperialism, their partner—Zionism—and reactionary agents, on the other. It is known that the Arab people and their liberation movement have played, and continue to play, an important and significant role in the struggle against imperialist domination in all its forms and manifestations. The Arab national liberation movement was able to achieve historic successes in different fields that have had, and still have, a significant impact by weakening the world imperialist front, on the one hand, and by strengthening and consolidating the anti-imperialist front, on the other hand. Several Arab countries blazed their way forward in endeavoring to liquidate the backwardness and poverty inherited from imperialist domination, in building a new independent and developed life for themselves, in regaining from the imperialists and their monopolies the riches these had been plundering, and in achieving economic growth and social progress. This increased the imperialist monopolies' anxiety over their interests in an area from which they reap billions of dollars in profits. They tightened their aggressive grip to preserve their waning positions and influence. They sought by every means to persecute the Arab national liberation movement and to stamp out the Arab peoples' aspiration for liberation, progress and unity.

It is important to state in this context that in trying to turn Jordan into a conspiratorial base against the Arab liberation and progressive movement, imperialism-Zionism and its followers in Jordan came up against the resistance and struggle of the Jordanian people and patriotic forces, as well as a resurgence of the Arab liberation movement, which has brought about a positive trend among some elements of the Jordanian ruling circles whose

interests are opposed to the interests and endeavors of imperialism-Zionism and its agents in Jordan and the Arab world.

The unholy alliance and ties between imperialist schemes and Zionist expansionist intentions have become more apparent than ever. It is well known that Israel, in connivance with imperialism and with its support, has seized by force of arms, since its establishment in 1948, more than 6,000 square kilometres of Arab territory, contrary to the partition resolution which did an injustice to the Arabs, uprooted approximately one million Palestinian Arabs from their homes, confiscated their property and practised the worst kind of persecution and racial discrimination against the Arab minority in Israel. It ignored all United Nations resolutions concerning the Palestine problem and persisted in aggressive actions against neighboring Arab countries. It played the role of cat's paw for imperialism and its conspiracies, as during the Suez aggression in 1956. Thus Israel, together with imperialism, resisted the Arab liberation and progressive movement and hatched conspiracies to undermine Arab solidarity.

But all these conspiracies and aggressions, which imperialism and Israel engineered and implemented jointly, could not block the Arab people's march forward. They redoubled the Arabs' hatred of imperialism and Zionism. The struggle grew and Arab solidarity against imperialism and Zionism was strengthened; Arab summit meetings were held in 1964 and after, and the situation progressed in many Arab countries. Strife among various sections of the Arab national liberation movement began to disappear and the call for unity of the national and progressive forces was strengthened, as were relations between the Arabs and their great friend, the Soviet Union, and the other socialist countries.

It is clear from the foregoing that imperialism sought to engineer a new conspiracy so as to implement its aims and to realize Israel's expansionist intentions. Thus the recent Israel-imperialist aggression took place.

## 1. Nature of the Aggression

At the beginning of last June, Jordan, the United Arab Republic and Syria were subjected to a swift and powerful military invasion implemented directly by Israel, which was supported, armed and pushed into the conflict by the imperialist states, especially the USA, West Germany and Britain, using as a smokescreen false Zionist and imperialist propaganda aimed at deceiving international public opinion and portraying the aggression as a defensive measure against Arab military preparations to slaughter and annihilate the Jews, and representing the Arabs as aggressive racists.

In fact, Israel is a capitalist state dominated and manipulated by a capitalist racist clique—Zionism—which has been linked since its inception to international capitalism. It is still linked to the most criminal, anti-popular, anti-liberation and anti-progressive circles of world imperialism. The fact that there are more than a billion U.S. dollars invested in Israel, in addition to other imperialist capital, is clear proof of the link-up of interests between Zionism and world imperialism. There is no need here to describe the support and help which imperialism has given to Israel in all fields, especially military, since its establishment and which have turned it into a military fortress.

As world Zionism, which dominates Israel, is part and parcel of world imperialism and is its partner, the role played by Israel as the direct executor of aggression proves that the aggression is a link in the chain of imperialist conspiracies and aggression against the Arab national liberation movement and the gains achieved by the Arab people since the Second World War. The aggression can be nothing but an implementation of the strategy of world imperialism in escalating its attack on the people's gains, increasing international tension, pursuing a brink-of-war policy and provoking local wars.

## 2. The Aims of the Aggression

The aims of the aggression can be summarized as follows:

1) dealing a blow to the Arab liberation and progressive movement, creating political, economic and social difficulties for the Arab countries, promoting a spirit of defeatism and surrender among the Arab people and weakening their struggle, as a prelude to regaining lost imperialist positions in the area and liquidating the gains of the people;

2) achieving a new expansion for Israel at the expense of Jordan by occupying the Western bank and by undermining the Jordanian State;

3) overthrowing the progressive regimes in Egypt and Syria;

4) enforcing a shameful solution to the Palestine problem that would serve imperialist interests and Israel's expansionist aims;

5) weakening Arab-Soviet friendship and isolating the Arab countries and people from their friends and allies in the world;

6) creating tensions in a new area that would serve the interests of the warmongers and the enemies of peace and provide a favorable atmosphere for increasing imperialist intervention in its affairs.

It is necessary, in this connection, to answer some allegations by the agents of imperialism and Israel and some ultra-reaction-

aries in Jordan and the Arab world, who are in agreement with Israel's maneuvers in saying that Jordan's signing the Joint Defense Pact with the United Arab Republic was the reason for Israel's aggression against it. The plan of the aggression and occupation of the Western bank was premeditated and studied a long time ago. Moshe Dayan, in answer to questions put to him by the French paper *Le Monde* in June 1966, stated: "Our counter-plan in case of an Egyptian attack against us was to paralyze the enemy's forces in Sinai and to attack the Western bank and occupy it regardless of whether Jordan attacked us or not."

### 3. The Circumstances of the Aggression, and the Causes of the Set-Back

1) It should not escape our attention that the aggression took place in an international situation in which the imperialist forces and the enemies of the people were increasing their activity aimed at aggravating international tension, creating more hot-beds of conflicts, aggressions, war and conspiracies against the people, and engineering coups d'etat against independent states. The world as a whole is witnessing a chain of fierce imperialist attacks in many parts of the globe—Vietnam, the Arab South, Ghana, the Dominican Republic, Indonesia, Greece, Nigeria, and the Arab countries recently attacked by the Zionist imperialists.

2) We cannot ignore the fact that the positions of Mao Tse-tung's clique, masked by the so-called cultural revolution, and the actions of its "Red" guards against the Chinese people, the Communist Party of China, the unity of the socialist commonwealth and the international Communist movement, which are the supporters of the national liberation movements, as well as the clique's anti-Sovietism, its hostile attitude towards the socialist states and the international Communist movement, its attempts to isolate the national liberation movement from the latter's international supporters, and its connivance with imperialism in attacking the policy of peaceful coexistence and encouraging adventurism have all served the imperialists in their fierce attack on the peoples and benefited Zionism and imperialism in their recent aggression against the Arab countries.

3) In the course of last year the threats of the Israeli rulers to occupy the Western bank and undermine the Jordanian entity increased, as was the case in November 1966, during the aggression on Samou, and the threats to attack Syria and occupy Damascus, as was proclaimed in many statements made by Israeli officials in June 1966. Israel made use of some impotent individual armed incursions, exaggerating them and even fabricating some

of them, to justify its threats of aggression and to create an appropriate atmosphere for its recent aggression.

4) For many years, imperialism and its agents sought by every means and every method to set the Arab countries against one another and to undermine their solidarity by creating and sharpening differences among them to the point of armed clashes, and encouraging conspiracies, sabotage, press and radio campaigns. Imperialists, Zionists and ultra-reactionaries became especially active after Arab summit meetings, in an effort to undermine Arab relations. They sowed the seeds of doubt and suspicion, and sought to create and encourage the policies of blocs, to complicate the situation in Yemen, to encourage and create side issues which preoccupied the Arabs and sapped their energies.

It must be admitted that the efforts of the imperialists, Zionists and ultra-reactionaries prevented the Arab summits from being what the Arab masses had wanted them to be—the beginning of a new era in Arab relations dominated by a minimum of solidarity necessary to defend common interests and to block any loopholes through which imperialism could interfere in the affairs of the area. It is regrettable that this was made easier by an incorrect assessment made by some sections of the Arab liberation movement regarding the objective conditions of each Arab country, and by attempts to enforce their will and intervention in the internal affairs of other Arab countries.

The success of imperialist, Zionist and ultra-reactionary endeavors has created many common problems for the Arab countries, with a negative effect on the possibility of dealing with common and decisive national problems which confront the Arab world as a whole, despite the differences in the conditions of each country. The late hour at which this regrettable fact was altered, through and signing of common defense pacts among some Arab countries, has not put an end to disunity in a clear-cut way, nor has it had a chance to bear fruit.

5) The Arab masses and their patriotic and democratic forces in the majority of the Arab countries have been deprived, in varying degrees and under different pretexts, of their democratic rights and basic freedoms, such as freedom of opinion and the press, and freedom of political and trade union organizations. They have been deprived of the possibility of participating in the struggle against Zionism and imperialism and their conspiracies, as well as against plunder by foreign monopolies. In some other Arab countries they were deprived of the possibility of taking an active initiative and of effectively participating in the process of construction, in political and economic progress, as well as of bearing their full responsibility in facing the problems of life and the nation's fate.

The phenomena of persecution, jail and repression for differences in opinion spread in the Arab countries. This led to the paralyzing of the capabilities and initiatives of the masses and to weakening of the Arab potential in face of the recent conquest, as well as to defaming Arab countries in the eyes of international public opinion.

In Jordan, successive cabinets for a long time pursued an anti-democratic trend, utilizing on a large scale laws which stifle public freedom and in accordance with which many were jailed. The regime was dominated most of the time by a trend that was pro-Western, against both the liberated Arab countries and the socialist countries, which deprived Jordan of the possibility of making use of unconditional economic and military aid. It also provided the opportunity for more agents, opportunists and those who make capital out of Arab differences to occupy sensitive positions in the state apparatus at the expense of elements faithful to the country. It is clear that all this produced negative results on the internal front, weakened it and the defense potential of the country, and diminished the possibility of mobilizing the masses to repel the aggression.

6) We cannot ignore the fact that the adventuristic and extremist trends which the supporters and followers of Mao Tse-tung in the Arab world have nurtured and furthered—a fact playing into the hands of the agents of imperialism and Zionism and handicapping the Arab liberation movement—have been of great benefit to the imperialist interests and Israel's intentions and have made the grip of the Zionists and ultras in Israel firmer on the regime there, as they exploited these trends in their propaganda to justify their aggression, deceive large sections of international public opinion as to the legitimate rights of the Arabs in Palestine, and to distort the true colors of the Arab national liberation movement. The slogan of "throwing the Jews into the sea" has led to sympathies with Israel. Owing to other adventuristic slogans and actions and unrealistic, extremist positions, many states which support national liberation causes failed to appreciate the position and rights of the Arabs and sided therefore with Israel.

7) The Arab states constantly find in the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries faithful supporters who extend a hand of aid and support in the political, economic, cultural and armament fields, withholding no form of assistance or aid. The Soviet Union and the socialist countries strengthened the military ability of some Arab states by supplying them with effective modern weapons and enabling them to defend themselves and to repel the aggressors. If the Arabs failed in repelling the latest aggression, the reason lies in the shortcomings, mistakes and serious internal loopholes which were revealed by events and which prevented them

from correctly and fully using the weapons and their military possibilities.

These are the most important conditions in which the aggression took place, as well as the negative phenomena exploited by the aggressors in timing their aggression. They were also the main reason for the weakening of Arab ability to face the aggression and to repel it.

## 4. Effects of the Aggression

As to the results of the Israeli imperialists' treacherous aggression, they are as follows:

1) Occupation of the Western bank of Jordan, the Gaza strip, the Sinai peninsula, the Syrian Hills, stoppage of navigation in the Suez Canal and the uprooting of more than one-third of a million of the inhabitants of these areas.

2) Violation of the territorial and national sovereignty of free Arab states, and hence violation of the integrity of the Arab countries and people.

3) Annexation of Arab Jerusalem by Israel despite United Nations resolutions negating the measure, and attempts by the occupying authorities to establish an artificial Palestinian "entity" under the control of Israel in the Gaza strip and on the Western bank. The practice by Israel of racial terror against the inhabitants of the occupied territories, who are uprooted from their homes and forced to accept Israeli projects.

4) Attempts to undermine national culture in the occupied territory and to impose a Zionist racialist culture, violation of holy places, and insulting the religious feelings of Moslems and Christians.

5) Inflicting heavy losses on the Arab armies of the United Arab Republic, Jordan and Syria, which obliged these countries to increase their expenses in order to rebuild and reorganize their armed forces, as well as the creation of political, economic and social difficulties for some Arab countries, a fact which will continue to affect the process of economic construction for a long time to come and will obstruct efforts to stamp out backwardness.

6) It was natural that imperialism, Zionism and the ultra-reactionary traitors should exploit these difficulties to weaken the confidence of the Arab peoples in themselves, disseminate defeatism, spread lies and suspicion against the Soviet Union and its friendship, and aid the dissemination of defeatist ideas to the effect that it would be better to tie ourselves to the imperialist powers and gain their blessing. Such people "advise" us to strengthen the ties of Jordan with the imperialist powers, alleging that

such an act would preserve the Jordanian entity and facilitate the regaining of the Western bank. The supporters of this group on the occupied Western bank at the moment are among the most ardent propagators of continued Zionist occupation and of the so-called Palestinian entity being peddled by the occupation authorities.

To give a fuller picture of the results of the aggression, it is necessary to state that the aggression, contrary to the desires of its organizers, could not achieve all its objectives. It failed to change the progressive regimes in Egypt and Syria or to liquidate the Jordanian entity due to the stand of these countries and the firmness of their peoples, and due to the support and solidarity of the Soviet Union, the socialist countries, the international Communist movement and progressive international public opinion, which played a big role in stopping the Israeli aggression and unmasking the aggressiveness of the Israeli ruling circles and their subservience to imperialism. Contrary to the objectives of the aggressors, the aggression and the occupation increased the feeling of hatred towards the occupiers and the American, British and West German imperialists and their interests, privileges and bases in the area, and confirmed the necessity for promoting Arab solidarity, so that the Arabs may take common measures to eliminate the vestiges of the aggression. The aggression posed the necessity to study the lessons and conclusions vis-a-vis the internal shortcomings and difficulties in all fields in the Arab world, especially with a view to strengthening the internal fronts with the support of the masses, which must be trusted and enabled to exercise their freedom effectively and positively. The faithful patriots, together with all progressives in the Arab world, are more certain than ever of the need to preserve the ties of Arab-Soviet friendship and to consolidate them, as well as to combat all efforts to undermine, weaken or create suspicion of them.

In the struggle against the occupiers and their schemes on the Western bank, national unity is being consolidated and is becoming all-inclusive, comprising all groups, organizations and individuals hostile to the occupation irrespective of their beliefs and trends. Our heroic people on the Western bank—men, women, old men and children—united by the bonds of love of country and of freedom and by resistance to the aggressors, are setting a vivid example of the determination of the people to uphold their dignity and honor and saying as one man: "No occupation nor separation from our brothers on the Eastern bank."

We should not overlook the fact that resistance in the occupied Arab areas and the struggle against the occupation will be the central base of the struggle of the Arab people, which is dependent on

the socialist countries and international public opinion, to force out the occupiers and to eliminate the vestiges of the aggression.

### 5. The Present Situation in Jordan and the Tasks Facing Us

The losses and difficulties of Jordan resulting from the aggression are very great. The occupation of the Western bank has deprived the treasury of 40 per cent of the internal revenue at a time when the state is continuing to meet its commitments to its employees on the two banks. The continuation of the occupation of the Western bank means depriving Jordan of 32 per cent of its cultivated lands, 80 per cent of the total cultivated fruit area, 45 per cent of the cultivated vegetable area, 25 per cent of grain land and 85 per cent of its oil and olive production. The Western bank contributes nearly 85 per cent of the tourist revenue and 80 per cent of the income from Jordanians working abroad, who have been cut off from their families on the Western bank. In general, the Western bank contributes from 35 per cent to 40 per cent of the total national product of Jordan.

In addition to the economic paralysis, high prices and unemployment caused by the stoppage of construction projects on the Western bank, the Eastern bank is suffering from economic stagnation and unemployment due to the severance of economic and commercial ties between enterprises and establishments on the two banks. The economic situation is further complicated by the new refugees and the problems which they create.

Inasmuch as the aggression has not yet ended—it will continue until the aggressors withdraw from the occupied Arab territories—there also exists the possibility that the aggressors will continue their aggression and conspiracies in the Arab area to achieve what they have failed to do so far, by making use of the shortcomings and difficulties and all other negative aspects revealed by the aggression.

In Jordan there are many shortcomings and difficulties which tempted the imperialists and the Zionists to continue their aggression to liquidate the Jordanian entity and the Palestinian problem in their own interests. There still are in Jordan many positions and strong influences for imperialism and its agents in the political, economic, military and cultural fields. There are still many methods, regulations and laws directed against the people and their freedoms, including the anti-Communist law, all of which stifle the people and harm the international reputation of Jordan. In addition to this, the ultra-reactionary circles continue their feverish activity against democracy and Arab solidarity to obstruct Jordan's relations with the socialist countries, disseminate defeat-

ism and confusion, and portray the imperialists as the saviors of Jordan—with the aim of strengthening the ties of the country with the imperialist conspirators, bolstering the anti-popular policy, stepping up the persecution of the national movement, and fomenting provincialism, tribalism and religious fanaticism. The information apparatus and its cadres are not shouldering their urgent tasks necessitated by the critical situation facing the country and bribery, favoritism and corruption continue to be widespread in the state apparatus.

Our masses are perfectly correct when they note that the proper lessons and conclusions have not been drawn from the aggression. The cabinet reshuffles and changes have not been up to the required level. The formation of the Advisory Council, with all its contradictions, does not answer the demands of the masses and the patriotic forces, which realize the need for the representation of the loyal forces and elements that enjoy the confidence of the people on the two banks and can guarantee their freedom and consolidate national unity in the struggle to remove the vestiges of the aggression.

To overlook all these shortcomings and difficulties is a very serious matter which can have dangerous consequences and can serve, intentionally or unintentionally, the aims and schemes of imperialism, Israel and all those who try to fish in troubled waters. Undoubtedly, overcoming all these difficulties and shortcomings, in response to the demands of our people on the two banks, is more urgent and necessary than ever before because it will block the way of the divisionist elements who are rearing their ugly heads now, declaring their non-commitment to the unity of the two banks and taking the ills of the past and the shortcomings of the present as a pretext to justify their subversive call for separation.

Nor should we forget that imperialism, Zionism and their agents are benefiting from the crude calls raised by some narrow-minded fanatical elements to launch adventurist acts and advance unrealistic, extremist slogans that could put the people and the country in a dangerously awkward position. These elements consider immediate armed struggle as the sole road to liquidating the vestiges of the aggression, thus ignoring the Arab and international situation, the effects and results of the setback, and the possibility of the Arabs and their friends winning over international public opinion, working effectively in international organizations for the liquidation of the results of the aggression, and forcing the aggressors to withdraw from the occupied Arab territories by diplomatic means.

## 6. The Main Tasks in the Present Stage

In this dangerous situation, in which the very existence and future of the Jordanian entity are in jeopardy and in which the other Arab countries are threatened, the principal task is to work and struggle to liquidate the vestiges of the aggression. This requires uniting all the efforts and potentials which are hostile to the occupation, to aggression and imperialism, on the internal level and on both the Arab and international levels.

What is required for the present stage on the internal level is the unity of all the patriotic forces of the two banks in a single broad front based on a single national charter, a front comprising all the groups, organizations, sections, trade unions or individuals, regardless of their past, or of whether they are in power or outside, as long as they are loyal, honest and really desirous of resisting the occupation, imperialism and their schemes.

On the Arab level, what is required is to strengthen and promote solidarity on all popular and official levels. This requires granting freedom to all patriotic and progressive forces, allowing the masses to participate in building their present and future, and forgetting the differences between the various components of the Arab national liberation movement. It also requires the unity and coordination of the efforts and possibilities of all Arab states to liquidate the results of the aggression.

On the international level, it is necessary to work for the strengthening and consolidation of ties of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, combating all allegations and all attempts to sow suspicion against the socialist world wherever they may come from, in addition to improving our relations with the non-aligned states. It also requires tireless work to win over international public opinion by refraining from extremist and harmful propaganda which makes the Arabs appear as aggressors and racists and deprives them of the support of important sections of international public opinion.

Our Jordanian people, like the fraternal Arab peoples and the freedom loving peoples of the world, desire to live in peace and security without threatening anybody or being threatened by anybody, without attacking or being attacked, but refusing to surrender and to reward the aggressors for their aggression. They regard their struggle to liquidate the results of the aggression, and the withdrawal of the aggressive Israeli troops to the positions they held before June 5, as a necessary and decisive precondition for achieving peace and security based on justice in the area, for preserving the Arabs' legitimate rights in Palestine, the right of the refugees to return to their homes on the basis of the United Nations resolutions, and for preserving the Jordanian entity and the unity of the

two banks. There can be no true peace as long as the legitimate rights of the Arabs in Palestine are violated.

We should not ignore the fact that the realization of this is not an easy and simple task. It is not enough that the Arabs should demand their rights for the rights to be achieved by themselves. This requires struggle and work on all levels and by every means, in order to mobilize vast international forces in addition to the forces of the socialist camp, the international Communist movement and the international liberation movement, so as to unmask and isolate imperialism and the expansionist designs of Israel before the world at large, and to oblige Israel to withdraw from the Arab territories it now occupies.

The Zionists and the imperialists were able to skilfully exploit extremist threats and the lack of clarity about the Arab position on the Palestine problem in order to mislead international public opinion as to the Arab rights in Palestine, which have been violated by Israel since its establishment, and to portray Israel as the one who was attacked and the Arabs as the aggressors, which is contrary to reality.

Clarifying the positions of the Arabs with regard to the Palestine problem, and calling for a peaceful, just solution of this problem, would result in depriving the imperialists and the Zionists of an important weapon which they use to mislead international public opinion, that is, playing an increasingly significant role in solving problems and international conflicts. In addition to this, the Arabs should prepare militarily to face any contingency, because a peaceful, just solution of the Arab-Israeli conflict does not depend only on the agreement of the Arabs and their friends, but also on the agreement of the other party.

## 7. Work Program for the Present Stage

In the light of all that has been said, we draw up the following program for our work in this extraordinary period, declaring our adherence to it and our readiness to unite our efforts with those of every organization, group or patriotic personality, expressing our confidence that national unity can be achieved and consolidated through practice and common struggle to attain all or some or any one of the following objectives:

1) The preservation of Jordan with two banks as a regional and political entity and the struggle against all imperialist, Zionist and reactionary schemes and conspiracies aimed at liquidating this entity.

2) The Western bank is an indivisible part of the Jordanian state, and we should struggle by all possible means to liberate it, regain it and evacuate the Israeli occupation forces from it, returning the

new refugees to their homes and compensating them. We insist on the Arab character of Jerusalem and are opposed to both its annexation by Israel and its internationalization.

3) Guaranteeing democratic freedom and annulling, without exception, all laws stifling it, deepening the political consciousness of the masses, enabling them to offer their initiatives and participate in the building of Jordan politically and economically, and mobilizing them to defend it, to liquidate the results of the aggression and to defend the nation's independent development.

4) To rebuild and reorganize the Arab Jordanian Army on the basis of compulsory military service, to arm it with modern, effective weapons from the Soviet Union, and prepare it in a manner guaranteeing the defense of the country and the interests of the Arab nation.

5) Remedying the economic, financial and social difficulties brought about by the aggression, working to put an end for ever to imperialist aid and loans on the imperialists' own terms, and relying in the main on assistance and loans from fraternal and friendly countries.

6) Combating provincialism, tribalism, religious fanaticism, bribery, corruption and favoritism, and purging the state apparatus of corrupt elements, agents and spies of imperialism and Zionism.

7) To continue the policy of furthering Arab solidarity, especially with the United Arab Republic, Syria and Iraq, and all the fraternal Arab peoples and states, and to support the Arab struggle against imperialism and the struggle of all the peoples for their independence and freedom and for world peace.

8) To consolidate and develop the relations of friendship and coopemation with the Soviet Union and all the socialist states in all spheres, and to exert constant efforts to improve and consolidate relations with the non-aligned states.

9) To pursue an independent foreign policy free from imperialist pressure and interference, and to present our problems to international public opinion in a manner ensuring its comprehension of our point of view, its support for our lawful rights, and its siding with us in international organizations.

10) The formation of a government of national unity capable of implementing this program at the present stage, a government enjoying the confidence of the people and capable of rallying around it the people on the Western bank and inspiring them to resist and to defend the unity of the two banks, as well as able to pursue a policy of information that will take into consideration all that has been mentioned above.

Eliminating the vestiges of the aggression, drawing the proper conclusions and lessons from what has happened, and implementing this provisional program will pave the way for Jordan's march along

the road to independent progress hostile to all manifestations of old and new imperialism, for the liquidation of the imperialist heritage of backwardness, poverty and weakness, and for progress, social justice and Arab unity.

# REMAKING THE ECONOMIC MECHANISM*

JENO FOCK, MEMBER OF THE PB CC, HSWP

A great deal has been done to prepare for the introduction of the new economic mechanism according to the decisions of the December 1964 meeting of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. When, in June 1967, the Central Committee examined the measures taken, it put on record that the preparations for the reform were making normal progress and were in keeping with the decisions and guidelines adopted by the Party.

The Party and trade union bodies, the various mass organizations and the press have made an appreciable contribution by explaining the principles and primary objectives of the new mechanism, its preparatory stages and the tasks arising from them. As a result, the idea of the reform has been spreading to increasing segments of the population and is now accepted, not only by economists and executives, but by a large body of public opinion. We owe this consensus to sustained explanatory work, creative discussions and sharp confrontations of different opinions.

I would like to call attention to some important principles and interconnections. Experience shows that despite persuasion, information and propaganda, those who accept the reform and are making a growing effort to introduce the new mechanism have yet to shed outdated notions about working methods. They occasionally try to bring in the new by old methods, and while grappling with particular tasks they lose sight of general ones. The difficulties of introducing the new mechanism, the peculiarities of the measures being taken in the transitional period, and the absence of immediate results are likely to breed scepticism and to dampen confidence.

The new economic mechanism includes planned centralized management of the national economy, with the market playing an active role, which is achieved primarily by means of economic levers. National and international experience in socialist economic development confirms the possibility of different forms and methods of planned management. The efficacy of this or that form

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or method depends on the level reached by the productive forces and relations of production, on the historical situation and its peculiarities.

Between the first three-year plan and the present five-year plan, the forms and methods of planned management in Hungary have changed considerably. Up to 1957, strongly centralized methods of management amounting to administrative fiat prevailed in the economy. Planned management, based on administrative decision-making and obligatory plan indices assured the restoration of the economy and subsequently its extensive reorganization and rapid development. It is well known, however, that subjective mistakes in political and economic leadership eventually led to unwarranted and largely harmful emphasis on centralization. The result was a growing number of indices and directives, with the autonomy of the enterprises and local government bodies restricted to such an extent that at one time their only function was to carry out detailed assignments handed down from above. This hamstrung economic life and gave rise to serious problems, tensions and errors.

In 1957, with the counter-revolution defeated, the Party came to the conclusion that the changes which had occurred in the productive forces and relations of production made it possible and necessary to use more flexible forms of management. We recognized the need to retain centralization in only the most important fields and in determining the fundamental proportions, and extended the autonomy of the lesser bodies.

In 1966 the socialist sector provided 98% of the national income, and socialist industry accounted for 98.6%of industrial output. In agriculture, 98% of the cultivated area is owned by state farms and production cooperatives. The productive forces have grown noticeably in this period. Concentration of production has increased in both industry and agriculture. In 1966 as many as 70% of the industrial workers held jobs in enterprises employing over 500 workers. Before the socialist reorganization of our agriculture there were upwards of one million small holdings, but in 1966 we already had 3,739 large agricultural enterprises. By January 1, 1966, the fixed assets in industry—machinery, equipment, buildings, and so on—registered a 120% increase in terms of value over 1950. Our economy has made exceptional technical progress during the past decades. One indication of this is that output of power plant in 1966 was 65% greater than in 1957 and output of electric motors exceeded the 1957 figure by 110%. Between 1955 and 1966, the efficiency of the machinery used in the building industry more than doubled, so that in 1966 machines did 75% of all the earth-moving. The high technical standard of the economy is also evident from the fact that from 1950 to 1966 consumption of electric power per industrial employee went up by more than 250%.

Due to the mechanization of agriculture, the number of tractors increased from 13,400 in 1950 to 67,500 in 1966, or more than five-fold. While in 1952 machines provided a mere 15.3% of the draught power in agriculture, in 1966 their share was as big as 78%. And here are some data attesting to agronomical progress: the irrigated land area was 57,000 holds* in 1950 and 697,000 holds in 1966; soil reclamation covered an area of roughly 7,000 and 169,000 holds, respectively.

Industrial output grew at a fast rate. In carrying on socialist construction, we have completed numerous projects — at Dunaujvaros, Tiszaszodorkeny, Szashalombatta and elsewhere — that speak of the level of our productive forces, of the increasing use of modern technical facilities, of all-round mechanization and automation.

The most important changes that have taken place during the past decades bear on people. Most typical in this respect is the improved standard of education. Elementary, secondary and higher schools were attended by 1,100,000 people in 1937-38 and by 1,900,000 in 1965-66. The improved cultural and living standards of our people can be seen from the fact that in 1966 the number of those who finished eight-year school, received school-leaving certificates and graduated from higher educational institutions was 2.2, 4.3 and 8.1 times greater, respectively, than in 1949. Occupational training likewise shows substantial improvements: in 1966 the state-owned industries employed 3.4 times as many skilled workers as in 1946, and 42% of the engineering workers were skilled labor; in 1963 there were 17 engineers and 38 technicians to every thousand workers, and between 1957 and 1963 their number in state industry almost doubled. An indication of the increased role of higher education is that in 1965-66 the technological, agricultural and economic departments of higher educational institutions were attended by 50,000 students, or twenty times as many as in 1937-38, when their student body was a scant 2,500. Another result of socio-economic achievement that indicates the realistic and scientific nature of the policy of our Party is the progress made in various sciences and in putting them on a more practical footing.

The modification and development of the productive forces and relations of production is an objective, law-governed social process. The task and duty of the Party is to reveal and analyze the nature and trends of objective processes and to devise methods helping to support all that is new and developing. And this is precisely what our Party has been doing.

With the new economic mechanism we are introducing a new system of planned management that will enable us to achieve the

*One hold equals 0.57 hectares.—Ed.

principal objectives of our economic policy and to advance the national economy more steadily and effectively. To meet the demands put to planning, we want to establish a single system of plans varying in term and to make planning a well-balanced and coordinated process.

The purpose of the long-term (fifteen-year) plan is to ascertain through scientific analysis the main trends of social and technological development and to set the fundamental tasks in improving the standard of living. The plan fixes the general rate of economic development and the most important proportions, draws the main conclusions from the further evolution of relations of production, determines the lines of development of economic relations with other countries, and specifies the tasks in the social sphere and in culture, education, housing and the services. It sets the main targets of the territorial development of the productive forces.

Medium-term (five-year) plans are based on the long-term plan, which they specify. The five-year plan lays down the key goals and the rates of growth, the conditions and requirements of economic balance, and determines the more important national economic proportions and necessary changes in the branch structure. It contains the basic principles of foreign trade and price policy. It deals with the means of attaining the goals it sets, provides for investments, and states the principles of regulating economic activity. Among these are the principles of financing and credit policy, regulations concerning the interconnection of budget and plan, control of incomes, including the distribution of receipts in the enterprises, and the principles and main lines of fund formation in the enterprises.

Short-term (annual) planning is based on analysis of the way the economic and political goals set by the five-year plan are being fulfilled. It reflects the characteristics of the economic policy in the period concerned, the conditions and requirments of economic balance, and sets tasks aimed at meeting definite requirements.

The central bodies will set in annual plans the task of ensuring only some important proportions, and government control will concentrate on precisely this task. The state will use various economic levers, including prices, deductions from incomes, and incentives, to ensure that annual plan targets are reached. The state budget will have a considerable effect on plan fulfilment. The credit policy will be geared to specific tasks and conditions. We are also in a position to regulate the amount of credit and the emission of money. In accordance with the principles of the price policy, we can take decisions regulating price formation. Every year we can take concrete steps toward regulating the labor force, adjusting wages and building up the standard of living. We can regulate

home trade and can influence foreign trade through the system of licences.

The main task in carrying out the annual plan is to coordinate the interests of the entire economy with those of the various enterprises. We accomplish it by means of diverse levers and incentives, and by legal and economic regulation measures. In fairly many cases a departure from the annual plan drawn up centrally does not amount to an adverse trend to be immediately remedied. Indeed, we expect industrial, wholesale and foreign trade enterprises, which have a better knowledge of changes in demand, to take steps which could not be envisaged in drawing up the plan and which should be accepted if well-grounded.

The new system of planning assumes that the enterprises will study the market and take into account the stimuli provided by the state as they draw up their plans, and that they will take on this basis the risk of adopting this or that decision when the plan gives no guidelines. If a decision taken by an enterprise is correct in the sense that it meets the interests and requirements of the national economy and yields a saving, the enterprise will find itself at an economic advantage. If not, the enterprise will be worse off as a result of poor management or the adoption of an unsound decision.

Thus the priority of national economic interests will be guaranteed through economic levers—directives on financing, wages, state investments and foreign trade, or, by means of economic incentives and restrictions. Regulation through appropriate laws and decrees will serve the same purpose.

It may be argued that such a system will not yet give the enterprises complete autonomy since their work will continue to be directed and in some cases restricted. Our answer is that there can be no absolute economic freedom and that anyone who interprets autonomy of the enterprise in this way, without stopping to think where it would get the enterprise, is in effect advocating anarchy. Real freedom means knowing, and utilizing, law-governed processes. We stress that one of the fundamental principles of the new system of economic management is to take decisions on economic matters where the relevant factors can be ascertained and taken into account best of all, that is, at the factory. As for matters of decisive importance for the socialist development of our society, the central bodies will continue to decide on them.

The new mechanism is to become effective on January 1, 1968. This means that the reform will begin during the current five-year plan period. It is fair to ask whether it will not create economic difficulties.

Taken as a whole, the conditions for the introduction of the reform may be described as favorable, and we are prepared to deal

with the difficulties that are likely to arise. Nevertheless, we must say in so many words that we cannot expect a completely smooth transition.

While drawing up the present five-year plan, we used the most important principles of the new economic mechanism. Our economic decisions reflect our preparations for the introduction of the new mechanism, are imbued with the spirit of the new mechanism. This expresses itself, among other things, in the fact that we have extended the autonomy of lesser agencies. The main aspect of the change is that we have succeeded in reducing the number of planned indices binding on the ministries and other medium-level agencies, abolished the directive character of certain cost indicators, cut the number of production items planned centrally, and simplified centralized management. While the economic plan for 1966 showed 1,478 indices approved centrally, this year's plan contains only 625. In industry the number of items planned centrally has dropped from 363 to 160. The purchase plan for farm produce contains 21 items against the former 66.

Economic activity is continuous and no calendar dates, not even so important a date as January 1, 1968, can affect its continuity. Economic success next year will depend on continuous production in every industry and every enterprise.

Why does this circumstance today give much greater cause for concern than ever before? Because now and in later months the enterprises must apply, without knowing the new conditions properly as yet, for both home-made and imported capital equipment for the year ahead and must sign contracts guaranteeing stable trade, both home and foreign.

We note with satisfaction that even so the enterprises are willing to sign delivery and other contracts laying the foundation for normal operation next year. Many enterprises conclude advance contracts, meaning to fix the final terms of payment when the prices are known exactly. According to preliminary data, the engineering plants under the ministries of ferrous metallurgy and machine-building signed till late August 1967 contracts for 54% to 55% of the total number of orders envisaged in the draft plan for 1968.

It must be noted, however, that some enterprises show excessive caution and lack the flexibility and the readiness to take realistic risks which are so characteristic of the new economic mechanism. But in spite of negative facts, the signing of contracts for export and import items for next year is on the whole making normal headway and speaks of the increased initiative and independence of the enterprises. As of late September, the number of contracts for exports to the socialist and the capitalist countries was 76%

and 12% greater, respectively, than last year; the respective percentages for imports were 53 and 72.

Under the new system of management, an increasing proportion of capital investments will be under the jurisdiction of the enterprises and local government bodies and other agencies. This is reflected, among other things, in the new grouping of investments. We will continue to decide centrally on major investments, since they have a strong impact on the rate and trends of economic development, modify the structure of the economy, production conditions and market relations. It generally takes several years to prepare for large investments—choosing the best variant, selecting the building site, exploring the market, and so on—and realize them, and in some cases it goes beyond the time limits of medium-term plans. At the beginning of the third five-year plan, 10% of the amount to be invested under the plan was earmarked for big projects of this kind.

Under the third five-year plan we will spend 53,000m. forints on large building projects. Out of this amount, 27,000m. has been allocated for projects launched earlier and roughly 16,000m., for projects begun in the last two years. It follows that we we will still have almost 10,000m. forints left and that in deciding on big construction projects between 1968 and 1970 we can proceed from this amount. The chief criterion will be the economic importance of the project and not its cost. It could be a question of a new industrial complex, a plant, a large factory department, or an extension or reconstruction resulting in a 25% to 30% increase in output in the industry or in the principal items produced by it.

As we study and discuss the new economic mechanism, we ask ourselves again and again what will become of the enterprises which for both subjective and objective reasons are operating at a loss or can achieve only a minor increase in profits. According to the relevant decision of the government, we should distinguish between enterprises which have operated at a loss from the first and those that have lagged behind and become unprofitable later on. Analysis shows that there are few enterprises of the former kind in either large-scale industry or in the industries under local control. They will be granted subsidies specified beforehand.

The state cannot vouch that unprofitable enterprises will be able to go on functioning. We therefore say that some of them will be closed if necessary. Of course, this could happen only after a thorough analysis, and not until we had ascertained whether the home market offered a demand for the output of that particular enterprise, whether its output could be sold or exported and if so, at what price. In many cases this solution will be the most helpful as far as the entire economy is concerned, even though we may have to deal with the problem—possibly the big problem—of pro-

viding jobs for the released employees of the enterprise, and even though there may turn out to be no other work for them in the same locality. It goes without saying that in such a contingency we would use every opportunity in the spirit of socialist humanism to help them. In fact, it is socialist humanism, properly understood, that impels us to concentrate on common interests and see to it that the interests of this or that collective body do not clash with those of society as a whole.

The coming introduction of the new mechanism invites yet another question: will it not have an adverse effect on industrialization of the provinces, which is one of the key objectives of the economic policy of our Party? We have already achieved notable progress in this field, with the result that the share of Budapest in the total number of employed dropped from 45% in 1957 to 41% in 1965. The directives for the third five-year plan provide for a further decrease in its share—to 39%. We will attain this goal under the new mechanism as well and, indeed, have already taken steps enabling us to attain it. We have decided, for instance, that the industrially backward regions of the country will enjoy priority in the allocation of state investments. The State Bank is obliged to offer easier credit terms to industrial projects launched in the provinces. In deciding on the closing of unprofitable enterprises, we will achieve our objective also by applying different criteria of unprofitableness to the enterprises in Budapest and to those situated elsewhere.

At present only a small proportion of foreign tarde is handled by other than specialized foreign trade agencies. Organizational unity of production and foreign-trade activity, even where it is basically called for, cannot be brought about until later. Large-scale reorganization of foreign trade is being held up also because when the new mechanism is being introduced we will need stable organizations very familiar with and capable of solving problems. Foreign trade is a complex sphere of activity requiring extensive general economic and commercial knowledge, a knowledge of the market and of languages. Few people in our industrial enterprises today meet these requirements. We have therefore decided first to provide proper conditions and then to extend the export and import powers of the enterprises.

The delay in settling organizational matters by no means implies that we are overlooking the importance of foreign trade. On the contrary, it is an important principle of the new mechanism that the foreign market should have a direct stimulating effect on our economic activity.

In international economic relations, we consider it necessary to retain centralized state leadership, that is, state monopoly of foreign trade. We will certainly ensure the execution of inter-state agree-

ments. We hope the socialist countries will continue to account for as much as two-thirds of our foreign trade. We wish to promote close relations with the CMEA countries, for we are certain that increasing cooperation is a solid basis for our economic development. We are doing our best to expand this cooperation, for which the new economic mechanism will afford greater opportunities than we have had so far.

We are striving to increase our share in the international division of labor and in other fields. In recent years we have taken initial steps toward making better use of the possibilities of industrial, scientific and technological cooperation, joint operations in the markets of third countries, and purchase of licences. This activity has proved beneficial. To cite an example, the Eger instrument-making plant has signed a contract with Mestap, a Swedish firm, through the Technoimpex foreign trade organization, for joint production of pneumatic equipment.

Our policy is aimed at fostering economic cooperation and trade also with the countries following the non-capitalist path. This enables us to extend greater assistance to the countries that have freed themselves from colonial dependence and are embarked on independent developmnt.

The structure of the leading bodies and their sphere of activity will be brought into line with the new system of management. This year we will complete the reorganization largely carried out earlier. We have reorganized the economic ministries, reduced their staffs by 30%to 40% and transferred a substantial part of their functions to the enterprises. We have abolished medium-level leading bodies. The remaining trusts will concern themselves with organizing cooperation between enterprises with interconnected production operations. We are setting up amalgamations as a new organizational form. Their task will be to help the enterprises achieve their common objectives, and to coordinate their economic activity on a contractual basis.

To carry democracy further and increase the autonomy of local councils, we have ended double subordination of the economic agencies of these bodies. The ministries will henceforward provide guidance primarly through legal control, and the economic agencies of the local councils will be subordinated to only the latter's executive committees.

The Central Committee decision on the reform of the economic mechanism stresses that the main task of the Party members and organizations is to ensure the priority of public interests — the interests of the whole people — over local, group or personal interests. They must see to it that public requirements are met effectively, that more and better goods are delivered to the home and foreign markets, that production becomes more effective and the standard

of living improves accordingly. They should combat the views of those who exaggerate the difficulties of the transitional period and insist on immediate administrative intervention to overcome them.

A further task of the Party organizations is to explain to the people matters of direct concern to them. There are so-called ticklish questions, such as what will happen to retail prices, whether we will have unemployment, and so on. In reality, however, these questions are not ticklish at all—we have clearly answered all of them in our decisions and in numerous public statements. Nevertheless, we must come back to them again and again, for the explanations we have offered so far do not seem to have come home to all.

Speaking of price formation, we must admit that our present system of retail prices is unfortunate. It does not give effect to the fundamental principle according to which the consumer should pay for every commodity a price representing the cost of the commodity. We know that it will take some time to solve this problem. On the other hand, it is urgent that we should change the present rigid system of retail prices, for it hampers our progress. Under this system, free retail prices account for slightly more than one-tenth of the total. We are going to almost double this proportion. This means that the market will determine prices for a much wider range of commodities. In other words, the prices of these items will be freely increased or reduced according to demand and to production costs. The revision of wholesale prices and the tax system requires wider scope for the adjustment of retail prices. This means that some prices will go down while others will go up, although we do not expect any substantial change in the overall level of prices. In 1968 we will not raise prices of such staple foodstuffs as pork, fats, beef, sugar, flour, bread, butter, eggs, milk, cheese or oil. We will effect a complete reform of retail prices gradually, over many years, combining it with other measures whenever necessary. We are resolved to carry out the directives and decisions of our Party on the gradual and steady improvement of the standard of living.

There will be no unemployment because there are no reasons for it. During the third five-year plan period, as a result of economic progress and new political investments and the extension of the service industries, the number of employed (outside agriculture) will increase by more than 200,000. Thus there are no grounds for fearing unemployment. We must say, however, that we foresee an increased migration of labor, for the personnels of a number of enterprises will be reduced to make production more effective. Of course, every measure will be taken (I mean, among others, the provisions of the new labor code and the increased role of the trade unions in defending the interests of the working people) to guaran-

tee strict adherence to legality and to the principles of socialist humanism.

We ask the Party and trade union organizations to help us answer these and other "ticklish" questions. And it is very important for us and the leadership to know the experience gained in the course of the reform and making it possible to generalize new methods and to rectify mistakes in time.

# CONTENTS OF INFORMATION BULLETIN
## Nos. 89-112, 1967

(Documents and materials of the Communist and Workers' parties)


| | No. | Page |
|---|---|---|
| **ARGENTINA** | | |
| Preparations for the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution | 92 | 52 |
| Statement of the CC, CP of Argentina (December 1966) | 93 | 5 |
| Report by V. Codovilla to the 7th National Conference of the CP of Argentina (April) | 102 | 30 |
| **AUSTRALIA** | | |
| Statement of the CC, CP of Australia on the events in China | 94 | 22 |
| **AUSTRIA** | | |
| F. Muhri on a World Communist Conference (*Volksstimme*, December 22, 1966) | 89 | 24 |
| Statement of the CC, CP of Austria on the events in China (*Volksstimme*, February 8, 1967) | 93 | 28 |
| Report by F. Muhri at Party conference (June) | 102 | 44 |
| Statement by F. Muhri, Chairman, CP of Austria | 111-112 | 9 |
| **BELGIUM** | | |
| Materials of the 17th Congress CP of Belgium (December 1966) | 89 | 5 |
| **BULGARIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC** | | |
| Resolution of the CC, BCP on the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution (February) | 94 | 51 |
| Communique on Greek Party delegation's visit to Bulgaria | 111-112 | 10 |
| Communique on Bulgarian Party delegation's visit to Denmark | 111-112 | 11 |
| **CANADA** | | |
| Resolution of the 19th Convention of the Canadian CP on the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution (May 1966) | 92 | 47 |
| Resolution of the Plenary Meeting of the CC, CP of Canada on world Communist unity (January) | 92 | 31 |
| Excerpts from report of W. Kashtan to the Plenary Meeting of the CC, CP of Canada, on Vietnam (January) | 92 | 28 |

| | No. | Page |
|---|---|---|
| Statement of the CC, CP of Canada on the Middle East crisis | 108 | 41 |
| Statement of National Committee, CP of Quebec | 108 | 43 |
| Statement of the CC, CP of Canada on the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution | 108 | 51 |
| Canadians support world meet (*Canadian Tribune*, December 11) | 111-112 | 12 |
| **CEYLON** | | |
| "The Chinese Puzzle" (article in *Forward*, August 26) | 106 | 16 |
| **CHILE** | | |
| Chilean CP supports the idea of a world Communist Conference. Statement of the CC (December 1966) | 89 | 54 |
| Statement of the Political Commissions of the Socialist and Communist parties of Chile on the principal events of 1966 (January) | 91 | 37 |
| Speech by L. Corvalan at CP of Chile meeting (February) | 95 | 14 |
| Statement of the CP of Chile concerning the events in the Middle East (June) | 103 | 27 |
| Report by L. Corvalan at the National Conference of the CP of Chile | 110 | 6 |
| **COLOMBIA** | | |
| Statement of the CC, CP of Colombia on the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution | 108 | 50 |
| **COSTA RICA** | | |
| Statement of the CC, People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica on the situation in China | 94 | 27 |
| **REPUBLIC OF CUBA** | | |
| Speech by Fidel Castro on the occasion of the 8th anniversary of the Cuban Revolution (January) | 90 | 30 |
| **CZECHOSLOVAK SOCIALIST REPUBLIC** | | |
| Resolution of the CC, CP of Czechoslovakia: on the events in China; on convening a world Communist meeting; on Vietnam (December 1966) | 89 | 25 |
| Proclamation of the CC, CP of Czechoslovakia on the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution (February) | 93 | 55 |

| | No. | Page |
|---|---|---|
| "The International Significance of the October Revolution," article by V. Koucky (*Zivot Strany*, No. 18) | 107 | 15 |
| Report by L. Strougal to the CC, CP of Czechoslovakia Meeting (September) | 108 | 25 |
| *Rude Pravo* on the Consultative Meeting (November 26) | 111-112 | 15 |
| Resolution of CC, CP of Czechoslovakia Meeting | 111-112 | 14 |
| **DENMARK** | | |
| "China Is Isolating Itself" (*Land og Folk*, February 7) | 93 | 29 |
| **DOMINICAN REPUBLIC** | | |
| Manifesto of the Dominican CP (October 10, 1966) | 89 | 46 |
| "Our Position on Current Events in China." Appeal of the Dominican CP (January) | 95 | 44 |
| **ECUADOR** | | |
| On the Budapest Meeting. (Article in *Pueblo*, December 1967) | 111-112 | 20 |
| **FINLAND** | | |
| Resolution of the CC, CP of Finland on convening a new world Communist meeting (January) | 91 | 5 |
| "We Must First Ascertain the Political Aims of the Elections," article by A. Saarinen (*Kansan Uutiset*, January 16) | 91 | 18 |
| Statement of the Political Bureau, CC, CP of Finland on the events in China (February) | 93 | 28 |
| Materials of the CC, CP of Finland Plenary Meeting (September) | 108 | 5 |
| Resolution of the CC, CP of Finland on the forthcoming international conference | 111-112 | 8 |
| **FRANCE** | | |
| W. Rochet's speech at CC meeting on talks between representatives of the French CP and the Federation of the Democratic and Socialist Left (December 1966) | 89 | 13 |
| W. Rochet's report to the 18th Congress of the French CP (December-January) | 90 | 5 |
| Excerpts from W. Rochet's report to the 18th Congress of the French CP. Political resolution of the Congress (January) | 92 | 48 |
| "Marxism Is Not a Catechism," article by Jean Kanapa (*l'Humanité*, February 6) | 93 | 20 |

| | No. | Page |
|---|---|---|
| Resolution of the CC FCP on the situation in the Middle East (July) | 103 | 11 |
| "The Greatest Event in Contemporary History," article by W. Rochet (*Pravda*, August 11) | 106 | 5 |
| "What Being a Revolutionary Means in France Today," article by W. Rochet | 110 | 18 |
| "Heading for a Conference of the Brother Parties," article by E. Fajon (*l'Humanité*, November 29) | 111-112 | 5 |
| **GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC** | | |
| "Mao's Squads Against Marxism-Leninism" (*Einheit*, No. 1, 1967) | 91 | 40 |
| Appeal of the GDR Preparatory Committee for the celebration of the 50th Anniversary of the October Revolution (January) | 92 | 53 |
| Extract from speech by W. Ulbricht at the Party Active in Berlin (February) | 94 | 36 |
| Materials of the 7th Congress of the SUPG | 99-100 | 42 |
| Speech by W. Ulbricht at the CC SUPG and GDR government seminar for leading party and government functionaries | 108 | 33 |
| On a World Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. Resolution of CC SUPG meeting (*Neues Deutschland*, November 28) | 111-112 | 25 |
| **FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY** | | |
| Developments in China (*Freies Volk*, No. 11, 1966) | 89 | 18 |
| Popular Unity for Peace and the Constitution. Report to CC CPG meeting by M. Reimann (January) | 92 | 21 |
| **GREAT BRITAIN** | | |
| Statement of the Executive Committee, CP of Great Britain on Vietnam (January) | 91 | 11 |
| "Disastrous," article in *The Morning Star* on the events in China (February 2) | 93 | 27 |
| "Whither the Middle East?," article by R. Palme Dutt (*Labor Monthly*, July) | 103 | 18 |
| "Questions of Ideology and Culture," statement of the Executive Committee, CP of Great Britain (*Marxism Today*, May) | 102 | 57 |
| J. Gollan, "Triumph of Leninist Ideas" (*Pravda*, August 24) | 107 | 5 |

| | No. | Page |
|---|---|---|
| **GREECE** | | |
| Resolution of the Political Bureau, CC, CP of Greece on the situation in the country (January) | 92 | 5 |
| Resolution of the 11th Plenary Meeting of the CC, CP of Greece (July) | 104 | 5 |
| **HONDURAS** | | |
| Statement of the CC, CP of Honduras on the "Cultural Revolution" in China | 93 | 31 |
| **HUNGARIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC** | | |
| Resolution of the CC HSWP on the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution | 94 | 48 |
| Statement on the situation in the Middle East by Z. Komocsin (*Népszabadsag*, June 15) | 102 | 18 |
| Extracts from speech by J. Kadar at the 7th Congress of the Communist Youth League (*Népszabadsag*, July 2) | 103 | 31 |
| Resolution of the Plenary Meeting of the HSWP (*Népszabadsag*, November 25) | 111-112 | 24 |
| Speech by Puja Frigyes | 111-112 | 36 |
| Speech by Jeno Fock | 111-112 | 54 |
| **INDIA** | | |
| Resolution of the National Council, CP of India on the developments in China (December 1966) | 91 | 33 |
| Resolution of the CEC, CP of India on the election results (March) | 95 | 41 |
| Latest Figures on CP of India membership (*Party Life*, No. 8) | 105 | 32 |
| Resolutions of the CEC, CP of India (July) | 104 | 11 |
| Communist Party of India supports World Communist Conference (*New Age*, December 17) | 111-112 | 22 |
| **INDONESIA** | | |
| Appeal of the Marxist-Leninist group of the CP of Indonesia (late 1966) | 106 | 44 |
| **ITALY** | | |
| "More Youth for the Party!" Document of the Secretariat of the Italian CP (January) | 92 | 15 |
| Resolution of the Leadership of the Italian CP on the events in China and the problems of the world Communist movement (*Unita*, February 10) | 93 | 25 |

| | No. | Page |
|---|---|---|
| The Fight for Peace and Freedom in Vietnam and the Tasks of the ICP in the Fight for World Communist Unity. Report to the CC ICP by E. Berlinguer (February) | 94 | 5 |
| Statement of Luigi Longo at a meeting of the CC and CCC, ICP on the Israeli aggression (July) | 103 | 5 |
| *L'Unita* interviews L. Longo (November 25) | 111-112 | 6 |
| **IRAN** | | |
| Statement of the CC of the People's Party of Iran (Tudeh) on the crisis in the Middle East (June) | 103 | 25 |
| **IRAQ** | | |
| For a Decisive Victory Over the Forces of Imperialism, Zionism and Reaction. Statement of the CC, CP of Iraq (June) | 104 | 30 |
| **ISRAEL** | | |
| Materials of the 13th Plenary Session of the CC, CP of Israel (December 1966) | 91 | 24 |
| Resolution of the Plenary Session of the CC, CP of Israel on the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution | 94 | 53 |
| "All Our Forces to Defend Peace and Prevent War." Statement of the CC, CP of Israel —M. Vilner (May) | 99-100 | 9 |
| Materials of the 16th Plenary Session of the CC, CP of Israel (June) | 102 | 23 |
| Withdrawal from the Conquered Territories Will Prevent Dangers and Create Chances for Peace. Statement of the Political Bureau, CP of Israel (July) | 103 | 15 |
| On the consultation of the Communist and Workers' parties. CC, CP of Israel Press Release, December 12 | 111-112 | 21 |
| **JAPAN** | | |
| "Splitting Activities in Organizations Dealing with Questions of Japanese-Chinese Relations," article by Misaburo Kawasaki (*Zenei*, No. 1, 1967) | 95 | 55 |
| Statement by the CC, CP of Japan on the U.S. aggression in Vietnam (June) | 102 | 67 |
| **JORDAN** | | |
| Provisional Program of the Jordanian Communist Party (August 1967) | 111-112 | 41 |

| | No. | Page |
|---|---|---|
| **LAOS** | | |
| Statement by the Plenary Meeting of the CC, Neo Lao Hak Sat (December 1966) | 92 | 45 |
| **LEBANON** | | |
| Interview with N. Chaoui, General Secretary of the Lebanese CP, on the Israeli aggression (July) | 104 | 26 |
| *Al-Akhbar* on the Budapest Consultative Meeting (December 3) | 111-112 | 17 |
| **LESOTHO** | | |
| Statement of the CP of Lesotho on the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution | 110 | 39 |
| **LUXEMBOURG** | | |
| Materials of the Plenary Meeting of the CC, CP of Luxembourg (September) | 108 | 12 |
| **MONGOLIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC** | | |
| Y. Tedenbal Interviewed by *Népszabadsag* (January) | 92 | 34 |
| Decision of the MPRP on preparations for the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution (January) | 92 | 39 |
| Y. Tsedenbal's report to the 3rd Plenary Meeting of the CC, MPRP on agricultural cooperatives (*Novosti Mongolii*, June 11) | 104 | 19 |
| The Road to Unity. Article in *Unen*, December 1, 1967 | 111-112 | 30 |
| **NETHERLANDS** | | |
| Statement of the CC, CP of the Netherlands on the elections (January) | 91 | 21 |
| **NIGERIA** | | |
| On the Problems of Unity in Africa (*African Statesman*) | 93 | 41 |
| **PAKISTAN** | | |
| Resolution of the CC, CP of East Pakistan | 107 | 48 |
| **PANAMA** | | |
| Materials of the 14th Plenum of the CC, People's Party of Panama (November 1966) | 89 | 40 |
| "Toward a New World Communist Meeting," article by V. Sires (November 1966) | 89 | 43 |

| | No. | Page |
|---|---|---|
| **PARAGUAY** | | |
| Communique of the National Conference of the Paraguayan CP on preparations for the 3rd Congress (April) | 103 | 38 |
| **PHILIPPINES** | | |
| Materials of the Philippines CP | 110 | 36 |
| **POLISH PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC** | | |
| "Polish United Workers' Party Twenty-five Years Old," article by Z. Kliszka (*Kommunist*, No. 1) | 93 | 18 |
| Decision of the CC, PUWP on the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution (May) | 99-100 | 88 |
| Speech by W. Gomulka at Sosnowiec (September) | 107 | 12 |
| Anti-Imperialist Unity. Article in *Tribuna Ludu*, (November 26) | 111-112 | 27 |
| **PORTUGAL** | | |
| The Recent Events in China. Our stand (*Avante*, November 1966) | 89 | 21 |
| The Internal Situation in Portugal. *Mundo Obrero* Interviews A. Cunhal (January) | 92 | 11 |
| Communique of the CC, Portuguese CP on the situation in the world Communist movement (January 1967) | 93 | 23 |
| Decision of the Portuguese CP on the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution (January) | 102 | 70 |
| Materials of the Plenary Meeting of the CC, Portuguese CP: the internal situation; the Israeli aggression; the world Communist movement (July) | 105 | 5 |
| **RUMANIAN SOCIALIST REPUBLIC** | | |
| Speech by N. Ceausescu at the Plenary Meeting of the CC, RCP on the internal situation (December 1966) | 89 | 26 |
| Extract from speech by N. Ceausescu at the 6th conference of the Union of Student Associations on promotion of fraternal solidarity (February) | 94 | 17 |
| **EL SALVADOR** | | |
| Communique of the CC, CP of El Salvador on hte situation in the world Communist movement (December 1966) | 93 | 34 |

| | No. | Page |
|---|---|---|
| **REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA** | | |
| "Concern about China" (editorial in *The African Communist*, No. 27, 1967) | 89 | 56 |
| Resolution of the CC, CP of South Africa on the world Communist movement and events in China (March) | 94 | 28 |
| "Fifty Years of Workers' Rule" (*The African Communist*, No. 28) | 95 | 58 |
| **SOVIET UNION** | | |
| Decision of the CPSU Central Committee on the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution (*Pravda*, January 8) | 90 | 43 |
| On the Anti-Soviet Policy of Mao Tse-tung and His Group (*Pravda* editorial, February 16) | 93 | 9 |
| Speech by L. I. Brezhnev at a meeting of the Bauman Electoral Area in Moscow (March) | 95 | 22 |
| Materials of the CC CPSU Plenum: | | |
| 1. The policy of the Soviet Union in connection with the Middle East events | 99-100 | 6 |
| 2. Discussion of the theses on the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution (June) | 99-100 | 8 |
| Theses of the CC CPSU on the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution (June) | 101 | 5 |
| Speech by L. I. Brezhnev at a reception for graduates of military academies in the Kremlin (July) | 102 | 7 |
| "Contrary to the Interests of the Chinese People," article by N. Alexandrov (*Pravda*, August 16) | 104 | 38 |
| "Progress of Soviet Economy," article by N. Baibakov (*Pravda*, August 12) | 105 | 36 |
| Materials of the CC CPSU plenum (September) | 107 | 26 |
| "USSR in 50 Years" (Facts and Figures) | 107 | 34 |
| Vietnam Will Win (*Pravda* editorial) | 107 | 21 |
| Fifty Years of Great Achievements of Socialism. Report by L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU (November 3) | 109 | 5 |
| Strengthen the International Unity of Communists (*Pravda* editorial, November 23) | 110 | 29 |
| For International Communist Unity (*Pravda*) editorial, November 28) | 111-112 | 31 |
| **SPAIN** | | |
| "Democracy Will Commence Only After Franco's Downfall." Statement by Santiago Carrillo (December 1966) | 91 | 13 |

| | No. | Page |
|---|---|---|
| Political Statement by the Executive Committee, CP of Spain on the internal situation (April) | 102 | 50 |
| Modern Movements Among the Spanish Intelligentsia. Document of the CC, CP of Spain | 107 | 29 |
| Statements of the CC, CP of Spain and the United Socialist Party of Catalonia on the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution | 108 | 47 |
| On the convocation of the consultative meeting in Budapest (UFI release, December 8) | 111-112 | 9 |
| **SWEDEN** | | |
| "Notes on China" (*Ny Dag*, No. 3, January 20-26) | 92 | 26 |
| "Break-off between China and the Soviet Union" (*Norrskensflamman* editorial, February 9) | 94 | 26 |
| **SWITZERLAND** | | |
| Immediate Program of the Swiss Party of Labor (September) | 108 | 17 |
| **SYRIA** | | |
| Resolution of the CC, Syrian CP on the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution (February) | 95 | 58 |
| Resolution of the Plenary Meeting of the CC, Syrian CP on Party work (February) | 95 | 49 |
| Statement by the Political Bureau, CC, Syrian CP on the Israeli aggression (June) | 102 | 21 |
| Appeal to the Population by the Syrian CP | 107 | 44 |
| **UNITED STATES OF AMERICA** | | |
| CP USA Greets Proposals for World Parties' Parley (*The Worker*, November 20, 1966) | 89 | 38 |
| "Behind the Changing Chinese and U.S. Attitudes," article by J. Jackson (*The Worker*, February 5) | 93 | 38 |
| Toward a Peace Ticket in 1968. Defeat the Forces of War and Racism. Report by Gus Hall to the National Committee meeting (January) | 95 | 5 |
| CPUSA Urges Early World Parties' Parley (July) | 103 | 37 |
| Letter from Gus Hall to M. Vilner (*The Worker*, August 20) | 105 | 26 |
| Turning Point for the World. Statement of the National Committee, CP USA (August) | 105 | 19 |
| Statement by Gus Hall, General Secretary, CP USA on the world consultative meeting (*The Worker*, December 3, 1967) | 111-112 | 12 |

| | No. | Page |
|---|---|---|
| **URUGUAY** | | |
| Statement of the Executive Committee, CP of Uruguay on world Communist unity (February) | 94 | 26 |
| **VENEZUELA** | | |
| Statement of the Political Bureau, CC, CP of Venezuela (December 1966) | 91 | 38 |
| Statement of the CP of Venezuela on the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution (January) | 92 | 50 |
| The Internal Situation in the Communist Party. Statement of the Political Bureau, CP of Venezuela (January) | 94 | 39 |
| Statement of the Political Bureau, CP of Venezuela on the anti-Soviet campaigns (February) | 95 | 47 |
| **DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM** | | |
| Directive of the CC of the Party of Working People of Vietnam on the 1967 state plan (January) | 92 | 32 |
| *Nhan Dan* editorial on Soviet Aid to Vietnam | 107 | 23 |
| **SOUTH VIETNAM** | | |
| Communique of the NLF of South Vietnam on victories won during 11 months of 1966 (*Nhan Dan*, December 20, 1966) | 91 | 6 |
| Political Program of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam (September) | 106 | 12 |
| Speech by Dang Quang Minh, member of the CC, NLF of South Vietnam | 107 | 19 |
| **WEST BERLIN** | | |
| Electoral Program of the SUPG-West Berlin (January) | 92 | 17 |
| Decision of the Board of the SUPG-West Berlin on the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution (August) | 104 | 16 |
| * * * | | |
| Historical Significance of the October Revolution. An International Seminar Sponsored by *Problems of Peace and Socialism* (June 22-24) | 99-100 | 91 |
| * * * | | |
| 8th Session of the Council of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization: resolution on Vietnam (February) | 94 | 45 |

| | No. | Page |
|---|---|---|
| **CONFERENCES AND MEETINGS OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES, BILATERAL MEETINGS** | | |
| Joint Communique by the French CP and USP | 91 | 22 |
| Joint Statement by the Irish Workers' Party and the CP of Northern Ireland (February) | 94 | 32 |
| Materials of the Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties on European Security (Karlovy Vary, Czechoslovakia, April 24-26, 1967) | No's 96, 97, 98 | |

1. **First day of the conference**
   Communique on the opening of the conference
   Opening Speech by A. Novotny, First Secretary of the CC, CP of Czechoslovakia
   Appeal for Support of Vietnamese people
   Statement on the Military Putsch in Greece

**Speeches**

W. Rochet, General Secretary, FCP
L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary, CC CPSU
F. Muhri, Chairman, Austrian CP
A. Novotny, First Secretary, CC CPC
W. Gomulka, First Secretary, CC PUWP
K. Jespersen, Chairman, CP of Denmark
M. Reimann, First Secretary, CC, CP of Germany
V. Pessi, General Secretary, CP of Finland

2. **Second day of the conference**
   Communique of Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties

**Speeches**

T. Zhivkov, First Secretary, CC, Bulgarian CP
G. Danelius, Chairman of the Board, SUPG-West Berlin
J. Kadar, First Secretary, CC HSWP
E. Papaioannou, General Secretary, AKEL
D. Ibarruri, Chairman, CP of Spain
J. Blume, Member of Political Bureau, CP of Belgium
J. Gollan, General Secretary, CP of Great Britain
E. Woog, General Secretary, Swiss Party of Labor
A. Grozos, Chairman, CP of Greece
W. Ulbricht, First Secretary, CC SUPG
D. Urbany, Chairman, CP of Luxembourg
H. Moore, General Secretary, CP of Northern Ireland
L. Longo, General Secretary, CP of Italy
M. O'Riordan, General Secretary, Irish Workers' Party

| | No. | Page |
|---|---|---|
| A. Cunhal, General Secretary, CP of Portugal<br>E. Gasperoni, General Secretary, CP of San Marino<br>F. Lager, Member, Executive Committee, CP of Sweden<br>L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary, CC CPSU<br>L. Longo, General Secretary, CP of Italy<br>For Peace and Security in Europe. Conference Statement | | |
| * * * | | |
| Consultative Meeting of Parties Fixed (November 1967) | 110 | 5 |
| Meeting of leaders of the Communist and Workers' parties and governments of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Hungarian People's Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia (May) | 99-100 | 21 |
| Documents of the Arab Communist Meeting (May) | 99-100 | 24 |
| Communique on the Budapest Meeting of the Fraternal Parties and Governments of Socialist Countries (July) | 102 | 5 |
| Statement by the Fifth Meeting of the Communist Parties of Mexico, Central America and Panama (May) | 102 | 27 |
| Joint Statement by the Communist Parties of Brazil and Argentina (July) | 103 | 28 |
| Speech by L. I. Brezhnev at the Hungarian-Soviet Friendship Meeting in Budapest (September) | 106 | 34 |
| Speech by J. Kadar at the Hungarian-Soviet Friendship Meeting in Budapest (September) | 106 | 23 |
| Communique on the Greek Party Delegation's Visit to Bulgaria | 111-112 | 10 |
| Communique on the Bulgarian Party Delegation's Visit to Denmark | 111-112 | 11 |
| Communique on the Colombian Party Delegation's Visit to Czechoslovakia | 111-112 | 15 |
| W. Ulbricht meets F. Nassar, First Secretary of the CC, CP of Jordan | 111-112 | 19 |
| Communique on the SUPG Delegation's Visit to Moscow | 111-112 | 35 |